Marketing and the Other: a Study of Women in the Sailing Marketplace and Its Implications For Marketing Discourse.

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This paper analyses the concept and function of the “Other” in marketing discourse – a consumption space that speaks about the tension between the “expected” demographic according to stereotypical cultural norms and the possibility of an unseen demographic that remains unacknowledged and thus unidentified in the marketplace. Our discussion of the Other is extrapolated through the feminist lens and uses women in the sailing culture as a case study. We focus on the role women play in this masculinist activity, how they find avenues into participation and what their consequent consumption needs may be. We also discuss their relegation to an invisible space in the marketing discourses that cater to the traditionally male-dominated sailing culture. This paper, thus, explores possible implications and benefits for marketing to an unfixed, liminal group who do not coalesce with the dominant norm in their culture; those who occupy the space of the Other.

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Marketing and the Other: A Study of Women in the Sailing Marketplace and its Implications for Marketing Discourse

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the concept and function of the “Other” (De Beauvoir 1949) in marketing discourse -- a consumer space that illuminates the tension between the anticipated or established demographic according to stereotypical cultural norms and the possibility of an unseen demographic that remains unacknowledged and thus unidentified by the marketplace. The paper draws its theoretical foundations from postmodern feminist theory which essentially argues that gender, sex roles and many other social roles are little more than performances or representations of a constructed social order. This project of feminist signification in a postmodern culture where only representation is achievable has given rise to a plethora of representation projects and critiques by feminists who seek to parody, pastiche and mimic the issue of gender.

This discussion of the Other takes place in the sailing culture, looking at the actual role women play in sailing and their relegation to an invisible space in the marketing discourses that cater to the traditionally masculine sailing world. Drawing from various sources, the paper performs a semiotic/intertextual analysis of the data. The analytical model adopted for this analysis is a semiotically influenced intertextual method that allows for texts to be interpreted for their signs and symbol and then read against other material. In this study, the combined semiotic and intertextual approach has enabled the identification of seemingly absent consumers and allowed a better understanding of how this strategy of absence can be found throughout a variety of advertising, marketing and discursive arenas.

This paper, thus, explores implications for marketing in an unfixed, liminal culture. The research found that racing imagery is embedded in dominant masculine hegemony, narrating traditional masculine experiences of conquest, heroism and validation of strength. By contrast, the research found that the cruising world occupies a more ambiguous space, narrating the experience of cruising as though to steer clear of any gender specific imagery or discourse. It is through and because of this ambiguity that women participate in cruising yet because it is a neutral space they are not made visible. The research also suggests that the cruising yacht is an extension of the domestic space, bringing with all of the domestic dynamics found in the home. Thus, women partake of the cruising scene through their traditional association with the private sphere. In the world of yacht cruising, women comprise a significant part of the marketplace, exert control over the cruising scene and make important decisions regarding their equipment and activities. Yet, we conclude that marketing does not appear to be aware of these subtle dynamics and continues to steer clear of depicting women on yachts. Instead, the cruising space is sanitized so as not to depict gender and thus women. Ironically, though, marketers who actually identify the financial and decision-making power women possess in the cruising scene and develop a marketing strategy accordingly would engage a fresh consumer base.

INTRODUCTION

Marketing strategy is often governed by visible consumer bases and identifiable trends. This research encourages marketing to “look in the spaces” as much as focusing on the immediately obvious consumer base. Using the case study of women in sailing and their comparatively marginal status in the community by comparison with men, this research visits the feminist concept of the Other, originating with De Beauvoir (1949), and focuses on the ways in which this positionality plays out in the sailing context. The postmodern feminist approach is yet to gain momentum in marketing where the situation of the feminine as the Other has yet to be applied to consumption habits. This paper seeks to introduce the notion of the Other through a postmodern feminist lens and show how it may apply in a consumption context.

THE FEMINIST OTHER IN THE CONTEMPORARY CONSUMER WORLD – A REVIEW

Postmodern feminism essentially asserts that gender, sex roles and many other social roles are little more than performances or representations of a mythical social order. The concept of the Other was created in De Beauvoir’s Le Deuxième Sexe (1949) to illustrate how Woman is only ever the lesser binary opposite of Man. However, postmodern feminism has appropriated this concept and used it to excavate alternate gender roles. Theorists such as Pellegrini, (1997) and Butler (1993), interrogate the existing constraints on gender performance and the typically restricted positioning of desire. Their work emphasizes the perceived limits of sexual discourse:

‘Sex’ is always produced as a reiteration of hegemonic norms. This productive reiteration can be read as a kind of performativity. Discursive performativity appears to produce that which it names, to enact its own referent, to name and to make (Butler, 1993, 107).

