The Virtue of Patriotism

A Comparative Study between Swedish and Greek Buy-
Domestic Campaigns in the Midst of Financial Crisis

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Abstract

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**Thesis Purpose:** The aim with this study is to, from a cross-cultural perspective, present an exploratory investigation of the relationship between buy-domestic campaigns, ethnocentrism and consumer behavior among 18-24 year old citizens in Greece and Sweden during the time period of the European financial crisis.

**Theoretical Framework:** This research project investigates buy-domestic campaigns from an ethnocentric perspective, drawing on a comprehensive framework from the fields of political consumerism, consumer behavior and advertising.

**Methodology:** With a departure in a constructionist perspective, this study seeks to explore the nature of buy-domestic campaigns and how they are perceived by young citizens. A qualitative research strategy has thus been used to investigate and gain understanding about the researched subject. Further, a triangulation of research methods consisting of both a text- and discourse analysis as well as in-depth interviews have been used to collect empiric material.

**Findings:** This study provides an in-depth understanding of how young Swedish and Greek citizens perceive buy-domestic campaigns. Due to the European financial crisis, Greek citizens are more inclined to feel supportive of such campaigns and evaluate them in a patriotic manner. Swedish youth are on the contrary more inclined to perceive the campaigns as part of an environmental discourse. Further, Greek citizens feel more targeted by the campaigns in general, while young Swedes’ deploy a “what’s in it for me” mentality.
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1. Introduction

“Europe as an idea, dream and project is moving towards its death”. (SvD, 2013)

This sentence was written in a joint statement by eleven of the most brilliant contemporary novelists and philosophers in Europe, including Salomon Rushdie and Umberto Eco, at the beginning of the spring of 2013 (SvD). Many of the authors had by that time witnessed the severe impacts of the European financial crisis on their home countries, countries that at the moment still face large debts in their state economy. One way to overcome the financial burdens of the crisis and stimulate state economy has been to initiate so called Buy-Domestic Campaigns (Tsai, Lee & Song, 2013). The aim of these campaigns is to promote the purchase of products from the same country of origin as that in which the consumer resides in order to protect domestic employment opportunities and support the local economy (Hopkins & Powers, 2007). Thus, buy-domestic campaigns can be seen as a way towards resurrection – a way to keep the idea, dream and project intact.

So, what is a buy-domestic campaign? Buy-domestic campaigns may be promoted by governments, companies and trade unions in an attempt to encourage ethnocentric tendencies in consumption behavior - that consumers due to nationalistic and patriotic reasons tend to favor domestically produced goods regardless of traditional means of differentiation like price and quality (Balabanis & Diamantopolous, 2004). However, can these campaigns really make consumers change their consumption habits and choices? As a matter of fact, there is little prior evidence that buy-domestic campaigns can alter the purchasing behavior of consumers (Elliott & Cameron, 1994; Fenwick & Wright, 2000; Insch, Prentice & Knight, 2011).

To understand how ethnocentric tendencies may influence consumption practices’, we must ask ourselves the question; what is the reasonings behind nationalistic consumption behavior? The first thing we must understand is that ethnocentrism is considered to be a general tendency in society, as opposed to a more specific attitude (Shankarmahesh, 2006). It results from a perceived concern for one’s own country and the harmful effects that foreign made products may impose to oneself and fellow citizens (Ibid). To consume domestically
produced goods and support the local economy could hence become a sign of patriotism and a way to show that you are a good citizen. Ethnocentric tendencies also seem to increase in magnitude in a perceived situation of crisis (Shimp, Sharma & Shin 1995; Tsai, Lee & Song, 2013). A present and ongoing example is the European financial crisis that has affected both local economies and employment rates since its outbreak in 2009 (European Commission, 2009). To date, the financial crisis is still to a large degree affecting European citizens and the total effects of the crisis are hard to overlook.

To support a nationalistic cause, citizens have the opportunity to express their political views in their everyday consumption choices (Micheletti, Follen dal & Stolle, 2003). Consumers can thus affect the market by using their pocketbook to ‘vote’ in an attempt to (trans)form the market as they wish, just as citizens affect the political scenery via voting in political elections (Brinkman, 2004; Dickinson & Carsky, 2005; Shaw, Newholm & Dickinson, 2006). Hence, the spheres of traditional politics and the market have become blurry. Citizenship and consumption can no longer be seen as ‘divorced concepts’. Rather, the important role of consumption in today’s society means that it has become a vehicle that can be used to exercise a new form of citizenship (Shaw, Newholm & Dickinson, 2006).

As we will unpack later in the theoretical framework, to show support for brands and products due to ethical and moral values has in recent years received a lot of attention in the scholarly community (Micheletti & Isenhour, 2010). This form of consumption behavior can in large be described as a buycott (Micheletti, Follen dal & Stolle, 2003). Instead of boycotting a company for its unethical and immoral behavior, a buycott focuses on showing support for good and desirable market behavior through individual consumption choices. The decreasing interest in traditional forms of politics have led scholars to pose the question; could this form of everyday consumption behavior have become a substitute for more traditional forms of politics, like casting a vote in an election or to become a member of a political party? Have the market sphere really become an arena for new forms of politics?

It appears that any discussion regarding buy-domestic campaigns raises issues of ethnocentrism, patriotism and nationalism. Due to the European financial crisis, we have in recent years also seen an increased number of buy-domestic campaigns in many European countries (Saffu, Walker & Mazurek, 2010). Hence, with a departure in the financial crisis, we will in this thesis explore buy-domestic campaigns in two countries that have been very differently affected by the crisis, Sweden and Greece. As Sunny Tsai (2010) argues, there is
an imperative need of an ongoing examination of changes in patriotism and nationalism especially in constantly changing economic and political climates. A cross-cultural study between these two countries may thus give new insights and understandings regarding the nature of buy-domestic campaigns in general, and how they are affected by a situation of crisis in particular. So, if Europe as an idea, dream and project really is moving towards is death. We can see that an increased insight and understanding of the ordained cure might be needed if the dream is not going to evaporate into smoke.

1.1. Research Purpose

Taking the contextual factors described above into account, our aim with this thesis is to, from a cross-cultural perspective, present an exploratory investigation of the relationship between buy-domestic campaigns, ethnocentrism and consumer behavior among young citizens in Greece and Sweden during the time period of the European financial crisis.

Many studies in the field of consumer ethnocentrism tend to focus on a quantitative research method, thus aiming to make broad claims about a larger population. Hence, there exists a lack of qualitative studies in the field. Little attention has been focused on how buy national marketing campaigns are perceived by specific age groups in general, and youth in particular. The unprecedented magnitude of the current financial crisis, as well as its implications for youth consumer culture, thus calls for new research in the field. With a departure in the field of consumer ethnocentrism, we have posed two research questions that will guide us through our study:

RQ 1: *How do buy-domestic campaigns in Sweden and Greece construct ethnocentric messages?*

RQ 2: *How do 18-24 year old citizens in Greece and Sweden perceive buy domestic campaigns and how does this affect their consumption behavior?*

In order to address these research questions, we have chosen to investigate three buy-domestic campaigns from each country via a text- and discourse analysis. Since a young target group is more inclined to adapt new market behavior, and since the market sphere is considered to be a fertile ground for young citizens political participation, ten interviews from each country have
also been conducted to investigate how this age group perceives buy-domestic advertising campaigns.

We have further chosen to investigate two very different countries, Sweden and Greece. The reason for this choice is the opposite effect the European financial crisis has had on the countries. Sweden has to present date managed to deflect the crisis. The country has lately received a lot of attention in international media for its good and admirable conduct when facing the crisis (The Economist, 2013). Greece, on the other hand, has been depicted as a country that lacks the institutional abilities to take care of the crisis. The country has even been threatened with exclusion from the EU’s collective currency due to its bad influence on its volatility (protothema.gr, 2013; capital.gr, 2013). In addition, citizens from the Scandinavian region, and especially Sweden, have previously been shown to engage in political consumption to a high extent (Micheletti & Isenhour 2010). However, these tendencies have previously not been found to the same extent in countries situated in the southern parts of Europe, and especially in Greece. To investigate how young citizens, as avant-garde consumers, use the market arena in a political way has thus been one of our rationales for doing this research. In the following chapter, we will unpack the theoretical framework that will guide us through this research project.
2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, we will establish a theoretical framework by introducing central concepts for our study. As different fields of research are central to the study, we have chosen to combine related areas of literature to build up a comprehensive framework. We will begin by elaborating on the most central concept in regards to buy-domestic campaigns, consumer ethnocentrism. Secondly, we will shed light on how ethnocentric tendencies relate to political consumerism. Finally, we will elaborate on the nature of advertising campaigns in general, as well as how they relate to our perception and sense making of a subject in particular.

2.1. Buy-Domestic Campaigns

“Buy-national campaigns promote the purchase of products from the same country of origin as that in which the consumer resides.” (Hopkins & Powers, 2007: 74). There are two main reasons for this kind of campaigns to be launched: 1) economic difficulties of a country and 2) the phenomenon of globalization, to enhance national economy and ‘protect’ domestic goods (Chiou, Hu & Lin, 2003).

Many buy-American campaigns were launched during the American Revolution to ‘fix’ the economy and especially to protect domestic employments and employment opportunities (Hopkins & Powers, 2007: 74). The most recent example is the governmental campaign “Buy China”, launched in 2009. The aim of the campaign was to enhance China’s domestic economy at the beginning of the global financial crisis.

During the last couple of decades, consumers have, due to increased levels of globalization, been exposed to a plethora of new products and brands, which were previously unknown (Ger & Belk 1996; Parsons, Ballantine & Wilkinson, 2012). A buy-Greek campaign was, for instance, launched during the eighties due to increased levels of globalization. It was a non-governmental organization’s initiative, which tried to emphasize on the new ‘trend’, at that
time in Greece, of imported products and people’s tendency to buy only foreign products. (epimenonellinika, n.d.).

Buy-domestic campaigns may be promoted by governments attempting to encourage ethnocentric tendencies, develop patriotic bias (Elliott & Cameron, 1994; Insch, Prentice & Knight, 2011) and prevent unemployment. However, it should be mentioned that there is little evidence that these campaigns can actually alter consumers’ purchasing behaviour, even if the intention of these campaigns is supported, consumers’ actual behaviour may be different (Elliott & Cameron, 1994; Fenwick & Wright, 2000; Insch, Prentice & Knight, 2011).

2.2. Consumer Ethnocentrism and Domestic Country Bias

The advertising campaigns that we have studied in this thesis can all be seen as a part of what scholars refer to as Consumer Ethnocentrism (CE). Consumer ethnocentrism has to a large extent been used as a lens to explain why some “foreign” products are less preferable to be consumed in different countries than others (Balabanis & Diamantopulos 2004; Shimp & Sharma 1987). This bias for the products’ country-of-origin can, according to the authors, further be manifested in both the perception of a product as well as in the buying intentions among consumer groups. In general, as described by Shankarmahesh (2006) in his literature review over the field of consumer ethnocentrism, the concept of CE could be described to include the following six points:

“First, it is a general tendency “in toto” as opposed to a specific attitude. Second, it results from a perceived concern for one’s own country and harmful effects that imports may bring to oneself and compatriots. Third, it has an ethical dimension in that buying imported goods is regarded as being unpatriotic and indifferent to the plight of fellow compatriots put out of work. Fourth, it is inelastic with respect to price or other product related attributes. Fifth, it is assumed to be socialized during early childhood like other behavioural patterns. Sixth, overall CE in a social system is considered to be an aggregation of individual tendencies” (Shankarmahesh 2006:148).
In the following pages, we will investigate and describe these general tendencies in more depth. First, however, we will provide a brief historic background of the field in general to illustrate where CE stems from.

2.2.1. The Evolution of Consumer Ethnocentrism

The concept of consumer ethnocentrism in the field of marketing and consumer behaviour was at first introduced by Shimp and Sharma in 1987. In large, Shimp and Sharma’s definition of consumer ethnocentrism was built upon Sumner’s (1906 cited in Shimp & Sharma, 1987) work on ethnocentrism as a sociological construct. Ethnocentrism, according to Sumner, implies that “one’s own group (the group with which an individual identifies with) is seen at the centre of the universe and all other groups are rated in relation to it” (Ibid: 280). Accordingly, an individual is considered to be more inclined to reject people that are culturally dissimilar while at the same time blindly accepting those who are more like themselves (Shimp & Sharma 1987).

The concept of ethnocentrism was further developed by Murdock (1931 cited in Shankarmahesh, 2006), who argued that it was not only applicable to tribes and nations, but also to other forms of social groups and settings like family pride, religious prejudice, racial discrimination and patriotism. Ethnocentrism could hence be used to refer to a wide range of discriminatory behaviour since it implies an explicit distinction between “us” and “them”. To adapt the concept to consumer behavioural studies, Shimp and Sharma defined consumer ethnocentrism as a “unique economic form of ethnocentrism that captures the beliefs held by many consumers about the appropriateness and indeed morality of purchasing foreign-made products” (Shimp & Sharma 1987: 280). We can see that the authors definition is built upon both Sumner’s and Murdock’s ideas about ethnocentrism. Shimp and Sharma focus, in their definition, on the “beliefs held by many consumers about the appropriateness and morality” when making a market transaction. The definition thus clearly states that there is a difference between “the many” and “the others” - between “us” and “them”.

Smyczek and Glowik (2011), as well as Balabanis and Diamantopoulou (2004), use these ideas and define them in a more narrow term as in-group favouritism, a concept borrowed from the field of psychology. This definition differentiates between in-group favouritism (ethnocentrism) and out-group hostility (xenophobia). The distinction between in-group and
out-group perception is therefore largely built upon cognitive notions, such as categorization and discrimination based on group boundaries. These notions take form at a young age and have been extensively researched in cognitive psychology (Thelen et al., 2009). In sum, in-group behaviour is perceived, by a member of the group, as solely appropriate and superior in regards to the behaviour of other groups, which in turn is seen as weak, dishonest, immoral and troubling causing. Hence, out-group behaviour is to a large extent perceived as the antithesis of the in-group (Levine & Cambell 1972). In a situation of crisis, the perceived contrasts between in-groups and out-groups seem to increase. The theoretical explanations for this will be further explained below.

2.2.2. Consumer Ethnocentrism in a Situation of Crisis

In a situation of crisis, ethnocentric ideals focused on nationalism and patriotism tend to heighten in intensity (Sharma, Shimp & Shin 1995). This fact is also emphasized by Lee, Hong and Lee (2003), who argue that the behaviour of consumers during a situation of crisis is largely influenced by ethnocentric tendencies, which may lead to a “battle” between consumer- and citizen identities. Purchasing domestically produced goods and services can thus in these situation be seen as a morally good cause and become the preferred choice of consumption.

This fact is further shown in a recent study conducted by Caprio and Isengildina-Massa (2009) who argues that there has, during the last couple of years, been an increase in consumer preferences towards locally produced goods. This tendency, to turn to protectionism in a situation of in-group crisis, has recently been described in a cross-cultural study between China and the US conducted by Tsai, Lee and Song (2013). In their research, they draw on Whelan’s study from 2001 where he investigated the increased levels of nationalism and patriotism in American advertising after the terrorist attacks on 9/11. Just weeks after the attack, large all-American firms such as Coca-Cola and General Motors launched campaigns to show their support for the 9/11 victims. General Motors campaign “Keep America Rolling” explicitly promoted an idea that it was every American’s duty to support domestically produced products in a situation of crisis (Whelan 2001). Tsai, Lee and Song (2013) further illustrate and contrast Whelan’s study with the increased tendencies to promote Chinese goods in the 2009 governmental campaign “Buy China”. The campaign was
a part of the Chinese government’s stimulus package to enhance its domestic economy at the beginning of the global financial crisis. Buy-domestic campaigns may, in this sense, be used as an instrument to stimulate local economy growth (Elliott & Cameron 1994; Insch, Prentice & Knight, 2011).

Hence, we can conclude that patriotic and nationalistic advertising is not something that is bound to a particular or specific country or region. Instead, it should be recognized as a universal expression to protect the status of the in-group (Tsai, Lee & Song 2013). Further, there are three major reasons described in the literature for why consumers should favour domestically produced goods in a situation of crisis; (1) buying foreign products hurts the local economy, (2) it leads to unemployment, and (3) it is seen as unpatriotic (Saffu, Walker & Mazurek 2010; Shimp & Sharma 1987). As described above, the magnitude of these reasons tend to increase during a situation of crisis. Therefore, we will, in the following section, expand on these three sections.

2.2.3. Buying Foreign Products Hurts the Local Economy

To buy foreign produced goods is, by ethnocentric consumers, perceived to be incorrect due to losses in the domestic economy. As shown above in the example of “Buy China”, governments may in a situation of crisis use advertising campaigns focused on buy-domestic issues to promote and encourage ethnocentric tendencies as a way to increase the sales-rates of domestically produced goods (Tsai, Lee & Song 2013; Elliott & Cameron 1994; Insch, Prentice & Knight, 2011). The country would hence be less dependent on imports. The economic argument is further described by Shimp and Sharma who argue that:

“Even as non-ethnocentric consumers evaluate products on their own merits with respect to price, quality and other desired features, ethnocentric consumers consider purchasing imported products to be incorrect due to perceptions of losses to the domestic economy” (Shimp & Sharma, 1987).

As described by the authors, traditional aspects, when evaluating a product like price and quality, are by ethnocentric consumers considered to be less important than the products country-of-origin. This tendency is also emphasized by Evanschitzky et al. (2008) who argue that in a situation of crisis, traditional ways of asserting a product becomes insufficient. When
evaluating a product, country-of-origin might instead serve as a guarantee for quality. In general, consumers tend to perceive products from some countries as more qualitative than others (Kotler & Gertner, 2002; Skuras & Vakrou, 2002). A possible reason behind this assumption is that consumers tend to use their subjective connotations regarding the product’s country-of-origin as such, to determine the expected quality of the good (Van Ittersum, Candel & Meulenberg, 2000). Consumer ethnocentrism may also, as shown by Shimp, Sharma and Shin (1995) result in an overestimation of the quality of domestically produced products, as well as an underestimation of foreign produced goods.

