

Roots marketing: the marketing research opportunity

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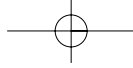
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Given the past and current migration of many populations, a significant and growing global marketing opportunity exists for products where the national identity or country of origin can be used as positive sub-branding. Two important questions for marketing researchers are discussed: first, how to 'reach' these consumers psychologically and, second, how to 'physically' reach them. To appreciate how to reach them psychologically the emotional significance and key dimensions of national, cultural or regional origins are examined using both the literature and a qualitative research study. As regards how 'physically' to reach and make contact both in marketing research and marketing terms with such a geographically dispersed target market, the authors examine marketing research and database research questions to establish a person's perceived roots, and report on an innovation in the use of personal and family names as indicators of origins or affiliations. Focusing on Scottish migrants and their descendants as a case study, the paper reports on a programme of research in which the strength of the link between Scottish identity and the consumption of Scottish goods is determined. The findings indicate a significant marketing opportunity given the above average level of purchasing of Scottish products by migrants and their descendants, particularly as such people represent ambassadors for goods from their country of origin. The implications for other migrant groups across the world are noted.

Introduction

There have been two broad strands of research on country of origin. The first examines consumer perceptions of products hailing from different

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(foreign) countries – see Showers and Showers (1993); Okechuku (1994); Lampert and Jaffe (1998) and d’Astous and Sadrudin (1999). The second strand of research focuses on migrant groups and their descendents, and specifically their attitudes and behaviour towards aspects of the marketing of goods from their country of origin or reflecting their ‘home’ culture (for instance, Forrest *et al.* 2005). This paper falls into this second category as it focuses by way of a case study on the consumption of Scottish goods by a Scottish migrant population and their descendants living in England, though the opportunity is much larger if one takes into account Scottish migration to North America, Australia, New Zealand and other parts of the world, and other migrant groups globally.

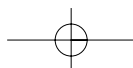
Reaching the emotions of psychological roots

In order to better understand how to reach consumers who have feelings of affinity with their ‘foreign’ roots, marketing researchers need to consider the various important dimensions of identity, which may, according to circumstances, involve differences in physical appearance ethnicity, country or region of origin, language, religion and culture. In addition researchers need to consider the strength of this identity, the degree of acculturation and integration, and be aware of the evolving nature of national identity and, importantly, its social construction.

The motivational aspects of one’s roots

A sense of identification or association may be rewarding because its expression is believed likely to create a favourable impression with others or is ego nurturing, reinforcing a desired self-image, or possibly both. For some migrants, of course, identification with country of origin may not be rewarding, it may be a neutral issue or in some situations even a source of unease where the host country population has negative perceptions of these particular ‘foreign’ roots. To explore in depth the potentially highly charged psychological area of national/regional, cultural or ethnic roots needs skilful and highly sensitive qualitative marketing research. Such research should identify the most powerful symbols that are both relevant and appealing to a product category and, of course, learn how to avoid (stereotypical) negatives.

From a marketing perspective, the sense of belonging (national/regional cultural or ethnic) may become increasingly significant or motivating; Costa and Bamossy (1995) contend that ‘The global resurgence in ethnic



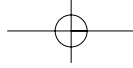
identity and pride suggests that as superficial aspects of behaviour converge, people tend to cling more to their own sense of cultural identity.' In other words, as so many aspects of culture and marketing become 'McDonaldised' or standardised, so the need for one's own individual and differentiating identity has grown (see Ritzer's thesis 2002). It is also reported that there is a 'growing interest in genealogy and ancestral heritage' (Morgan *et al.* 2002). Thus, an appeal to a migrant consumer's roots potentially represents a growing marketing opportunity.

We now examine the Scottish migrant opportunity as a case study though we note there are many other migrant opportunities around the world.

Examining dimensions of identity – ethnic versus national

Aspects of one's identity stem from one's ethnic, national or cultural background. Ethnicity has been defined as 'a shared racial, linguistic or national identity of a social group' but also as 'an imprecise term that has given rise to some degree of conceptual confusion' (Jary & Jary 1995). Using a narrow definition of ethnicity, ethnic groups can be recognised from their appearance. It is debatable, then, whether Scots living in England constitute a separate ethnic group in any but the most general sense. Sharing language and religion (save for some regional differences), appearance and most aspects of culture and social history, and even a monarch since 1603, many Scots may seem more or less indistinguishable from the English. Moreover, it has been claimed that 'the term ethnic is strongly divisive' (Roosens 1995) and that it denotes 'secondary status' because 'in no part of the non-white world are whites considered an ethnic group' (Venkatesh 1995). It seems therefore more appropriate for this migrant group to speak of Scottish national identity in preference to ethnicity, as 'nation' is the customary term for European 'ethnic' groups (Bouchet 1995).

It is also argued that national groups who claim distinctiveness – on account of their similar appearance to the host population – should be distinguished from those groups who have distinctiveness forced upon them by a dominant group on account of their differences in appearance (*ibid*). Many, perhaps most, Scots would seem to fall into the former category, often claiming a national identity for themselves rather than having ethnicity thrust upon them by others (for instance, in the case of gypsies). Scottish identity has been 'both subjectively claimed and socially accorded' rather than imposed (Venkatesh 1995).