The acknowledgement of gender as a performance leads feminist critique away from classical second wave feminist objections to gender inequality (Faludi, 1991; Friedan, 1963; Greer, 1970), towards a more polymorphous critique of the social order as a whole. This is not to say that postmodern feminism does not still view feminism as essentially a struggle against patriarchal norms. Indeed, this continues to be the case. But as Moi (1986) points out, this struggle now takes place in a different discursive terrain:

I start from an agonistic definition of feminism, which I see as the struggle against all forms of patriarchal and sexist oppression... a struggle which has often been seen simply as the effort to make women become like men. But the struggle for equal rights historically and politically commits feminists to emphasize the value of women as they are (i.e. before equal rights have been won).... But given women’s lack of equal rights, this value must be located as difference, not as equality: women are of equal value in their own way... (1986, 6).

The effect of this position has been to construct feminism as a “third space” (Kristeva, 1979) or as a discourse of difference where the “feminine” is metaphorically constructed as a social representation of the Other:
Postmodern-feminist theory would dispense with the idea of a subject of history. It would replace unitary notions of woman and feminine gender identity with plural and complexly constructed conceptualizations of social identity, treating gender as one relevant strand among others, attending also to class, race, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation (Nicholson, 1990, 34-5).

This deconstructive effect on traditional binary oppositions has typically been articulated through a Derridean model (1976, 1981a, b), where feminism, through its deconstructing practices, has attempted to erode such binaries and narrate a heterogeneous program of alternate representation—the Other. While certain critics of this representational project caution against feminism losing its agency as a specifically female cause (Owens in Foster, 1983, 62), the encompassing agenda of postmodern feminism has nonetheless expanded and diversified the scope for representation or as Owens suggests “the existence of feminism, with its insistence on difference, forces us to reconsider”(in Foster 1983, 77). The potential application for an alternate lens has also been acknowledged in marketing (Bristor & Fischer, 1993; Hirschmann, 1993) although this possibility is yet to be fully integrated.

METHOD

Data was collected from chat room, publication, yacht club and product sources. We conducted informal interviews with racing and cruising member with an even gender split among informants. The three dominant steps were classification, internal semiotic mining of text for themes (Barthes, 1977) and then a comparative intertextual triangulation (Boje, 2001) across all sources (interview data, chat rooms, forums, product catalogues, event advertising, newsletters, magazines etc.) for consistency. The second tier of analysis involved constructing a semiotic map to show how the data converged into a stable series of discourses. The intertextual analysis enabled us to compare across sources in order to understand how these discourses are disseminated within the sailing subculture. Finally, these readings of the data were integrated with other non-subcultural sources in order historically contextualize the discourses expressed in the subcultural narrative.

DATA ANALYSIS—WOMEN IN SAILING

The data table (1) illuminates the themes that emerged from the data regarding the status of women in sailing. It captures the key discourses that surround the history of women which affect their role in the sailing community and the perpetuation of those discourses in the sailing community. The first questions to be asked of women and the expression of femininity in the sailing discourse focus on the visibility and performativity of femininity itself. That is to ask: where do women appear in sailing? Or how do they appear? The role of women and the expression of femininity must take a different route and borrow from a different heritage from that of masculinity. This begs the question: can women partake and if so in what capacity?

Women in racing

The sailing community is composed of those who race and those who cruise. Racing is male dominated and visible barriers exist for women to participate. Female presence in the racing world is negligible by comparison with men and they cannot partake of the dynamic social interaction that emerges from the collective experience of masculine conquest. Crawley (1998) identifies the tactics employed by men to exclude women and the discursive tropes by which these tactics are communicated:

The participation of the women’s team in the 1995 America’s Cup is a particularly instructive case study of how both the social construction of sport and perceptions about female athletes impede women’s entrance into top-level competition. Media accounts of the team used stereotypical and infantilizing representations of women; male competitors tossed around accusations of lesbianism; and journalists constantly questioned women’s physical abilities (1998, 34).