This fact is further emphasized in a recent study conducted by Acharya and Elliot (2003), where the authors show that ethnocentric consumers tend to perceive domestically produced products as of higher quality than their foreign counterparts when comparing two products that are identical in all other respects (Acharya & Elliot 2003). To focus on quality in buy-domestic campaigns can thus be a very effective and valuable tool for market differentiation (Caprio & Isengildina-Massa 2009; Ilbery & Kneafsey 1999). Hence, a general focus on quality, combined with an overall tendency by consumers to overestimate the communicated quality, may lead to increased customer satisfaction (Monroe & Krishman 1985; Rosen, 1984; O’Neill & Black 1996). Therefore, we can conclude that campaigns focused on ethnocentric values tend to be used to stimulate economic growth in a situation of crisis, and that domestically produced products are perceived as of higher quality hence making the price difference between two equal products less important.

2.2.4. Buying Foreign Products Leads to Unemployment

A major part of the portrayed reasons for consuming domestically is the reason to protect domestic jobs and job opportunities. According to Sharma, Shimp and Shin (1995: 29), “The fear of losing jobs (either one’s own or a related person’s) may influence consumers’ reactions to imports”. To buy domestically produced goods and support national corporations may therefore serve as both a moral justification and a protectionist measures (Chiou, Hu & Lin, 2003; Saffu, Walker & Mazurek, 2010).

As argued by Fujita and Rao (2009), the rationale of market actors changes during a situation of crisis. Corporate activities may thus be affected, which could have an impact on the economic situation of consumers (Fujita & Rao 2009; Smyczek & Glowik 2011). These
market changes do not leave consumers unaltered, and as argued by Cohen and Frazzini (2008), attitudes built upon ethnocentrism are one way for consumers to adapt to this new market reality. This fact was illustrated in a study of Turkish consumers conducted by Kucukemiroglu in 1999. In his study, he showed that during an economic crisis, Turkish consumers increasingly disliked to buy foreign products because it was seen to hurt the local economy and cause unemployment. This is also emphasized by Parsons, Ballantine and Wilkinson (2012), who argue that local stores can, in a situation of crisis, benefit from being locally owned. Being locally owned may in this sense serve as a competitive advantage. Hence, we can conclude that during a situation of crisis, consumers are more inclined to buy domestically produced products to protect jobs and job opportunities.

2.2.5. Buying Foreign Products is Seen as Unpatriotic

To consume foreign made products and services is among ethnocentric consumers considered to be both unpatriotic and a betrayal of the own group. Consumer ethnocentrism entails a shared belief among consumers that it is more appropriate and morally correct to buy a domestically produced product (Smyczek & Glowik 2011). Sunny Tsai (2010) further argues that during a situation of crisis, buy-domestic campaigns, as well as advertising in general, tend to focus on the relationship between consumption and citizenship. This relationship may be illustrated by using national symbols like a country’s flag, its colours and other well-known national symbols as a way to promote domestically produced goods. Hence, the usage of patriotic symbols may infuse an idea that it is every citizen’s duty to consume domestic products and support national brands.

As shown by Sharma, Shimp and Shin (1995), consumer ethnocentrism has a positive relationship with collectivist tendencies as well as with patriotic and conservative attitudes. Further, a negative correlation was in the same study found between consumer ethnocentrism and cultural openness, education and income. Consumers affected by ethnocentric tendencies are in this sense more inclined to focus on the status of the in-group and perceive other cultures, or out-groups, in a negative fashion. In a study conducted by Han (also see Balabanis, Mueller & Melewar, 2002; Sharma, Shimp & Shin, 1995; Vida & Fairhurst, 1999), older people were also found to be more affected by ethnocentric ideals when acting on the market than younger people. Older citizens were in his study found to be more conservative
and patriotic, as well as more inclined to advocate locally produced products (Han 1988). In sum, we can see that there lies a moral obligation to consume domestically produced products in a situation of crisis. To be a good citizen is in large to consume products that are made by the in-group.

2.3. Political Consumerism

Political consumerism emphasizes the increased power of large, multinational corporations in a globalized market arena as a “powerful site for politics” (Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle, 2003: ix). Remarkable events like, for instance, international boycotts against specific countries or multinational corporations, increasingly indicates the role of the market as an arena for citizen action – an arena where citizens can express their concerns about the global role and conduct of corporations (Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle, 2003). These examples, as well as the fact that similar practices have been increasingly reported during the last decades (Friedman, 1996, 1999), and are reported as the most frequent non-electoral activities (Ferrer & Fraile, 2006), call our attention to the phenomenon of political consumerism.

The idea of using the market as an arena of politics is not new. Some prominent historical examples are the Boston Tea Party protest in 1773, which contributed to generate the American Revolution, or the anti-sweatshop White Label Campaign in the early 1990s (Pellizzoni, 2011). As Soper and Trentmann claim (2008:5): “Consumption has nurtured civic life at key moments in modern history”. Therefore, even if the idea of individuals and groups using their ‘pocketbook politically’ is well known, the term “political consumerism” was originated by Danes only a decade ago (Micheletti & Isenhour, 2010: 133). The Danish term “politisk forbruk” (i.e. political consumerism) was introduced by the Copenhagen Institute of Future Studies in a publication in 1998 (Larsen, Svendsen & Beck, 1998) when they analyzed the boycott against Shell Oil Company. After this publication, the term was used by the Swedish Centre for Business and Policy Studies (SNS) and three years later, an entire book on the subject was published by the Danish Study of Power and Democracy (Petersson et al., 1998 cited in Micheletti & Isenhour, 2010; Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001 cited in Micheletti & Isenhour, 2010). Since its introduction, scholars have given many definitions on
political consumerism, but the most complete and recent was given by Micheletti and Isenhour:

“Political consumption is defined as conscious consumer use of the market as an arena for politics and includes four distinct forms of action: (1) boycotts; (2) buycotts; (3) discursive actions; and (4) lifestyle political consumerism” (Micheletti & Isenhour 2010:133).

Consumers can hence use the market in different ways to express political views. These four ways of using the market as an arena for politics will by further explored in more detail below.

2.3.1. Boycott and Buycott – What is the Difference?

Boycotts, also referred to as negative political consumption, are defined as deliberately abstaining from buying specific products for political, ethical or environmental reasons (Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle, 2003). Micheletti and Stolle (2008) also describe boycotts as rejecting goods or ‘punishing’ corporations for their improper behaviour (Neilson, 2010). On the other hand, buycotts, boycotts’ “flip side” (Friedman, 1996) or positive political consumption, are when consumers deliberately choose to buy certain products (Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle, 2003). For example, consumers can choose to buy certain products, or support certain companies, because they are manufactured in a social- and environmental friendly way (Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle, 2003; Neilson, 2010; Freidman, 1996). Buycotts can also be theorized as ‘politically-motivated shopping’ – to use shopping guides and labelling schemes to support a certain cause (Micheletti & Stolle, 2008: 752). These guides and labels can be related to green, organic or fair trade products (ibid).

We can regard buy-domestic campaigns as a form of buycotts by following labelling schemes, some of the studied campaigns are actually labelling schemes, or even as a form of lifestyle political consumerism by choosing locally produced goods. These campaigns can also be seen as boycotts towards foreign products, since sometimes it is difficult to separate boycotting from boycotting (Neilson, 2010).
2.3.2. Political Consumerism as a Discursive Action and Lifestyle Politics

Communicative actions, like advertising campaigns, can be used as a discursive action to express consumer views about corporate practices and policy. By depicting unwanted market behaviour, for instance issues concerning unethical behaviour towards employees, consumer awareness can be created to impose a change of market conduct. Finally, political consumerism can be a manifestation of what Bennett (1998) terms “lifestyle politics”. For instance, a consumer may choose to become a vegetarian due to environmental or ethical reasons. Consumers focused on changes in lifestyle politics may hence want to reduce production levels in order to minimize the negative effects of consumption on a global level. As argued by Giddens (1991), in today’s society, lifestyle choices have become extremely important since consumers face a plethora of consumption options that could be theorized politically. People increasingly want to express their personal values and organize their actions around these values (Shah, Domke & Wackman, 1996). Consumers may hence prefer to participate in everyday lifestyle politics, than participate in conventional political activities like party membership (Eliasoph, 1998). In general, the idea of political consumerism is grounded in the belief that it should be an everyday activity and people express their beliefs in the market by using it to influence public policy (Sapiro, 2000 cited in Shah et al., 2007). In sum, consumers may use the market as an arena for politics to wield on institutional and market practices, which are considered to be environmentally, ethically and politically unpleasant.

2.3.3. A New Landscape for Political Consumerism

Before the concept of political consumerism was introduced, the phenomena was mainly connected and discussed under the concept of consumer boycotts. Boycotts were in large considered as a part of political action at an individual level, that individuals could express their political stance between formal political events like elections and demonstrations (Friedman, 1999; Micheletti, 2003). Historically, political consumerism was mostly used for promoting ‘own group’ interests (Micheletti & Stolle, 2008). The market hence worked as an arena for people without a traditional political voice to express their concerns for issues that were felt closely at heart, like suffrage rights, and/or full citizenship rights. To use the market
as an arena for politics, via boycotts and buycotts, thus gave people an ability to express their opinions via their market power.

2.3.4. Consumer Empowerment

Today, probably more than ever before, the market arena is still used as a site for individual political action where empowered consumers can use their purchasing power to condemn or support corporate practices and policies, either in their own country or on an international arena (Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle, 2003). An increasing number of consumers make their consumption’ choices depending on the social impact of their actions (Dickinson & Carsky, 2005). These consumers are regarded as aware, conscious and responsible (Neilson, 2010). Further, this kind of consumer behaviour is increasingly being concerned as a legitimate form of empowerment (Carrigan, Szmigin & Wright, 2006).

Moreover, consumers are increasingly exposed to information about global concerns, business practices, corporations’ culture and ethical issues (Shaw, Newholm, Dickinson, 2006). This exposure is further claimed to result in a more informed, aware and empowered consumer (Harrison, 2005; Strong, 1996). Procter (2001: 8) supports that: ‘Consumer empowerment will influence product choices and service demands as well as the relationships between government, businesses, and society as a whole’. Therefore, considering also the fact that consumers’ actions are individualized, they are naturally unpredictable. Consumers wield their power, affect and provoke social change through the marketplace (Holzer, 2006). Further, as Hertz (2001) argues, this is the most effective way for someone expressing his/her political views because corporations respond due to their reputation and their need to be seen as contributing to society. All the above indicate consumers’ power to influence the market and make it a fair and moral place (Neilson, 2010).

2.3.5. What Led to the Market’s Politicization?

Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle (2003: xi-xiii) argue that there are two main causes for the market’s politicization. The first reason is the globalization of the market. Due to globalization, new business opportunities have been created for multinational corporations.
As a consequence, new opportunities have also arisen for political life. Businesses operating in this global arena can, in an unprecedented way, expand their activities, their production and their financial transactions. As for the consumers, globalization has greatly affected the way in which they consume products, as well as their perception of consumption in general (Ward & de Vreese, 2011). Due to globalization, it is further more difficult for companies to hide their corporate politics and policies. Consumers have an increasing ability to find out about corporate policies due to, for example, labelling institutions or consumer-oriented campaigns, which can bring the politics of companies and their products to the fore (Micheletti, 2003).

The second cause is the ‘increasing importance of consumer goods and consumption’ As Klein (2000) argues, there is a struggle between consumerism and citizenship and between market values and political values, which further politicizes the market and privatizes politics. The struggle can also be analysed from a second perspective, that the increased politicization of the market is a consequence of the tilting power balance between producers and consumers (Holt, 2002). As argued by the author, it is believed that the market has shifted from a modern to post-modern logic, which has increased the ability for consumers to put pressure on corporations based on their wants and needs. Hence, the market has become a site for politics where people can act and express their ethical and moral concerns in a greater way than ever before.

All these indicate that citizenship and consumption are not ‘divorced concepts’, but rather indicate the important role of consumption in society today. It can also attest how consumers and environment have been affected and eventually that consumption has become a mean of acting citizenship (Shaw, Newholm & Dickinson, 2006). It is important for producers and corporations to be aware of this thinking in order to adapt their policies, be aware of consumers’ motives and even maybe establish new niches. Finally, it should be noted that consumers will continue to prefer shopping and protesting through the market than voting, unless government regains citizens’ trust (Hertz, 2001). In the following section, we will shed light on the increased politicization of the market and how this has affected traditional political participation.
2.3.6. Political Consumerism and Political Participation

Many scholars have in recent years focused on the relationship between political consumerism and political participation. However, differences exist between how scholars view central concepts in the field such as trust in institutions, political participation and political consumerism. It is widely supported in the literature that people have lost their faith in traditional politics, that they do not trust political institutions and that political participation is constantly decreasing (Hertz, 2001; Neilson & Paxton, 2010; Shaw, 2007; Stolle, Hooghe & Micheletti, 2003; Strømsnes, 2009). According to Beck (1997), people started taking responsibility for themselves through their economic behaviour on the market, hence relying on their own actions (Beck, 1997; Shapiro & Hacker-Cordon, 1999; Stolle, Hooghe & Micheletti, 2005) and perceive consumerism as a ‘valued freedom from politics’ (Slater, 2001: 117). As Scammell (2000) characteristically says: ‘Citizenship is not dead, but found in new places...the site of citizens’ political involvement is moving from the production side of the economy to the consumption side’ (Scammell (2000: 351).

Other researchers, however, indicate positive association between political consumerism and trust in institutions (Andersen & Tobiasen, 2004; Berlin, 2013; Gotlieb & Wells, 2012; Graziano & Forno, 2012; Stolle & Micheletti, 2005). Trust, in this sense, derives from people’s believes that institutions will support their consumption actions; therefore they are more motivated to act. Neilson (2010) claims that these findings may be explained by the fact that boycotting and buycotting is affected differently regarding trust in institutions. She continues that people who do not trust institutions tend to ‘punish’ businesses, i.e. boycotting, and those who trust may instead boycott and ‘reward’ corporations that highlight social responsibility. However, Holzer (2006) supports the idea that money can only be used to ‘reward’ and not to ‘punish’. Consumers can reward a company by buying its products, but by not preferring its products, there is no expectation of having a big effect in a mass market. This leads us to the question; does individual consumption behaviour really matter? In the next section, we will therefore investigate political consumerism from an individual, as well as a collective standpoint.
2.3.7. Consumers ‘Voting’ as an Individualized or Collective Action

According to Micheletti, Follesdal and Stolle (2004), the marketplace is perceived as a site where consumers may act in a political manner. However, unlike other forms of political participation, it is theorized as a highly individualized action (Follesdal, Micheletti & Stolle, 2004; Stolle, Hooghe & Micheletti, 2005). This idea of individual preferences is supported by Powell (1969) who argues that:

‘Everyone who goes into a shop and chooses one article instead of another is casting a vote in the economic ballot box.... We are all voting all the time’ (Powell 1969: 33).

Follesdal, Micheletti & Stolle (2004) seem to support Powell’s view when they argue that consumption is a private act, and that political consumption blurs the boundaries between the public and private sphere. Hence, shopping, as a part of our everyday lives, is viewed as a private action. On the other hand, despite that voting is a private and highly individual action, the authors further argue that it is a public phenomenon, which is publicly organised. Micheletti has conceptualized this boundary between the public and private sphere in 2003 under the notion of ‘individualized collective action’. The concept focuses on the motivations for consumers to combine issues concerning self-interest and the general good. These consumers’ actions are, Micheletti continues, motivated by a collective identity – that citizens, alone or together with others, try to handle problems that can affect their joint ‘good life’ (Micheletti 2003; Melucci, 1996). Therefore, for some citizens, political consumerism may be an individualized experience which ends there; but for others it may be a ‘collective expression of a shared goal’ and thus a way to identify common problems and act upon that (Gotlieb & Wells, 2012: 212).

Micheletti (2003: ix) also emphasized on what they called ‘politics of a product’. They claim that regardless of whether political consumers’ actions are mobilized individually or collectively, their choices reflect their understanding of what these products represent. This suggests that it is not just adequate to boycott or buycott certain products, but they also have to be aware of the rationale behind any product or campaign. Political consumers make their purchasing decisions based on political values, virtues and ethics (Micheletti, 2003). This is their main distinction from economic consumers who emphasize on value-for-money and additionally from lifestyle consumers who try to express and enhance their self-identity through their purchases.
2.4. A Deconstruction of Advertising

To understand what an advertisement means, how it works and how it aims to construct a certain view of a reality, we must understand the nature of consumer perception. In this part of our thesis, we will hence describe how perception works, as well as how perception may influence how different people view and make sense of buy-domestic campaigns.

2.4.1. Consumer Perception

“Perception is an umbrella term for the processes that automatically select, organize and interpret information from the sensory memory registers in such a way that the information acquires meaning” (Scholderer 2010: 236, in Ekström). How we acquire meaning from a given source of information is thus dependent on our previous experiences that in some way related to the topic at hand. Solomon et al. (2010) describe this process in a quite straightforward way:

(Solomon et al., 2010:36)

How we perceive a piece of information is, according to Solomon et al. (2010), much dependent on which stimuli we encounter. These could be sights and sounds, as described above, or shapes and colours that in some way make us detect and recognize an object in line with previous experiences (Scholderer 2010, in Ekström). Hence, when processing the raw data, or stimuli, we make use of our existing schematic memory structure (Solomon et al.
A consequence of this process is that it can trigger *automatic affective reactions* (Scholderer 2010, in Ekström). A stimulus may thus signal positive or negative connotations that may influence how we feel about a certain topic. If we have a prior positive understanding of a topic, we might evaluate the new stimuli in a positive manner, and vice versa. These processes are automatic – they happen without us thinking about them. Hence, to reach our conscious attention, a stimulus must stand out from other stimuli. When a stimulus has made it to our conscious mind, we must interpret it to make sense of the message. Interpretation thus “refers to the meaning that people assign to sensory stimuli” (Solomon et al. 2010). The authors further argue that just as people differ in which stimuli they perceive, the way they ascribe meaning and interpret the information will differ as well. Hence, how a person perceives a message is dependent on existing memory structures that forms our attitudes and behaviour towards a subject. This will be further investigated in relation to advertising below.

