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Abstract

People now make consumption decisions in a global marketplace. Slowly, society is collectively gaining painful awareness of the impact of these decisions. Contemporary consumerism is the product of long-term historical changes and, by implication, can be further changed. This paper develops the position that enriching our conventional understanding of consumer socialization from a global perspective is one way family and consumer scientists can impact the future direction of modern consumption in a global market. By adopting this role within civil society, members of the profession can contribute to the process of re-socializing the existing generation, and socializing entire new generations, of consumers to be globally conscious. By implication, business and government's trade, production and foreign policies will be challenged as well leading to an even more profound change in consumption patterns around the world.

Family and consumer scientists are expressing their concern that we¹ need to bring a global perspective to our curricula, policy and practice (Crawford, 1993; Engberg, 1993; Lusby, 1992; McGregor, 1996; Smith & Peterat, 1992). This paper extends this dialogue and concern to the specific task of socializing citizens to be consumers in today's society. The structure of any society produces history by setting the conditions of human action. By extension, the 'consumer' society produces history, at home and abroad. The emergence of the consumer society is evident in the skyrocketing consumption that has become the hall mark of this era, a status achieved over 400 years resulting from several centuries of profound social, economic and cultural change in the West (Gabriel & Lang, 1995; McCracken, 1988). Modern consumption is now a global phenomenon. The global economy is now structured primarily to feed the consumer life-style of the Northern world. Consumption is almost universally seen as good and is the primary goal of most national economic policy (Durning, 1992).

Consumerism "underlines the interconnectedness of national economies, [and also] affects the rich and the poor, shapes international trade, politics and peace" (Gabriel & Lang, 1995, p.10). As a result of global links, it is inevitable, in a capitalist society, that interdependencies will evolve between societies. In reality, Northern societies have used these links to access world resources, including human labour and natural resources, to satisfy the Northern consumer society at the expense of the quality of life and natural resources of Southern Third World countries (Joy & Wallendorf, 1996). To address this situation, family and consumer scientists need to assume a more visible role in civil society, defined as citizen activity outside state and business control and independent of them, activity directed towards building just and democratic societies (Karpatkin, 1996). Modern consumption in the global market needs to be remade in light of the profound implications on the world's environment and citizens if the relationship between Northern and Southern countries continues unchallenged. We have a central role to play in this process.

To quote McCracken (1988), "developments in consumption have a way of creating circumstances which give rise to still further developments in consumption. Causes become effects which in turn become causes" (p.12). The basic message of this paper is that past consumption practices and approaches to socializing people into their role as consumer have had detrimental affects on Southern consumers and the natural environment; the effect of past consumption decisions has become a cause for present and future concern. Because a system of relations do develop between societies over time (Bouchet, 1996), we need to be concerned with the implications of the consumption decisions of Northern consumer societies on Southern citizens and the environment as well as that of future generations. Northern consumers need to be made more aware, and accepting, of national differences in consumer values, practices and problems, especially the differences between Northern countries and Southern Third World countries¹. Eighty percent of the world's population live in the Southern hemisphere but Northern citizens have access to 80% of the worlds resources. This situation necessitates that they be socialized to be accountable and responsible for their consumption decisions.

This is where family and consumer scientists come into play. We need to act on our growing appreciation of the linkages between consumer socialization, acculturation and globalization. Each process will be discussed followed by recommendations for dialogue about directions for future practice.

Consumer Socialization

¹For clarification, we and our refers to family and consumer scientists and home economists practising in today's civil society.

There is a proliferation of literature on consumer socialization (Carlson, Walsh, Lacznia, & Grossbart, 1994; McNeal, 1987; Moschis, 1987; Ward, 1974, 1981). "Socialization is a broad term for the whole process by which an individual develops, through transaction with other people, his[/her] specific patterns of socially relevant behaviours and experience" (Zigler & Child, 1969, p.474). Through this process, people learn culturally accepted social roles and the behaviour associated with these roles within their own culture. One of the roles for which people are socialized is that of consumption and production (Vanier Institute of the Family, 1994). "Consumer socialization is defined as processes by which young people [and even adults] acquire skills, knowledge and attitudes relevant to their functioning as consumers in the marketplace" (Ward, 1981, p.382). It is a function of: (a) age or stage in life cycle, (b) social structural constraints, (c) agents of socialization, (d) learning processes and (e) the content which is learned (Moschis). Understanding how people become socialized to function in their consuming role is important because it provides insights into how people acquire motivations, attitudes and behaviours about the global marketplace (Carlson et al., 1994).

