The Cultural Meanings of Brands

Carlos J. Torelli
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
USA

Maria A. Rodas
University of Minnesota
USA

Jennifer L. Stoner
University of North Dakota
USA

Foundations and Trends® in Marketing

Foundations and Trends® in Marketing
Volume 10, Issue 3, 2015
Editorial Board

Editorial Scope

Topics

Foundations and Trends® in Marketing publishes survey and tutorial articles in the following topics:

- B2B marketing
- Bayesian models
- Behavioral decision making
- Branding and brand equity
- Channel management
- Choice modeling
- Comparative market structure
- Competitive marketing strategy
- Conjoint analysis
- Customer equity
- Customer relationship management
- Game theoretic models
- Group choice and negotiation
- Discrete choice models
- Individual decision making

- Marketing decisions models
- Market forecasting
- Marketing information systems
- Market response models
- Market segmentation
- Market share analysis
- Multi-channel marketing
- New product diffusion
- Pricing models
- Product development
- Product innovation
- Sales forecasting
- Sales force management
- Sales promotion
- Services marketing
- Stochastic model

Information for Librarians

now

the essence of knowledge

The Cultural Meanings of Brands

Carlos J. Torelli
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
USA

Maria A. Rodas
University of Minnesota
USA

Jennifer L. Stoner
University of North Dakota
USA

Contents

iii

Abstract

In this monograph, we introduce a conceptual framework to understand: (1) How globalization is changing the marketplace and the way consumers bring cultural meanings and identities to the fore of their minds, (2) the mechanisms by which brands acquire cultural meanings (i.e., from simple country-(or region-)-of-origin associations to the more complex enactment of cultural authority), (3) the tools that marketers have to purposefully imbue brands with cultural meanings that can resonate with culturally-diverse consumers (i.e., the tools to create *cultural equity*), and (4) how consumers respond to the cultural meanings in brands for fulfilling their goals.

1

Introduction

In the hyper-competitive and globalized markets of the 21st century, a wide range of brands bring diverse countries and cultures to a consumer population that is also growing ethnically and culturally diverse. It is not enough for a brand to be competitive by means of delivering functional benefits to consumers, as brands across product categories are pushed to also deliver emotional and symbolic benefits in an attempt to become *cultural icons*. But what does it mean to be a cultural icon? How do consumers react to the cultural meanings of brands? How can brands reach this iconic status?

In this monograph, we introduce a conceptual framework to understand: (1) How globalization is changing the marketplace and the way consumers bring cultural meanings and identities to the fore of their minds, (2) the mechanisms by which brands acquire cultural meanings (i.e., from simple country-(or region-) of-origin associations to the more complex enactment of cultural authority), (3) the tools that marketers have to purposefully imbue brands with cultural meanings that can resonate with culturally-diverse consumers (i.e., the tools to create *cultural equity*), and (4) how consumers respond to the cultural meanings in brands for fulfilling their goals.

This framework is based on the premise that consumers are both aware of their membership in certain cultural groups, and often motivated to affiliate with these groups to fulfill their cultural identity goals. To do so, they often attend to the cultural meanings in brands and use culturally symbolic brands as instruments to make a cultural connection. This cultural connection can emerge for identities construed at a nation-state level, a regional level within a country, a pan-regional level that includes several countries, or even for sub-groups of individuals that might reside or not within a circumscribed geographical boundary. Marketers that understand how to imbue brands with cultural meanings that resonate with consumers' cultural identity goals can build stronger consumer-brand relationships, as well as successfully differentiate from competitors in a crowded and culturally-diverse marketplace. We conclude with a discussion of future research needed to fully harness the power of cultural equity in globalized markets.

References

J. L. Aaker, V. Benet-Martinez, and J. Garolera. Consumption symbols as carriers of culture: A study of japanese and spanish brand personality constucts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81(3):492–508, 2001.

D. L. Alden, J.-B.E. Steenkamp, and R. Batra. Brand positioning through advertising in Asia, North America, and Europe: The role of global consumer culture. *The Journal of Marketing*, 63(1):75–87, 1999.

A. L. Alter and V. S. Kwan. Cultural sharing in a global village: Evidence for extracultural cognition in european americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(4):742–760, 2009.

J. J. Arnett. The psychology of globalization. *American Psychologist*, 57(10): 774–783, 2002.

T. Bajarin. How a Chinese Company Became a Global PC Powerhouse.*time.com*. Available at: http://time.com/3845674/lenovo-ibm/, 2015. Downloaded on August 22, 2016.