### 2.4.2. Perceptions of Advertising

The inherent role of advertising is, according to Dimbleby and Burton (2007: 199), “to reinforce or shift attitudes and beliefs so that people will behave differently”. To affect our attitudes and behaviour, advertising thus needs to capture our attention and interest in order to create a certain kind of desire that will eventually lead to some form of action - whether it is a shift in our attitude towards a certain issue or that we reinforce and hold on to what we already know to be true (Solomon et al. 2010; Dimbleby & Burton 2007). Istudor and Pelau (2012) further argue that “one of the fields in which perception is important is consumer behavior. Depending on how certain products are perceived by the consumer, he might buy the product or not” (Istudor & Pelau 2012: 502). This is, quite simplified, the role of the producer of an advertising campaign - to charge and codify the advertisement with a set of attributes and stimuli that will capture the audience attention and eventually lead to some form of behaviour (Hall 1980; Williamson 1978).

As described by Williamson (1978) in her classic novel about how to decode advertising, an advertisement consists of three elements; a sign, a signifier and the signified. An advertising campaign inherently consists of different layers, or dimensions of objects, that when combined make up our understanding of the campaign as a whole. These tree elements can be
seen as important dimensions in how different people from different background make sense of a message. For example, if we start by looking at the first layer, the layer of the signifier, this layer consists of mere material and physical objects. Signifiers are things (Williamson 1978). If we take the example of an advertisement for a car, the signifiers could be all the material objects, for example the hood, the wheels and the glass windows - everything that makes up our understanding of a car. The signifier is thus the mere object or thing in itself, detached from all sort of prescribed meaning. However, when we ascribe some sort of meaning or value to the object, it becomes signified (Ibid). If we return to the example of the car referred to above, the word C-A-R is what signifies the object and gives it meaning to us. The meaning of the object is hence separated from the physical object in itself. The signifying word C-A-R could equally have been the Swedish word B-I-L, or the Greek Α-Υ-Τ-Ο-Ι-Ν-Η-Τ-Ο. Regardless of which letters used, the word would have meant something to us that would make us understand the meaning of the object before our eyes. If we combine both the signifier and the signified - the physical object and its meaning, we get a sign. A sign is hence the totality of the two. The stimulus before our eyes combined with our prior schematic structure that gives the stimulus meaning (Solomon et al. 2010; Scholderer 2010, in Ekström).

If we return to the example given above, an advertisement for a car may imply that the producer uses certain elements like, for example, open highways to communicate increased “freedom” if purchased. This is what the producer wants us to feel when looking at the ad. The ideas behind the campaign can, however, not be transmitted to its audience in its “raw”, unprocessed form. It needs to be conceptualised and transmitted through some form of language built upon discursive rules (Hall 1980). Hence, metaphorically speaking, the message must go through a discursive tunnel before it can become a communicative event that can be transmitted to its target audience. The producer of a campaign is therefore, to further use Hall’s (1980) vocabulary, encoding the message - charging it with discursive meaning. The process of encoding a message may hence imply that the producer uses some kind of stimuli to transfer a picture of “freedom” to the audience. However, as referred to above, the audience or receiver of the message may not interpret it as its producer intended (Solomon et al. 2010; Scholderer 2010, in Ekström). To understand and make sense of the message, the receiver must decode it (Hall 1980). The values and beliefs of the receiver will therefore affect the way in which the message is interpreted and decoded. We might, for example, be stressed or unfocused when seeing the message, which could affect our decoding
process. A producer of an advertising campaign can therefore never be certain that the campaigns intended meaning is transmitted in the right way to its receiver.
3. Methodology

3.1. Research Philosophy

A researcher’s worldview affects the way he or she gathers and analyses empiric material (Daymon & Holloway, 2011; Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2012). From an ontological stance - how the world is assumed to be constructed - this research takes its departure from a constructionist perspective. Hence, we emphasize that different phenomena are socially constructed and that meaning is simultaneously both produced and reproduced by different social actors (Bryman & Bell 2007). From a constructionist perspective, there may therefore be many different realities and ways to perceive the world (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2012). To clarify this view, we can contrast a constructionist perspective with a positivistic stance. According to this perspective, there can only be one reality in which the researcher can seek an absolute and objective truth (Bryman & Bell 2007). Since we focus on the perceptions of different people regarding how they interpret and make sense of the world, a positivistic perspective is considered as not suitable for this research.

A constructionist perspective further has implications for our epistemological choices. From an epistemological stance - how knowledge can be extracted - this research emphasizes a post-modern perspective. The views of a post-modern perspective are summarized by Firat and Venkatesh (1995):

“What postmodernism proposes is the construction of a cultural and philosophical space that is both human and sensible. Instead of universalism in thought and practice, it offers localisms and particularisms. Instead of subject-centred reason, it offers subject-centred experiences. Instead of single truth, it acknowledges regimes of truth. Instead of science as the primary vehicle of knowledge, it gives equal status to narratives, discourses, subjective accounts, and aesthetic concerns in the grounding of knowledge.” (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995: 244).
Hence, we regard knowledge as something that is both subjective and contextual. Knowledge about the world is thus based on a social construction where focus lies on subjective interpretations and experiences, and where social meanings are constantly contested (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009; Alvesson 2011).

3.2. Research Strategy

In accordance with our philosophical standpoints mentioned above, this study focuses on a qualitative research strategy as a way to collect empiric material. "A qualitative approach aims to use language data to gain insight into social and organizational realities" (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2012: 126). Hence, a qualitative research strategy is preferable when a researcher aims to investigate how different people perceive and interpret their lived reality (Bryman & Bell 2007). In relation to our research project, Geertz (1973, cited in Arnould & Thompson, 2005) focus on the constant evolvement of consumer culture. A researcher should, according to Geertz, not only study consumption contexts, rather study in consumption contexts in order to generate new constructs and insights that could guide and extend existing theoretical formulations (Ibid). As little research has been conducted regarding how young citizens perceive buy-domestic campaigns in a cross-cultural context, we aim to extend existing knowledge in the field.

Further, to preserve a high degree of reflexivity into our research, an abductive research process has been used to be able to move back and forth between theory and empiric material (Bryman & Bell 2007). As we do not consider a research project static or linear, this process has helped us to explore new insights as they come.

3.3. Research Methodology and the Collection of Empiric Material

As the nature of our research questions is twofold, this has had an impact on our choices regarding research methodology. Our first research question seeks to investigate how buy
local campaigns construct political messages. To be able to answer this question, a text- and discourse analysis has been considered to be the most appropriate methodological choice in order to investigate the underlying assumptions behind the researched campaigns. As our second research question seeks to investigate how young people perceive buy-domestic campaigns, in-depth interviews have been considered as the most appropriate methodological choice in order to be able to provide an answer to this question. Thus, we have in this thesis used two complementary research methods two triangulate our findings. A triangulative strategy implies that the data collected with one particular research strategy is cross-checked against the results from another research strategy (Bryman & Bell 2007). This kind of approach offers the researcher an opportunity to investigate the nature of the subject in a multi-dimensional fashion that can generate new ways of understanding the situated complexities of social experiences (Daymon & Holloway 2011). In the next section, we will expand on these methods and illustrate how they are connected to our research project.

3.3.1. Text- and Discourse Analysis

Through the use of a text- and discourse analysis, we were able to “take into account the broader social context in which a conversation takes place” (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2012: 198). Traditionally, text- and discourse analysis have been more focused on language per se (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2012). In this thesis however, discourse is more in line with Cook’s (2001) view that discourse is an interplay between textual and contextual factors. When analyzing advertising campaigns, one cannot ignore the presence of contextual factors such as pictures and music that may, or may not, have an influence on the perception of the participants taking part in this thesis. Hence, a broader perspective on language is suggested to include contextual factors. This view is also emphasized by Daymon and Holloway (2011), who argue:

"A discourse is a way of talking or writing about something to make it meaningful. It is underpinned by assumptions about what we know to be ‘true’ with regard to how we conduct ourselves, what and how we communicate, and what we understand. Although language is a major feature of discourse, a discourse is more than language because it constitutes, or produces, a particular view of social reality” (Daymon & Holloway 2011:166).

Hence, in this thesis we have chosen to take a broad perspective on discourse to include both
textual as well as contextual factors and elements. As we take our departure in a post-modern perspective, we see discourses as constantly evolving through an ongoing process of conversation (Gergen, 1999). This perspective within discourse analysis also enables us to shed light on different structures of power in a critical manner (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2012).

3.3.2. In-Depth Interviews

In this study, in-depth interviews have been used as a way to capture rich and detailed information about the lived reality of the participants (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In relation to our second research question - *How do 18-24 year old citizens in Sweden and Greece perceive buy domestic campaigns and how does this affect their consumption behavior?* - we have conducted 10 interviews in Sweden and an equal amount in Greece between the time period 20/04/2013 to 10/05/2013. During the interviews, which approximately took between 30-35 minutes to conduct, we have sought to increase our understanding of how the participants perceive the portrayed buy-domestic campaigns. Hence, we do not seek to *explain* different social phenomena and lived realities (Bryman & Bell, 2007).

In general, there are two distinct ways to conduct interviews - structured and semi-structured interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In this research, we have deployed a semi-structured interview model to be able to follow up interesting themes during the interview sessions. The interviewer is thus allowed to have an active dialogue with participants, similar to an everyday conversation (Deacon et al., 1999). In this way, we were able to better understand the respondents’ perceptions of the specific buy-domestic campaigns and acquire a rich understanding of the studied phenomenon (Poynter, 2010). Open-ended questions also promote ‘a critical comparison between individual attitudes and beliefs’, as well as more freedom for the participants to unfold their thoughts, ideas and feelings (Deacon et al. 1999). Further, due to a semi-structured interview model, we also had the opportunity to examine our central theoretical concepts in more depth (Minichiello et al. 1990). In general, we were not strict regarding the specific order of the questions. Instead, we had prepared different themes of questions that we wanted to address during the interview session. Each theme was further connected to either a specific campaign, or regarding buy-domestic campaigns in general (see Appendix 7.3).
Before we started to conduct our interviews, we felt that we needed to test our interview guide to reveal any flaws or difficult questions that would be hard for the participants to answer. For this reason, we conducted two pilot interviews, which helped us to improve our questions in order to get more rich empirical material.

All of the interviews were further conducted using the web based communications program Skype. The main reason for this choice was due to the difference in location between the researchers and the respondents (Hanna, 2012). The program was further used because of its abilities to offer both visual and audio elements. Hence, we could interact with the respondents as if we were present in the same room. As in traditional interviews, the setting and context is important aspect to take into account if rich data is to be acquired (Alvesson, 2009; Bryman & Bell 2007;). To make the participants feel at ease, they were interviewed in their home during the whole procedure. Further, the program is free of charge and we assumed, based on our personal experiences, that it would be common among young citizens, both in Sweden and Greece.

As if we were conducting traditional interviews, we first contacted all the participants and arranged an appointment that was suitable for both the participant and the researcher. Before the interviews were conducted, the respondents were given a folder with the specific campaigns that we used in the text- and discourse analysis (See Appendix 7.1 & 7.2). The folder contained both visual material, such as advertisements with pictures, logotypes and videos, and different textual elements that were connected to the campaigns. The folder was converted to a PDF file and sent by e-mail to the respondent at the beginning of the interview.

In the beginning of the interviews, we started out by introducing ourselves, what we studied and what the purpose of the research was. We continued to explain the interview procedure and informed the participants that they were not judged during the interviews - there were no ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answers. We clarified that we only wanted their personal opinions to be able to understand the nature of the campaigns in a better way and assured them that they were free to ask anything at any time, especially if they needed any clarifications. The participants were also offered complete anonymity as a way to protect their personal integrity. We also asked the respondents if we were allowed to record the conversations, which all participants agreed upon.

The interviews were further conducted in the native language of the participants to ensure that
they could freely express themselves and their opinions to their fullest ability (Bryman & Bell 2007; Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2012). Due to this fact, one of the researchers interviewed the Greek participants and the other one the Swedish. During the interview sessions, only one of the researcher was present due to considerations regarding the overall power balance in the interview setting (Bryman & Bell 2007).

### 3.4. Sampling Method and Selection Criteria

Our sample consisted of twenty students from Greece and Sweden. We interviewed ten participants from each country between the ages 18 to 24 years old that were explicitly interested in environmental science. Several reasons led us to our decision of selecting these specific participants, which are going to be presented in more detail below.

#### 3.4.1. Sampling

The overall purpose in qualitative research is not to achieve generalizability, rather, it is to acquire in-depth understanding of the researched phenomenon. To find the “right” participants that could contribute to the aims of the research is thus key for how the study will unfold (Bryman & Bell 2007; Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2012). The road to find good participants has in this study been a bit windy. In the beginning of our research project, mostly due to the fact that we were bound in Sweden, we contacted the administrative offices of ten Greek university departments connected to environmental studies. Since we did not know many young people that were interested in environmental studies, by contacting the departments, we hoped to receive some indications of good respondents. However, we unfortunately received only one response, explaining that they were not allowed to share private contact information. At this point in time, we decided to change our sampling strategy to a “strategic sample” in order to guarantee that we found good participants. As a tool for connecting with potential participants, we used the social network Facebook in order to find groups that were dedicated to environmental issues. By contacting some of the group members, two participants were gained. However, as this was not enough, we once again had to search our own social networks and in this way we found a couple of more respondents.
After conducting these initial interviews, we further relied on a “snowball” sampling strategy in order to find more participants that could benefit our research project. Hence, the initial participants helped us to get in touch with other people within their network. After the difficulties to get in contact with potential participants in Greece, we relied entirely on a snowball sample in Sweden due to the study’s limited timeframe. One of the advantages with this sampling method is that you can get in touch with participants that would otherwise be missed (Bryman & Bell 2007). At an initial stage, you also have the ability to purposefully choose participant that you as a researcher believe to be useful for the study. However, as argued by Daymon & Holloway (2011), one of the risks with this sampling method is that the researcher relies to heavily on convenience when choosing participants and thus runs the risk of having inadequate persons taking part in the study. This is a problem that we have been aware of during the research process. We have thus tried to avoid personal bias to the largest possible extent. In the following section, we will shed light on other important aspects in justification to our sampling size.

3.4.1.1. Why Focus on Greece and Sweden?

A cross-cultural comparison between Greece and Sweden is particularly interesting for two distinct reasons. The first reason central to our research is the current European financial crisis in general, and the difficult financial situation in Greece in particular. As Sweden has not been affected to the same degree as Greece, a cross-cultural comparison was considered both interesting and important. If we look at some statistical data from the period of the European financial crisis, we can see that the real GDP growth of Greece was -2,7% in the end of 2009 and is estimated to -7,9% in the end of 2012 (elstat, 2013a). In Sweden the same rate was estimated in -4,8% in 2009 and 0,9% in the end of 2012 (GlobalFinance, n.d.). As for the unemployment rates, in Greece in 2009 it was estimated to be 8% and in the end of 2012 it reached 21,9%. The unemployment rates among young citizens, aged 18-24, reached unprecedented levels of 54,1% in the end of 2012 (elstat, 2013b). While in Sweden, the unemployment rate was 8,3% in 2009 and 7,5% in 2012 (GlobalFinance, n.d.).

Secondly, recent studies have revealed that political consumerism is especially visible in the Scandinavian countries (Stolle, Hooghe & Micheletti, 2005; Micheletti & Isenhour, 2010). More specifically, Sweden presents the highest rates of citizens engaging in political consumerism and participation (Ferrer & Fraile, 2006; Stolle & Micheletti, 2005). On the
contrary, lower rates of political participation can be found in southern European countries (Ferrer & Fraile, 2006). Among these countries, Greece was selected due to its low rates of political participation among young citizens. Young Greeks hence appear to abstain from traditional forms of politics. As we have illustrated above in the theoretical framework, many authors have argued that one possible reason for this behavior is the move to an alternative form of political participation - to “vote with your pocketbook” (Stolle, Hooghe & Micheletti, 2005). How the participants perceived the market as an arena for politics was thus interesting for us to investigate further.

3.4.1.2. Why Focus on These Campaigns?

As one of our reasons for conducting this research was to investigate buy-domestic campaigns from a crisis perspective, we could narrow our time frame to the beginning of the crisis until present date. Hence, we define the time frame of the crisis as from 2009 - the time when Greece unveiled a budget deficit on 12.7% of GDP - to the present date (Voss, 2011). The buy-domestic campaigns studied in this thesis were also chosen based on some pre-set criteria. We wanted the campaigns to be fairly well known in order to be able to receive good feedback from the participants. Hence, we wanted the campaigns to have been widespread and promoted in different media. Further, to make the research project feasible, three campaigns from each country were selected that corresponded to our criteria.

The campaigns were further chosen because of the variety that they could offer to our research project. We did not want to position ourselves in either a food discourse or a tourist discourse. Hence, we strived to provide diversity into the campaigns.

Due to contextual factors specific for each country, the studied campaigns do not portray the exact same things. Different aspects are to a large extent emphasized in the campaigns due to contextual factors. It should be mentioned that due to the countries’ difference in their financial and political situation, the research was not focused on investigating the same features in each country. We noticed that buy-Greek campaigns emphasize more on history and culture, based on the country’s financial situation. On the contrary, buy-Swedish campaigns tend to focus on food and the superiority of Swedish food. The studied campaigns will be presented in more detail below:
The Studied Swedish Buy-Domestic Campaigns

Svenskt Kött, or Swedish Meat, is an organization and labeling scheme that focus on helping consumers to consume meat that is both born, breed, slaughtered and packed in Sweden. The label was founded in 2011 and has since then grown to include both pork, beef and lam. Meat suppliers are free to use the label as long as they fulfill the labels overall regulations for meat production.

Sverige - Det nya matlandet, or Sweden - The new culinary country, is an initiative by the Swedish government that aims to improve the perception of Sweden, both domestically and internationally, as a world class culinary country. The project is a collaborative effort between VisitSweden, the Swedish Export Council and the Swedish Board of Agriculture and has since its startup in 2008 received 345.5 million in governmental funding.

Svenskt Sigill, or the Swedish Sign, is a labeling scheme that aims to help consumers chose products that takes greater care of both animals and the environment. The label was founded in 1995 and focuses on ethical, economical and environmentally sustainable production. During the last couple of years it has grown to include over 3800 producers of both food and flowers.
The Studied Greek Buy-Domestic Campaigns

The certification of Greek products started in 2011 and it is a product labeling scheme for Greek products. The logos are mostly present on edible products that could be found in the supermarkets.