Kroll (1991) maintains that we are currently socializing people to appreciate that the consumer's role is to purchase private goods and services for personal or family use rather than recognizing the family in non-producer roles including a citizen concerned with public goods and a decision maker. He contends that we train consumers to respect consumer rights rather than appreciating the trade off between individual choices and other rights, for example environmental and human rights. Also, educators are socializing consumers to see just business as the antagonist group and are ignoring the potential negative impact of decisions made by labour unions, governments, farmers and professionals, even consumers themselves. He cautions that educators should not continue to adhere to their own particular ideologies if this approach fails to address values and problems perceived important to the public and the common good. The latter is beginning to include the impact of Northern values and practices on Southern quality of life and sustainability (McGregor, 1996). Kroll maintains that "even many consumer researchers and educators who accept a broad[er] view of what constitutes consumer roles, retain inconsistently narrow views of consumer interest..." (p.26). He argues that broadening our understanding of the consumer's role could lead to greater adaptability to changing domestic and international environments, in this case, the globalization of the world's marketplace. This broader viewpoint could lead to different consumer socialization if it were internalized and used when consumer education curricula are developed.

Consumer Acculturation - Profiling the

Marketplace of Third World Countries

While consumer socialization is concerned with how a person learns to consume in their local or national culture, consumer acculturation is the process whereby people, who have moved to, or forayed into, a foreign culture, learn and accept the norms, behaviours and standards of that totally different culture (Kindra, Laroche & Muller, 1994). This includes the situation of refugees and immigrants from Third World Countries who are trying to acclimatize to the nuances of the North American market, nationally and locally (Johnson, 1988). There are six dimensions of any culture which must be appreciated during the acculturation process: different values, ideas, attitudes, traditions or customs, artifacts, and symbols (Kindra et al.). The following text expands the relationship between marketplace conventions and these six cultural elements (placed in italics) as a way to begin to sensitize people to the differences and similarities between marketplaces in the global market even though they may never experience them.

Consumers in Third World countries *value* bargaining to the point that it is a tradition in marketplace transactions. Northern consumers are price takers whereas Third world consumers are price makers. They do not tend to write *ideas* down but instead share an oral tradition. One result of this cultural trait is the creation of a different set of laws and customs germane to dispute resolutions and consumer complaining. Also, the *idea* that chicanery is considered to be part of the game, rather than an example of unethical and unscrupulous seller behaviour, is foreign to those who have been socialized in North America but acceptable marketplace behaviour in many Third World countries. Regulation of seller's practices and protection of consumer's rights is the norm in our marketplace but not in Third World countries where the marketplace is often characterized by corruption and bribes. These consumers tend to live in countries whose governments hold negative *attitudes* toward gathering publicly in groups and voicing opinions collectively. Governments tend not to see the citizen as a consumer nor do citizens generally see themselves in the role of consumer, although this is changing. This perception can lead to a lack of consumer protection legislation or effective consumer organizations. The existence of market stalls and bazaars (*symbols*) to sell goods (*artifacts*) is relatively foreign to us since we are used to shopping malls and super stores. Third World consumers, on the other hand, still *value* the social exchange which occurs during the consumer role.²

Consumer Globalization

The previous discussion on the context of the Third World marketplace provides strong justification for arguing that we need to reexamine our approach to socializing Northern consumers. Since many people may never

actually experience a direct consumer transaction in a totally different culture, socialization to a global perspective could serve as a proxy to travelling to another country thereby contributing to sensitizing Northern citizens to the implications of their consumption decisions. A global perspective consists "of the information, attitudes, awareness, and skills which taken together, can help individuals understand the world, how they affect others, and how others affect them" (Babich as cited in Smith, 1993, p.19). There are close similarities in the definitions of socialization and a global perspective in that both are concerned with information, attitudes, awareness, and skills needed to fulfil the consuming role. Consumption decisions taken from a global perspective would entail: (a) challenging materialism and commercialism (Durning, 1992; Friedman, 1993; Peterson, 1993), (b) examining one's role as a citizen engaging in a life long consumer socialization process (Gabriel & Lang, 1995; Jacobson, 1993; Karpatkin, 1996; Stevens, 1994), and (c) gaining a deeper understanding of how current decisions have a profound impact on those in other countries, those not yet born and on the environment (Crawford, 1993; Goldsmith, 1996; McGregor, 1996).

