



ASSOCIATION FOR CONSUMER RESEARCH

Association for Consumer Research, University of Minnesota Duluth, 115 Chester Park, 31 West College Street Duluth, MN 55812

Relating Americans' Responses to the Marketization of Armed Self-Defense to Their Understandings of the Second Amendment

Michelle Barnhart, Oregon State University, USA

Aimee Huff, Oregon State University, USA

Inara Scott, Oregon State University, USA

We investigate Americans consumers' responses to the intensive marketization of armed defense against criminals in relation to their understandings of the right to bear arms. We relate consumer responses to understandings of the Second Amendment across four dimensions, and examine the interface of these understandings with freedoms, morality, and regulation.

[to cite]:

Michelle Barnhart, Aimee Huff, and Inara Scott (2019) ,"Relating Americans' Responses to the Marketization of Armed Self-Defense to Their Understandings of the Second Amendment", in NA - Advances in Consumer Research Volume 47, eds. Rajesh Bagchi, Lauren Block, and Leonard Lee, Duluth, MN : Association for Consumer Research, Pages: 135-141.

[url]:

<http://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/2552033/volumes/v47/NA-47>

[copyright notice]:

This work is copyrighted by The Association for Consumer Research. For permission to copy or use this work in whole or in part, please contact the Copyright Clearance Center at <http://www.copyright.com/>.

Understanding the Mechanisms and Outcomes of Intensive Marketization

Chairs: Anil Isisag, University of Wisconsin - Madison, USA

Ankita Kumar, Bucknell University, USA

Paper #1: Mobile Dating Apps and the Intensive Marketization of Dating: Gamification as a Marketizing Apparatus

Anil Isisag, University of Wisconsin - Madison, USA

Paper #2: Marketization of Care: How Consumers Navigate the Commoditized Eldercare Services Market

Ankita Kumar, Bucknell University, USA

Paper #3: Digital Platforms and the Intensive Marketization of the Second-Hand Clothing Market

Elodie Juge, University of Lille, France

Isabelle Collin-Lachaud, University of Lille, France

Anissa Pomies, Emlyon Business School, France

Paper #4: Relating Americans' Responses to the Marketization of Armed Self-Defense to Their Understandings of the Second Amendment

Michelle Barnhart, Oregon State University, USA

Aimee Huff, Oregon State University, USA

Inara Scott, Oregon State University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

By virtue of the propagation of neoliberal ideology and adoption of neoliberal socio-economic policies across the globe (Foucault 2008; Harvey 2005), there has been renewed academic interest in marketization of social life—commonly understood as the infiltration of market logics into quarters of human life, such as religion, family relations, and intimacy (e.g., Hochschild 2005, 2012; Zelizer 2005). In marketing literature, consumer culture theory (CCT) scholars have yielded important insights into the marketization debate, by illuminating ways in which market logics permeate into different domains of social life and how consumers navigate these marketized domains (e.g., Epp and Velagaleti 2014; McAlexander et al. 2014; Varman, Saha and Skalen 2011; Vikas, Varman and Belk 2015; Zwick and Cayla 2011).

Sociologist Michel Callon suggests that marketization entails not only establishment of new markets in new domains i.e., extensive marketization, but also transfiguration(s) of market structures and concomitant amplification of market pressures where markets already exist i.e., intensive marketization (Callon 2016; Caliskan and Callon 2010). Borrowing this broad conceptualization, we examine some distinctive characteristics of contemporary intensive marketization(s) via empirical studies of four different cases of marketization. These studies collectively address the following questions: Through what different mechanisms does intensive marketization transpire? How does the intensification of market logics reconfigure relationships between human (and non-human) actors? What repercussions do such transformations have on consumers' lives and how do they shape consumer subjectivities? How do consumers cope with these repercussions?

The first paper investigates the intensive marketization of dating via mobile dating apps and their gamified interfaces. Focusing on consumers' experiences within and beyond these platforms, it characterizes the ways in which gamification as a marketizing apparatus reconfigures dating.

The second paper examines intensive marketization in the context of the American eldercare industry. It traces the emergence of this commercialized market with its attendant issues of heightened risk and greater individual/familial responsibility and demonstrates

how consumers leverage resources to postpone reliance on more problematic, heavily commoditized forms of service.

The third paper examines how the emergence of digital platforms has transformed existing amateur-to-amateur markets through an amplified competition. It demonstrates that such intensive marketization is visible through easier comparisons between commodities, a transformation of users' skills, and a modification of professional actors' activities supporting competition between users.

The fourth paper focuses on the American firearms market, linking intensive marketization to consumer responsabilization. Motivated by dramatic shifts in the market's socio-material elements that support the marketization of armed self-defense, it examines linkages between consumers' response to marketization and their understandings of their constitutional right to bear firearms.