The Citizens’ movement started in October 2010. The name of the campaign is: “We consume what we produce”. Its slogan is: “I dress… I eat… I do tourism… Greek!” The message of this organization is to save “our jobs” and dominate against the unemployment threat.

A tourist campaign with the name “My-Greece” started on October 2010. The slogan of the campaign: “Greece – part of our soul”. The aim of this campaign is to show the Greek beauty, emphasizing on the personal experiences by urging people to: “Upload their experience to www.my-greece.gr”.

3.4.1.3. Why Focus on Young People?

“Young people are generally seen to represent a key stage in the development of a ‘civic identity’, in which young people begin to define their basic social and political values, and adopt a broader orientation to the public sphere.” (Banaji et al., 2009).

Even if many researches have shown that political consumerism is more prevalent among older people, some scholars indicate younger citizens’ engagement to political participation. Young citizens appear politically apathetic (Ward & de Vreese, 2011) and scholars argue that young citizens seek fulfillment in different modes of engagement that allow them to address their concerns directly in accordance to their personal values (Bennett 2008; Dalton 2009). It
is also supported that younger citizens prefer participating in ‘looser and less hierarchical informal networks’ that are distinct from conventional politics (Stolle, Hooghe & Micheletti, 2005: 250). Other scholars also indicated that young people are attracted to this form of political action (Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001 cited in Stolle, Hooghe & Micheletti, 2005; Andersen 2000 cited in Stolle, Hooghe & Micheletti, 2005; Sörbom 2001).

Especially in Sweden, younger people are seen the forerunners in alternative forms of political participation (Stolle & Micheletti, 2005). A recent Swedish study indicated that political consumerism, and especially boycotts, are very important for young people between 16 and 29 years old (Ungdomsstyrelsen, 2003). Stolle, Micheletti and Berlin (2010) further indicated a positive relationship between political consumerism and political participation among 20- to 29 year olds in general. Swedish young people have found to rank higher in this form of participation, political consumerism, while Greek young people ranked in the second last place (Ibid).

But what about young people and consumption? Young people can be perceived as a ‘powerful consumer spending group’ (Akturan & Tezcan, 2007: 1) which can also (trans)form the market and act as agents for influencing society and culture in the next years (Leslie, Sparling & Owen, 2001). Young market is perceived as a big and growing market and an important target for consumer research (Grant and Waite, 2003). They are actors of consumer socialization, which is defined as “a process by which young people acquire skills, knowledge and attitudes relevant to their functioning as consumers in the marketplace” (Ward, 1974 cited in Akturan & Tezcan, 2007: 2). Until this stage of their life, young people were used to be dependent from their parents and now they start wanting to move towards financial and residential independence (Jekielek and Brown, 2005). Therefore, they try to create their own individual personalities and form their behavior, attitudes and values, and thus their own consumption motives (Akturan & Tezcan, 2007). Furthermore, young people have an active role in the purchasing process and have the ability to influence other people’s purchasing decisions (Grant and Waite, 2003). Finally, due to their financial immaturity, they seem to have high disposable expenditure (Ibid).

3.4.1.4. Why Focus on 18 to 24 Year Olds?

‘Youth’ and ‘young people’ is a flexible category, which has been defined in different ways
(Banaji et al., 2009). In general, the definitions of young people vary due to national traditions. To clarify, we followed the definitions that were given and considered common in both countries, which defines young people as those aged between 15 and 24 (for example, see the General Secretariat of Youth in Greece). However, as argued by Stolle and Hooghe (2003), people who do not make any consumers decisions, i.e. do not live independently, cannot express any kind of personal values through the market arena. When considering the fact that both countries start voting at the age of 18, this fact led us to narrow our sample even more. The age group that will be considered in the research project is thus between 18 to 24 years old.

3.4.1.5. Why Focus on Students?

Due to the aim of our research project, university students were regarded as an ideal sample. First of all, political consumers are regarded to be highly educated and more conscious about their consumption choices (Ferrer & Fraile, 2006; Stolle, Hooghe, and Micheletti, 2005; Stolle & Micheletti, 2005). Secondly, students are more related to political consumerism than people that are, for example, unemployed or senior citizens (Ferrer & Fraile, 2006). According to Stolle, Hooghe & Micheletti (2005), young people are further more aware of brand names than older people. Also, they have not completely developed their purchasing preferences, which makes them even more ideally for labeling campaigns (like some of the campaigns portrayed in this thesis) (Ibid).

Most of the researches, which examine political consumerism in regards to young people, further tend to focus on examining students from either a social or political perspective (Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle, 2003). As our project concerns buy-domestic campaigns, a localist perspective is inherent in the nature of such campaigns since they focus on promoting local products and services. We assumed that such a perspective would resonate particularly well with students who had an explicit interest for issues regarding environmental science. Hence, we have in this study deployed a focus on students, and in particular, student with an explicit environmental concern. Below is a list with our interview participants:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jonas</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student in Environmental Science – University of Gothenburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student in Environmental Science – University of Gothenburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerstin</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Student in Environmental Sociology – Lund University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klas</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student in Technical Mathematics – Lund University (Background as a farmer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kristina</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Student in Spatial Planning – Lund University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linn</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Recently Graduated from Strategic Communications – Lund University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student in Environmental Science – Lund University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miriam</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Student in Environmental Science and Gender – University of Amsterdam, Previously at IM (Individuell Människohjälp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrik</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student in Environmental Science – Lund University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Student in Environmental Sociology – Lund University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggeliki</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Student in Forestry and Natural Environment – Aristotle University if Thessaloniki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandra</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Student in Environmental studies – University of the Aegean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student in Forestry and Natural Environment – Aristotle University of Thessaloniki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandros</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Master student in Environmental studies department of Marine Sciences – University of Aegean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimitris</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student in Agronomics – Aristotle University of Thessaloniki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimitris</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student in Agricultural Development – Democritus University of Thrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Master student in Environmental Management &amp; Policy – Lund University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manos</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student in Agronomics – Aristotle University of Thessaloniki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5. Interpreting the Data

As qualitative researchers, we are inevitably a part of the interpretation and sense-making process (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2012). Our subjective knowledge, previous experiences and understanding of the world will hence influence how we perceive and understand the collected material. In this research project, we have emphasized an organic research process - to simultaneously collect, analyze and write about the collected material. The analysis and interpretation of data is hence not something that starts after all material is collected, it is rather an ongoing and continuous process that extends during the whole research process (Daymon & Holloway 2011; Alvesson 2009). To make sense of the collected material, the data needed were processed in order to make it useful for our research project. This process is illustrated by Daymon and Holloway (2011), who argue that:

"The process of bringing order to this great variety of data by organizing, structuring and construct meaning is what researchers call 'qualitative data analysis'. Starting with your raw data, you use analytic procedures to transform them into something meaningful, thereby gaining understanding” (Daymon and Holloway, 2011:301).

Our process of structuring and interpreting the collected material can be divided into two parts. Since we used multiple methods, each set of data had to be analyzed in method-specific ways in order to be able to extract meaning from the collected material. To analyze the textual and contextual data from the text- and discourse analysis, we use Jörgensen and Phillips (2002:83) five-step model. The authors argue that through focusing on the linguistic elements of a text - to see a text as a bridge of meaning - discursive dimensions can be found. The five steps of the model are:

1. Interactional control - the relationship between speakers, including who set the conversational agenda
2. Ethos - how different identities are constructed through language
3. Metaphors
4. Choice of words
5. Grammatical structure

By asking ourselves questions about these five steps, as well as how they are related to our source material, common themes and discourses could be discovered. As a text inherently portrays and constructs a certain picture of reality, how it was constructed and to which purpose could hence, by using Jörgensen and Phillips model, be reflected upon. To increase our understanding for the data collected during the interviews, each interview was transcribed in order to get a holistic understanding of the material (Shaw, Newholm & Dickinson, 2006). As the interviews were carried out in the native language of the participants, quotes subsequently had to be translated into English. Hence, the originality and meaning of the words will in some sense be lost. However, we have to our fullest ability aimed to capture the inherent meaning of the quotes during the translation process. The same goes for quotes used in the text- and discourse analysis.

In order to develop theoretical understanding, we emphasized on an interplay between theoretical concepts and the collected data (Daymon & Holloway, 2011). During the interpretation process, to generate in-depth understanding, we tried to play with the data and re-tell the source material to our fellow researcher. In this way, interesting and surprising patterns were found between both the Swedish and the Greek collected data as well as theory. Hence, common themes could be discovered that helped us to get a better understanding of the differences and similarities between the countries.

3.5.1. Codification

As we perceive language as a bridge to the life world of the participants, we have tried to codify our material according to the words of the participant, as well as common words used in the textual material. This kind of codification process is by Daymon & Holloway (2011) described as In Vivo. Words used by the participants have thus guided our codification process. However, specific concepts related to our study, for example employment, have also been used to codify the material when we, as researches, have seen the need for it. To codify the material according to theoretical concepts has thus also been used to a small extent.
3.5.2. Reflexivity During the Research Process

According to Alvesson (2009), reflexivity stand for a conscious and consistent strive towards looking at the collected material from different angles and point of views in order to abstain from personal bias and preconceptions. Due to the subjective nature of qualitative research, we hence consider reflexivity as of utmost important. As we consider ourselves as parts of the social world and context that we have studied, we acknowledge that we, as researchers, are only able to produce knowledge that is coherent with our own social frame (Ibid). In order to make ourselves more aware of our own personal bias, we have during the interpretive stage of our research forced ourselves to be critically questioned by our fellow researcher. From a positivist point of view, the subjectivity and the reliance on the mind of the researcher have been questioned (Bryman & Bell, 2007). However, as qualitative researchers, we instead perceive our subjectivity as a strength and a valuable resource in the research process. We have strived to be reflexive and aware of our personal biases during the different stages of our research, and it is hence up to the reader to judge the validity of our project.
4. Analysis

4.1. Analysis part I

As previously noted, our first research question seeks to investigate “how buy domestic campaigns in Sweden and Greece construct ethnocentric messages”. Hence, a text- and discourse analysis has been used as a methodological framework to investigate the underlying assumptions behind this question. In this part of our study, we are going to begin our analysis by presenting some of the most dominant discourses in the studied material. First, we are going to investigate the Swedish context in more depth. Secondly, common themes from a Greek context will be discussed. Finally, similarities and differences between the countries will be discussed to get a broader understanding of the cultural differences that exist between the campaigns.

4.1.1. Swedish context

As described above, this part of our analysis will shed light on how different discourses construct messages in a Swedish context. Hence, we will in this part present and investigate common themes found in the empiric material. As previously described in our method chapter, the empiric material consists of three campaigns, (1) Swedish Meat, (2) Sweden – The new culinary country, and (3) The Swedish Sign.

4.1.1.1. Patriotism and Ethnocentric Ideals in Swedish Buy-Domestic Campaigns

The buy-domestic campaigns studied in this thesis all share a bias for Swedish consumer goods and culture. The campaigns portray a general picture of Sweden and Swedish goods and culture as a little bit better than its foreign competitors and neighbouring countries. This can, for example, be found in the us and them feeling that is present in the empiric material.
As previously noted, ethnocentrism implies that one’s own group (the group with which an individual identifies with) is seen at the centre of the universe and all other groups are rated in relation to it (Sumner, 1906 cited in Shimp & Sharma, 1987). This feeling is for instance articulated in the advertisement for *Swedish Meat*, where we are presented with arguments for why we should favour meat produced in Sweden:

“It is all about respect for the animals need of natural behaviour. Swedish animals are healthier than animals in many other countries; they are provided with stray and may have their tail or murmuring left. Swedish meat is free from hormones, antibiotics and salmonella. The list of differences is longer than you think. Visit the website to see it with your own eyes.” (Swedish Meat, Advertisement Appendix 7.1).

This text not only explicitly informs us that Swedish animals are healthier than animals in many other countries, and therefore better to eat. It also informs us in a quite implicit manner that meat produced abroad is not good for us to eat; it could for example be infected with various kinds of diseases. Animal health is here connected to natural behaviour, something that is provided by Swedish farmers but not by producers operating abroad. Hence, there is in this text a clear distinction between *us* - Swedish farmers providing animals with a healthy and ethically sound environment, which in turn enables healthy and good meat, and *them* - foreign meat producers applying unethical methods resulting in unhealthy and bad meat. In sum, Swedish meat producers are portrayed as morally superior and therefore better than their foreign neighbours.

The mere aesthetics of the campaigns infuse a sense of swedishness. Blue and yellow colours are, for example, an inherent part of the logotype in both *Swedish Meat* and *the Swedish Sign* (Sunny Tsai, 2010). Consumers should be instantly aware of the origin of the product - that it is domestically produced. The third campaign, *Sweden – the new culinary country*, uses traditional elements of Swedish culture to construct a picture that to a large extent resonates with the stereotypical perception of Sweden as a whole. Little room is left for subjective interpretation, we are guided by both the narrative and the pictures to a sacred place of swedishness constituted by warm, yellow sunlight, open landscapes, vast forests and deep blue oceans. We are being told a story that equally could have taken place in the mid 1930’s instead of in 2013. Traditionally dressed women in kerchiefs milking cows or gathering their sheep’s are depicted, living in small red houses with white corners in remote rural areas in the
midst of nowhere. We can assume that this image of Sweden is trying to communicate something to us, to give us an idea of what life is like in Sweden:

“Swedish food takes its flavour and variety from our unique landscape. From the fertile soil in the south to the rugged wilderness of Lappland. Our nine climate zones, thousands of freshwater lakes, sweeping costliness and vast forests infuse a rich food culture. [...] We believe in a simple idea, eat well and you live well. To those who savour every bite, to those who see food as an adventure and those who wants fresh and pure ingredients, we have a message. It’s all here. Taste for yourself, try Swedish.” (Sweden – the new culinary country, Advertisement, Appendix 7.1).

We are given a picture that proclaims that we do not need to look outside the Swedish border for adventure or good food. It is all here, omnipresent in our everyday lives. The mere landscape itself provides and infuses a rich food culture, a culture that cannot be found anywhere else. The message seems quite clear; Swedish culture is seen as the centre of the universe and hence becomes the point of reference for everything else. Goods produced in Sweden are inherently a little bit better, more fresh, pure and healthy to eat. Hence, according to Sumner’s definition, patriotic and ethnocentric ideals are to a large extent present in the campaign. The third campaign, Sweden – the new culinary country, uses traditional elements of Swedish culture to construct a picture that to a large extent resonates with the stereotypical perception of Sweden as a whole. Little room is left for subjective interpretation, we are guided by both the narrative and the pictures to a sacred place of swedishness constituted by warm, yellow sunlight, open landscapes, vast forests and deep blue oceans.

Ethnocentric and patriotic ideals focused on an *us* and *them* rhetoric can hence be found in the empiric material. Sweden, and Swedish goods, is to a large extent portrayed as a little bit better using traditional elements and the richness of Swedish culture as a means for market distinction. The *us* and *them* rhetoric is further present in other aspects of the studied material, which we will illustrate in more detail below.

### 4.1.1.2. Ethical Superiority as a Means for Market Distinction

In a Swedish context, a discourse based on ethical considerations can to a large extent be found in the empiric material. Issues focused on animal rights seem to be among the most
important aspects why Swedish consumers should choose to consume food produced in Sweden. The claim that Swedish meat is ethically superior foreign meat is to a large extent used as a rhetoric distinction between us and them which, as shown above, further nourishes an ethnocentric discourse. This rhetoric, as well as the division between us and them based on ethical superiority, can to a large extent be found in the campaign for Swedish Meat:

“We are no wimps. We have nothing against competition if just the conditions are fair. Swedish breeders proudly follows the Swedish Animal Welfare Act. It is the worlds’ hardest in its kind. Foreign visitors are amazed when they see how the animals are taken cared for in Swedish farms. Not at least of what it costs.

At the same time, large quantities of cheap foreign meat is sold in Sweden. Meat produced in a way that is illegal on Swedish soil. Swedish farmers would rightly have problems with the authorities if they bred animals in that way. But above all, they would be ashamed” (Swedish Meat, Advertisement, Appendix 7.1).

The advertisement seeks to justify the price difference between Swedish and foreign produced meat. Ethical considerations are here used as a unique selling point to differentiate the goods in the eyes of the consumers. The us and them rhetoric is further quite explicitly stated. We are painted a picture of a current market situation where the conditions are not fair, that foreign competitors’ is in some sense breaking the rules of fair competition. We can assume that this is something that the noble Swedish farmers however do not. They respect strict animals rights while their competitors do not. They have no reason to be ashamed. Swedish farmers are hence portrayed as ethically superior and a little bit better than their foreign equals. In another campaign, the Swedish farmers consideration for ethical behaviour and animal rights are transferred to the assumed quality of the food:

“Good food begins in the forests. The sea and the fields. Caring for animals, raw ingredients and the earth they spring from, is in our blood” (Sweden – the new culinary country, Appendix 7.1).

The quality of food is here connected with the care for animals, which in turn is seen as something that is naturally present in the blood of the Swedish farmer. We are supposed to assume that the food produced in Sweden is good because of the care and attention it has been given, an attention that foreign food may lack. Hence, the distinction between us - the caring
Swedish farmer, and them - the foreign unethical and uncaring producer, is discursively repeated.

Hence, as a means for market distinction, ethical dimensions and conduct is to a large extent used in the studied material. We are supposed to associate healthy and qualitative food with Swedish food, to know that Swedish food is good for us and that foreign is not. The ethical dimensions are further interlinked with the role of the farmer, which will be investigated in more depth in the following chapter.

4.1.1.3. (Un)Employment - the Swedish Farmer in Danger

There is an overall tendency to focus on employment issues in Swedish buy local campaigns. The producer is portrayed as highly skilful and important, both in regards to providing healthy meat and vegetables but also to keep the rural landscape open. Traditional forms of agriculture is emphasised in all the studied campaigns, which may indicate a pride towards Swedish agricultural history. As referred to above, values such as animal safety and ethical guidelines in food production are conveyed as important in justifying the role and status of the farmer. This can for example be seen in the advertisement by Swedish Meat:

“Let a pig be a pig, let a farmer be a farmer” (Swedish Meat, Advertisement, Appendix 7.1).