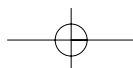
Social construction and the postmodern dimension to identity

Postmodernism is about the eclectic use of many styles, of nostalgic references, romanticism with tributes to past heroes and the fragmentation of personal identities. It is possible to see that some elements of Scottish national identity can credibly be placed in a postmodern context and are social constructions that can be diverse and evolving. For instance, there is considerable nostalgia and sentimentality in rituals such as Hogmanay, Burns Night, and singing 'Auld Lang Syne'. There are tributes to past heroes – William Wallace, Robert the Bruce, Robert Burns – which are sometimes a little distant from historical 'fact' and so an important role of research is to identify what represents a national identity in the minds of migrants and their descendants.

It has been argued that in postmodern contemporary culture, consumer identities have become fractionated, multiple and episodic, such that we pick up and discard various consumption masks dependent on the people and situations we encounter. (Shields 1992)

There is romanticism in abundance – the landscape, the highlands and islands, the story of Bonnie Prince Charlie – which potentially feed both a sense of place and sense of tribe. There are elements of what Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) called '*invented tradition*' – some of the tartan regalia owing more to Victorian imaginations than the Highlanders – and these are demonstrated through various Scottish ceremonies and events. The British media often create differing Scottish 'realities' (*Taggart*, *Hamish Macbeth*, *Monarch of the Glen*) although these may be fragmentary, often overlapping identities – maybe lowlander, Scots, British, European, according to context.

Bouchet (1995) claims that immigrants often 'reinvent, fabricating new identities on the basis of bits and pieces of memories borrowed from the former generation, of fantasies induced by the modern media'. Moreover he also argues that stereotypes held by the dominant/host people can be influential in creating a sense of national identity. In Bouchet's postmodern perspective, identities, whether ethnic or national, are a process of 'creative cocktail making, the ingredients of which are suggested by the diversity of images they confront in a postmodern society'. Identity is a '*bricolage*' (something constructed using whatever was available at the time) constantly evolving and influenced by both the positive – being Scottish (point of differentiation by association) – and the negative – not being English (disassociation).



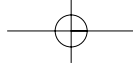
If it is the case that some Scots actually feel more 'Scottish' when living away from Scotland than when they live there, then it may be that they are particularly receptive to Scottish goods and messages. It may be that many Scottish migrants are part of what Benedict Anderson (1991) calls an '*imagined community*', a cultural creation as opposed to a physical community. It is this imagined world of migrants and their descendants that marketing researchers need to understand in order to identify what motivates them. We should of course note that the expression of ethnic or national identity is not a constant. We have many selves. Indeed, its expression may vary from situation to situation, for instance in different company (with friends, at work and so on, and in different ethnic/national company).

Identity and consumption

Costa and Bamossy (1995) contend that 'the identification of self as belonging to an ethnic group can precipitate certain behaviours' and, as such, Scots living in England may seek a means of expressing their identity to others or themselves. A sense of national identity or nostalgia may come from consuming, say, Scotch whisky or Scottish salmon, or wearing a kilt. In some respects, it is not particularly easy for ex-pat Scots to tailor their consumption to their sense of national identity. Whilst many ethnic groups bring with them social spaces that serve as a focal point – Irish pubs, Indian curry houses – Scots living in England appear largely to lack this public space except perhaps at Hogmanay. Even markers such as drinking Scotch, playing golf or eating smoked salmon have been adopted as a sign of middle-class affluence across the world and so alone do not fulfil the objective of signalling to others one's Scottish descent. This may mean that for ex-pat Scots to assert their identity to others through consumption requires particular effort and so represents a marketing opportunity.

Cultural consumption and Scotland as a 'brand'

In 1976 Raymond Williams famously defined culture as 'a particular way of life'. More recently it has been claimed that culture is 'increasingly becoming a consumable, marketable item' (Firat 1995). Culture feeds a person's sense of identity so it is increasingly true that 'without consumer goods certain acts of self-definition and collective definition in this culture would be impossible' (McCracken 1990). And, like identity, culture is a



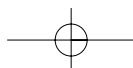
construction with constantly evolving meanings. Citing his own and the research of others, McCracken (1986) notes that consumer goods have acquired a significance that goes beyond their utilitarian character and commercial value.

If national or regional culture has become a commodity, then in some respects Scotland itself may be regarded as a 'brand'. Indeed the recent presence of 'www.scotlandthebrand.org' is a manifestation of this. And the way this 'brand' is promoted and perceived may be quite different for expat Scots than for those still living in Scotland. Nationality *in* Scotland, it is argued, refers to 'a sense of place' rather than a 'sense of tribe' (McCrone 1998; McCrone & Kiely 2000; Kiely *et al.* 2001). However, outside of Scotland a sense of tribe may be an equally important feature.

Unlike immigrant groups forced to migrate in order to avoid political persecution or poverty in their home country, many of whom reject the traditional values of their group in favour of those of modern life whilst simultaneously asserting their ethnic identity (Bouchet 1995), Scots have few rigid values in the form of religion or culture to rebel against and reject. They therefore may be more likely to nurture a nostalgic, even mythical, identification with their homeland that may colour their consumption.