The two dominant strains of critique, according to Crawley, rested firstly on the notion that women’s general physical abilities were deemed inferior and secondly that they were incapable, due to lack of upper-body strength, of grinding onto winches (1998, 34). These two criticisms of the women’s crew were surreptitiously circumvented and articulated through various channels such as sexuality and psychological intimidation. Physical inferiority and a problematic formulation of femininity impact on the status of women in sailing generally and form central tropes in the subculture’s discourse.

FEMININE PHYSICAL INFERIORITY, THE STRONG WOMAN AS “LESBIAN” AND THE RE-ENACTMENT OF TRADITIONAL GENDER STEREOTYPES

As Crawley points out, the critique of physical strength as a problem has potentially inhibited women from maximizing their strength. The question of physical strength is also linked to sexuality where to be physically strong is to be analogically read as a lesbian (Harry, 1995). The allegation of being a lesbian is of course socially inscribed as negative. Thus, by introducing the notion that to be strong was to be a lesbian placed an obstacle in the way of the female crew—they were confronted with either being competitive and suffering being labeled or fail to compete and retain their perceived femininity. Media coverage of the 1995 America’s Cup women’s crew constantly probed their sexuality, leading one crew member to clarify each of her team member’s marital status (Hornblower, 1995, 67). Famed skipper Dennis Conner directly referred to the crew as a “bunch of lesbians” (Hornblower, 1995, 67) and the question among journalists of whether the women would hold up against the men persisted throughout the regatta.

Willis describes the paradox faced by women even more eloquently in suggesting that:

to succeed as an athlete can be to fail as a woman, because she has, in certain profound symbolic ways, become a man (1982, 36).

In traditional sports such as sailing and ball sports, women face particularly harsh critique. Cox and Thompson’s study (2000) of female soccer players revealed a heightened awareness of performing femininity so as not to appear masculine. Any identification as masculine inevitably resulted in being defined as a lesbian. As a result, players felt the need to express their femininity in constructed ways so as to unambiguously articulate and “perform” their gender in the face of their sport identity. The authors conclude that:

women who use their bodies to play sport, an institution largely constructed and dominated by men, often experience contradictions, ambiguities and conflicts. Many of these experiences will be associated with having transgressed normative gender boundaries, while at the same time being involved in the conservative practices surrounding traditionally male sport (2000, 18).
Bricknell’s study of gender in sailing revealed an even more conservative construction in the sailing community. Cox and Thompson’s work on soccer players revealed sensitivity to gender norms, but also their willingness to carve out an identity outside of gender expectations. Bricknell’s work (1999) demonstrated the complication surrounding gender relations in sailing and the potential consequences of appearing too feminine in the racing world. In the face of a dominant masculinity, women are inevitably perceived as “too masculine”, and therefore lesbian or they are to be treated as inferior, weak and malleable. The perception that women only appeared in team uniform because they had slept with a crew member freely circulated at regattas. Sailing on a different boat and having a team shirt that differed from one’s life partner was also a problem since it reflected a potential infidelity. Likewise, non-sailing female partners of male crew were suspicious of other women who crewed with their male life partners. Unless defined as lesbian, the presence of women caused problems in the racing context.

Female interview participants commented on their racing activities in light of the gender boundaries that exist:

Jane: I think the only way that you get accepted as a woman on a boat is when you are either brilliant at it or if you are one of those old girls who’s married to some skipper whose been
around the club for decades. I don’t let it stop me enjoying sailing because I love it so much. But, yeah, I’m always aware that I am not one of the boys and I never will be.

Other women interviewed shed additional light on their status as a racing sailor and the problems that it posed for them:

Mary: I hate the whole bloke thing in sailing. It’s a load of crap. All it means is that they get to get pissed, hit on women and then say “it’s because we’re better.” You only sail as a woman if you are totally committed because it’s not like you will get any help socially. It’s a pain in the arse, frankly.

This kind of scrutiny and poor treatment occurs at every level of sailing. While the women interviewed above speak about their local yacht club experience, the malignment of women also occurs at an international level.

The image of Olympic sailor Katherine Hopson (Seahorse Magazine, Sept., 2004, 11) (Figure 1) is one of many produced for a fund-raising calendar. The fact that she, like her male team mates, posed nude is not at issue. The problem resides in the caption below which deems her a “better choice for most Seahorse readers”. Her feminine body reduces Hopson to mere visual entertainment. Her commitment to the plight of her team and their fund raising efforts is eroded by her representation as provocative fun—unlike her male team mates. Thus, it is clear that in team-oriented elite sailing, women also struggle to participate on an equal plane.