R. Barrett. Campaign spits in face of fears. Available at: http://www.jsonline.com/news/29502314.html, 2008. *The Journal Sentinel*, Downloaded on May 20,2013.

P. Barwise and S. Meehan. *Simply Better: Winning and Keeping Customers by Delivering What Matters Most*. Harvard Business Press Books, 2004.

R. Batra, V. Ramaswamy, D. L. Alden, J.-B. Steenkamp, and S. Ramachander. Effects of brand local and nonlocal origin on consumer attitudes in developing countries. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 9(2):83–95, August 2000.

BBC. Tata buys jaguar in £1.15bn deal. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/7313380.stm, 2008. *The Journal Sentinel*, Downloaded on May 22, 2016.

A. Betsky. *Icons: Magnets of meaning*. Chronicle Books, San Francisco, 1997.

D. A. Briley, M. W. Morris, and I. Simonson. Cultural chameleons: Biculturals, conformity motives, and decision making. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 15(4):351–362, 2005.

R. Buchholz. Commentary: The minnesota way. Available at: http://www.hutchinsonleader.com/news/opinion/commentary-the-minnesota-way/article%_83a0f2dd-d62f-53d7-a6a3-1390598e6b9a.html, 2012. Downloaded on April 9, 2013.

J. Cayla and G. M. Eckhardt. Asian brands and the shaping of a transnational imagined community. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35(2):216–230, 2008.

H. Chen, S. Ng, and A. R. Rao. Cultural differences in consumer impatience. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 42(3):291–301, 2005.

C.-Y. Chiu and Y.-Y. Hong. *Social Psychology of Culture*. Psychology Press, New York, 2006.

C.-Y. Chiu, L. Mallorie, H. T. Keh, and W. Law. Perceptions of culture in multicultural space: Joint presentation of images from two cultures increases in-group attribution of culture-typical characteristics. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 40(2):282–300, 2009.

C.-Y. Chiu, M. J. Gelfand, T. Yamagishi, G. Shteynberg, and C. Wan. Intersubjective culture: The role of intersubjective perceptions in cross-cultural research. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 5(4):482–493, 2010.

C.-Y. Chiu, P. Gries, C. J. Torelli, and S. Y. Y Cheng. Toward a social psychology of globalization. *Journal of Social Issues*, 67(4):663–676, 2011.

R. Deshpandé and D. M. Stayman. A tale of two cities: Distinctiveness theory and advertising effectiveness. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 31(1):57–64, 1994. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3151946.

T. Devos and M. R. Banaji. American = white? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(3):447–466, 2005.

EMBRAER. Available at: http://www.embraer.com/en-us/Pages/home.aspx, 2016. Downloaded on August 22.

Experian. *The new American Consumer: State of the Hispanic Consumer Marketplace*. Experian Marketing Services, 2012.

T. R. Fehrenbach. *Lone Star: A History of Texas and the Texans*. Da Capo Press, 2000.

Center for Applied Linguistics. Growth of language immersion in the United States 1971–2011. Available at: http://webapp.cal.org/Immersion/Doc/Growth%20of%20Language%20Immersion%20Programs%20in%20the%20US%201971-2011.pdf, 2011. Downloaded on August 22, 2016.

M. R. Forehand and R. Deshpandé. What we see makes us who we are: Priming ethnic self-awareness and advertising response. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 38(3):336–348, 2001. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1558528.

M. R. Forehand, R. Deshpandé, and A. Reed. Identity salience and the influence of differential activation of the social self-schema on advertising response. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(6):1086–1099, 2002. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.87.6.1086.

S. Fournier. *A Consumer-Brand Relationship Framework for Strategic Brand Management. Unpublished dissertation*, volume 32611. Graduate School, University of Florida, Gainsville, FL, 1994.

A. Giddens. *The nation-state and violence*, volume 2. Univ of California Press, CA, 1985.

Z. Gürhan-Canli and D. Maheswaran. Determinants of country-of-origin evaluations. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 27(1):96–108, 2000a.

Z. Gürhan-Canli and D. Maheswaran. Cultural variations in country of origin effects. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 37(3):309–317, 2000b.

W. B. Gudykunst and S. Ting-Toomey. *Culture and Interpersonal Communication*. Sage, Newbury Park, CA, 1988.

C. M. Han and V. Terpstra. Country-of-origin effects for uni-national and bi-national products. *Journal of International Business Studies*, pages 235–255, 1988.

S.-P. Han and S. Shavitt. Persuasion and culture: Advertising appeals in individualistic and collectivistic societies. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 30(4):326–350, 1994.