In the spirit of this year's ACR theme of "Becoming Wise," this session seeks to cross-fertilize established conceptualizations of marketization with novel learnings about the impact of contemporary entanglements between conflicting logics. It informs and invites discussion about theoretical debates on the intertwinement of and tensions between multiple logics, formation and reconfiguration of market structures, and the concomitant restructuring of consumer subjectivities within marketized domains.

Mobile Dating Apps and the Intensive Marketization of Dating: Gamification as a Marketizing Apparatus

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Introduction and Theoretical Background

"Dating apps are the free-market economy come to sex. The innovation of Tinder was the swipe—the flick of a finger on a picture, no more elaborate profiles necessary and no more fear of rejection; users only know whether they've been approved, never when they've been discarded... It's telling that swiping has been jocularly incorporated into advertisements for various products, a nod to the notion that, online, the act of choosing consumer brands and sex partners has become interchangeable." —Nancy Jo Sales, "Tinder and the Dawn of the Dating Apocalypse, Vanity Fair, August 6, 2015.

Ever since its origination amidst the boom in leisure industries at the turn of the twentieth century, the social practice of dating has been intertwined with market offerings and market-mediated meanings (Illouz 1997). From the very beginning, commercial products and services such as automobiles, movie theaters, and dance halls have been the primary settings to initiate romantic relationships. Nevertheless, due to the emergence of market-mediated matchmaking services such as computer dating, video dating, online dating websites, speed dating, and recently mobile dating apps, dating has been under the scrutiny of scholars and journalists that take an interest in the marketization of social life (e.g. Ahuvia and Adelman 1993; Heino, Ellison, and Gibbs 2010; Hirschman 1987; Illouz 1997, 2007, 2012; Weigel 2017).

As the opening quote illustrates, mobile dating apps—the latest generation of commercial introductory services that initially emerged in 2012—present a unique case of marketization. While

these platforms can be considered as successors of online dating websites, they offer a comparatively effortless, casual and fun experience. This sort of user experience is created by way of the affordances of gamification—most commonly defined as “the use of game design elements in non-game contexts” (Deterding et al. 2011: 9). Harnessing the location-based GPS capabilities of smartphones, the apps enable users to find and interact with potential dating partners within close geographical proximity (David and Cambre 2016; Lefebvre 2018). Additionally, they opt for simplified, visualized user interfaces with little information, integrating swiping, pop-up notifications and other game-like elements. Thereby, they differentiate themselves from online dating sites, the operating logic of which is based on hyper-cognized compatibility questionnaires and matching algorithms.

Focusing on consumers’ experiences within and beyond these new generation matchmaking platforms, this study examines the contemporary marketization of dating. In doing so, I draw on Callon’s comprehensive definition of marketization (Callon 2016; Caliskan and Callon 2010). According to this definition, marketization encompasses instances of extensive marketization where market logics penetrate into domains of social life which were thought to be outside the reach of these logics as well as instances of intensive marketization in which the existing market logics are reconfigured and the market’s hegemony is intensified within said domains. While the few existing consumer research studies on the marketization of dating and romance illuminate the salience of market logics within early analog introductory services and consumers’ tactics of navigating their marketized romantic lives (Ahuvia and Adelman 1993; Hirschman 1987), this study rather focuses on the reconfiguration of existing dating market logics by virtue of mobile dating apps and their gamified interfaces. I postulate that, within the context of dating, gamification operates as an apparatus of intensive marketization.

Findings

Drawing on an extensive qualitative dataset consisting of interviews with app users, branded content of major mobile dating apps, app interface walkthroughs, and archival data from traditional and digital news media, I investigate the ways in which, as an apparatus of intensive marketization, gamification reconfigures the social practice of dating.

My analysis demonstrates that by drawing the interest of an ever-growing group of emerging adults—a demographic group that has been distant to online dating websites—, the gamified app interfaces facilitate the transition from a hypercognized dating market logic—as epitomized by online dating websites—to a ludic dating market logic. The latter differs from the former as per its heuristical (versus rationalistic) choice framework, its “playing the field” (versus finding the perfect product) mode of market engagement, and its masking the romance-market entanglement under the game frame (versus an overt economic approach). As gamification paves the way for the ascendancy of the ludic dating market logic, it reconfigures dating by trivializing romantic-sexual initiation and dissolution rituals, accentuating app users’ self-centered romantic-sexual identity projects, and permeating real life instances beyond the usage of the apps. In accordance with Callon’s definition of intensive marketization, on top of reconfiguring existing market logics, it intensifies the market’s hegemony within the domain of dating.