Firat (1995) argues that 'cultures that cannot succeed in translating some of their qualities into spectacles or commodities seem to vanish only to become museum items'. Scotland certainly has its share of spectacles (Edinburgh Festival, Hogmanay fireworks, Loch Ness monster, Highland Games) and tangible products (whisky, tartan, etc.), and these may be as important in allowing Scottish migrants to keep the faith with their heritage as in attracting overseas interest. Roosens (1995) argues that 'Looking for one's roots in the country of origin are frequently processed as commodities in the marketplace.'

In summary, given the worldwide migrant shifts, marketing researchers will increasingly recognise the possibility of marketing directed at the diaspora of different nationalities, cultural and regional groups. Researchers need to be sensitive to the dimensions of identity based on a person's origins that we have touched on as these may affect the nature and degree of interest in products. In particular, researchers need to assess the relative attractiveness of different origins, the degree to which distinctiveness is claimed rather than thrust upon a group, the relative degree of hankering for a sense of place or a sense of tribe, and to explore the complexities of social construction, imagined community and romanticism that form the identity of a particular group.



Reaching the diaspora: marketing research markers and measures of identity

With an understanding of the complex dimensions of national identity and the potential marketing opportunity from migrants' consumption of 'home' goods, the next issue is how to identify migrants and their descendants; we consider the most likely candidates from a full list of potential markers in Table 1.

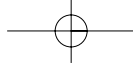
As we have already noted, there are few, if any, physical differences or even differences in everyday clothing between the Scots and the English, which makes identification in the street for interviews problematic. Except on occasions when a tartan kilt is worn, accent is often the only really identifiable marker of being Scottish. Even accent may be a transient marker in the sense of an attribute of the migrant but less so for their children.

Internet 'footprints' are another possible way in which to observe interest in country of origin. Visitors to genealogy or ancestral heritage websites often leave contact details and so this is a potential source for a database or marketing research sample but probably far from a representative frame.

Interestingly, personal and family names are often potential observable markers of ethnic or national identity and innovative software has been developed to identify the 'origins' of individuals using names (Kiely *et al* 2001; Morgan *et al* 2002; and see Webber, 2004, 2007 for information on *OriginsInfo* software). Most family names that originate from Scotland are clearly identifiable by both Scots and by people of non-Scottish origin. Many ex-patriate Scots specifically select Scottish personal names for their children. Indeed, confusingly, growing appreciation of the Scottish brand identity among non-Scots has also led to a renaissance in the use of Scottish personal names among people of English as well as Scottish origin in England. With access to a national computerised version of the electoral

Table 1 Potential markers of national/regional identity

Observable	Not so observable (need for questioning)
Physical features (e.g. hair colour)	Declared (feelings of) belonging or aspiration
Clothes worn (tartan, sports clubs supported, etc.)	Sports teams privately supported
Accent (transient – migrants but children?)	Tastes in food
Names (family and first names)	Values
Geodemographics (where lives)	
Rituals or behaviour	
Events attended	
Websites visited (e.g. ancestry)	
Food consumed	
Visits to 'ancestral'/genealogy websites	



register, it has been possible to trawl the variety of personal and family names that exist in contemporary Britain and not only to identify the strength of regional concentrations of people with Scottish personal and family names but also to assign all adults to the parts of the world from which their holders, or their holders' forebears, are most likely to have originated (Webber 2007 – to be published). It has been estimated that there are *c.*28 million Scots and their descendants dispersed around the world (Morgan *et al.* 2002) and many of these could be identified on the basis of names on electoral registers, telephone directories and other databases so opening up the possibly of efficient marketing research exercises and direct marketing.

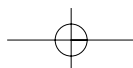
Geodemographic analysis using names might help identify enclaves of some ethnic or national groups. Morgan *et al.* targeted what they judged to be small communities of Welsh people in the US as part of a campaign to encourage tourism to the home country.

Given that there may be few physical distinguishing features or markers of Scottish identity, apart from accent, it is possible that Scottish migrants' children, grandchildren and so on may feel less affinity with Scotland given that their Scottish identity is not obvious and their accents may change with time and through the generations to reflect those of the host nation. The degree of diminishing affinity is something that clearly needs to be measured as it affects the size of any marketing opportunity. This study addresses this issue.

If observable measures do not guarantee that a person feels Scottish, nor indicate the degree of Scottish affinity that is felt, we may also need to consider 'subjective' measures of affinity. Such measures often simply consist of asking respondents to say from a list to which ethnic or national group they belong, though we should note that this is prohibited in some countries (France and Germany, for instance). Then a question or questions may be asked to determine their strength of affinity. It is acknowledged that subjective measures such as these too may suffer from problems including posturing and non-response (if the questions are interpreted as an invasion of privacy).

Summary

Consumption would seem to be a medium for the expression of national, regional or ethnic identity, either as a public signal (conspicuous consumption) to others or as a private ego-nurturing exercise. However, there is as far as we know little if any published research that considers evidence of the link between the roots of the diaspora and their consumption. If we assume



in our case that Scottish identity fuels consumption of Scottish goods then from the review of research and earlier discussion we need to understand more fully the facets of the relationship, including how length of residency in the host country or generational distance from Scottish roots affects strength of felt identity. In addition, we need to explore what is motivating (including sense of place or sense of tribe) and what is not motivating with regard to Scottish identity. We also, of course, need to establish that there is a link between roots and consumption and its magnitude.