This tag line is the first textual element that the reader encounters when looking at the advertisement. Above it is a large-scale picture depicting a happy pig on the left, next to a close up picture of what seems to be a farmer in his mid-fifties on the right. We can assume that these two pictures are connected - that there exist some kind of relationship between the pig and the farmer. The pig and the farmer are further depicted in an equal manner - their heads are in the same size, they enjoy the same amount of space in the ad and they almost look a little bit alike. Together with the text referred to above, the picture and text quite implicitly indicate that there is something that we, as readers, should feel. We can assume that it is a moral obligation to protect the traditional agricultural system that exists between the pig and the farmer. It indicates to us that we have come a long way in protecting animal rights, but that the role of the farmer has been carelessly neglected. If we would like to protect the farmer in the same way that we have previously protected the pig, then we should support the farmer by buying meat that is produced in Sweden, hence securing the continuous
employment of the farmer. In sum, equal attention should be given to the role of the pig as to the situation of the farmer. The advertisement also indicates that if we do not buy the meat from the Swedish farmer, then his role in the system might be in danger. So, to protect the status quo, we should support the farmer by consuming Swedish produced goods as a form of boycott ( Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle, 2003).

If we want to eat and consume food that is healthy and produced in justifiable way, then we are told to choose food that is produced by Swedish farmers. If we do not, then the whole Swedish agricultural system might be in danger - farmers may lose their jobs. The role of the farmer is hence to a large extent justified by its moral and ethical standpoints as described in more detail above. Further, the role of the farmer is also portrayed in a fashion that draws on our subjective knowledge of traditional forms of agriculture. The past and the present are hence used in different ways to justify why we should consume domestically produced goods. These tensions will be described in more detail below.

4.1.1.4. Tensions Between Traditional Values and Modern Aspirations

In the studied campaigns, there exist a clear tension between traditional values focused on historic aspects of Swedish culture and more modern aspirations. This tension can especially be found in the campaign for Sweden – the new culinary country, where traditional forms of agriculture and food production are challenged with the artistic inspiration of the modern international cuisine. The campaign can be seen as trying to construct a holistic picture of Sweden stretching between both its history and future. Historic elements such as wide landscapes, vast forests, nuclear families and traditional agricultural methods are all present in the campaign. The pictures are accompanied with soft, romantic music and warm sunlight, which give us an instant feeling of delight. A romantic picture of swedishness and Swedish history is hence depicted, with warmth and kindness as its key words. In the midst of these pictures, we can see modern and even futuristic elements unfolding before our eyes. The extreme pickiness of a Swedish award winning chief when plating his futuristic culinary creation or the imaginative use of industrial elements as a way of culinary innovation and experiment. The tensions between the traditional and the modern can be found in this quote, where Swedish food history is contrasted by new and innovative ways of food production:
“We come from a tradition of making full use of what nature provides. Long winters have driven us to find new ways to prolong the summers’ bounty. From sea to leaf, and nose to tail. A deeply rooted imagination makes us eager to experiment and embrace influences from all over the world. Our curiosity is spurring us to saw potatoes in the depth of winter and create new ways to save every vitamin and flavour. It drives our chiefs to reinvent school lunches and open world class restaurants in the remote moorland” (Sweden – the new culinary country, Advertisement, Appendix 7.1).

The text illustrates how tradition is used as a means for reinvention. That the vast forests and remote moorlands are not only places of the past, but also places where world class restaurants can open for a globalized market. The tension between the traditional and modern can also be found in the advertisement for the Swedish Sign, where the text focuses on our memory as children:

“Do you remember the apples you picked and ate as a child? How you chose the best and how they tasted? But do you remember if you ever thought about how long they had travelled or what upbringing they had had?

If you want to find your way back to your childhood’s apples there is a good way. Choose apples labelled with the Swedish Sign. Then you get apples grown here in Sweden with particular attention and concern for the environment - and for those who like more closely produced food. A concern that is felt on the flavour” (the Swedish Sign, Advertisement, Appendix 7.1).

The text urges us to think of our childhood, to make a connection between the present and our history. The text is further accompanied with a warm and romantic picture of a happy woman in her mid-thirties picking apples together with her child. The woman’s dress is in a clear red nuance, matching the colour of the apples, which is picked and placed in the half-full shopping trolley right in front of her. Hence, we can assume that the advertisement wants to play with, and romanticise, our understanding of history, and especially our childhood. To choose apples marked with the Swedish Sign will in some sense make us relive the carefree and sunny days of our childhood. However, the difference between the history and the present is quite clear. Today, most of us choose our apples in an urban environment from a store or supermarket and not from the trees themselves. To pick apples marked with the Swedish Sign hence only becomes a bridge between the urban and the rural, the traditional and the future.
and the present and the past. A reminder of a romanticised idea, spurring the tensions between the modern aspirations of society and its traditional values on which it is found.

In the empiric material we can hence see a clear tension between the traditional, historic notion of Sweden and swedishness, and the modern aspirations of the present society. Elements picked to infuse a sense of nostalgia are to a large extent present, the romantic notion of childhood or the easy everyday life on a farm. These pictures are in a sense aiming at making us feel and relive our past. Hence, tensions are found between the present and past and between our imagination and reality. The subjective reality of Sweden.

4.1.2. Greek Context

As previously described above, this part of our analysis will shed light on how different discourses construct messages in a Greek context. Hence, we will in this part present and investigate common themes found in the empiric material. As described in our method chapter, the empiric material consists of three campaigns focused on buy-domestic issues; (1) The certification of Greek products, (2) The Citizens’ Movement and (3) My-Greece. The three buy-domestic campaigns studied in this research all share a bias for Greek products and services hence indicating ethnocentric and nationalistic ideals. As will be described in more depth below, the campaigns tend to focus on Greek symbols and traditional Greek culture as a means for market distinction.

4.1.2.1. Aesthetic Symbolism in Greek Buy-Domestic Campaigns

In the studied Greek buy-domestic campaigns, aesthetic symbolism and the colours of the nation state is widely used as a means for market distinction and as an indication of the products country of origin (Sunny Tsai, 2010). The use of aesthetic symbolism could to a large extent be illustrated in campaign for The Certification of Greek Products, where a Greek flag is used in the logo. We can assume that the flag is used as a sign to refer to both the country as a nation state, but also to its government, policies and ideals. Hence, the aesthetics of the logo can be interpreted as a sign for patriotic ideals in order to sensitize Greek citizens, counting on their patriotic feelings to make them more aware of their consumption choices. The logo is further depicted in a bright white and blue colour, both in regards to the letters as
well as on the logo itself. The Greek flag is in this campaign used in a clever way, as it is depicted in the shape of a heart. We can assume that the logo is not only used to emphasize the products’ country-of-origin, but also to sensitize consumers reminding them to support Greece in this difficult time period. This fact is further emphasized in the text that supports the logo. The original Greek text reads: ‘Στηρίζω Ελλάδα’, which means: ‘I support Greece’ (Appendix 7.2). However, as you can see above, the last two letters in the first word are written in capitals and thus forms a second word, the Greek word for live. Therefore, the total message becomes; ‘I Support and Live Greece’. Hence, the aim of the campaign could be interpreted in two ways. Both to urge consumers to support Greece in a financial manner, but also to support and protect the idea of Greece as a place in which to live.

The same tactic is also used in the logo for the My-Greece, where the word Greece is depicted in bright blue letters, with small circles in different shades of blue accompanying the text. We can assume that the colours for both the text and the logo has been intentionally used as a way to connect with the Greek flag, as well as with other aspects of Greek culture in general. The use of the blue and white colour is in Greece further connected with the sea and sun, attributes that resonates strongly with the Greek national identity. Therefore, the use of the Greek flag and its colours could be interpreted as an intention and attempt to subconsciously connect the overall aesthetics with the Greek national identity.

4.1.2.2. Greek Symbolism and Ethnocentric Ideals as a Tool for Market Distinction

In the studied campaigns, symbolism referring to traditional and historic elements of Greek culture has been used as a tool for market distinction. As Shimp, Sharma and Shin (1995) previously have pointed out, even during a situation of crisis, the market rational remains the same; to make profit. In a recent study conducted by Athens University of Economics and Business (Charontakis, 2013), seven out of ten Greek citizens preferred to buy products produced in Greece. As described above, the use of traditional Greek aesthetics such as the shape and colour of the flag has been widely used on the labels for Greek products. Both Greek and international companies have hence tried to use this wave of ethnocentric consumer behaviour by using Greek symbols as a tool for market distinction.
The tendency to focus on cultural and historic elements, to play on Greece ancient history as a means for uniqueness, could be illustrated in the campaign for My-Greece. In this campaign, scenes presenting the Acropolis Museum in Athens are used as an expression of ancient Greek culture.

The museum is in the campaign depicted in a quite magisterial manner, with big and spacious rooms and images from different ancient artefacts located inside the museum. The words “perfect” and “our history” are used, and it can be reasonable to assume that the campaign tries to construct a widely shared picture of a perfect Greek history among Greek citizens, something that all Greeks should be proud of. It is our history, and it is perfect. Further, the slogan of the campaign is “Greece, part of our soul”. Hence, it is our history, a perfect history, and a history that never leaves a single Greek citizen behind - it is a part of every Greek’s soul. If we look at the pictures portraying in the advertisement video, we might assume that all of these images may indicate an attempt to reveal Greece large and impressive history.

In advertisement 1 (Appendix 7.2), a woman describes her experience of working in the Acropolis museum. She regards herself as lucky and she gets accompanied with images of sunlight flowing through the large windows of the museum, indicating how pleasant and joyful it is to be working with the protection of these important historic symbols. Further, she emphasizes that she is surrounded from the important Greek monuments and at this point there is the reflection of Acropolis in the nearest window. The ancient history of Greece is hence used as a unique selling point, something that differentiates Greeks from, for example, people from Sweden or Norway. It produces a feeling of group belonging, that Greeks have something that others have not, something to be proud of.

Hence, there is a clear tendency in the Greek buy-domestic campaigns to focus on a sense of unity. The studied campaigns tend to emphasize, assumable due to the current economic situation in Greece, on the necessity for Greek citizens to fight and stand together. Much focus is hence put on group belonging, which could be linked to Sumner’s (1906 cited in Shimp & Sharma, 1987) definition of ethnocentrism referred to above. The focus on unity can be illustrated by one of posters for the campaign The Citizens’ Movement. In the poster, two small children are holding each other’s hands while looking really happy, celebrating with their hands in the air. The poster is accompanied with the textual element: “We support the Greek products and our locale”, and, “I support our products, I support our country”
(Appendix 7.2). As we can see, the words “we” and “our” are commonly used in the campaign, signalling signs of unity - that Greek citizens should stand together. Hence, we can assume that the poster is trying to communicate to us that people should stay united, and that choosing Greek products is a way to overcome the financial crisis together.

4.1.2.3. (Un)Employment - The Enjoyment and Pride of Working

There is an overall tendency to focus on employment and financial issues in the studied Greek buy-domestic campaigns. As it is mentioned in chapter 3.4, the unemployment rates in Greece are at the moment very high, and this fact seems to have affected the design of the campaigns as well. If we look at the campaign for My-Greece, we can see a clear focus on employment issues. The text focuses on the joy and happiness of working in Greece:

“I work at the New Acropolis Museum. I feel very lucky because the museum is perfect and I’m surrounded by the most important monuments of our history. The visitors are... usually overreacting, they tend to touch them and they are overwhelmed, while admiring them. Every single day my aim is to ensure that visitors leave with a smile on their face! Greece, part of our soul!” (My-Greece, Advertisement 1, Appendix 7.2)

The middle age woman in the campaign appears to be very calm and very focused on her job. She moves around the museum in a very careful manner, observing and admiring the historic monuments. She seems to be proud of working at this particular museum, and she seems to be very capable of protecting the museum and taking care of any eventual problems that may arise. As described above, the words “our” and “perfect” are used in the campaign. We can assume, from an employment perspective, that it is our responsibility as a nation to work. Further, her daily aim is to make people smile. Hence, we might assume that the advertisement want to tell us that it is fun to work, that it is perfect. In the second advertisement for the My-Greece campaign (Appendix 7.2), almost the same, proud and pleasant feeling comes to mind. In this advertisement, we are shown another middle aged woman working in a traditional Greek tavern. The images inside the restaurant depict traditional and common Greek elements such as famous Greek food - the Greek salad, abundant red wine, roasted meat, souvlaki and ribs, and traditional musical instruments such as the bouzouki (a traditional Greek variant of a guitar). The depicted milieu, the tavern, seems to be a very cosy, friendly and well appreciated place among its guests:
“I started at 18. I came for holidays, I found a job, friends... The customers are coming again and again; we have Greeks and foreigners, who come every day, during their stay in Greece. I like communicating with people; everyday I meet different kinds of people. You are there when they are having fun and you are actually part of it. Greece, part of our soul!” (My-Greece, Advertisement 2, Appendix 7.2)

The woman in this campaign clearly seems to enjoy her job, and we can assume that she is very happy and satisfied with her life. Her business is going great and her customers are returning day after day. Her life is simple; she has no problems at all, nothing to worry about. When she started, she was just 18 and it was easy to get a job. We can assume that this might resonate with a lot of young citizens in Greece today; to have a job is certainly something that many would like to have. As described in chapter 3.4, in regards to the extremely high rates of youth unemployment in Greece, this could apply as a remainder of this fact, or even as a proof, that young Greek citizens have the desire and ability to work. Hence, in relation to the success of the woman in the quote above, we can assume that the campaign want to tell us that if young Greek citizens would work really hard, they too could manage to become equally successful.

Further, in the campaign for The Citizens’ Movement, there is an explicit focus on employment issues. A message that is strongly connected to employment issues is presented: “I support our products, I support our jobs, I support our country”. As we can see, a clear and powerful rhetoric is used. Once again, the word “our” is to a large extent used as a means to indicate group belonging. It is our jobs and our country, we, as a group, can make a difference by acting together. By supporting Greek products, people support Greek jobs and in the end the entire country. Therefore, consumers are endorsed to prefer Greek products in order to help their fellow citizens to maintain their jobs. The Citizens’ Movement invite fellow Greeks to actively take part in the struggle for protecting domestic jobs, stopping the bankruptcy of local stores and support domestic tourism, farmers and producers.

4.1.2.4. Tensions Between the Imaginative and Reality - Greece a Country that is not in Crisis

In all of the studied campaigns, there is a tendency to portray Greece as a country that is not in crisis hence indicating a tension between the depicted reality and current economic
situation. As described above, this feeling could be found in the campaign for *My-Greece*, where happy and successful people were portrayed satisfied of their lives. In another campaign, *The Citizens’ Movement*, three different posters are used to portray young and happy people with smiling faces conducting ordinary tasks in their everyday lives. In the first poster, a happy young woman is depicted carrying a large paper bag overly filled with fresh groceries (Appendix 7.2). We may assume that the paper bag is filled with Greek groceries. Hence, the message that is conveyed is that as long as you buy Greek goods and products, you can still fill up your paper bag. The groceries and vegetables look really fresh and tasty, and we can assume that the picture is trying to communicate to us the superior quality of the products. Hence, we are invited to believe that as long as you consume Greek products, you will receive products of outstanding quality. In the second poster, a young handsome woman is depicted again, but this time she is carrying four colourful and luxurious shopping bags instead of the grocery bag mentioned above. However, we might assume that the implicit message in this poster is roughly the same; that as long as you buy Greek goods and products, you can still consume as much as you want in a luxurious way. In the last poster for *The Citizens’ Movement* campaign, two happy children are portrayed holding their hands and wearing t-shirts with the message; “Clothes & Stationery - I prefer Greek!” (Appendix 7.2).

When we look at these advertisements, we can see a clear contradiction between the campaigns images and textual elements, which focuses on promoting the idea of supporting Greece in a “difficult” time. These posters share something that feels quite familiar with the *My-Greece* campaign referred to above. The happy faces, the shopping exaggeration and joy does not resemble with a country that is in crisis. Instead, there is an overall feeling that everything is great in Greece. That the everyday life of Greek citizens is wonderful. Hence, these campaigns seem to send the message that Greece is not in crisis. It still has its beauty, its uniqueness and its carefree, joyful and sunny life.

### 4.1.3. Similarities Between a Swedish and Greek Context

In this part, we will illustrate some of the most important similarities between the studied campaigns. When analysing our empiric material, common themes were discovered that were present in both a Swedish and a Greek context. These themes will hence be explained in more depth below.
4.1.3.1. The Romanticized Idea of the Past

In the studied material, both in Sweden and in Greece, there exist an explicit tendency to focus on traditional and historical elements as a way to foster group belonging. Traditional elements such as vast forests, red timber houses and open agricultural landscapes are all part of the Swedish campaigns. At the same time, in a Greek context, ancient monuments and the sea and the sun are depicted in an attempt to resonate with the Greek national identity. As previously described, in a situation of crisis, there tends to be an increased focus on the own group (Shimp, Sharma & Shin 1995). Hence, it is not surprising to find a stereotypical image of each respective country in the studied campaigns. To overcome a situation of crisis, everyone needs to strive against the same goal. Hence, everyone needs to feel connected to the own group. These campaigns, both in Sweden and in Greece, have in an explicit manner shown traditional elements of the national culture in a romanticised way. To us, the stereotypical representation of the national culture constructs an idealistic picture, a picture that leaves much information about reality outside its frame. In essence, the picture that is communicated to us through these campaigns draws on historical references - that life was better in the past. The golden age of each country is hence depicted in an attempt anchor the messages of the campaigns with a wide audience. History is in this sense used as a unique selling point - something that is special and unique for each respective country. Hence, a rhetoric of us - what is special for us, and them is to a large extent found in the empiric material. This finding will be described in more detail below.

4.1.3.2. An Us and Them Rhetoric

The campaigns analysed in this thesis all share a bias for the own group, hence promoting a distinction between us and them. As described above, historical and traditional elements have to a large extent been used to indicate group belonging. Words such as “we” and “our” are to a large extent used as a way to promote unity, for example in the sentences we stand together, or it is our products and our country. In a Swedish context, the tendency to promote Swedes’ as a little bit better can to a large extent be seen in an ethical discourse. Swedish meat and vegetables are in this sense depicted as a little bit better and healthier than goods produced abroad. On the contrary, in a Greek context, a us and them feeling is to a larger extent promoted via the use of history and culture as a point of reference. In sum, an ethnocentric us and them rhetoric is used to portray domestic goods as a little bit better. Consumers are
invited to buy a superior product, and at the same time support the national economy. The financial considerations are further present in an employment discourse, which will be described in more detail below.