G. H. Hofstede. *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Sage, Newbury Park, 1980.

G. H. Hofstede. *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, Calif., 2001.

D. B. Holt. How to build an iconic brand. *Market Leader(summer)*, pages 35–42, 2003.

D. B. Holt. *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding.* Harvard Business School Press, Cambridge , MA, 2004.

D. B. Holt, J. A. Quelch, and E. L. Taylor. How global brands compete. *Harvard Business Review*, 82(9):68–75, 2004.

S.-T. Hong and D. K. Kang. Country-of-origin influences on product evaluations: The impact of animosity and perceptions of industriousness brutality on judgments of typical and atypical products. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 16(3):232–239, 2006.

S.-T. Hong and R. S. Wyer. Effects of country-of-origin and product-attribute information on product evaluation: An information processing perspective. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(2):175–187, 1989.

Y.-Y. Hong, C.-Y. Chiu, and T. M. Kung. Bringing culture out in front: Effects of cultural meaning system activation on social cognition. In K. Leung, Y. Kashima, U. Kim, and S. Yamaguchi, editors, *Progress in Asian Social Psychology,* Vol. 1, pages 135–146. Wiley, Singapore, 1997.

Y.-Y. Hong, M. W. Morris, C.-Y. Chiu, and V. Benet-Martinez. Multicultural minds: A dynamic constructivist approach to culture and cognition. *American Psychologist*, 55(7):709–720, 2000.

G. Häubl. A cross-national investigation of the effects of country of origin and brand name on the evaluation of a new car. *International Marketing Review*, 13(5):76–97, 1996.

J. K. Johansson and I. D. Nebenzahl. Multinational production: effect on brand value. *Journal of International Business Studies*, pages 101–126, 1986.

H. T. Keh, J. Pang, and S. Peng (Eds.). *Understanding and Measuring Brand Love.* Society for Consumer Psychology, Santa Monica, CA, 2008.

H. T. Keh, C. J. Torelli, C.-Y. Chiu, and J. Hao. Integrative responses to culture mixing in brand name translations: The roles of product self-expressiveness and self-relevance of values among bicultural chinese consumers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 47(10):1345–1360, 2016.

K. L. Keller. Conceptualizing, measuring, managing customer-based brand equity. *Journal of Marketing*, 57(1):1–22, 1993.

K. L. Keller. *Building, Measuring, and Managing Brand Equity* (3rd. ed.). Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 2007.

K. L. Keller, B. Sternthal, and A. M. Tybout. Three questions you need to ask about your brand. *Harvard Business Review*, September:80–86, 2002.

D. Kiley. Jack Daniel's international appeal. Available at: http://www.businessweek.com, 2007. Downloaded on September 3, 2014.

J. G. Klein, R. Ettenson, and M. D. Morris. The animosity model of foreign product purchase: An empirical test in the people's republic of China. *Journal of Marketing*, 62(1):89–100, 1998.

R. M. Krauss and S. R. Fussell. Social psychological models of interpersonal communication. In E. T. Higgins and A. W. Kruglanski, editors, *Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles*, pages 655–701. Guilford Press, NY, 1996.

T. LaFromboise, H. L. Coleman, and J. Gerton. Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin*, 114(3):395–412, 1993.

L. G. Lau-Gesk. Activating culture through persuasion appeals: An examination of the bicultural consumer. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 13(3):301–315, 2003.

F. Leclerc, B. H. Schmitt, and L. Dubé. Foreign branding and its effects on product perceptions and attitudes. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 31(2):263–270, 1994.

A.K.-Y. Leung, W. W. Maddux, A. D. Galinsky, and C.-Y. Chiu. Multicultural experience enhances creativity: The when and how. *American Psychologist*, 63(3):169–181, 2008.

S. J. Levy. Symbols for sale. *Harvard Business Review*, 37(4):117–124, 1959.

D. Maheswaran and S. Shavitt. Issues and new directions in global consumer psychology. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 9(2):59–66, 2000.

G. R. Maio, A. Pakizeh, W.-Y. Cheung, and K. J. Rees. Changing, priming, and acting on values: Effects via motivational relations in a circular model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 97(4):699–715, 2009.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Culture and globalization. Available at: http:globalization101.org/issue/culture/, 2007. Last accessed April 12, 2007.

Pew Research Center. Key takeaways on u.s. immigration: Past, present and future. Available at: http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/09/28/key-takeaways-on-u-s-immigration-past-present-and-future/, 2015. Downloaded on August 18, 2016.

Pew Research Center. 5 facts about the muslim population in europe. Available at: http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/19/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/, 2016. Downloaded on August 18, 2016.