Contribution

In light of these findings, I strive to contribute to theoretical discussions on marketization, gamification, and romance. Firstly, while extant CCT research on marketization examined the infiltration of

market logics into social domains such as religion, family relations, social hierarchies, and education and other public services (e.g. Epp and Velagaleti 2014, McAlexander et al. 2014, Varman, Saha and Skalen 2011; Patsiaouras, Saren and Fitchett 2015; Varman, Saha and Skalen 2011; Vikas, Varman, and Belk 2015), scant attention has been paid to the domain of dating and romance (c.f., Ahuvia and Adelman 1993; Hirschman 1987). I intend to extend this line of work by illuminating a case of contemporary, intensive marketization. Second, I intend to contribute to game studies literature by demonstrating that besides enhancing employee motivation, encouraging consumer engagement, and collecting consumer data (Robson et al. 2015; Seaborn and Fels 2015), gamification can also operate as an apparatus of marketization. Finally, I aim to advance the extant literature on dating and romance (e.g. Bailey 1988; Illouz 2007, 2012; Weigel 2017) by elucidating the ways in which gamification refashions dating and providing a detailed account of the emergent ludic market logic.

Marketization of Care: How Consumers Navigate the Commoditized Eldercare Services Market

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Introduction

As Americans spend longer hours working in often precarious jobs, there has been a necessary rise in dependence on market resources for fulfillment of personal and familial needs (Hochschild 2003). This has resulted in the infiltration of market logics into intimate spheres of life which were once presumed to be outside the realm of the market. There are two prominent perspectives regarding this commercialization of intimate life: the ‘hostile worlds’ notion, which suggests that markets are spheres of utilitarianism and selfishness that promote profit-seeking, undermine collective moral values, and cause social disintegration (e.g., Polanyi 1944; Sandel 2012); a second ‘connected lives’ view emphasizes the commingling of economic activities and intimate relations (e.g., Zelizer 2005, 2011) (Epp and Velagaleti 2014; Livne 2014). Some CCT research has taken the latter approach and sought to understand how consumers manage the entwining of commercial services in family and religious life (e.g., Epp and Velagaleti 2014; McAlexander et al. 2014; Thompson 1996).

The ascendancy of market logics and concomitant waning of the welfare logic in the eldercare industry represents intensive marketization, which signifies the escalation of market pressures and a pervasive discourse of familialism, producing additional complexity for families using marketplace services (Callon 2016; Caliskan and Callon 2010; Hooyman and Gonyea 1995). Taking cues from Callon and Zelizer, this study seeks to understand the relational work of caring in the context of dementia related eldercare. It explores how consumers negotiate this mingling of economic transactions in the domain of care, by leveraging differential resources to resolve tensions in a commoditized market that places greater onus for personal caregiving with its innate need for physical and emotional labor on families (Hochschild 1983).

Methods

This research uses Elias’s figurational sociology (Elias 1978) and Bourdieu’s theory of capital (Bourdieu 1986) to examine the relational networks, care policies and role of capital in the eldercare market. For a sociohistorical understanding of the eldercare industry, secondary and archival resources on senior care, facility news, health policy and public health debates in print and social media

were analyzed. Subsequently, in-depth interviews were conducted with 20 primary family caregivers to understand their subjective experiences, management of available resources and tensions related to using a continuum of services (Thompson, Locander and Pollio 1989). Additionally, participant observation was conducted at caregiver support-group meetings for 12 months. Data analysis followed a hermeneutic approach (Thompson 1997).

Findings

A review of archival data and secondary literature helps trace the sociohistorical reconfiguration of the American eldercare market. Traditionally care for the elderly was performed by families. The elderly who did not possess familial or financial resources sought care in almshouses. The Social Security Act of 1935 expressing a general disapproval of these institutions that mingled the ‘worthy’ and ‘unworthy/undesirable’ needy, barred pensions for their residents. This produced the unintended consequence of founding a private nursing home industry. The passage of Medicare and Medicaid in 1965 provided additional impetus to the growth of a commercially driven and largely unregulated nursing home industry. Various subsequent acts served to regulate—and to an extent—improve the conditions in nursing homes. Since the 1980s, there has been increased emphasis on home and community-based care (Haber 2016; Haber and Gratton 1994). With the rise of neoliberalism in the 1990s, intensive marketization has further transformed the eldercare industry. Large, diversified, for-profit nursing home chains owned by private equity investors, with changing ownership and complex organizational structures have come to dominate the market, making it increasingly difficult for consumers to have clarity about ownership, costs, quality of care and redress (Harrington et al. 2017; Wilson 2007). This has contributed industry-wide to high turnover and low motivation among care workers, poor staffing ratios and care shortfalls; rather than being patient-centered, care is often routinized and commoditized (Duhigg 2007; Rau 2018). Families using residential facilities pay exorbitant prices owing to greater stringency of welfare eligibility and insurance coverage (Scism 2016). Historically eldercare has been reconfigured from a ‘rugged individualist’ to a social welfare to a more individual (or family) responsabilization model today (Haber 2016).