4.1.3.3. Employment Issues

The studied campaigns all share a focus on employment issues. Domestically produced products should be bought not only for its superior quality and taste; they should also be bought to support domestic jobs. This is explicitly stated in both a Swedish and a Greek context, for example in the campaigns for Swedish Meat in Sweden and The Citizens’ Movement in Greece. Although the overall expression is different between the two countries, they both portray a picture of domestically produced products as superior to foreign because of the skill craft of the local producer.

4.1.4. Differences Between a Swedish and a Greek Context

In this part, we will shed light on the most important differences between the buy-domestic campaigns in the two countries. Although tendencies of all major discourses found in the empiric material are present in each context, some aspects are more emphasised in one country than the other. Hence, the differences between the buy-domestic campaigns are vital to understand if one is to grasp the different dimensions of consumer ethnocentrism, and how this affects political consciousness.

4.1.4.1. Ethical Considerations in Swedish Buy-Domestic Campaigns

In Sweden, an ethical discourse is to a large extent promoted as a way to distinguish the Swedish producers from foreign competition. This tendency is not equally found in a Greek context, hence indication that ethical considerations are more important in a Swedish than Greek context. As an example, Swedish regulations regarding animal right are depicted as an important aspect why consumers should favour meat produced in Sweden. The care for animal rights and ethical guidelines are used as a unique selling point, but also to justify the role of the Swedish farmer. Hence, the Swedish farmer is portrayed as more skilful and
knowledgeable than its foreign competition, thus guaranteeing the safety and quality of the food. These aspects are not found in a Greek context. A possible assumption could be that Greece is more affected by the economic crisis than Sweden. Hence, more straightforward aspects regarding employment issues and nationalistic group identity are depicted in the empiric material for Greece, as will be illustrated below.

### 4.1.4.2. A Prevalent Emphasis on Unity in Greek Buy-Domestic Campaigns

In the studied campaigns, a large focus on unity and group belonging is found in the Greek buy-domestic campaigns. Although a rhetoric of *us* and *them* is found in the Swedish material as well, the Greek campaigns tend to emphasise the importance of unity to a much larger extent. As Greece is more affected than Sweden by the current economic crisis, the larger focus on unity is maybe not so surprising. Formulations such as *we will overcome*, or, *we stand together* are commonly used in the Greek campaigns, hence indicating a larger focus on the collective than the individual. The rhetoric is very focused on group belonging, to frame the own group as a little bit better than other rivalling groups.
4.2. Analysis Part II

In this part of our thesis, we are going to investigate our second research question: “How do 18-24 year old citizens in Greece and Sweden perceive buy domestic campaigns and how does this affect their consumption behavior?”. For this reason, we conducted ten interviews in each country with young people between 18-24 years old. In the following chapter, we are going to present how Swedish young citizens perceive the studied buy-domestic campaigns. Secondly, we will investigate how buy-domestic campaigns are perceived by young Greeks. Finally, we will illustrate the similarities and differences between the two countries.

4.2.1. Swedish Context

In this part of the analysis, we will shed light on how ten young Swedish citizens between 18 to 24 years old perceived the three buy-domestic campaigns studied in this thesis. General themes discovered during the interviews will be investigated in more depth below.

4.2.1.1. Buy-Domestic as a Societal Trend

When analysing the interviews, one of the perceived reasons for why buy-domestic campaigns were used during this particular point in time was that they were considered as a part of an overall societal trend. A common word used to describe this trend was Back to Basics. Back to basics seems to refer to a traditional and historical state of affairs - how people did things in the past. The corporations behind the campaigns were further perceived as taking advantage of this trend in order to sell more goods and increase profit. In the following quote, Kristina talks about why she thinks that buy-domestic campaigns are trendy:

“I don’t know, they just are. Maybe it has something to do with the environmental debate, that things should be produced in Sweden so that transportation would decrease. I don’t know where trends stems from, but at the moment it is much ”back to the roots”, to do everything from scratch so to speak, to permeate your own onions and so forth. Maybe we have done sushi and dumplings now...” (Kristina, 23)
We can see from the quote that Kristina emphasises on an environmental discourse. Goods should not be transported all across the world; rather, you should focus on the things that are locally produced. She seems to connect the overall environmental debate with an increased focus on Sweden, and Swedish goods in particular. To permeate your own onions are a clear mark of a back to basic mentality - that you should do things yourself instead of buying mass produced goods in the supermarket. At the same time, she also articulates her stance against things that are connected to a global consumer culture. The last part of her quote, “maybe we have done sushi and dumplings now...” may indicate a feeling that the things that are connected to a global consumer culture have played out its role. This feeling is also articulated by Linn, who talks about general tendencies in society:

“I think that it is a backlash. Recently, it has been a period where everything goes so fast. We consume fast, produce much and throw away much - and this has created a discourse that says that this is not sustainable. If you are young and want to be just a little bit trendy, then you do not want to be a part of that. I don’t know, it feels like it’s present everywhere. You should think about what you put in your mouth and where it comes from and be conscious in these parts as well. You should pay a little bit more and consume a little bit less”. (Linn, 24)

According to Linn, mass produced goods are not considered as cool as they used to be. To consume in an extensive manner is not to be in fashion, rather, you should be conscious of what you buy, what you eat and where it comes from. Hence, both Linn and Kristina emphasize the fact that you want to have control over what you eat and what you consume. Quality seems to be important in both cases - either you do it yourself and thereby have full control over the production, or you pay a little bit more to receive a more qualitative good. As described by Linn, the focus on quality is linked to a backlash in society - you should consume less and pay more. The focus on quality is further perceived by the participants as a major factor and reason for choosing to consume Swedish goods and services. This will thus be described in more detail below.

4.2.1.2. Swedish Goods as a Mark for Quality - or Just Another Marketing Tool?

Goods produced in Sweden are, among the participants in this study, to a large extent perceived as of higher quality than their foreign counterparts. Also, this seems to be true for
products that are labelled as both Swedish and ecological. The tendency to perceive domestic products as of higher quality goes in line with what several authors has described as an connection between perceived product quality and ethnocentric tendencies in society (Shimp, Sharma and Shin1995; Acharya & Elliot 2003). The fact that a product was produced in Sweden hence implies a mark of quality. This can be seen in a quote by Jonathan, who talks about the perceived quality of an apple:

J: You think that it is a little bit better with an apple from Sweden than one from Rumania. I think that everyone thinks that instantly. I suppose that’s why they emphasise on the swedishness. You instantly lose your critical thinking when a product is labelled Swedish instead of Rumanian, or something like that.

D: So, people are a bit proud?

J: Yes, I think that you loosen up your guard a little bit. You think that, this is a good product. You don’t question so much when it is from Sweden. (Jonathan, 24)

We can clearly see that Jonathan connects quality with swedishness - a good produced in Sweden is perceived as more trustworthy than an equal product produced abroad (Acharya & Elliot 2003). Further, he claims that this line of reasoning, to think that a domestic product is a little bit better, is not only subjective, it is also valid for a wider societal population. He assumes that other Swedes think in a similar way. Further, we can see from the quote that a Swedish good is connected to trustworthiness in the way that “you loosen up your guard” and “instantly lose your critical thinking”. We can assume that these feelings of relaxation also have a reversed effect when evaluating other products - that you take up your guard and increase your level of critical thinking when faced with a foreign product. You do not question so much if a good is produced in Sweden, but you do if the product is produced abroad. If we analyse this line of reasoning from a perceptual point of view, Jonathan seems to align, or categorise, Swedish products along with his previous experiences. The positive connotations that he seems to get when evaluating a product produced in Sweden seems to be in line with what Scholderer defines as automatic affective reactions (Scholderer 2010). A positive stimulus, in this case the characteristics of a good produced in Sweden, is automatically valued in a positive manner. It happens without us thinking about it. We can hence assume that Jonathan’s positive and relaxed attitude against Swedish products is a part of a subjective schematic structure that categorizes the products in a positive manner according to his prior experiences. He further implies that this structure, as described above,
is transferred to the minds of other people. However, he does also transfer this structure to the perceived rational of the companies behind the campaigns. To emphasize the swedishness of a product is perceived as a marketing tool that is used to take advantage of this structure in order to increase profit. This line of reasoning can also be found in a quote by Kerstin, who talks about quality as a means for market distinction:

“I think that Swedish food production is not so competitive when it comes to price. So, they have to find something other than price that may attract consumers. So they play on things like the pureness, naturalness and safety of Swedish goods to make the consumer aware of these aspects of a product. Which may work quite well in a Google-society where it is preferably to be a little bit conscious and so on.” (Kerstin, 23)

The feeling that producers must find another way to compete on the market in order to distinguish themselves from foreign competition is hence explicitly stated. We can assume that Swedish producers are using these intangible aspects, like the pureness and naturalness of Swedish food, to portray themselves as more trustworthy than their foreign competitors. Price should not be what consumers are looking for; instead, quality should be the buzzword that draws their attention. The moral conduct of the Swedish producer is thus helping them to consume in the right way. Or, rather, this is how the producers of the campaigns portray it. There are certainly reasons for why Swedish food is more expensive, reasons, which, for instance, are explicitly conveyed in the campaign for Swedish Meat. Regulations regarding safety and animal right are portrayed as two major reasons for why Swedish meat is more expensive. However, as described above in the analysis part 1, these regulations are not only portrayed as inflicting with price, they are also portrayed as a natural and moral part in the conduct of Swedish farmers. They gladly accept these strict regulations - they are no wimps! The justification of a higher price is hence tightly linked to moral conduct, which is further linked to product quality. The critical tone against the rationale behind the campaigns can also be found in this quote by Jonas, who talks about the purpose of the campaign for Swedish Meat:

They clearly use this line of reasoning to be able to sell more. I honestly don’t think that they would have cared so much if, I mean, from their point of view, if the regulations around animal care had become less strict. Then it would not be so expensive for them. So, I think that this kind of campaign is just a show for the galleries. (Jonas, 24)
We can assume that Jonas do not trust the meat producer’s naturally present and superior moral behaviour. On the contrary, he argues that if the regulations regarding animal safety would become less strict, then farmers would adapt in order to increase their profit - *it is just a show for the galleries*. The use of morality as a way to justify both a higher price and a superior product quality is hence to a large extent questioned.

In sum, we can on the one hand see an acceptance of Swedish products as a little bit better - they are perceived as more trustworthy than their foreign competitors. However, on the other hand, the portrayed reasons for why Swedish producers should be considered as a little bit better are questioned. The participants tend to question the rationale behind the campaigns and evaluate them through a market perspective. The morality of the producer can thus be perceived as either a guarantee for product quality, or as just another tool for market distinction in order to sell more goods. In either way, quality is to a large extent used as a point of reference towards foreign competitors - to discriminate between us and them. Hence, this distinction will be analysed in more detail below.

### 4.2.1.3. A Distinction Between Us and Them

The buy-domestic campaigns studied in this thesis were to a large extent perceived by the participants to construct a nationalistic discourse. The campaigns were perceived to discriminate between *us* and *them* - between Swedes and foreigners - in order to emphasize the greatness of Sweden as a whole. Jonas articulate this feeling in a quite explicit manner when talking about the purpose of buy-domestic campaigns in general:

“*The purpose with these campaigns is clearly to get people to consume more Swedish goods. That’s obvious. To say that Sweden is so much better than everyone else. The commercial from the meat guys really screams - god dammit, Sweden is great! I think that it becomes much us against them here. It is not just a call for increased consumption of Swedish goods; we need it. It is rather an attempt to see Sweden as a little bit better. Absolutely.*” (Jonas, 24)

Jonas seems to perceive the purpose of the campaigns as an attempt to portray Swedish goods as a little bit better. However, there is not only a focus of Swedish goods, there is also a focus on Sweden as a whole. Sweden should be seen as a little bit better, and other countries as a little bit worse. He further emphasizes the feeling of *us* against *them*, that the greatness of
Sweden stands in stark contrast against the images of other countries. As consumers, we should favour Swedish goods and support our own group (Balabanis and Diamantoploulos, 2004). This assumption seems to be common among the participants of this study when asked to evaluate the main purpose of the campaigns. Marco seems to get a similar feeling when asked about the overall purpose in the campaign for Swedish Meat:

“I assume that it is that you should buy more Swedish meat. But at the same time, I also think that they are trying to frighten you from buying foreign meat. At the same time as you define what Swedish meat is; you also make a definition about the foreign.” (Marco, 21)

This discrepancy between Swedish and foreign goods are in a similar way also emphasized by Kerstin:

“It feels a little bit as if they are trying to scare you from buying something else than Swedish meat. It is like they define Swedish animal care, and by doing so, they also define foreign animal care. They say positive words like respect, natural behaviour and pride, words that you get positive associations from... And well, through that, you get a feeling that foreign meat is not natural, that the animals do not get to have their natural behaviour and so on. So it feels a little bit as if they are trying to scare you...” (Kerstin, 23)

From these two statements, we can clearly see that the campaigns are perceived to use a rhetorical distinction between us and them. As both Marco and Kerstin emphasize, they do not only define Swedish meat, but they also implicitly define foreign meat. Foreign meat is in this sense described as the anti-thesis of Swedish meat - it is everything that Swedish meat is not (Balabanis and Diamantoploulos (2004). The Swedish farmer acts with pride while the foreign farmer should be ashamed. We can assume that this rhetoric is used to make it simple for the consumer to choose between Swedish and foreign meat. As a consumer, if you choose Swedish meat, you also choose natural behaviour and respect towards the animals. However, if you instead choose to consume meat produced abroad, you choose un-natural behaviour and disrespect. We can assume that the campaign is trying to force us to choose between which of these consumers that we want to be? However, in theory, this choice may seem simple - you do not want to be the “bad guy”. In reality, many participants felt that they did not have a choice due to a limited budget. Many of them further expressed a clear will to buy both ecological and domestically produced goods if the difference in price was not too large, or if the quality of the good was perceived as much better.
In sum, many of the participants felt that the buy-domestic campaigns conveyed rhetoric focused on *us* and *them*. This rhetoric was in large perceived as a way to discriminate between domestic- and foreign produced products and their characteristics. However, many of the participants felt that they did not have the financial ability to choose the goods that they actually wanted. When looking at the campaigns, many participants also felt that the campaigns targeted at a more financially mature group of people. Hence, this tendency will be investigated in more detail below.

4.2.1.4. Buy-Domestic Campaigns Do Not Resonate With a Youth Audience

Buy-domestic campaigns in Sweden do not seem to resonate with a youth audience. The participants in this study, who were all between 18 to 24 years old, did not perceive themselves as targeted by the campaigns in general. Instead, an older and more economically strong target group is often suggested by the participants as the main focus group in the campaigns. This feeling is articulated by Linn, who talks about who she perceives as the main target group for the advertisement for Swedish Meat:

“*My first thought is an economically stronger group, those who have more money. But at the same time, since the argument is that it shall be worth it to pay a little bit more for something that is a little bit better, then it is practically anyone who cares. But it is not 18 year olds so to speak. Definitely not. I would say 25 and upwards perhaps? The conscious consumer.*” (Linn, 24)

Above, Linn gives a statement that could apply for almost any of the participant taking part in this study. There seems to be a general tendency to perceive the campaigns as more focused towards an older target group. However, at the same time, many participants also note what Linn describes as “an argument for everyone who cares”. We can clearly see the reflections from the quality debate described above - that it is worth it to pay a little bit more for increased product quality. To describe “the one’s that cares”, the notion of the *conscious consumer* is used. Linn suggests that the conscious consumer is practically everyone who cares, but definitely not someone that is around 18 years old. Hence, we can see a conflict in the statement - the notion of everyone is limited to a specific age group that is suggested to start from 25 and then go upwards. This conflict is further described by Jonas, who tries to describe the target group for the same campaign:
“On the one hand, is you are a young person and you want to eat meat, you might as well try to do something juste. In that case, this might address you. But I rather think that this is aimed for a middle class person in his/her middle age. Someone that can afford to buy Swedish meat.” (Jonas)

Jonas also emphasizes that the target group could be practically anyone who wants to do something juste or morally good. Someone who is conscious about his or her consumption choices. However, he explicitly states that he rather thinks that the ”real” target group is someone else, someone that is in the middle of his or her life and can afford to buy Swedish meat. Hence, neither Jonas nor Linn seems to perceive the target group for these campaigns as youth in general. Further, in just one of the interviews, another conflict was found in the empiric material. When asked who the perceived target group was in the campaign for Svenskt Sigill, Rebecca assumed that it was not her due to geographical considerations:

R: Well, it is certainly not me. Because I have never, well, I’m from the southern parts of Stockholm, so I have never eaten, well picked an apple from an actual tree... Surely, other people had apple trees, but not me. So I only think of apples coming from ICA. So, maybe people that are around 30, or 40 or in their fifties. And then, well, people that are not raised in cities.

D: So you do not think that it resonates with you at all?

R: Well, on the one hand, yes. It sounds like it is tasty apples so a get kind of tricked, I am dragged along so to speak. But no, well, I don’t think that it targets me in the way that they have intended it to. (Rebecca, 22)

After taking a second look at the scenario that Rebecca describes, we might ask ourselves; are the campaigns too focused on the rural? Do they exclude people living in urban areas? We can clearly see from Rebecca’s quote that she does not feel targeted by the romantic and nostalgic feeling portrayed in the campaign. Is this also the case for other people, both young as well as old, who are raised in a similar environment? This is, however, not in the scope of this thesis to find out and we cannot draw any general conclusions from just one participant. What we can say is that the campaigns studied for this thesis all tend to emphasize traditional agricultural environments. The rural milieu is often depicted in a quite romantic manner – something that every Swede can, and should, be proud of. As we can see above, the romantic notion of the agricultural landscape might cause a conflict between the rural and the urban - between those who can picture themselves picking an apple from a tree, and those who
cannot.