Research objectives and method

The research objectives were:

1. to explore the nature of a sense of Scottish identity amongst those with Scottish genealogy living in England and note any lessons relating to the qualitative inquiry on the subject of 'roots' amongst migrants
2. to determine the relationship, if any, between self-perceived Scottish descent and identity and the consumption of Scottish products and the relative pull of place and tribe. In addition, we wished to examine the effect, if any, of 'distance' from the homeland (e.g. length of residency in England and how many generations distant), and
3. to consider the implications for both theory and marketing practice.

The programme of research comprised three studies involving both qualitative and quantitative marketing research. The qualitative research was designed to explore the more emotive aspects of identity and consumption, and the quantitative research to examine the strength of any link between consumption and a Scottish identity.

Study 1

Twelve exploratory depth interviews with Scottish expatriates living in England were conducted to explore the nature of the relationship between Scottish identity and consumption. Quotas were set to ensure an adequate representation of males and females, different ages (range 30–60), presence or not of family in Scotland, and residency (range of months to 20 years). Three qualitative researchers were involved – one a Scottish migrant, the second from an ethnic minority and the third from England. Early findings were reported at a conference by Tinson & Sekhon (2003). For observations on the qualitative stage please see Appendix 1.

Study 2

An online survey of 131 adults claiming Scottish descent was conducted using email contact based on the University of the West of England, Bristol staff list. This served as a pilot for the main study on two key questions (genealogical link and consumption of Scottish goods). It also examined the relationship between consumption of Scottish goods and being born or not born in Scotland but of Scottish descent (i.e. remoteness of connection) as well as the sense of place and sense of tribe.

Study 3

This study comprised a nationally representative survey of 2592 adults aged 16–60 living in England (TNS online access panel). The sample was a stratified random sample (strata being gender, age, socio-economic grade, region and working status). This yielded 435 respondents who claimed to be of Scottish descent and/or were born in Scotland or claimed to have parents, grandparents or great grandparents who were Scottish. This left 2107 other inhabitants in England as a benchmark for consumption measures.

To help determine self-perceptions of being Scottish we used self-categorisation ('Are you of Scottish descent?') in all three studies and strength of felt social identity in Study 2 (see Table 3 for battery of scales, and see Kiely *et al.* (2001) and Rutland & Cinnirella (2000)). Observations on method can be found in Appendix 1. It was not possible at the time of the TNS study to use the *OriginsInfo* software as it was still in development.

Findings

The findings of all three studies are presented according to their relevance under the three research objectives.

1a. The sense of Scottish identity amongst those with Scottish roots living in England, in particular its motivating qualities

In the depth interviews (Study 1) all the respondents were ex-pats (born in Scotland but living in England). They all appeared to hold a strong sense of inner Scottish identity, indeed in some cases, as we had anticipated, it was reportedly more pronounced when away from Scotland, often reflecting a personal ego-nurturing need as well as a tribal function, felt

more acutely when separated from the home tribe. The strength of felt and expressed identity varied depending on the context and whether it was deemed appropriate or helpful in terms of bonding or the impressions created. This was true for respondents with family and friends living in Scotland and for those who had no familial ties.

The socialisation process of building Scottish identity and pride in being of Scottish descent in migrant families is exemplified:

I'm teaching him [my son] words like 'breeks' ... and also making sure I sing him Scottish songs. Not loads – but enough that he is aware of that part of his identity. And I'll say things like 'we're Scottish'.

Female, seven months' residency

Clearly, such socialisation may very well influence the future consumption behaviour of those of Scottish descent and so increase the potential target market.

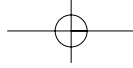
Where studies in Scotland (see, for example, McCrone 1998) have supported the view that nationality *in* Scotland refers to a 'a sense of place' rather than a 'sense of tribe', this appears not always to be the case for those migrants living in England. For them identity is often also about a sense of tribe irrespective of whether there are social ties in Scotland or not. The relevance of 'sense of tribe' is reinforced by Study 2 (university staff – see Table 2) though a sense of place still seems the more relevant (statistically significant at the 0.10 level, although caution should be exercised in its interpretation as this is a convenience sample and not a probability sample).

1b. Length of residency

Perhaps unsurprisingly, depth interview respondents (Study 1) who felt their Scottish identity had been diluted were to an extent those who had resided in England for a greater period of time.

Table 2 A sense of tribe, a sense of place (Study 2)

A 7-point scale used	I feel strong ties with other Scottish people (%)	I feel strong ties with Scottish places/Scotland itself (%)
Applies (+7, +6, +5)	54	64
Does not (+4, +3, +2, +1)	47	36
n =	129	128
Mean score (+7: +1)	4.50	5.12



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For the first couple of years I felt Scottish – but now I’m becoming ... kind of nothing ... I probably think of myself as British now – obviously my accent gives it away.