A global perspective helps educators understand the family or household as an ecosystem, an environment where decisions are taken which can lead to a better quality of life for all (Engberg, 1993). She argues that this point of view is possible because families are seen as dynamic ecosystems that can adapt and change themselves rather than remain static, grounded in how they were initially socialized to be consumers. They can be socialized to care for each other and the earth, to appreciate that living in harmony with environments demands ethical judgements about how to live differently, and to see the merits of embracing stewardship rather than exploitation. With help, consumers can critically question consumption, production, distribution and institutional practices that shape the world and take action to better this world (Crawford, 1993; Lusby, 1991; Peterson, 1993). Smith (1989, 1993) and Smith and Peterat (1992) share a discussion of the gradual development of a scholarly understanding of global education. Table 1 reflects a distillation of their analysis into 14 principles comprising a global perspective, appreciating that principles by their very nature are general and intended to guide people's behaviours not dictate them. The moral tone of Table 1 is intentional, respecting the normative nature of these general principles.

Insert Table 1 about here

In more detail, consuming from a global perspective means people become concerned with the impact of consumption and production on the environment. It means they gain an appreciation of the notions of voluntary simplicity and conservation, and a deeper respect for indigenous knowledge and how it is passed on to future generations. People will start to think about the consequences of their consumption decisions. This reflection involves developing a growing awareness of global dynamics, the state of the planet, and the existence and nuances of other cultures and the reciprocal interrelationships between these cultures. Living a sustainable life style is not possible without adopting a global perspective since it inherently assumes an appreciation for the impact of technology and development on the integrity of local indigenous communities, infrastructures and natural environments.

Consumer globalization assumes that people can learn new ways to approach modern consumption if they adopt a life long learning process whereby existing knowledge in memory is modified by the introduction of new knowledge (Hawkins, Best & Coney, 1989; Peter & Olson, 1987). Appreciating the necessity and process of consuming from a global perspective is indeed new knowledge for many people and includes the changing meaning of what it means to consume. From the 1300's to the late 1800's, the word *consume* had negative connotations, meaning to destroy, to use up, to waste and to exhaust. When the meaning of consume shifted, in the early 1900's, to encompass pleasure, enjoyment and freedom, consumption moved from a means to an end in its own right. Living life to the fullest, more and more be damned the consequences, has become synonymous with consumption, with many of the negative consequences we see today (Bouchet, 1996; Goldsmith, 1996). Indeed, "in the late twentieth century, the word 'consumer' is regaining its older, destructive connotations" (Gabriel & Lang, 1995, p.26).

To counter this shift, we need to take steps to ensure that people begin to see themselves as *consumer-citizens* engaging in a life long socialization process with the interest of others and the environment balanced against self interest in the marketplace (Karpatkin, 1996; Kroll, 1991; McGregor, 1994, 1996; Stevens, 1994). Another aspect of this new knowledge is the meaning of citizen in a consumer global perspective. When the idea of *citizen* crops up in a discussion of consumption, it can take on one of two meanings. Some interpret it as the consumer having a vote in the maintenance of the market structure; each time they purchase, they cast their ballot (Gabriel & Lang, 1995; Mayer, 1991). Conversely, a citizen is "a responsible consumer, a socially-aware consumer, a consumer who thinks ahead and tempers his or her desires by social awareness, a consumer whose actions must be morally defensible and who must occasionally be prepared to sacrifice personal pleasure to communal well-being" (Gabriel & Lang, pp.175-176). From a global perspective, consumers could better assume the role of being the "conscience of the economy and of our society... providing a necessary balance ... in a market economy" (Karpatkin, 1996, p.8). Rather than simply learning *how* to buy or assuming that what was assimilated during childhood socialization is sufficient, people have to learn to appreciate that it is necessary to think about *what* to buy or *whether* to buy at all

(Lusby, 1992; McGregor & Greenfield, 1996; Peterson, 1993).