The feeling that the campaigns did not resonate with many of the participants can also be illustrated by the fact that very few respondents said that they would be willing to spread any of the campaigns to a fellow citizen or peer. Although many participants felt that the campaigns make them more aware of their consumption choices, most of them would not consider distributing the campaigns further. We can assume that one reason for this stance is that the overall aim of the campaigns is to sell. Kerstin answered in a characteristic way regarding if she could spread any of the campaigns to a friend:

“No, none of these. I would rather share an article from Society for Nature Conservation (Naturskyddsföreningen) as it is an independent source that does not want to sell”. (Kerstin, 23)

Hence, we can see that although the campaigns are quite informative, the underlying rational is questioned. In sum, there seems to exist several conflicts regarding who the perceived target group for the campaigns really is. On the one hand, it could be a person who cares about moral and ethical values when choosing which product to buy or not to buy - the conscious consumer. On the other, it could be someone in his or her middle age that can afford to buy Swedish products. These two categories could thus obviously be one and the same person - someone that is both conscious and in his or her middle age. In the next section, we will further investigate the tension between the modern present and the rural past to see how traditional aspects of Swedish culture is connected to national identity.

4.2.1.5. Tensions Between the Present and Past - a Focus on Swedish Identity

The buy-domestic campaigns studied in this thesis were by many participants perceived to focus on the past as a way to create a focus on the “genuine” Swedish identity. Many participants further argued that the past was used in a romantic and nostalgic way as a means for market distinction - to provide a unique touch to domestically produced products in order to increase profit. In the quote below, Jonas tries to describe why the buy-domestic campaigns focus on traditional aspects of Swedish culture:

“Well, the myth about Sweden. They talk quite extensively about the wide, open landscape and the fresh and the pure... Because it sells, because that picture of Sweden is viable on the
market. You get the unique touch upon it!” (Jonas, 24)

We can see from the statement that Jonas seems to connect traditional elements of Swedish culture with a market rational - mythological pictures of Sweden sells! Swedishness hence becomes a unique selling point in order to differentiate one good from the others. We can assume that this market rationale would further resonate with domestic corporations. To use traditional elements like open landscapes could potentially increase profit. Linn further reflects on how the buy-domestic campaigns relate to her idea of Swedish identity:

"Yes, pretty much. Well, it is no picture that you instantly feel - I can’t relate to this. It rather fells like this genuine picture of Sweden; the small red houses, the rural landscapes and the wind in your hair. That feeling is very present, and I think that many people wants to identify with this, but at the same time, I think that it is very few who actually do.” (Linn, 24)

According to Linn, many people want to identify with the traditional elements of Swedish culture portrayed in the campaigns. But at the same time, she thinks that there are actually few who really does. This tension is emphasised by many of the participants taking part in this study. The perceived rational behind the campaigns seems to be to promote a picture of Sweden that Swedes’ wants to identify with. A national romantic picture is hence used to portray the grab the attention and capture the implicit feelings among Swedish citizens in order to sell more goods. We can hence glimpse ethnocentric tendencies in both how the participants perceived the campaigns and their rational in general, as well as how they perceive the thoughts and feelings of other Swedish citizens. As Linn says, ”I think that many people wants to identify with this, but at the same time, I think that it is very few people who actually do”. How things really are, and how people want them to be, is in this sense contrasted. This feeling is brilliantly captured by another quote by Linn, a quote that will end this part of the thesis:

"I would also like to go there. You kind of wonder where in Sweden they are...?”
4.2.2. Greek Context

In this section of the analysis, we will investigate how ten young Greek citizens between 18 to 24 perceived the three Greek buy-domestic campaigns studied in this thesis. General themes discovered during the interviews will be investigated in more depth below. We will start by analyzing how buy-domestic campaigns are perceived to support the local economy. Secondly, we will focus on issues regarding employment. After this, we will shed light on how aspects regarding safety and quality are perceived by the participants. Finally, we will investigate who the main target group for the buy-local campaigns is perceived to be.

4.2.2.1. Buy-Greek to Support and Protect the Local Economy

To show support for the local and domestic economy was by many of the participants perceived as the main purpose of the campaigns. Due to the present economic crisis, which has had a large impact on Greece as a whole, this finding is perhaps not so surprising. Economic considerations seem to be “top of mind” for many of the participants taking part in this study. To support Greece financially through individual consumption, one of the participants articulated a view that you must feel Greek in order to be able to offer your best support to the local economy:

“It relates to my Greek identity because if you love and respect your country, it is obvious that you would try to support it as much as you can. It is very important for me because if you do not love your country, if you do not consider your fellow patriots, you would not be able to support Greek products because you would not be interested at all...[....] The thing is not to be Greek, the thing is to FEEL Greek and live like this everyday. If we speak about politics, if you are in favour of globalization, you would not prefer to buy something Greek, or to buy something from another country, because you would think that both countries have the same rights. Whereas, if you ‘have it inside you’, if you FEEL Greek, you would be more interested in supporting your country.” (Dimitris, 19)

It appears very important for this participant to emphasize that if someone loves his or her country, then he or she will feel a concern about both the nation state and fellow citizens alike, and try to aid them in any possible way. He also emphasizes the importance of feeling Greek. There seems to be a difference between a person’s nationality, and his individual
patriotic feelings. To be born Greek is not enough - you must act as a true Greek as well. To be aware of your consumption choices thus seems to be very important if you want to be a true Greek citizen. To be a true Greek, it is your moral obligation to help and support Greece through your consumption choices (Smyczek & Glowik 2011; Han 1988). When asked about what consuming domestically mean, another participant articulated the focus on the local economy in this way:

“I contribute more to my country. I support my country financially and in general the citizens as well, to pay more attention to local products and to import less, especially for products that we can produce ourselves. In this way we can reduce the overall costs.” (Vivi, 21)

We can clearly see that consuming domestically is in large connected to financial support, both for the nation state as well as for local producers and their goods. To consume domestically produced goods seems to be especially important. More attention should further be focused on products that can be produced in Greece - there is no need for foreign imported goods if a product can be domestically produced. By purchasing local goods, the overall costs would be decreased and support would be given to fellow citizens. This rational is much in line with Caprio and Isengildina-Massa’s (2009) argument that during the last couple of years, there has been an increase in consumer preferences towards locally produced goods. To turn to protectionism in a situation of crisis is hence considered as an important tool in order to boost the local economy. The need to protect Greece and help the country through its difficulties is further articulated by another participant:

“I definitely have the feeling that I will help if I choose a Greek product but…. I see the point of all this effort, if I personally choose to do it, but the big change will only occur if many consumers do the same. However, definitely, I believe that I make... I help to this change, that I am part of the ‘solution’. I can feel it.” (Savvas, 24)

We can see from the statement that to consume domestically produced goods is perceived as a solution to the country’s financial problems. To aid Greece is to consume Greek products. Savvas also touches upon another issue - the importance of unity in consumption behavior. When looking at the quote, we can almost feel an optimistic aura. The participant seems to perceive a wind of change - that a solution is near if everyone sticks together. To use what is domestically produced and to stick together is two important aspects that is also emphasized by another participant who talks about why he prefers to consume Greek:
“Firstly, you are more certain of what you consume, since you know that they [the products] are produced in your country. And secondly, you enhance the economy of your country. By buying Greek products, I can support Greek production, Greek workers and while simultaneously satisfy my own needs, I help them to survive by ensuring that job positions still exist.” (Dimitris, 18)

It appears important for Dimitris to claim that it is more safe to consume Greek products in regards to foreign. If you buy Greek, you know what you get. Further, consuming Greek products is once again linked to supporting the national economy. This time, the participant to a larger extent emphasizes on domestically consumption as a means to support Greek citizens, producers and employees. It seems important for him to support his fellow citizens to maintain their jobs.

In sum, to support Greece in a financial manner is perceived as one of the most important aspects for why domestically produced goods should be bought. To buy local products is perceived as a solution against the financial crisis and a way to help fellow citizens to preserve their jobs. In the next section, we will further investigate employment issues described by the participants.

4.2.2.2. A Focus on Employment in Greek Buy-Domestic Campaigns

A focus on employment issues can to a large extent be found in the collected material. The participants seem to perceive issues regarding work opportunities and unemployment as major factors for why domestically produced goods should be purchased. By supporting Greek-made products, many participants also seem to feel that new employment opportunities can be created. This feeling is articulated by one of the participants when asked which benefits buy-domestic campaigns have in general:

“...The country, the families, because when you buy Greek products you do not just support big companies, you support each one, each single producer who tries to survive, he and his family, you support him in this way and you do not just support people who are already wealthy to become even wealthier.” (Alex, 22)
Alex seems to perceive consumption of domestically produced goods as not only beneficial for the local economy, but also as a way to support fellow Greek citizens to survive during these harsh times. It is the local producer that is perceived to be in trouble, not large corporations that are already wealthy. Focus is hence on the individual - the small farmer that only tries to survive or the worker that is in danger of being unemployed and would thus not be able to take care of his or her family. Alex’s concern for fellow Greeks and their employment opportunities goes in line with what Sharma, Shimp and Shin (1995) argue to be one of the most prevalent reasons for why consumers tend to favor domestically produced goods in a situation of crisis. The authors argue that “the fear of losing jobs (either one’s own or a related person’s) may influence consumers’ reactions to imports” (Sharma, Shimp and Shin 1995: 29). Another participant articulates a similar feeling when discussing the financial situation in Greece:

“I believe that due to the crisis there are discharges, and a lot of people have lost their jobs, especially in the private sector, many companies have gone bankrupt... By showing that a product is Greek, you can understand that...some people have worked for that in order for this product to be produced. And at the same time, by supporting such a product, you support the employee and also your country’s economy.” (Dimitris, 19)

Dimitris explicitly refers to unemployment and other outcomes of the crisis. By choosing to support domestically produced goods, he seems to feel that he has the ability to support the individual behind the product. Consuming Greek products may hence serve as a moral justification - to guard the employments of fellow citizens in a protectionistic manner (Chiou, Hu & Lin, 2003; Saffu, Walker & Mazurek, 2010). The participants also perceived the consumption of domestic goods as a possible employment opportunity for themselves. Hence, a more personal benefit from choosing Greek products can be seen in the empiric material. By supporting buy-Greek campaigns, the participants seemed to feel that they did not only protect job positions in general, but also contributed to their own individual future. This rationale can be seen in this statement by one of the participants in the study:

“Indirectly for me, if people buy products, then there will be job positions. So, if I would like to ‘go’ to the job market later, in the future, if I want to search for a job, it would be much easier for me to find somewhere to work, i.e. if there is this thinking and we support, there will be...there will be job positions...” (Alexandros, 24)
We can see that he explains his rationale behind his belief. If people support buy-domestic campaigns, then more positions will exist in the future that could be beneficial once he graduates. He hence assumes that it will be easier for him to find a future occupation. This view is also supported by another participant, who talks about how the benefits with buy-domestic campaigns relate to his future profession as an agriculturist:

“I believe that as an oncoming agriculturist, there are benefits. Because more people are going to be occupied in the primary sector, they will help me as well, since they should come to me and buy fertilizers, seeds, everything. So these campaigns help both the producers and agriculturists.” (Dimitris, 18)

From looking at this quote, we can assume that Dimitris relate buy-domestic campaigns to professions with an environmental agenda. His rationale seems to be that if an increasing number of people chose to support these campaigns, work opportunities are not just going to be maintained, but they are also going to be created. As many buy-domestic campaigns have an explicit focus on eatable products, he seems to assume that more people are going to be occupied with farming and, as a consequence, eventually prefer his store. In sum, issues regarding both present and future employment are to a large extent perceived as importance aspects for why consumers should favor Greek products. By consuming domestically produced goods, jobs can both be preserved and developed. In the next section, we will investigate the participants’ perception regarding quality and safety in Greek buy-domestic campaigns.

4.2.2.3. Why Origin Matters - Greek Goods as a Mark for Quality and Safety

Goods produced in Greece is to a large extent perceived as of higher quality than their foreign counterparts by the participants taking part in this study. The perceived quality of a good was further often connected with feelings of safety. The fact that a good was produced in Greece hence marked and communicated feelings of both quality and safety. To be able to see where a good was produced was thus regarded as important for many participants in order to separate different products from each other. The focus on quality and safety is described by this participant, who talks about his feeling for Greek products:
“In general, I feel safer when I see that the origin country is Greece instead of another country.” (Vivi, 21)

Vivi clearly articulates a subjective feeling of security that comes with consuming Greek products. To consume domestically produced goods is regarded as a little bit safer than consuming something that is produced abroad. You basically know what you get. We can assume that the need for security may indicate a fear against the unknown. As Greek products seem to offer this sense of security, this may makes them superior in relation to foreign produced goods. This fear is also described by another participant when asked if one of the studied buy-domestic campaigns makes him more aware of his purchases:

“Because the Greek products... you know where it is produced, what it consists of...you know that it is produced in your country and that it is not illegal in the country. It is easier to recognize if the product is good enough.”(Alex,22)

We can see from this statement that identification is regarded as important for Alex in order to recognize the quality of the product. A good that is produced in Greece is considered safer to consume - you know that there is no illegal ingredients in the product. We can assume that the participant trusts the Greek producer, his conduct and his choice of materials or ingredients. A domestic producer is hence considered as more trustworthy than a foreign producer. At the same time as the participant defines the trustworthiness of Greek producer, there is also a definition of the foreign. You might not know how a foreign product is produced, that it is safe for you to consume or that it is not illegal. All these aspects may indicate a fear for the unknown. This feeling goes in line with what Smyczek and Glowik (2011), as well as Balabanis and Diamantoploulos (2004) define as in-group favoritism and out-group hostility. According to the authors, in-group behavior is by the members of the group perceived as completely appropriate and superior. However, out-group behavior is instead perceived as weak, dishonest, immoral and troubling causing. The participants’ perception of domestically produced goods as more safe and superior in relation to foreign products are thus in line with the arguments of the authors. In sum, we can see that the respondents tend to perceive domestically produced goods as a little bit safer and of higher quality than their foreign counterparts. A domestic producer is often perceived as more trustworthy than a producer operating abroad. In the next section, we will shed light on how the participants tend to perceive the main target group for the campaigns.
4.2.2.4. The Perceived Target Group for Greek Buy-Domestic Campaigns

Many of the participants that took part in this study perceived the main target group for the campaigns as “every Greek citizen”. Hence, many of them believe that all the three Greek campaigns referred to all the Greeks in general, every Greek consumer-citizen of all ages. However, some of the participants also expressed their view that the general target on every Greek citizen was just another market rationale in order to increase company profit. We can assume that their perception – that the target group is “every Greek citizen” – is connected to the extensive use of the Greek flag in the studied buy-domestic campaigns. When asked how one respondent perceived the message for one of the campaigns, Alexandros stated:

“This is obvious; they count on patriotism. It is obvious, i.e. it is clear, i.e. it is the Greek flag... It is our symbol, our sign.” (Alexandros, 24)

The use of familiar symbols like flags can hence imply and communicate that it is every Greeks’ patriotic duty to consume domestically produced goods (Sunny Tsai, 2010). The flag, as a symbol, is thus used to symbolize the nation state – everyone is included. When asked who the main target group was for one of the campaigns, another participant responded:

“The consumers, definitely, but I do not believe that there is a specific target group, i.e. I believe that it is every consumer, whoever visits a supermarket.” (Savvas, 24)

Savvas explicitly states that he does not see a specific target group for the campaign. Every Greek consumer is targeted; there is not distinction between age groups. We can assume that since the Greek buy-domestic campaigns studied in this thesis tend to focus on unity and collectiveness, a perceived broad target group can be expected - everyone should be involved. Another participant also emphasized a broad target group, but at the same time, he tended to struggle with how to define it:

“The first campaign targets older people, who have been more influenced than young people by these incidents, but also younger people, uh, all people in Greece have been influenced by the circumstances.” (Manos, 24)

We can see that Manos struggles with which the main target group of the campaigns should be. We can assume that he refers to the financial crisis when he states that everyone is affected by the circumstances. The special circumstances thus make everyone a target for the campaigns. This resonates with what many participants have mentioned during the interviews.
that the campaigns addressed them due to their nationality. This feeling is articulated by one of the participants, who said that; “As a member of the Greek society, it addresses me.” However, during the interviews, many participants also expressed a critical tone towards the rationale behind the campaigns. The general focus on unity and nationalistic pride as a means to “target every Greek” was to a large extent questioned. Some participant rather expressed a feeling that domestic corporations tended to use the special circumstances, the harsh financial situation in Greece, as a rational to increase their profit. One participant articulates this feeling in the following way:

“I think that they want to sell and they count on something that people are concerned about... to help Greece I mean. So, they count on that in order to sell their product...they have found a spot to “hit” so they “hit”... i.e. every company has its tricks. [...] Actually, they want to sell, aren’t they? What they want? To take care of our health? Haha...” (Aggeliki, 22)

Aggeliki appears to strongly connect the buy-domestic campaigns with an overall market rational. The corporations that use buy-domestic campaigns want to make money just as everybody else - they mostly concern about promoting themselves and their products as a way to benefit from the situation. She further explains how companies took advantage of the bad situation in Greece and found a “note” that resonated with the demand of Greek consumers. To “hit” this note and emphasize on the Greekness of products is hence perceived as a marketing tool with the ultimate aim to make profits. In the end, we can see that the participant uses a quite sarcastic tone to express her belief that companies most of all care about the sales of their products and to increase their profit. It seems to her that they do not actually care about the lives of ordinary Greek citizens. In sum, we can see that the general perception among the participants in this study is that the campaigns focus on a broad target group. Every Greek citizen is, and should, be targeted by the campaigns in order to increase the support for domestically produced goods. However, some participants also question the motives behind the campaigns.