Institutionalization has always been associated with the stigma of dependency, abandonment, loneliness and heightened sense of impending mortality (Haber 2016; Nursing homes). Influenced by cultural discourses of familialism (Hooyman and Gonyea 1995) and awareness of the deficient care in heavily commoditized residential facilities, families based on their financial capability use a variety of personal and institutional resources such as social networks, adult daycare, at-home care, volunteers and accumulate expertise as caregivers to maintain the patient as long as possible in their own home. Given the evolving course of dementia, shifting patient needs, families constantly adapt resources and care practices to minimize emergent tensions. Caregivers must manage tensions produced by shortfalls in quality of care and quality of life (especially after facility admission), negotiate decisions with other family members and service providers, cope with guilt, manage conjugal family and work responsibilities and navigate various dichotomies such as acknowledging patient personhood while being their decision maker. This combination of caring and economic activity by families managing care of elderly dementia patients takes place in a context of incessant negotiation, sometimes cooperative, other times full of conflict with service providers (Zelizer 2005, 165). In order to minimize these tensions, caregivers employ a variety of strategies such as monitor-

ing, advocacy, supplementation and substitution. However, these tensions are never completely eased.

Contribution

This research contributes to work on the detrimental effects of marketization and highlights challenges such as heightened risk, vulnerability and responsabilization consumers experience (e.g., Varman and Vikas 2007; Voice Group 2010) and thus offers insights for the conference theme of ‘becoming wise’. Additionally, through the context of eldercare, it demonstrates how market reconfiguration via intensive marketization occurs and shapes consumer subjectivities. Finally, this study draws attention to the role of resources in outsourcing of care and explicates how inspired by cultural discourses, consumers employ combinations of resources and services to postpone or avoid reliance on more heavily commoditized forms of service.

Digital Platforms and the Intensive Marketization of the Second-Hand Clothing Market

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Introduction

Since Peñaloza and Venkatesh (2006)’s call for analyzing the functioning of markets, marketing and consumer scholars have been exploring cases of new market creation (e.g., Humphreys 2010; Martin and Schouten 2014) and established market transformation (e.g., Dolbec and Fischer 2015; Ertimur and Coskuner-Balli 2015; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013). This body of literature has highlighted the active role played by a wide range of human actors in market dynamics (Giesler and Fischer 2017). Existing work has also emphasized the role played by non-humans in market (de)formation, including magazines (Martin and Schouten 2014), metrological tools (Muniesa, Millo and Callon 2007), and carts (Cochoy 2010). Recently, Perren and Kozinets (2018) shed light on an omnipresent yet overlooked non-human, digital platforms. The authors show that digital platforms shape market exchanges through their extent of consociality and intermediation. Although they bring useful insights on the functioning of peer-to-peer markets, they focus on markets that are *already* mediated by digital platforms. Existing amateur-to-amateur markets that have been disrupted by the emergence of digital platforms at some point in their history are out of the authors’ scope. Therefore, we aim at offering a dynamic analysis documenting how the emergence of digital platforms has transformed markets involving equivalently positioned economic actors.

To do so, we draw on the Actor-Network Theory, a framework assuming that markets are plastic entities always in the making (Callon 2010, 2017). In this perspective, the marketization process is central to the functioning of markets (Callon 2016). More precisely, intensive marketization refers to an increased and amplified competition within existing markets (Callon 2016). Armed with this conceptual apparatus, we ask the following research question: how do digital platforms contribute to the intensive marketization of amateur-to-amateur markets?

Empirical Context and Methods

To answer this question, we investigate the second-hand clothing market while focusing on the French context. French consumers have been selling and buying second-hand clothes at tag sales (“*Braderie*”) since the 18th century. Yet, digital platforms emerged in 2008, thus disrupting the second-hand clothing market. Instead of face-to-face interactions, buyers and sellers meet online through

digital platforms. From May 2013 to February 2019, the first author carried out a multi-method ethnography of the second-hand clothing market. She conducted 17 in-depth interviews with consumers who buy and sell second-hand clothes. She also carried out online observations of 4 digital platforms (Facebook, *vestiairecollective*, *videdressing*, and *vinted*), and *in situ* observations at offline events where amateurs meet to buy and sell second-hand clothing. The dataset includes more than 20 hours of audio recording, 120 pages of transcription, more than 200 posts from these platforms, and 35 pages of fieldnotes.