If such a reflective, responsible decision was based on the global principles set out in Table 1, it would better reflect the consequences on the reality of Third World countries and the environment. Cross cultural awareness (diversity of ideas and practices), and a need for balanced development in the Southern countries, while sustaining the lifestyles of Northern countries (another issue for debate), would be underlying principles of such a decision. Whether or not Northern technology complements indigenous Southern technology would be of paramount concern as would respect for Southern indigenous knowledge and how it is passed on to future generations (usually via oral tradition). Indeed, the disruption and disintegration of indigenous cultures by the introduction of foreign technology and advertising messages is becoming pervasive in Third World countries. Placing foreign technology in the hands of indigenous peoples, despite the best of intentions, often leads to a disruption of age, gender, clan, trade and relationship infrastructures, teaching the lesson that "consumer culture replaces an existing culture that may have served the needs of the culture more effectively" (Joy & Wallendorf, 1996, p.125). They explain that foreign intrusion can lead to displacement of people in their daily context and a redefinition of their daily lives such that foreigners are better able to access and exploit them. As an example, they share the story of tourist travel in exotic lands leading to misappropriation of religious artifacts into jewellery, tee shirts and plastic toys for foreign consumption.

While the introduction of foreign technology and cultural norms into a Third World culture has the potential to adversely affect Southern citizens, importing foreign made artifacts into Northern society can also impact negatively on Third World citizens. While trade does provide jobs, it can be argued that Third World citizens are marketing their ethnicity and culture as a commodity. The search of Northern consumers for social status and uniqueness, by buying imported goods, for example, authentic Turkish rugs, causes problems for many Third World communities. These types of transactions are symbols of the larger unequal relationship between the North and South, the East and the West (Joy & Wallendorf, 1996). The necessity for morally justifiable consumption and production decisions, as well as an awareness that one's view of the world, in particular the marketplace, *is not* universally shared, is an imperative from a global perspective.

Gradually Sensitizing Consumers to a Global Perspective

Consumer socialization involves interacting with others and with one's environment, a process which takes place over the life span during an extended period of time. More significantly, socialization implies learning new knowledge and perspectives in various ways (Grønhaug & Venkatesh, 1986). Rumelhart and Norman (1978) propose that, as a result of interacting with their environments, consumers incrementally change their knowledge base over time by moving sequentially through three levels of learning (see Table 2). From this perspective, we could develop curricula involving changes in the structure of the consumer's knowledge base as it relates to transacting with others in the global marketplace.

Insert Table 2 about here

First, with the help of family and consumer scientists who decide to embrace the new ideology proposed throughout this paper and by Kroll (1991), consumers could begin to acquire knowledge, meanings and beliefs about making consumption decisions from a global perspective (see Table 1). As their knowledge base begins to change, resulting from repeated exposure to experiences, information and reflection about the impact of their consumption decisions on others and the environment, they will continue to add new meanings, understandings and beliefs to their marketplace knowledge base, referred to as accretion. Second, while this subtle change is occurring, they would begin to develop "chunks of new knowledge", adjusting and fine tuning their evolving understanding of consuming in a market based global economy and community. Ultimately, the consumer would restructure their entire marketplace knowledge base. This restructuring would have far reaching consequences for themselves, other cultures, future generations and the environment. It involves creating entirely new meaning structures, reorganizing one's old knowledge base to accommodate a new set of principles and values or both (Peter & Olson, 1987).

We need to appreciate that the incremental addition of new knowledge may, or may not, end with the fine tuning and restructuring of someone's entire knowledge base (Peter & Olson, 1987). Educators should strive to create curricula which provide for *conscious* readjustment and eventual restructuring which involves making allowances for substantial thinking and reasoning over an extended period of time on the part of the consumer. This approach has a greater potential for causing significant changes in individual consumption behaviour. In a global marketplace and community, educators have no choice but to consciously bring a global perspective to teaching marketplace behaviour (Crawford, 1993; Engberg, 1996); it cannot be left to chance. Society is collectively gaining painful awareness of the impact of consumption and production decisions on the biosphere, the planet, and daily lives as well as the lives of other people. "The rate of technological change is faster, and the implications of globalization much more demanding, than any of us could have anticipated" (Costa, 1997, p.22).