4.2.2.5. Attitudes and Behaviour Towards Buy-Domestic Campaign

Many of the participants that took part in this study emphasized that the Greek buy-domestic campaigns could affect their market behavior. They also perceived the campaigns as making both themselves and other Greek citizens more aware of their consumption choices. However,
many respondents did not want to spread and communicate the campaigns to fellow citizens and peers. When we asked if the buy-domestic campaigns in general would affect one participant’s consumption behavior, Alex responded:

“Personally, I mostly stopped buying foreign products, I try to buy Greek brands, as much as I can, maybe this is not the majority but as much as I can, I try to buy Greek products, especially for edible products.”(Alex, 22)

Alex clearly states that his consumption behavior has been affected. We can assume that it feels important for him to be a conscious consumer, to know what he consumes. To support his nation through consumption, especially for edible products, seems important as he describes that he tries to consume Greek products as much as he can. We can further assume that the explicit reason for his emphasis on edible products has something to do with the quality- and safety debate discussed above. However, although many participants expressed that their personal consumption behavior had been altered due to the crisis, many felt that they would not recommend and spread any of the campaigns to a friend. As can be seen from the quote below, consumption is by one participant seen as a highly individualized act (Micheletti (2010):

“If some of my friends wanted to go on vacation abroad, I would show him these logos, I would tell him to support Greece. So, the tourist campaign mostly... As for the products, I cannot suggest anything, because it is a personal matter what products someone buys. I believe that it a personal choice.”(Dimitris, 18)

Although he makes an exception for the tourist campaign, he clearly states that it is an individual matter to decide which products to purchase. To suggest a product would hence be to interfere with the personal integrity of the individual. To influence peers, a traditional discussion is perceived to be better in order to affect the consumption behavior of a friend:

“A campaign no, I would suggest to buy or consume a Greek product. I believe that it would be more persuasive to discuss with a friend and try to persuade him, but I do not believe that he would pay attention to a campaign. And through a discussion it would be easier to affect him and then support these products.”(Dimitris, 19)

We can see from these quotes that buy-domestic campaigns make young Greek citizens more aware of what they consume. However, the campaigns are not perceived as something that is
worth spreading. To communicate the general message of the campaigns to fellow citizens and peers, traditional word-of-mouth is perceived as a more effective tool.

### 4.2.3. Similarities between a Swedish and a Greek context

In this part, we will illustrate some of the most important similarities between how young Swedish and Greek citizens perceived the studied buy-domestic campaigns. When analyzing the interviews, common themes were discovered that were present in both a Swedish and a Greek context. These themes will hence be explained in more depth below.

#### 4.2.3.1. Buy-Domestic Campaigns as a Societal Trend

During the interviews, many participants from both Sweden and Greece have expressed a feeling that they perceive buy-domestic campaigns as a societal trend. However, the nature of this trend seems to vary between the two countries. In Sweden, buy national marketing is mostly perceived as an attempt to decrease the effects of the environmental crisis. A back to basic mentality is often referred to as a way to support local farmers and to decrease product transportation. On the other hand, Greek participants seem to evaluate the campaigns in the light of the European financial crisis. Goods should be purchased to support both the local economy as well as to protect domestic employment opportunities. Thus, in both countries, buy-domestic campaigns are evaluated as a societal trend but for very different reasons.

#### 4.2.3.2. Domestic Goods as a Mark for Quality

Both Swedish and Greek participants seem to perceive domestically produced goods as of higher quality than their foreign counterpart. In a Swedish context, products are in large evaluated and perceived as of higher quality due to their ethical and moral superiority. To consume a product produced in Sweden is to a high extent perceived as more healthy and good for your body. In a Greek context, the perceived quality of a product was often connected to feelings of safety and security. Country-of-origin was perceived as of high importance in order to separate one offer from the other. To consume Greek products hence implicated a sense of security – you basically know what you will get. Thus, both Swedish
and Greek participants felt that domestically produced goods marked a sense of quality.

4.2.4. Differences Between a Swedish and a Greek Context

In this section, we will shed light on the most important differences between how young Swedish and Greek citizens perceived the studied buy-domestic campaigns.

4.2.4.1. Unclear Target Group in Swedish and Greek Buy-Domestic Campaigns

During the interviews, the respondents perceived the main target group for the studied buy-domestic campaigns differently. Swedish respondents believed that the general target group was someone in the middle of his or her life. Also, to be financially mature and to be able to afford domestically produced goods was perceived as a major reason for why the campaigns targeted older citizens. In Greece, many of the respondents perceived the campaigns to target “every Greek citizen”. Many of the participants thus perceived the campaigns as referring to all Greeks in general. Everyone was considered as affected by the financial crisis, and it was every citizen’s duty to support its country in a financial manner via individual consumption choices.

4.2.4.2. A Prevalent Concern for Employment Issues in a Greek Context

In a Greek context, many participants expressed a feeling that it was their duty due to the financial crisis to support domestic products and corporations. A crisis perspective was hence more prevalent when deciding what products to consume. To buy domestically produced goods was perceived to not only support the local economy and employment levels in the present, it was also perceived as a way to create new employment opportunities in the future. Hence, many young Greeks perceived it as a future personal profit to consume Greek products.
5. Discussion and Conclusion

In this research project, our intention has been to explore how Swedish and Greek buy-domestic campaigns both construct different messages, and how these messages are perceived by a youth audience. To investigate these questions and increase our understanding of the researched subject, a text- and discourse analysis, as well as in-depth interviews was used. During the study, ten interviews with young citizens between 18 to 24 were conducted in each country regarding how they perceived three buy-domestic campaigns specific for each country.

During the project, a number of meaningful insights and findings has been found. From a cross-cultural perspective, we can see that Swedish and Greek buy-domestic campaigns share a number of similarities and differences. In both cases, the nature of the campaigns seems to be connected with an increased level of ethnocentrism in domestic consumer culture, as well as a tendency to use the market as an arena for politics. These findings can be connected to the increased influence of the current European financial crisis. In the following section, we will further shed light on the most important insights and findings from this thesis. Finally, we will arrive at a more general conclusion were we will shed light on how this research project extends both theory and practice. In the end, we will also suggest and point out directions for further research.

5.1. Patriots in Greece and Indifference in Sweden

This study has revealed that young citizens living in Greece and Sweden perceive buy-domestic campaigns in two very distinct ways. To map them out in an easy way, we have chosen to call these findings for “A patriotic ideal” and “What’s in it for me?” The former is further connected with the perceptions of young Greek citizens, and the latter hence resonate with the respondents from Sweden.
5.1.1. A Patriotic Ideal

As we have seen in this study, young Greek consumers perceive the European financial crisis as an important reason for why domestically produced goods should be purchased. The omnipresent impact of the crisis has made young people more aware of their consumption choices. The severity of the crisis can thus be seen as a major differentia between how young Greek and Swedish citizens perceive buy-domestic campaigns and how they respond to nationalistic marketing. The presence of the European economic crisis can further be seen in how the studied buy-domestic campaigns construct different messages and emphasize on different issues as a way to increase public awareness. What issues to emphasize thus plays an important role in how young participants perceive the campaigns.

As we have seen in this study, buy-domestic campaigns are by young Greek citizens perceived as a way to support the nation state. To buy domestically produced goods are in large perceived as a patriotic ideal. As a Greek citizen, you should support Greece in every way that you can. Thus, to consume foreign produced goods is according to the respondents seen as both unpatriotic and immoral as well as inappropriate (Smyczek & Glowik, 2011). In recent studies, young people are often portrayed as less ethnocentric and inclined to take part in traditional political systems. Instead, older people are seen as more willing to take part in traditional political systems, embracing ethnocentric values and consume in a conservative and patriotic fashion (Shimp & Sharma, 1987). Thus, as this study has shown, it is interesting to find that young Greek citizens do embrace ethnocentric and patriotic values, and that they perceive that these aspects influence their consumption behavior.

One portrayed reason for this tendency is to protect and support domestic employment opportunities. To support fellow citizens via individual consumption choices is perceived as a moral obligation for why domestically produced goods should be favored. As portrayed in the campaigns, a focus on unity is often depicted. The message seems to be that Greek citizens are united, that they should stay united and that they can save Greece if the act in a united fashion. With high levels on unemployment, especially among young citizens, it is perhaps to so surprising that a focus on employment issues can be found in both the studied campaigns as well as in the perceptions of young citizens. To buy Greek products as a way to save the employment opportunities that already exist, and possible, to create new employment opportunities in the future, is hence seen a moral cause by many young participants. In essence, we can see that many of the participants seem afraid and insecure about their own
future. To support domestically produced goods and services can hence mean a personal reward in the future – for example in the form of an employment opportunity. Therefore, to support Greece in every possible way is in large seen as a way to stay afloat, to not drown in the tempestuous financial storm that at the moment sweeps over Greece. To buy domestically produced goods is seen as a way to reach the surface. Greek youth wants to be afloat. They are just struggling to be saved.

5.1.2. What’s in it for Me?

In a Swedish context, buy-domestic campaigns are largely perceived as just another marketing trick in order to promote and sell more goods and subsequently to increase company profit. We can see a clear tendency towards a “what’s in it for me?” mentality. In other words, the communicated domestically produced good would have to implicate something more than just a way to support the nation state or fellow citizens. The participants seemed to demand other aspects and product features as well. In order to choose domestically produced goods, the products would also need to be healthier, of better quality, ethically superior or more morally sound. Hence, we can see a clear tendency to focus on the individual behind the purchase. It is the individual who wants to feel good or to be healthier. Arguments that instead emphasize on the collective, such as patriotic ideals, are to a large extent received with skepticism by the Swedish participants. Hence, the common rationale when evaluating buy-domestic campaigns seems to be “what’s in it for me?”

As previously illustrated, the Swedish participants did not seem to perceive the buy-domestic campaigns as related to the European financial crisis. Instead, environmental concerns were often “top of mind” when asking the respondents about the motives behind the campaigns. Many respondents referred to a back-to-basics mentality as a societal trend to conquer the threats of the environmental crisis. To buy locally produced goods due to the decreased levels of transportation and pesticides seemed more important than to support the nation state in a financial manner. Therefore, we can see that this is also connected with a “what’s in it for me” mentality. To eat more environmentally friendly food is in large connected to a discourse of personal health. The individual want to feel good, and this feeling may arise from consuming products that are perceived to be healthier, but also to consume goods that are produced in a superior ethical and morally sound way.
As Sweden has not been as affected by the European financial crisis as Greece, we can see that young Swedes do not care so much about economical or employment issues. The Swedish participants do not seem stressed or anxious about the future, they do not really care. This becomes obvious when talking about awareness and consumption habits. To support the nation state and fellow citizens is not considered as an important reason for why domestically produced goods should be purchased. Swedish youth hence seems relaxed about their future. They are already afloat. If young Greek citizens were striving to reach the surface, Swedish youth are still lying on the sun deck of the boat with their sunglasses on. The only reason to care and lift the shades seems to be to ask the question, “what’s in it for me?”.

5.2. Youth as a Target Group in Buy-Domestic Campaigns

In this research project, we have revealed that the perceived target group for buy-domestic campaigns may vary between different cultural contexts. Young Greek citizens felt in general more targeted by the campaigns than the Swedish participants due to nationalistic concerns.

In Greece, the general target group for the studied buy-domestic campaigns was perceived to be “every Greek citizen” due to nationalistic concerns. Everyone, both young and old citizens, was perceived to be influenced and affected by the circumstances that have followed in the wake of the financial crisis. This feeling is emphasized by the symbolism used in the campaigns. The extensive use of the Greek flag and other national symbols pose a feeling of unity. The use of these symbols may thus be seen as a way to intentionally target a broad audience. Hence, neither young nor old citizens are favored in the campaigns; rather, every Greek citizen should buy nationally produced goods and support the nation’s state.

In Sweden, the participants mostly expressed the feeling that the campaigns addressed older people and not people in their own age. However, a young person could feel targeted if he or she was previously conscious about the issues portrayed in the campaigns – a so-called conscious consumer. One of the portrayed reasons for why young people were not targeted by the buy-domestic campaigns was due to economic reasons. A youth audience often perceived Swedish goods as more expensive than foreign. Hence, the participants in this study often suggested an older and more financially mature target group. This feeling is further supported by how the campaigns are depicted. Old or middle age persons are to a large extent used in
the campaigns, which may affect the perceptions of the respondents.

As we can see from the discussion above, Sweden has been less affected than Greece by the European financial crisis. Swedish participants seem less inclined to perceive the campaigns at targeted at them in particular. Rather, they can quite easily specify the target group of the campaigns. Hence, we can see that the broad and general target group that was found in Greece does not resonate with a young Swedish audience. Every Greek should through his or her consumption choices lead the country through the crisis. As we can see, this is not the case in Sweden.

5.3. Contribution to Existing Theory

As previously described, many studies in the field of consumer ethnocentrism tend to focus on a quantitative research method. General patterns in societies are thus sought to be found. However, there is a lack of studies deploying a qualitative research strategy in general, and a lack of focus on specific age groups in particular. Especially, there exists little research regarding how a youth audience is connected to consumer ethnocentrism. Further, as the impacts of the European, as well as the global, financial crisis are hard to overlook, studies that take this perspective into account can also contribute to existing theory.

The findings from this thesis can help to increase the theoretical understanding regarding ethnocentrism in general, and how a youth audience perceives and is affected by nationalistic campaigns in particular. Further, as few studied have deployed a cross-cultural perspective on buy-domestic campaigns, this study can increase the theoretical understandings of buy national marketing in general.

5.4. Contribution to Practice

In this research project, we have shown that an increased understanding of how ethnocentrism is perceived by a youth audience in a situation of crisis can be vital for market actors to take into account. To be successful, corporations may want to understand the underlying rationale
for why consumers choose to purchase domestically produced goods and services in a situation of crisis.

The findings from this thesis have shown corporations acting in an international environment may face serious trouble if ethnocentric tendencies in a country increase. Consumers may choose to support domestically produced goods in order to support both the nation state as well as fellow citizens. These insights might be vital for corporations wanting to penetrate new markets, as well as to stay on existing ones. For domestic corporations, we can see that our findings may have severe implications for why consumers, especially young ones, choose one product over another. Quality and employment issues have been found to resonate particularly well with a youth audience. Hence, corporations may want to accentuate these product features. Our findings have also shown that a youth audience feels particularly targeted by buy-domestic campaigns in a situation of crisis. However, when ethnocentric tendencies are considered low, buy-domestic campaigns are instead faced with skepticism by a youth audience.

5.5. Limitations and Future Research Suggestions

During our research process, we have been able to investigate and increase our understanding of buy-domestic campaigns in general, and how a youth audience perceives these campaigns in particular. The knowledge and understanding we have gained have been much thanks to the participants in our study. We believe that we have been lucky to find a good sample of participants that could share their knowledge and feelings regarding the researched subject. However, the sample group that we have chosen for this research also holds some limitations. To gain more knowledge about the field, other age groups or larger sample sizes could be used. Further, as we have chosen to compare two countries that have been affected very differently by the European financial crisis, other countries and contexts could be studied in order to increase our understanding of how ethnocentrism is affected by cultural differences. We have deliberately also not focused on the implications of gender in regards to our thesis subject. Although we have interviewed a fairly equal amount of males and females in this study, we have not included a gender perspective in the final analysis. This perspective would hence be very interesting to read more about in a separate study.
In this thesis, we have also deliberately not emphasized on how ethnocentric tendencies among young citizens affect their traditional political participation. This correlation is thus proposed as a possible area for future studies. Further, how ethnocentric tendencies relate to institutional trust would be interesting to investigate in more depth. During our conversations with research participants and friends, we have also gained interest in not just the effects on country-of-origin, but also on more specific regional issues and how these relate to consumer behavior. The implications of ‘regionality’ in regards to consumer perceptions and in-group favoritism could hence be suggested as a future research suggestion.
6. References


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7. Appendices

7.1. Swedish Interview Folder

Kampanj nr. 1 – Svenskt Kött
I Sverige får en gris vara gris. 
Men får en bonde vara bonde?

Vi är inga mesar. Vi har ingenting emot konkurrens, bara villkoren är rimliga.


Det handlar om respekt för djurens behov av naturligt beteende. Svenska djur är friskare än vad djuren är i många andra länder, de får strö och de får ha hela svanosen och knorren kvar. Svenskt kött är fritt från hormoner, antibiotika och salmonella. Listan på skillnaderna är längre än man tror. Gå in på hemsidan och se den med egna ögon.

Svenskt kött ska kostea mer än importerat. Egentligen borde det kostea mycket mer än vad det gör. Men vi kan bara ha en medveten matproduktion om det finns medvetna konsumenter. Är du beredd att betala mer för schysst producerad mat?

www.svensktkott.se
Kampanj nr. 2 – Sverige – Det nya matlandet

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zKYkN9VTXsl
Kampanj nr. 3 – Svenskt Sigill
Vilka val vill du göra?

Minns du äpplena som du plockade och åt som barn? Hur du valde de finaste och hur de smakade? Men kommer du ihåg om du någonsin funderade kring hur länge de hade rest eller vilken uppväxt de hade haft?


Visste du förresten att svenska äpplen är bland det mest klimatsmarta du kan äta? Eller att svenskt Sigill-odlarna regelbundet genomför ett "bankprov" när de slår äppelträden med ett basebollträd. Låter det lite märkligt? Läs mer om det, klimatsmarta äpplen och mycket annat på svensktsigill.se
7.2. Greek Interview Folder

KAMΠΙΑΝΙΑ No. 1

KAMΠΙΑΝΙΑ No. 1
Λουξ: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OdV_0j8QlMg
ΙΟΝ: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0qBg9q0pq50

Αγρίνιο: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLQJM-YjYrw

ΚΑΜΠΑΝΙΑ No. 2
ΚΑΜΠΑΝΙΑ Νο. 2

- Καλούν όλους τους Έλληνες να μετάσχουν ενεργά στον αγώνα για να προστατευθούν οι θέσεις εργασίας και να μειωθεί η ανεργία, να σταματήσει το κλείσιμο των καταστημάτων, να στηριχθούν ο εσωτερικός Τουρισμός, οι Αγρότες μας, οι Παραγωγοί.
ΚΑΜΠΙΑΝΙΑ No. 3

- http://www.my-greece.gr/el
- Βίντεο-Ακρόπολη: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3vdtTVeV5Q4
- Βίντεο-ταβέρνα: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=070x3hDAVtE
7.3. Interview Guide

Theme 1: General questions.
1. Tell me a few words about yourself: how old are you, what do you do etc.
2. What does consuming domestically mean to you?
3. Do you ever buy products or services because they are environmentally friendly? Is that important to you?
   - Why/Why not?

The participants open the folder...

Theme 2-4: Discussion about the campaigns
4. What comes to mind when you see these labels? Do you know something about any of these labels?

5. Here is an advertisement for the first [second and third] label/campaign. How do you perceive the message in this campaign?
6. What do you think the campaign is trying to achieve?
7. Whom do you think the ads are trying to target? Does it speak to you?

Theme 5: Concluding questions about behaviour and activism
8. What do you think are the benefits of campaigns like this in general?
9. Do these campaigns make you more aware of what you buy?
10. Would you recommend any of these campaigns to a friend? How would you bring it up?
11. How do you think that these campaigns relate to your Swedish/Greek identity?