The Free Dictionary. Available at: http://www.thefreedictionary.com, 2013. Downloaded on May 22, 2013.

G. McCracken. Culture and consumption: A theoretical account of the structure and movement of the cultural meaning of consumer goods. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 13(1):71–84, 1986.

A. Mok and M. W. Morris. Bicultural self-defense in consumer contexts: Self-protection motives are the basis for contrast versus assimilation to cultural cues. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 23(2):175–188, 2013. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcps.2012.06.002.

L. Nasseri and T. Mulier. Mango sells veiled iranian shoppers Penelope Cruz's T-shirts. Available at: http://www.Bloomberg.com, 2009. April 13, 2009.

S. Ng. Cultural orientation and brand dilution: Impact of motivation level and extension typicality. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 47(1):186–198, 2010.

R. E. Nisbett, K. Peng, I. Choi, and A. Norenzayan. Culture and systems of thought: Holistic versus analytic cognition. *Psychological Review*, 108(2): 291–310, 2001.

K. J. O'Brien. Telefónica's 20-Year Gamble Pays Off. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com, 2012. Downloaded on September 3, 2014.

S. B. Ortner. On key symbols. *American Anthropologist*, 75(5):1338–1346, 1973.

R. C. Ostergren. *A Community Transplanted*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1988.

D. Oyserman. Identity-based motivation: Implications for action-readiness, procedural-readiness, and consumer behavior. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 19:250–260, 2009.

D. Oyserman, H. M. Coon, and M. Kemmelmeier. Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128(1):3–72, 2002.

Reuters. Immigrants in germany swell to record high 11 million. Available at: http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-europe-migrants-germany-id UKKCN0Q81WO20150803, 2015. Downloaded on August 18, 2016.

S. Robinette and C. Brand. *Emotion Marketing: The Hallmark Way of Winning Customers for Life*. McGraw Hill Professional, 2001.

C. Rui. Why Starbucks needs to get out of the Forbidden City? Available at: http://blog.sina.com.cn/u/4adabe27010008yg, 2007. Downloaded on August 28, 2007.

B. H. Schmitt, Y. Pan, and N. T. Tavassoli. Language and consumer memory: The impact of linguistic differences between chinese and english. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21(3):419–431, 1994.

S. Sharma, T. A. Shimp, and J. Shin. Consumer ethnocentrism: A test of antecedents and moderators. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 23(1):26–37, 1995.

S. Shavitt, A. Y. Lee, and C. J. Torelli. Cross-cultural issues in consumer behavior. In M. Wanke, editor, *Social Psychology of Consumer Behavior*, pages 227–250. Psychology Press, NY, 2008.

S. Shavitt, C. J. Torelli, and H. Riemer. Horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism: Implications for understanding psychological processes. In M. J. Gelfand, C.-Y. Chiu, and Y.-Y. Hong, editors, *Advances in Culture and Psychology (Vol 1)*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010.

W. Shepard. Is This The Recipe For Starbucks' Continued Success In China? Available at: http://www.forbes.com/sites/wadeshepard/2016/02/06/is-this-the-recipe-for-starbucks-success-in-china/%#4e2035dd128b, 2016. Downloaded on August 23.

T. A. Shimp and S. Sharma. Consumer ethnocentrism: Construction and validation of the cetscale. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 24(3):280–289, 1987.

B. Shore. Taking culture seriously. *Human Development*, 45(4):226–228, 2002.

T. M. Singelis, H. C. Triandis, D. Bhawuk, and M. J. Gelfand. Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism: A theoretical and measurement refinement. *Cross-Cultural Research: The Journal of Comparative Social Science*, 29(3):240–275, 1995.

M. J. Sirgy. Self-concept in consumer behavior: A critical review. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 9(3):287–300, 1982.

D. Sperber. *Explaining Culture: A Naturalistic Approach*. Blackwell, Massachusetts, 1996.

Internet Live Stats. Available at: http://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users/, 2016. Downloaded on August 22, 2016.

J. J. Steenkamp, R. Batra, and D. L. Alden. How perceived brand globalness creates brand value. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 34(1):53–65, 2003.

Y. Strizhakova, R. A. Coulter, and L. L. Price. Branded products as a passport to global citizenship: Perspectives from developed and developing countries. *Journal of International Marketing*, 16(4):57–85, 2008.

V. Swaminathan, K. L. Page, and Z. Gürhan-Canli. My brand or "our" brand: The effects of brand relationship dimensions and self-construal on brand evaluations. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34(2):248–259, 2007.