The time has arrived for us to facilitate the application of conscious learning, and unconscious learning

which people were exposed to in their past, to their current and future role as consumers. It is now relevant to recognize earlier training in civics, social studies and natural sciences and link this training with consumption activities which impact civil societies and environments. In general, consumers tend not to bring this perspective into daily practice because they have a hard enough time worrying about themselves let alone their neighbours and fellow citizens at home or faceless people half way around the world (Gabriel & Lang, 1995). This reality makes it even more imperative that we re-examine our approach to socializing citizens to their consumer role.

Recommendations for Dialogue About Directions for Future Practice

Embracing global principles is central to eventually gaining an appreciation for the profound impact of modern consumption decisions on the citizens of other cultures and on the environment. If family and consumer scientists exposed people to the concepts of globalization and 'consumers as citizens' during their formal consumer socialization process, we could better ensure the adoption of a global perspective. People could begin to understand that their consumer interest is broader than just purchasing private goods and services for personal and/or family use with nominal consideration of the practical and moral consequences of those decisions. They would begin to appreciate that their consumer interest encompasses roles other than the economic consumer, including the role of citizen concerned with the public good (Gabriel & Lang, 1995; Kroll, 1991). They could distinguish between their individual interest and the mutual, global interest, with the latter taking precedence, or at least gaining equal weight, in their consumption decisions.

Ultimately, we could take steps to ensure that a new set of global values and principles be transmitted to succeeding generations and internalized by children and adults. In the meantime, even though consumers in Northern countries may never actually experience a direct consumer transaction in a totally different culture, they could at least begin to appreciate, with our help, that their view of the world and the marketplace is not shared by everyone and that the knowledge base and culture of others must be respected and secured. To facilitate this process, we are encouraged to assume that earlier, or ongoing, consumer socialization processes can be augmented and retooled to embrace a global perspective. Adopting a global perspective may well be the intermediary process that bridges the transition from earlier consumer socialization to a completely restructured marketplace knowledge base grounded in global principles.

Expanding our conventional understanding of modern consumption from a global perspective allows family and consumer scientists to recognize the need to ensure a profound restructuring of the conventional marketplace knowledge base of North American consumers. The current knowledge base is yielding destructive and non-sustainable consumption and production resource management decisions. It matters how people learn to be consumers and it matters that they are socialized to behave in positive, supportive, sustainable and adaptive ways because "behaviours that are encouraged and rewarded and values that are shared become *institutionalized* as cultural norms and values; are *transmitted* to succeeding generations; and are *internalized* by the consumers within that culture" (Kindra et al., 1994, p.244). Through this process, entire new generations of consumers could be socialized to be globally conscious thereby contributing to the remaking of modern consumption.

To achieve this ambitious transition, we need to redesign our programs to ensure that cultural norms relevant to the North American consuming role change. People need to see themselves as "*global citizens*" in a life long learning process with "citizen" meaning a responsible, socially aware consumer willing to make reasoned judgements and sacrifices for the common good. The integrity of the global market and community depends on this fundamental shift in values, principles, and ideology away from an *egocentric*, me-oriented mind set towards an *ecocentric* mind set (Vaines, 1990). Egocentricism, or individualism, defines people and others through ownership of objects; relationships are regarded as secondary to acquisition and ownership (Joy & Wallendorf, 1996). "Any retreat to a preset [individualistic] ideology will defeat the needed creation of a social context that appreciates that the economy, and our role in it, is central to modern life but only one component of human existence" (Costa, 1997, p.22).

Conclusions

Family and consumer scientists are invited to consider the idea that "our actions and experiences as consumers [and economic agents] cannot be detached from our actions and experiences as social, political and moral agents. ...The future of global consumption must remain the object of questioning on economic, cultural, environmental and moral grounds" (Gabriel & Lang, 1995, pp.4,5). They contend that, while the end of Western consumerism is not yet in sight, its future can no longer be taken for granted. This inevitable shift in the momentum and direction of modern consumption presents the opportunity to impact its new direction and focus.

Contemporary consumerism is the product of long-term historical changes (Gabriel & Lang, 1995; McCracken, 1988) and, by implication, can be further changed. As professionals and citizens acting in civil society, we need to contribute to the remaking of modern consumption in the global market. This contribution includes socializing consumers to the necessity of dismantling the existing consumer economy, gradually opening

opportunities to replace it with a low consumption economy that can be sustained and can endure. Maintaining the status quo is not politically possible, morally defensible, or ecologically sufficient (Durning, 1992). Rampant commercialism and consumerism downgrades family and community values. We have to be concerned with both sustainable *and* ethical consumption (Kerton, 1997). Every global citizen has to change their values and principles. If the profession opts to contribute to the enrichment of consumers' consumer socialization from a global perspective, both we and they will be major contributors to remaking modern consumption in the global market. By implication, business and government's trade, production and foreign policies will be challenged as well leading to an even more profound change in consumption patterns around the world.