Indeed, women are frequently represented in the subcultural discourse as visual entertainment. The website reportage here illuminates the extent to which women are regarded as sexual props:

Thierry bought us a few beers, and we dropped our protest after a discussion at the tent that was marked by each of us nodding off in mid-sentence—we were that tired. We were so tired, in fact, that we didn’t even make it to last night’s free beer/beach volleyball tournament, but I’ll see how it went. The Comex Paint girls that were running it were wearing the smallest, tightest, shiniest blue shorts you’ve ever seen, and they were probably all 18 years old. I really wanted to go, but we ended up eating a home-cooked goose (thanks Roy) and passing out hard instead (Mr. Clean-Sailing Anarchy March 2007)

This desire for the combination of beer, food and women is also articulated in Bricknell’s study where the male inability to sustain a meaningful relationship with a woman in the sailing context has an equally damaging effect on the status of women generally in the community. Regattas are not complete unless there are women to chase—not race. This image of women as on-shore entertainment precludes them from being perceived as serious sailors or worthy of any serious respect.

Temple suggests that:

Women who succeed in the masculine world of skippering racing yachts and ocean liners or single-handed ocean sailing are great role models for women who are exploring careers and leisure activities using male-stereotyped skills and technologies (1996, 23).

One might conclude, however, that the road for women in racing at every level is thwarted by a discourse that classifies them as undesirable—except as on-shore entertainment. Gender plays a central role in limiting the space of participation and sets stringent rules surrounding how gender operates in the sailing community space. Sailing, and in particular, racing, is acknowledged as an expressly male domain where the success of women is perceived as a strange and undesirable usurpation of a masculine activity.

Women and the cruising community—A gender neutral space

The cruising community works with a different set of values and derives a different experience from their sailing. The emphasis in the cruising community is upon enjoyment, relaxation and time spent traveling to various destinations. It is not competitive; rather it is an opportunity for friends and families to see the world.

An analysis of the following Cruising Helmsman covers offers insight into the world of cruising. The covers come as a stark comparison with the images depicted on racing magazines. Most
significantly, this cruising magazine employs gender neutral language, except in its title which still assumes a prevalence of male participation. The cover remains neutral, choosing to depict the yacht rather than people. Indeed, many of the Cruising Helmsman covers, among other cruising magazines frequently show boats and destinations rather than people. Unlike the visibly inscribed images of men at work shown on racing magazine covers, this cover does not depict anyone, leaving instead a blank space. This gender void speaks volumes of the Other through its failure to depict anyone. It is this neutral space, the space of the Other, into which women slip in order to participate. Racing imagery is embedded in masculine hegemony, narrating traditional masculine experiences of conquest, heroism and validation of strength. By contrast, the cruising world occupies a more ambiguous space, narrating the experience of cruising as though to steer clear of any gender specific imagery or discourse. It is through and because of this ambiguity that women participate in cruising yet, because it is a neutral space, they are not made visible (Figure 2).

The first aspect (January 2003) of the cover to strike the reader is the tranquility and beauty of the image. Gone are the images of men at war with the ocean. Instead, the reader is seduced into daydreaming of clear waters, blue skies and a relaxing sojourn on a river. The boat, although large, is dwarfed by the beauty and vastness of the surrounds symbolically capturing the essence of cruising as one where the destination is the most important thing. Nature, then, becomes an ally, a wonder to behold and respect, not conquer. The reader also notes the difference in the boat itself. Cruising yachts are cumbersome, large and slow, but they are comfortable, fitted out and classic. The captions framing this captivating image also begin to tell the cruising story. The dominant caption “geared for disaster” cautions, via the trope of a cruiser’s tale, against taking risk or heading into danger and ruining the experience of cruising. It is assumed that cruisers do not look for risky adventure with family and friends on board but instead look to the next lovely destination. The caption “geared for disaster” is distinctive in its gender absence. The sub-caption “the day a cruiser just couldn’t stop” reveals the gender neutral space created by cruising and how certain cruising stories are narrated without gender distinction.