Female, 15 years’ residency

Nonetheless, there are still strong traces of romanticism about Scotland for these respondents that potentially could be tapped with interests expressed in Scottish heritage, the tartan, history, tourism and culture (as we noted in the earlier socialisation quote). In the depth interviews expressions of identity were sometimes tinged with nostalgia or romanticism and folklore (mythology) reflecting the postmodern observations made earlier and the nature of an imagined community. Sometimes products are placed around the home as a reminder of the country of origin, especially for oneself (e.g. photographs of the individuals wearing kilts or art/pictures of specific Scottish places).

However, ‘being’ Scottish is sometimes difficult to escape and disassociation from the stereotypical ‘Scot’ perhaps more evident. This supports the work of Combes *et al.* (2001). It was apparent that all respondents were aware of the negative aspects associated with being Scottish and in some cases behaviour was altered to accentuate the differences between a ‘typical’ Scot and the respondent. It may be this dilutes the sense of tribe and explains the apparently greater significance of a sense of place in Table 2.

There is an awareness of situations in which personal capital comes from being associated with Scotland. This was true of all depth interview respondents, even those with longer length of residency or those who no longer had family in Scotland. In such instances, being Scottish is quite simply a means of positive social differentiation. However, in an effort to escape the stereotype, some depth interview respondents reported a dual sense of belonging, blending in with the mainstream culture when it seemed more appropriate or beneficial. The issue of stereotyping sometimes led to some double-guessing how Scottish attributes might be framed by the host population in a certain situation and so whether to play the Scottish identity card. For instance, economical money management could be translated as ‘mean’ or ‘prudent’. Expressively outgoing could be translated as ‘hearty’ or as ‘overbearing’, and so on. This clearly demonstrates the value of conducting marketing research to ensure marketing communications are not just relevant but also framed advantageously and so avoid stereotypical pitfalls.

Interestingly, despite ‘sharing’ a social history with England, including language, Scottish migrants were especially vocal on the importance of the

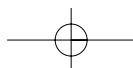


Table 3 Scottish identity and place of birth (Study 2)

% statement applies	Born in Scotland (n = 56)	Not born in Scotland (n = 73)
I feel pleased to be Scottish	96	47
I feel strong ties with Scottish places/Scotland*	87	47
Being Scottish is important to me	86	37
I feel Scottish	79	23
I feel strong ties with Scottish people	76	34
I think my views about Scotland are shared by other Scottish people	58	20
When I hear someone who is not Scottish criticise the Scottish people, I feel personally criticised	57	29
I think I am similar to the average Scottish person	43	11

* Dimension not in the Rutland and Cinnirella (2000) study
Base: those of Scottish descent

difference in dialect and the way in which this promoted both a sense of tribe and a point of differentiation. Of course, these observations may also be true of regional groups such as English Geordies (from Newcastle), Brummies (from Birmingham) and Cockneys (Londoners).

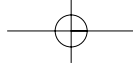
In Study 2 (the university staff) strength of Scottish identity was clearly related to whether or not the person was born in Scotland (all differences statistically significant – see Table 3).

However, given the sample size we were unable to explore in Study 2 the composition of the ‘of Scottish descent but not born in Scotland’ group to see how remotely they were connected with Scotland. We therefore covered this in Study 3.

2. Examining the relationship, if any, between Scottish descent and identity and the consumption of Scottish products

In all three studies there was evidence of the link between Scottish identity and consumption, and this covered many product categories.

In Study 1 (the depths) a number of respondents also felt an affiliation with Scottish food although this tended to be more intense for those who had lived in England for a shorter period of time and appeared to be harking back to what they had recently left behind. Those who had lived in England longer tended to use food less as a ‘comfort’ and more because of, say, a sense of nostalgia or because of the perceived quality associated with Scottish produce.



Food and drink were not the only types of product reportedly consumed by the depth interview respondents. The consumption of clothes to reinforce a sense of identity was important not only for the respondent but for the respondent to purchase for their child. Respondents also demonstrated how they convey their sense of identity through their consumption and their overt displays of 'being' Scottish. These public displays of identity were not limited to particular industry sectors nor did it appear to be particular to those with family and friends still living in Scotland.

Studies 2 and 3 of the research programme examined claimed consumption of Scottish products or services by the nature of the Scottish link. We wished to make a direct comparison of those with Scottish genealogy (up to great-grandparents or perception of being of Scottish descent) against those who did not have this. Study 3 examined the nature of the Scottish link in detail.

The large representative TNS sample in Study 3 reveals some interesting observations. First, 17% of people living in England claimed to be of Scottish descent and/or had parents or grandparents or great-grandparents who were Scottish. In Table 4 we can see that those regarding themselves as of Scottish descent or with parents, grandparents/great-grandparents who were Scottish (Group A) were much more inclined to buy Scottish products than the benchmark 'non-Scottish' population in Study 3. This seemed to be true across almost all product categories covered. As one might expect, the closer the connection (e.g. born in Scotland but living in England compared to 'not born in Scotland but with a Scottish parent' versus 'with Scottish grandparent' versus 'with Scottish great-grandparent') the stronger the likelihood of buying Scottish products (Table 5).