Findings

Our data shows that digital platforms have contributed to the intensive marketization of the second-hand clothing market in three ways. First, digital platforms normalize exchanged commodities. Indeed, digital platforms provide normalizing templates that users must adopt to sell their clothes: users must mention a precise set of elements (size, brand, fabric, manufacturing location), and upload three high-quality pictures (different zooms). Normalizing templates set commodities in a common calculative space, and increase competition by enhancing their visibility and facilitating comparisons. Second, digital platforms have transformed amateurs themselves by reshaping their skills. Users surpass themselves to sell and to buy efficiently. To do so, they mimic marketers' practices (e.g., pricing strategy, relationship marketing, merchandising) while developing new, specific practices (e.g., buying a commodity to sell it right after at a higher price; selling as many commodities as possible to buy new clothes afterwards). Digital platforms force users to be faster, which means being the first seller to answer a potential buyer's request, and being the first buyer to find a bargain. Digital platforms therefore create a competition on pace between users. Third, digital platforms have transformed the ecosystem of professional actors enabling lateral market exchanges. These professional actors have adapted their offer to support the increased competition on pace within the market. For example, virtual wallets were created to reduce payment time, and delivery services have reduced delivery lag time while increasing the number of pickup points. Those services facilitate, increase, and speed up transactions between users.

Contribution

We contribute to the literature on market dynamics by showing that the emergence of digital platforms has transformed lateral exchange markets through an increased and amplified competition between amateurs. Such intensive marketization is visible through easier comparisons between commodities, a transformation of users' skills, and a modification of professional actors' activities to support competition between users. Because the topic of the 2019 ACR conference is "becoming wise", we also highlight the dark side of intensive marketization. To do so, we build on Rosa (2010) to show that intensive marketization might lead to hyperconsumption, and to the exclusion of slow users who cannot or do not want to keep the pace.

Relating Americans' Responses to the Marketization of Armed Self-Defense to their Understandings of the Second Amendment

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Introduction

Over the last 30 years, industry lobbying groups, conservative politicians, and American courts have expanded individual gun rights afforded by the Constitution's Second Amendment (see

District of Columbia v. Heller 2008; Melzer 2019; Waldman 2014). These expansions have shifted the responsibility of thwarting criminal activity through use of armed force from the state to individual consumers (Lott 2016; Winkler 2011), resulting in a dramatic reconfiguration of the American firearms market. The market has reoriented around different materiality; focal market offerings have shifted from long arms (i.e., rifles) to handguns (Carlson, Goss and Shapira 2019). Consumer practices, norms, and identity construction related to firearms have also shifted: fewer citizens own guns; the average number of guns per owner has increased; self-defense, rather than hunting, has become the most common reason for purchase; lawful carry of concealed handguns in public is more common (Lott 2016); and firearms are increasingly implicated in conservative identity politics (Gramlich 2018; Melzer 2019).

We conceptualize this reconfiguration as a form of intensive marketization (Caliskan and Callon 2010; Callon 2016). The firearms market has been transfigured; it has internalized socio-material elements—including court rulings, materiality, and political rhetoric—that were not previously considered part of the market (Caliskan and Callon 2010). This marketization is consistent with the *capabilization* step of the P-A-C-T process explicated by Giesler and Veresiu (2014), as market and political agents have responsabilized consumers to defend themselves from criminals. In our research, we ask, what are consumers' responses to this marketization? And, how do their responses relate to their understanding of the right to bear arms granted by the U.S. Constitution?

Literature

CCT research on marketization (e.g., Giesler 2012; Luedicke, Thompson and Giesler, 2010; Martin and Schouten 2014), the responsabilization of the consumer subject (Giesler and Veresiu 2014), and consumers' rights and responsibilities (Henry 2010) has identified the complex and dynamic relations between consumers, producers, institutions, policies, and materiality in contexts characterized by competing, contested, or emerging market logics (Callon 1986, 2016; Martin and Schouten 2014).

Giesler and Veresiu's (2014) seminal work on responsabilization illuminated market agents' and institutions' efforts to construct responsible consumer subject positions but did not adequately theorize consumers' roles in the final step, *transformation*, which requires consumers to accept, if not embrace, the position created. We address this gap by examining consumer responses to marketization that capabilizes them to assume the responsibility of using lethal force to stop criminal activity. Second, CCT scholarship investigating consumer rights and responsibilities has often focused on responsibilities to firms, and less directly, to family members and oneself (Henry 2010). Scholars have called for more research on consumers' responsibilities to society (Prothero et al. 2011). We answer this call in investigating American consumers' right to possess and use firearms.

Methods

This study is part of a multi-year, multi-sited ethnography on American gun culture. We employed social media and interview data in this study. We obtained data from a closed, moderated, five-week, Facebook group discussion focused on guns in America. The discussion occurred shortly after the highly publicized massacre at a high school in Parkland, Florida, in 2018. The Facebook data included 11,830 posts and comments from a diverse group of 150 Americans. Additionally, we conducted in-depth interviews with 15 gun-owners and non-gun-owners in Texas, a state in which handguns are common. Data were coded manually, and analyzed in iterative phases

to eventually delimit theory pertaining to our research questions (Charmaz 2006; Corbin and Strauss 1990).