This desire is illuminated by the caption entitled “destinations—Myall Lakes, Eden, Gove”. Although these places are all well-worn cruising places, the publication represents the notion that the cruising community never tires of a beautiful place. The location above further connects with the cruiser’s other great dilemma (other than where to go); what boat to buy. This caption is particularly insightful since the language used to speak to the direct is direct, personal and assumes a level of complicity on the behalf of the reader. The by-line “includes your essential 200 point checklist” emphasizes a personal connection with the reader, as though speaking directly to them about their own personal needs and desires. This use of personalized language also serves to re-affirm a strong sense of community where everyone feels as though the interests of the individual are shared by the community. This is further re-iterated in the subsequent caption “how to beat the bilge pump blues—do’s and don’t of installation” where it is assumed that everyone has suffered similar frustrations over their bilge pump. This caption also points to another strain commonly found in cruising literature—the DIY cruising yachtsperson. Much of the content in cruising magazines focuses on self-maintenance of boats. This personal affinity with the boat, where a sense of pride is derived from building, repairing and maintaining the boat oneself, is an integral aspect of the cruising community’s discourse.
The cruising space as extension of the domestic sphere

The cruising life and the cruising yacht space itself are both extensions of the traditional domestic space and therefore re-affirm many of the same gender roles practiced in the home. The prevalent demographic who live a cruising lifestyle is couples who either use their yacht as an escape to nature or live on it permanently. This intimate dynamic (which is absent from the racing scene) means that women must contribute to the activity and participate in the sailing or maintenance because there is no other crew upon whom to rely. But, in many respects, women are subject to the same gender restrictions experienced in other parts of the sailing community and appear to remain subordinate to their male skipper. They do, at least, benefit from the ability to travel and experience adventure. To this extent, the cruising experience offers women a mediated enjoyment of sailing.

The traditional positioning of women as active in the private sphere has a long and established intellectual and social history born through the pens of philosophes such as Rousseau (La nouvelle Héloïse, 1761) and Montesquieu (Lettres persanes, 1721). The advent of the bourgeois family unit concept, which grew out of Enlightenment principles of reason, social unity and the primacy of man as the patriarch of his reality and thus family, definitively situated women in a domestic role (Wollstonecraft, 1999). Fox-Genovese describes the Enlightenment view of women as:

informed by all the cultural and social tensions of the eighteenth-century. Although it glorified women as mothers, wives, daughters, custodians of the domestic sphere, it did not necessarily reflect men’s easy acceptance of women’s own powers and perceptions (in Bridenthal, Koonz & Stuard, 1987: 269).

The rules, structures and role assignments that occur in the home recur in the cruising space. The community upon which families calls for assistance, advice and guidance in a traditional neighborhood also exists in the cruising community where all matters are discussed and solutions are found. This replication of the traditional domestic space is the avenue by which women enter the discursive terrain and exert presence within the community.

In the home, women often maintain the domestic space, exercising influence over organization, finances and family comfort. This dynamic is repeated on the cruising yacht. It is not suggested here that the cruising space offers women any kind of liberation from gender restriction in sailing. Rather, they participate in a particular context which affords them a certain kind of presence or influence. For instance, in his account of re-building the interior of his yacht, this skipper narrates the authority held by his wife:

Anne was singularly unimpressed with the galley and the aft cabin. Even I, who knew virtually nothing about cooking, could see many shortcomings in the galley. “Thus must have been designed by a man” Anne snorted as she surveyed the unpromising scene (Cruising Helmsman, July 2005, 34).

Anne is situated in the narrative as the matriarch who orders the use of space in the boat. Her critique of the galley makes visible the mode of feminine presence where, in the cruising space as in the home, her approval is important. The worth attributed to domestic duties is augmented on the boat since a paucity of space and the ability to perform duties on a moving vessel make the ability to perform domestic roles even more valuable. That being said, Anne’s role is domestically oriented. She considers the cooking and cleaning of the boat since they are her ascribed roles. There is no question that, while there is a woman on board, the male will do the cooking or other domestic duties. This narrative captures the vexed situation for women in sailing. On the one hand, women perform necessary roles and contribute a skill base. On the other hand, their contribution is not aligned with or valued as much as sailing skills which fall to a male domain. The female role is mediated via a male presence.