Using the basket of products in Table 4 and indexing on those residing in England but excluding those of Scottish descent or with parents/grandparents/great-grandparents who were Scottish, we can see those born in Scotland but moved to England index at 384 for consumption of Scottish goods and services. Excluding those born in Scotland, in other words descendants of the migrants, the index is lower and there is a very slight decline as you move down the generations from the original migrants (Table 5).

To examine the relationship between 'perceived Scottish identity' and consumption of Scottish goods, in Study 2 we created a Scottish identity summated scale based on the seven scales in Table 3 (as used by Rutland & Cinnirella 2000). This battery of scales exhibited very high internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha score of 0.93 that compares favourably

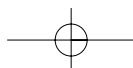


Table 4 Consumption of Scottish products (Study 3)

	Study 3	Group A	Group B Not BiSc	Group C Not BiSc	Group D Not BiSc
	Not of Scottish descent (benchmark) %				
Bought Scotch whisky	36	48	46	42	46
Bought Scottish mineral water	32	44	44	37	44
Gone for a holiday in Scotland	13	27	26	22	17
Bought ingredients to make Scottish food	7	23	16	20	17
Bought tartan design or clothing	4	14	5	17	16
Bought other Scottish clothing	3	6	5	2	4
Attended a Scottish cultural event	3	10	5	6	7
Bought sportswear/equipment made in Scotland	1	9	11	6	2
Bought Scottish paintings or craft	2	7	7	7	5
Subscribed to a Scottish newspaper/magazine	1	4	6	1	–
Attended a Scottish sporting event	1	6	4	6	1
Bought something else Scottish	15	31	23	29	19
None of these	41	25	25	32	27
Base n =	2157	435	81	108	96

Base: Inhabitants of England

BiSc = Born in Scotland

- Group A – Self-designation 'Of Scottish Descent *and/or* of Scottish genealogy (to great-grandparents)'
- Group B – *Not* BiSc but parent(s) Scottish
- Group C – *Not* BiSc nor parents but grandparent(s) Scottish
- Group D – *Not* BiSc nor parents, nor grandparents but great-grandparent(s) Scottish

Table 5 Consumption of Scottish goods/services indexed on English residents who are not of Scottish descent* (Study 3)

	Index	n =
*Residents of England excluding those thinking they are of Scottish descent and/or claiming to have parent(s), grandparent(s) or great-grandparent(s) of Scottish descent	100	2157
Living in England		
Claim to be of Scottish descent or one of the below	194	435
Born in Scotland	384	62
Not born in Scotland but ...		
... parents that were	169	81
... have grandparents that were	166	108
... have great-grandparents that were	150	96

Base: Inhabitants of England (other definitions as in Table 4)

with Rutland and Cinnirella's Cronbach's alpha of 0.90). We then summed the number of 'categories' from which our university sample had purchased Scottish products (zero = not bought from any category to +12 bought from all 12 categories). Using the two summated scales, we found a statistically significant positive correlation of 0.54 (0.01) between Scottish identity and consumption of Scottish products. Of course, we should bear in mind that the measure of consumption is relatively crude as it ignores purchase quantity/volume and expenditure.

3. Conclusions – implications for theory and practice

Whilst a study carried out on the Welsh by Morgan *et al.* (2002) suggests a link between origins and consumption, the research was far from conclusive. All three studies in our programme of research demonstrate the link between Scottish origins and consumption of Scottish products though the relationship (as expected) seems to weaken the more distant the generational connection. This hankering for Scottish 'products' motivated by nostalgia, romanticism, comfort seeking or a desire to differentiate is potentially good news for Scottish products, brands or Scottish themes (see Table 6 for some of the possibilities).

It is especially interesting as 17% of those people living in England claim 'Scottish descent' or to have Scottish family links, and Morgan *et al.* (2002) have estimated that there are 28 million worldwide who claim

Table 6 Examples of Scottish products

Scotch	Blended whisky brands such as Bell's, Teacher's and malts such as Glenfiddich, The Glenlivet
Mineral waters	Such as Strathmore and Highland Spring
Clothes, designs and wools	Such as tartan, tweed, cashmere; brands such as Pringle
Sports gear and equipment	Golf, mountaineering, fishing, boating, etc.
Sport	Football: Celtic, Rangers, Hibernian
Food and drink	Game (inc. fish), beef, broth, oatcakes, shortbread, smokies, haggis, Irn Bru
Culture	Films: <i>Highlander</i> , <i>Braveheart</i> , <i>Trainspotting</i> ; books by Welsh & McIlvanney; Edinburgh Festival
Holidays	Active holidays (mountaineering), touring, the Isles
Finance	Halifax Bank of Scotland; Scottish Widows; Royal Bank of Scotland

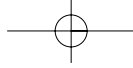
Scottish ancestry. Whether there is also an opportunity for enterprising marketers to trigger feelings of pride and affinity amongst those with remote and so unrecognised connections but seeking roots is an interesting question – a case of channelling a need. The extent to which one can generalise about the consumption link to migrants of different national backgrounds is debatable, especially given Bouchet's (1995) observation about those who elect to display their distinctiveness versus those who have their distinctiveness forced upon them.