Findings

We find that differences in responses to this marketization relate to consumers' understanding of (1) the nature of the Second Amendment, across four dimensions, (2) the relationship between negative and positive freedoms implicit in the right, and (3) the roles of morality and regulation in ensuring negative freedoms.

Each dimension of understanding of the Second Amendment is a continuum, with an individual's understanding situated somewhere between two extremes. Dimensions are: *absolute—conditional*, *sacred—secular*, *necessary—extraneous*, and *contemporary—antiquated*. Individuals whose overall understanding leans more towards absolute, sacred, necessary, and contemporary tend toward embracing consumers' responsibility for protecting oneself with firearms and the marketization that capabilizes them to do so. Those whose understandings lean more towards conditional, secular, extraneous, and antiquated tend toward rejecting assigning this responsibility to consumers and such marketization.

Further, we find that consumers understand the Second Amendment as a bundle of positive freedoms (Berlin 2002), including the freedoms to: defend oneself and one's family with lethal means; be self-reliant; live a chosen lifestyle; choose from an array of firearms available in the marketplace; engage in leisure activities with firearms; and raise a militia. Consumers relate these positive freedoms to a corresponding set of negative freedoms (Berlin 2002), including, freedom from: physical harm; aggression; intimidation; and fear. Individuals who embrace responsabilization describe these positive freedoms as ensuring negative freedoms, while those who reject is describe the former as a threat to the latter.

Finally, we find that consumers who embrace the marketization deem morality and personal responsibility taught in the home as the primary means of persuading citizens to use their positive freedoms to protect one another's negative freedoms. However, those who reject such marketization deem these means inadequate, and describe regulation as necessary to protecting negative freedoms.

Contributions

We contribute to work on marketization (Martin and Schouten 2014; Luedicke et al. 2010) by relating consumers' understandings of their right to consume a product to their responses to intensive marketization (Callon 2016) of an activity once assigned to the state. We also contribute to work on responsabilization (Giesler and Veresiu 2014) by providing insight into the final step, *transformation*. Specifically, we demonstrate how consumers' understandings of a right that is sutured to a responsible consumer subject position by institutions and agents in the first steps of the process, impacts consumers' acceptance of the position.

Additionally, we extend work on consumer rights and responsibilities (Henry 2010) by introducing new concepts, negative and positive freedoms, to consumer research, and we extend scholarship on firearms (Carlson et al. 2019) by providing nuance into Americans' understandings of the Second Amendment.

REFERENCES

- Ahuvia, Aaron and Mara B. Adelman (1993), "Market Metaphors for Meeting Mates," in *Research in Consumer Behavior*, ed. Janeen Arnold Costa and Russell W. Belk, Greenwich, CT: JAI, pp. 55–84.
- Bailey, Beth L. (1988), *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth Century America*, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Berlin, Isaiah (2002), *Liberty*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1986), "Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson, trans. Richard Nice, New York: Greenwood, pp. 241–58.
- Çalışkan, Koray and Michel Callon (2010), "Economization, Part 2: A Research Programme for the Study of Markets," *Economy and Society*, 39 (February), 1–32.
- Callon, Michel (1986), "Some Elements of the Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fisherman of St Brieuc Bay," in *Power, Action and Belief*, ed. John Law, London, UK: Routledge, pp. 277–303.
- (2010), "Marketing as an Art and Science of Market Framing: Commentary," in *Reconnecting Marketing to Markets*, ed. Luis Araujo, John Finch, and Hans Kjellberg, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 224–45.
- (2016), "Revisiting Marketization: From Interface-Markets to Market-Agencements," *Consumption Markets and Culture*, 19 (January), 17–37.
- (2017), *L'Emprise Des Marchés: Comprendre Leur Fonctionnement Pour Pouvoir Les Changer*, Paris, La Découverte.
- Carlson, Jennifer, Kristin A. Goss, and Harel Shapira (2019), *Gun Studies*, New York: Routledge.
- Charmaz, Kathy (2006), *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Cochoy, Franck (2010), "Reconnecting Marketing to 'Market-Things'," in *Reconnecting Marketing to Markets*, ed. Luis Araujo, John Finch, and Hans Kjellberg, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 29–49.
- Corbin, Juliet M. and Anselm Strauss (1990), Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons, and Evaluative Criteria, *Qualitative Sociology*, 13 (1), 3–21.
- David, Gaby and Carolina Cambre (2016), "Screened Intimacies: Tinder and the Swipe Logic," *Social Media and Society*, 2 (2).
- Deterding, Sebastian, Dan Dixon, Rilla Khaled, and Lennart Nacke (2011), "From Game Design Elements to Gamefulness: Defining 'Gamification,'" in *Mindrek'11*.
- District of Columbia v. Heller (2008), 554 U.S. 570. *U. S. Supreme Court*.
- Dolbec, Pierre-Yann and Eileen Fischer (2015), "Refashioning a Field? Connected Consumers and Institutional Dynamics in Markets," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41 (April), 1447–68.
- Duhigg, Charles (2007), At Many Homes, More Profit and Less Nursing, *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/23/business/23nursing.html>
- Elias, Norbert (1978), "Game Models," in *What is Sociology?* trans. Stephen Mennell and Grace Morrissey, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Epp, Amber M. and Sunaina R. Velagaleti (2014), "Outsourcing Parenthood? How Families Manage Care Assemblages Using Paid Commercial Services," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41 (4), 911–35.
- Ertimur, Burçak and Gokcen Coskuner-Balli (2015), "Navigating the Institutional Logics of Markets: Implications for Strategic Brand Management," *Journal of Marketing*, 79 (March), 40–61.