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Table 1
Dimensions of a global perspective- 14 global principles

Perspective consciousness	we must begin to appreciate that our view of the world is not universally shared
State of the planet awareness	we must be aware of prevailing and emerging world conditions and developments
Cross cultural awareness	we must appreciate that there are a diversity of ideas and practices found in human societies and communities
Knowledge of global dynamics	a modest comprehension of key traits and mechanisms of the world system is necessary
Aware of human choices and alternatives	we must be aware of problems related to choices facing people and nations and how these choices change as one gains a consciousness of global systems
Balanced development	the demands on local supply to support development initiatives should not place undue strain local supply
Voluntary simplicity	we should strive to create a lifestyle by streamlining and simplifying personal possessions and consumption
Complementary technology	the technology introduced into a country should be compatible with or not compromise local indigenous technology or how it is passed on
International reciprocity	we must appreciate that each culture has much to give and much to gain from cross cultural interactions
Sustainable lifestyles	we must ensure that our current collective lifestyle renews and supports rather than harms the environment and ecosystem, other people and future generations
Systems consciousness	we need the ability to think in a systems mode rather than a dualistic mode (expand beyond cause/effect; problem/solution; local/global)
Involvement consciousness and preparedness	we need to appreciate that the choices we make and actions we take have repercussions for the global present and in the future, even for those not born yet or those in another country
Process mindedness	we need to appreciate that learning and personal development are a continuous journey with no fixed or final destination (life long learning and socialization process)
Responsible value deliberations and moral justifications for decisions	we must base consumer and resource management decisions on values as well as facts; make decisions on the basis of good reasons rather than force, self interest, fear, habit, or customs

Table 2

Gradual remaking of modern consumption by evolving to a globally sensitive marketplace knowledge base
(adapted from Rumelhart & Norman, 1978)

Accretion (incremental exposure)	(Fine) Tuning	Restructuring
initial and repeated exposure to experiences and information germane to the impact of consumption decisions on others and the environment (the global perspective), leads to the incremental addition of new meanings, understandings and beliefs to the consumer's marketplace knowledge base	accretion enables consumers to begin to develop "chunks of new knowledge", adjusting and fine tuning their evolving understanding of consuming in a market based global economy and community, sensitive to those living elsewhere, et cetera	fine tuning enables the consumer to ultimately restructure their marketplace knowledge base, creating entirely new meaning structures and/or reorganizing their old knowledge base to accommodate a new set of globally sensitive principles and values

Endnotes

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1. For clarification, the term "Third World" was originally coined in 1952 to describe a group of countries that chose to stay out of the Cold War rivalry between United States and the Soviet Union. By the mid-fifties, the term was taking on a broader meaning to collectively refer to all underdeveloped nations in the Southern hemisphere. The meaning had changed from a geographic and political term to an economic one (degrees of development of national Southern economies relative to Northern First World countries). These underdeveloped countries encompass Latin America and the Caribbeans, Africa (except for the nation of South Africa), and all of Asia (except Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong and Israel). Second World countries are comprised of orthodox communists nations, e.g., China. By the 1990s, the world had become a community of more than 170 independent nations (Evans, 1994a,b). 'The South' is used to designate developing and Third World countries while "the North" refers to developed countries (Mikkelsen, 1995). The world is now accustomed to seeing itself in terms of Northern developed and Southern developing countries (Joy & Wallendorf, 1996).
 2. The discussion of the typical marketplace experiences of Third World consumers draws heavily on a thorough examination and integration of different points of views expressed ten years ago by Allain (1988), Kinsey (1988), Reich (1988), and Thorelli (1988). Many of their insights were also recently expressed in an article about consumer issues in Asia (Widdows et al., 1995). Because many Third World economies have undergone tremendous change in the last decade, this profile of Third World markets was vetted with two university home economics educators from African countries (Ghana and

Malawi). Both agree that it correctly and thoroughly describes their current marketplace; it is not a hypothetical profile.