It would be useful to index how much personal capital migrants or those with genealogical links with different countries associate with their national or ethnic identity.

For practitioners the link between ethnic and cultural identity and consumption is an appealing one given the many product categories for which there may be a marketing opportunity.

But how can marketers and marketing researchers of such products 'physically' reach migrants and their descendants? We identified potential markers early in the paper (Table 1). Consumer database lifestyle questionnaires could perhaps include national/ethnic identity questions with suitable assurances about the use of such data. However, there is often a non-response problem associated with such questions due either to the sensitivity of the subject or quite simply the lengthening of the questionnaire. We have already noted that, in France and Germany, marketing researchers are not permitted to ask questions relating to ethnic backgrounds and so direct questions are not the solution. For these countries, or where non-response or cost are concerns, an interesting innovation and solution is *OriginsInfo*. This is software that determines people's origins from their names and can be used in any country in the world (Webber 2007). Clearly this could represent a breakthrough for both marketing researchers and database marketers. One would clearly need to check the adequacy of the output in terms of marketing research sampling frame criteria (accuracy and omissions) but first runs are encouraging in terms of ability to code (see Appendices 2–5). Applications on online access panels are already being tested by TNS and the authors.

Importantly there will also be a need to reach those seeking their roots on a relevant psychological platform, so understanding the dimensions of identity and origins outlined in this paper will be crucial for marketing researchers. There will be a need to understand and monitor the changing associations, icons and values most closely associated with the country/region in question that could be relevant and appealing to specific



products; this emphasises the need for both qualitative and quantitative investigation.

Another research avenue for both academics and practitioners is the investigation of those more distantly connected to their homeland. This may be in terms of the number of generations since family members resided in the country of origin and/or physical distance from the homeland. Whilst in England consumption of Scottish goods seems to decline the more remote the genealogical connection, one wonders whether geographical distance may have the opposite effect and make consumption of 'home' products more precious.

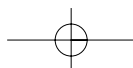
It would be interesting to compare and contrast migrants with different origins to identify where diaspora marketing might be most profitable. In Appendix 2 we show the incidence of Scottish names in England and Wales (and Scotland). This type of analysis drilled down to local neighbourhoods, combined with other measures, could be very productive. The relationship between measures (objective measures such as *OriginsInfo* and declared affinity) and consumption is an avenue for further research.

The case study on Scottish migrants and their descendants in England is very encouraging as it suggests significant marketing research opportunities not just for this group but potentially many other ethnic/national migrant groups and their descendants.

Appendix 1: Observations on method

Lessons on qualitative inquiry on the topic of 'roots'

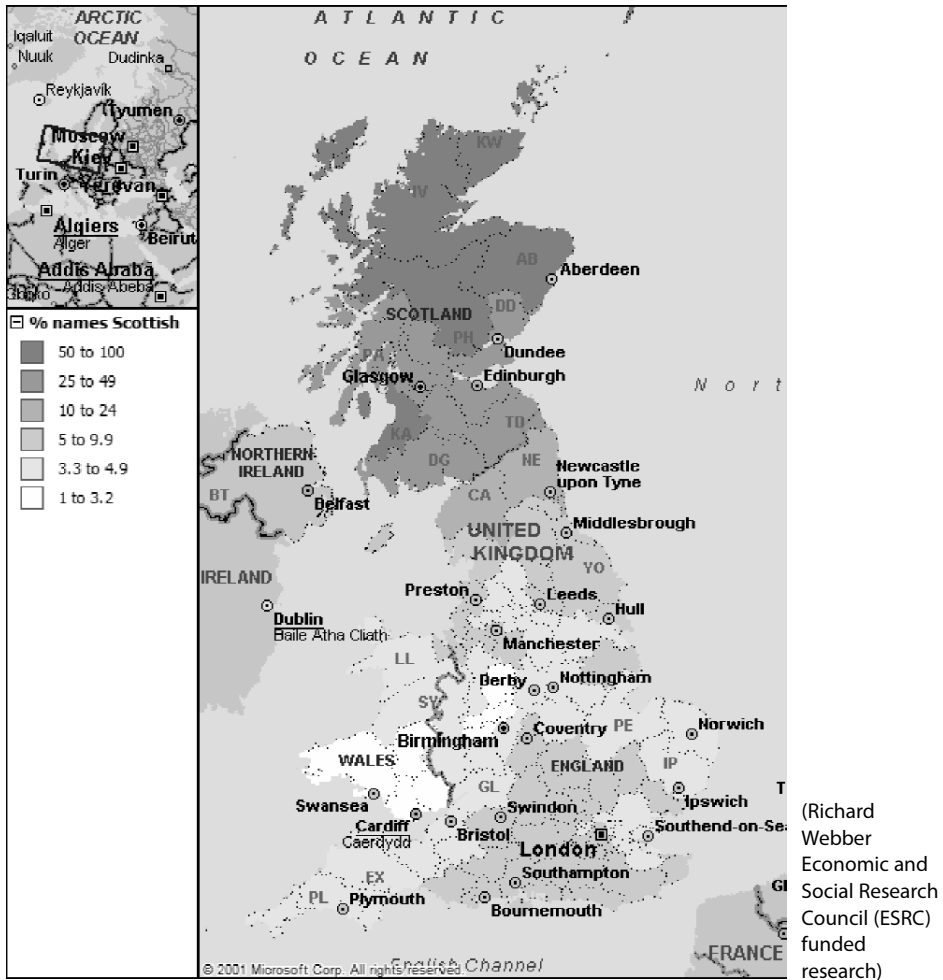
The research team for the depth interviews comprised a migrant Scot, an English person and a person hailing from an Indian/Asian background. It was anticipated and proved to be the case that the dynamics with respondents were often different depending on the perceived roots of the moderator. Disclosure and cooperation were, we believed, to be a function of the perceived need by respondents to amplify on topics to an 'outsider' (non-Scottish) and the perceptions of probable empathy. In the case of the Scottish interviewer it was important to resist anticipation of response influencing response and encouraging fuller amplification. The lesson, quite simply, is that the outsider-insider dimension of moderating needs to be considered before a project is under way and how best to handle the moderator's perceived status.