T. Talhelm, X. Zhang, S. Oishi, C. Shimin, D. Duan, X. Lan, and S. Kitayama. Large-scale psychological differences within China explained by rice versus wheat agriculture. *Science*, 344(6184):603–608, 2014. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1126/science.1246850.

C. J. Torelli. *Globalization, Culture, and Branding: How to Leverage Cultural Equity for Building Iconic Brands in the Era of Globalization*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY, 2013.

C. J. Torelli and R. Ahluwalia. Extending culturally symbolic brands: A blessing or a curse? *Journal of Consumer Research*, 38(5):933–947, 2012.

C. J. Torelli and S.Y.-Y Cheng. Cultural meanings of brands and consumption: A window into the cultural psychology of globalization. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 5:251–262, 2011.

C. J. Torelli and S. Y. Y. Cheng. Cultural symbolism of brands and globalization: Implications for consumer-brand relationships. In S. Ng and A. Y. Lee, editors, *Handbook of Culture and Consumer Psychology (pp*, page pp. in press. 2014.

C. J. Torelli and S. Shavitt. Culture and concepts of power. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 99(4):703–723, 2010.

C. J. Torelli, C.-Y. Chiu, H. T. Keh, and N. Amaral. Brand iconicity: A shared reality perspective. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 36:108–111, 2009a.

C. J. Torelli, C.-Y. Chiu, H. T. Keh, and N. Amaral. Cultural symbolism of brands: A shared reality perspective. Unpublished Manuscript, University of Minnesota, 2009b.

C. J. Torelli, C. Y. Chiu, and H. T. Keh. *Cultural Symbolism of Brands in Globalized Economy*. Paper presented at the Global Brand Management Conference, Istanbul-Turkey, 2010a.

C. J. Torelli, C.-Y. Chiu, H. T. Keh, and N. Amaral. American = men? gender and cultural dynamics in the marketing of male-symbolic brands to women. In D. W. Dahl, G. V. Johar, and S. M. J. van Osselaer, editors, *NA - Advances in Consumer Research* (Vo. 38). University of Minnesota, Duluth, MN, 2010b.

C. J. Torelli, H. T. Keh, and C.-Y. Chiu. Cultural symbolism of brands. In B. Loken, R. Ahluwalia, and M. J. Houston, editors, *Brands and Brand Management: Contemporary Research Perspectives*, pages 113–132. Routledge, New York, 2010c.

C. J. Torelli, C. Y. Chiu, H. T. Keh, and N. Amaral. American = men? gender bias in the marketplace. Technical report, University of Minnesota, 2011a. Unpublished Manuscript.

C. J. Torelli, C.-Y. Chiu, K.-P. Tam, A. K. C. Au, and H. T. Keh. Exclusionary reactions to foreign cultures: Effects of simultaneous exposure to cultures in globalized space. *Journal of Social Issues*, 67(4):716–742, 2011b.

C. J. Torelli, A. Ozsomer, S. Carvalho, H. T. Keh, and N. Maehle. Brand concepts as representations of human values: Do cultural congruity and compatibility betweeen values matter? *Journal of Marketing*, 76(July):92–108, July 2012.

H. C. Triandis. The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review*, 96(3):506–520, 1989.

H. C. Triandis. *Individualism & Collectivism*. Westview Press, CO, 1995.

H. C. Triandis. The psychological measurement of cultural syndromes. *American Psychologist*, 51(4):407–415, 1996.

H. C. Triandis and M. J. Gelfand. Converging measurement of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(1):118–128, 1998.

J. S. Uleman, W. C. Winborne, L. Winter, and D. Shechter. Personality differences in spontaneous personality inferences at encoding. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51(2):396–403, 1986.

UNWTO. International tourist arrivals up 4% reach a record 1.2 billion in 2015. Available at: http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2016-01-18/international-tourist-arrivals-4-reach-record-12-billion-2015, 2016. Downloaded on August 23, 2016, at Forbes.com.

J. A. Vandello and D. Cohen. Patterns of individualism and collectivism across the united states. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77 (2):279–292, 1999.

R. Varman and R. W. Belk. Nationalism and ideology in an anticonsumption movement. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36(4):686–700, 2009.

C. Wan, C.-Y. Chiu, K. P. Tam, S.-L. Lee, I.Y.-M. Lau, and S. Peng. Perceived cultural importance and actual self-importance of values in cultural identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92:337–354, 2007.

L. Winter and J. S. Uleman. When are social judgments made? evidence for the spontaneousness of trait inferences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 47(2):237–252, 1984.

E. Zerubavel. Social memories: Steps to a sociology of the past. *Qualitative Sociology*, 19(3):283–299, 1996.