- Foucault, Michel (2008), *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-79*, ed. Michel Senellart, New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Giesler, Markus and Eileen Fischer (2017), "Market System Dynamics," *Marketing Theory*, 17 (March), 3-8.
- Giesler, Markus (2012), "How Doppelgänger Brand Images Influence the Market Creation Process: Longitudinal Insights from the Rise of Botox Cosmetic," *Journal of Marketing*, 76 (6), 55-68.
- Giesler, Markus and Ela Veresiu (2014), "Creating the Responsible Consumer: Moralistic Governance Regimes and Consumer Subjectivity," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41 (3), 840-857.
- Gramlich, John (2018), "7 facts about guns in the U.S.," *Pew Research Center*, Dec. 27 2018.
- Haber, Carole (2016), "The History of Long-term Care," in *Long-Term Care in an Aging Society: Theory and Practice*, eds. Graham D. Rowles and Pamela B. Teaster, New York: Springer, pp. 33-62.
- Nursing Homes: History - Age, Aging, Social, Almshouse, and Care - JRank Articles. <https://medicine.jrank.org/pages/1243/Nursing-Homes-History.html>
- Haber, Carole and Brian Gratton (1994), *Old Age and the Search for Security: An American Social History*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Harrington, Charlene, Frode F. Jacobsen, Justin Panos, Allyson Pollock, Shailen Sutaria, and Marta Szebehely (2017), "Marketization in Long-Term Care: A Cross-Country Comparison of Large For-Profit Nursing Home Chains," *Health Services Insights*, doi:10.1177/1178632917710533.
- Harvey, David (2005), *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heino, Rebecca D., Nicole B. Ellison, and Jennifer L. Gibbs (2010), "Relationshopping: Investigating the Market Metaphor in Online Dating," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 27 (4), 427-47.
- Henry, Paul C. (2010), "How Mainstream Consumers Think about Consumer Rights and Responsibilities," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37 (37), 670-87.
- Hirschman, Elizabeth C. (1987), "People as Products: Analysis of a Complex Marketing Exchange," *Journal of Marketing*, 51(1), 98-108.
- Hochschild, Arlie R. (1983), *The Managed Heart*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
- (2003), *The Commercialization of Intimate Life: Notes from Home and Work*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- (2012), *The Outsourced Self: Intimate Life in Market Times*, New York, NY: Metropolitan Books.
- Hooymann, Nancy R. and Judith Gonyea (1995), *Feminist Perspectives on Family Care*, Vol. 6, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Humphreys, Ashlee (2010), "Megamarketing: The Creation of Markets as a Social Process," *Journal of Marketing*, 74 (March), 1-19.
- Illouz, Eva (1997), *Consuming the Romantic Utopia: Love and the Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- (2007), "Romantic Webs," in *Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism*, Malden, MA: Polity Press, pp. 74-114.
- (2012), *Why Love Hurts: A Sociological Explanation*, Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- LeFebvre, Leah E. (2018), "Swiping Me off My Feet: Explicating Relationship Initiation on Tinder," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 35 (9), 1205-29.
- Livne, Roi (2014), "Economies of Dying: The Moralization of Economic Scarcity in U.S. Hospice Care," *American Sociological Review*, 79 (5), 888-911.
- Lott, John R. (2016), *The War on Guns*, Washington, DC: Regnery.
- Luedicke, Marius K., Craig J. Thompson, and Markus Giesler (2011), "Consumer Identity Work as Moral Protagonism: How Myth and Ideology Animate a Brand-Mediated Moral Conflict," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36 (April), 1016-32.
- Martin, Diane M. and John W. Schouten (2014), "Consumption-Driven Market Emergence," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40 (February), 855-70.
- McAlexander, James H., Beth Leavenworth Dufault, Diane M. Martin, and John W. Schouten (2014), "The Marketization of Religion: Field, Capital, and Consumer Identity," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41 (3), 858-75.
- Melzer, Scott (2019), "Fighting the Left and leading the Right: NRA politics and power through the 2016 elections" in *Gun Studies*, eds. Jennifer Carlson, Kristin A. Goss, and Harel Shapira, New York: Routledge, pp. 117-135.
- Muniesa, Fabian, Yuval Millo, and Michel Callon (2007), "An Introduction to Market Devices," in *Market Devices*, ed. Michel Callon, Yuval Millo, and Fabian Muniesa, Malden, Blackwell Publishing, pp. 1-12.
- Patsiaouras, Georgios, Michael Saren, and James A. Fitchett (2015), "The Marketplace of Life? An Exploratory Study of the Commercialization of Water Resources through the Lens of Macromarketing," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 35 (1), 23-35.
- Peñaloza, Lisa and Alladi Venkatesh (2006), "Further Evolving the New Dominant Logic of Marketing: From Services to the Social Construction of Markets," *Marketing Theory*, 6 (3), 299-316.
- Perren, Rebecca and Robert V. Kozinets (2018), "Lateral Exchange Markets: How Social Platforms Operate in a Networked Economy," *Journal of Marketing*, 82 (1), 20-36.
- Polanyi, Karl ([1944] 1956), *The Great Transformation*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Prothero, Andrea, Susan Dobscha, Jim Freund, William E. Kilbourne, Michael G. Luchs, Lucie K. Ozanne, and John Thøgersen (2011), "Sustainable Consumption: Opportunities for Consumer Research and Public Policy," *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 30 (1), 31-38.
- Rau, Jordan (2018), Care Suffers as More Nursing Homes Feed Money Into Corporate Webs, *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/02/business/nursing-homes-care-corporate.html>
- Robson, Karen, Kirk Plangger, Jan H. Kietzmann, Ian McCarthy, and Leyland Pitt (2015), "Is It All a Game? Understanding the Principles of Gamification," *Business Horizons*, 58 (4), 411-20.
- Rosa, Hartmut (2010), *Alienation and Acceleration: Towards a Critical Theory of Late-Modern Temporality*, Aarhus, Aarhus University Press
- Sandel, Michael (2012), *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets*, New York: Farrar.