Survey sample

The university survey is a convenience sample and likely to have a BC1 bias. The TNS online survey involved contact with 5773 randomly selected members of the TNS online panel, yielding 2968 completed interviews in the space of ten days (2592 being in England). The co-operation rate is fairly typical and it should be noted that panel members are invited on to the panel (they cannot just elect to join) and that other methods of data collection suffer from significant, possibly worse, non-response and refusal problems.

Appendix 2: Analysis of Scottish names



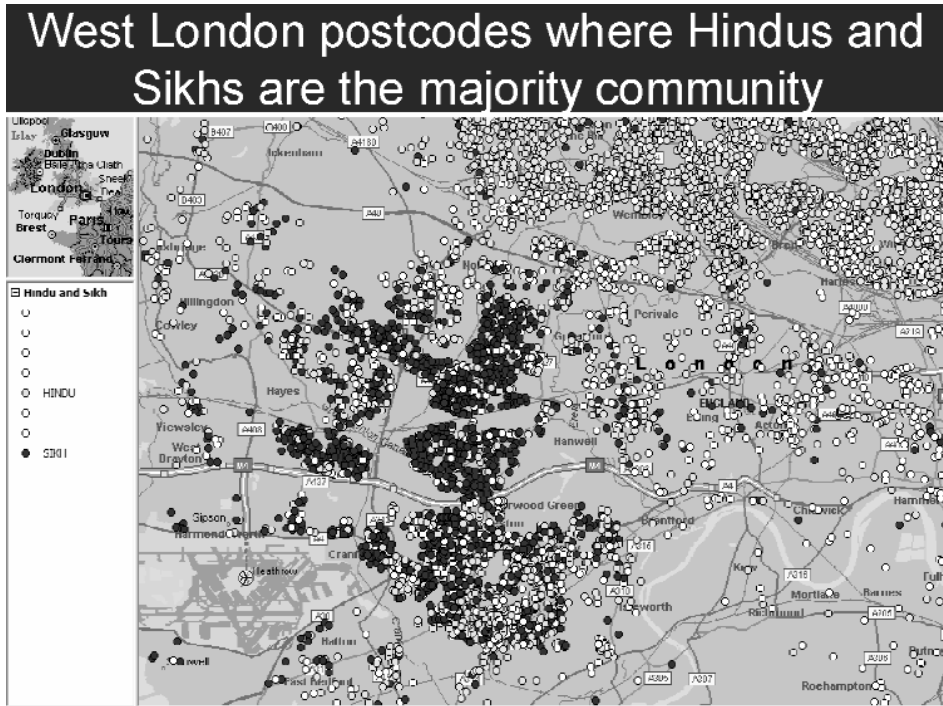
Appendix 3

The most frequently occurring origins types among residents of Great Britain are listed below.

Number and % records: most frequent origins types

Origins type	Records	%
England	31,166,617	67.262
Scotland	4,770,905	10.296
Ireland	3,186,432	6.877
Wales	2,998,482	6.471
Pakistan	485,704	1.048
India Hindi	303,866	0.656
India Sikh	270,990	0.585
Northern Ireland	229,295	0.495
Italy	211,153	0.456
Bangladesh	166,196	0.359
Poland	143,116	0.309
Hong Kong	113,860	0.246
Germany	108,846	0.235
Cornwall	106,320	0.229
Pakistani Kashmir	86,433	0.187
France	84,289	0.182
Portugal	83,483	0.180
Nigeria	82,259	0.178
Muslim Other	78,429	0.169
Jewish	74,582	0.161
Greek Cyprus	74,520	0.161
India North	71,675	0.155
Spain	64,044	0.138
Turkey	48,691	0.105
Sri Lanka	45,404	0.098
Celtic	43,473	0.094
Ghana	41,302	0.089
Somalia	34,079	0.074
Greece	28,424	0.061
Channel Islands	23,785	0.051
Black Caribbean	23,298	0.050

Appendix 4



Appendix 5: OriginsInfo

Using information from electoral registers, telephone directories and other sources the origins of 539,000 family names and 196,000 personal (first) names that exist in the European community have been established. These names have been linked to the parts of the world from which their holders, or their holders' forebears, originated.

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