Interviews with cruising women revealed different feelings towards their role on board. Some women felt a sense of liberation simply at being on the water and did not dwell on the ways in which their participation was limited or marked by their gender:

Gail: [laughing] Oh, I never do the full-on boat things like set sails or go up the mast. It would need to be a real emergency before [husband] let me do that. I don’t really even helm all that often. But, I love it you know. We have been all around the South Pacific and I have seen some of the most incredible things that other people just don’t get to see and I do it all from my own boat. I basically run the boat, keep it clean and on the sailing side I step in for navigation, coastguard contact, that sort of thing.

Gail is aware of her secondary role on the boat but feels that the excitement of cruising around the world is compensation enough. She is aware that her role is defined by what her husband will “let” her do rather than what she would like to do. She balances her domestic role with more sail skill tasks such as navigation so that she enjoys a sense of being able to sail as well as keep house.

Other informants were more aware of their domestic role and found it a source of frustration:

Jenny: I spend all my time below, cooking, cooking, cooking. Men are always hungry when they sail. To be totally honest, I get a bit sick of just being downstairs while the men get to sail. I can do that at home.

Jenny’s remarks clearly reflect her sense of limitation and she directly aligns her experience as a sailor with her life at home. Finally, some other comments reveal a different perspective again. The acknowledgement of the cruising yacht as a domestic space for women is illuminated by Judith in the following terms:

Judith: We have our roles, our duties and I don’t think that my role is any less than his. Anything top deck is his. Anything below is mine. I run the boat like my home and I don’t like to be uncomfortable. It defeats the point of sailing so he gets the boat going for me which I benefit from and then he comes below to a homey boat and he benefits from that.

This perspective resonates with chat room participants who see their role as domestic manager as an essential aspect of the cruising experience. Like Judith, chat room participants acknowledged that their roles were not sail oriented, but saw their duties as important. Chat room data revealed an emphasis on domestic roles among female chat participants who sought solutions among their colleagues. Thus, cruising opens the way to a feminized space, requiring traditionally feminine skills to sustain it. It is false to suggest that women possess dominant power in the cruising scene or that frequently their role is no more elaborate than a capable housewife. However, they are permitted to participate and reap certain personal benefits from cruising.

Final comments on women in sailing

Women do not possess the same general status in sailing as men and their participation is contingent upon men. Just as the role of men in sailing is embedded in an historical and cultural discourse
of conquest, women engage a complex historical and cultural discourse surrounding domesticity, responsibility and private organization to perform their role in sailing. The discourses based on gender have significant impact on the social formulation of the community and clear gender regimes, to echo Bricknell, are maintained at all times. Men and women appear acutely aware of gender as an organizing discourse in their community. Among the racing men of the sport, women are problematic. They represent uncertainty, clouded emotions and physical weakness. All of these characteristics signify the antithesis of the ideal racing temperament. This fear of feminine participation in racing appears to manifest in frequent derision of women, situating them as sexual objects, inferior racers, bar dwellers and general entertainment. While there are exceptions to this rule which can be found at many yacht clubs, this characterization of women can be said to represent a general perspective in the racing scene.

That being said, women benefit from sailing, albeit in a more restricted context. As the data analysis reflects, women feel their own sense of achievement through sailing. They make their own social connections, particularly in the cruising community, and enjoy the elements of freedom and travel on the water. The cruising community better accommodates women’s participation through its gender neutral discourse. This does not give women the credit they deserve since their skills and abilities are frequently subordinated to their male skipper and they are not represented adequately in cruising depictions. However, as the data showed, many women appeared pleased just to be on the water and with their families.

CONCLUSIONS FOR MARKETING

Women in sailing play out the status of the Other as envisaged by De Beauvoir. The cruising yacht is an extension of the family home, bringing to it the historically embedded cultural narratives that locate women at the helm of the domestic sphere. Marketers in sailing do not appear cognizant of this real world dynamic and continue to “steer clear” of depicting women on yachts or marketing directly to them. Instead, the cruising space is sanitized as though frightened to reveal its participants for fear that women might appear. Ironically, though, any marketer who identified the financial and decision-making influence women exert in cruising and developed a marketing strategy accordingly would benefit substantially. To identify and capitalize upon a subtle theme like this requires a nuanced understanding of the social dynamic of the subculture. It requires marketing to plunge into the de-limited, unknown space encapsulated in the term “Other” and seek out the invisible consumers who are buried within the particular culture. Thus it is hoped that research such as this paves the way for marketing to go in search of the consumer as Other.

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