- Scaraboto, Daiane and Eileen Fischer (2013), "Frustrated Fashionistas: An Institutional Theory Perspective on Consumer Quests for Greater Choice in Mainstream Markets," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39 (April), 1234-57.
- Seaborn, Katie and Deborah I. Fels (2015), "Gamification in Theory and Action: A Survey," *International Journal of Human Computer Studies*, 74, 14-31.
- Thompson, Craig J. (1996), "Caring Consumers: Gendered Consumption Meanings and the Juggling Lifestyle," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22 (March), 388-407.
- Thompson, Craig J. (1997), "Interpreting Consumers: A Hermeneutical Framework for Deriving Marketing Insights from the Texts of Consumers' Consumption Stories," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 3 (4), 438-55.
- Thompson, Craig J., William B. Locander, and Howard R. Pollio (1989), "Putting Consumer Experience Back into Consumer Research: The Philosophy and Method of Existential-Phenomenology," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16 (September), 133-46.
- Varman, Rohit and Ram Manohar Vikas (2007), "Rising Markets and Failing Health: An Inquiry into Subaltern Health Care Consumption Under Neoliberalism," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 27 (2), 162-72.
- Varman, Rohit, Biswatosh Saha, and Per Skålén (2011), "Market Subjectivity and Neoliberal Governmentality in Higher Education," *Journal of Marketing Management*, 27 (11-12), 1163-85.
- Vikas, Ram Manohar, Rohit Varman, and Russell W. Belk (2015), "Status, Caste, and Market in a Changing Indian Village," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 42 (3), 472-98.
- VOICE Group (2010), "Motherhood, Marketization and Consumer Vulnerability," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 30 (4), 384-97.
- Waldman, Michael (2014), *The Second Amendment: A Biography*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Weigel, Moira (2017), *Labor of Love: The Invention of Dating*, New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Wilson, Keren Brown (2007), "Historical Evolution of Assisted Living in the United States, 1979 to the Present," *The Gerontologist*, 47, S1, 8-22.
- Winkler, Adam (2011), *Gun Fight*, New York: Norton and Company.
- Zelizer, Viviana (2005), *The Purchase of Intimacy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- (2011), *Economic Lives: How Culture Shapes the Economy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Zwick, Detlev and Julien Cayla, Eds. (2011), *Inside Marketing: Practices, Ideologies, Devices*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.