Social representations of marketplace immorality: The case of the Kenyan illicit alcohol market

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Declaration:

This thesis is entirely my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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Abstract

This thesis examines social representations of marketplace immorality in a context of contested legitimacy. In recent years, the legislative context of illicit alcohol in Kenya has changed the status of illicit alcohol from legal to illegal, then back to legal, between June 2015 and February 2016. Using social representations theory, this study explores the dominant social representations in the Kenyan illicit alcohol market during this volatile regulatory period. The study draws on longitudinal data from digital mainstream and social media news sites, as well as interview and observation data. The study seeks to expand understanding on the extent to which social representations convey morality, and the impact of social representations on people's perceptions and practices, thereby extending knowledge and understanding of social representations and morality.

Consumer research has begun to consider issues relating to morality in the marketplace, but this is still a nascent area of research. Most studies on morality have explored only a subset of moral concerns but this study expands the conceptualization of morality in a market context responding to calls from market researchers for a broader definition of consumer morality. The study focuses on plural moral domains with several moral concerns and highlights both individual-centred and other-centred moral concerns. The study also demonstrates that social representations in the alcohol market focus on the harm from illicit consumption practices leading to selective objectification of consumer and alcohol problems and limiting remedial initiatives in the marketplace. The findings also reveal that cognitive polyphasia is a pervasive feature in the social representations of the Kenyan illicit alcohol market. Key aspects of cognitive polyphasia that define some of its

functionalities and how it could be operationalised are a nascent area in the study of social representations. This study's findings contribute to the existing knowledge on cognitive polyphasia by revealing cognitive polyphasia as a means of adapting to change, coping with change, resisting change and inducing change. The study also contributes to knowledge on the delegitimization of market practices by examining the role of cognitive polyphasia in changing practices and perceptions.

The study findings also illustrate moral ambiguities in the marketplace as well as the psychological and socio-psychological processes used to navigate the moral ambiguities. The processes illustrated include social representation, moral exclusion, moral rationalization, moral decoupling and moral override. These processes provide insights into the reasoning and justifications behind why consumers would or would not act in an ethical or moral manner. The research further contributes to the literature on morality by highlighting the influence of emotions in moral judgement. These findings confirm previous empirical research in moral psychology on the role of emotion in moral judgement. The study proposes greater emphasis on emotional appeals in efforts to encourage moral consumer behaviour since emotions are revealed as key to moral judgement. The practical implications of this research are mainly in relation to the incorporation of community cultural language when talking about, or implementing illicit alcohol policy, to help make the policies a part of the local culture.

Key words: consumer immorality, marketplace morality, Kenya, illicit alcohol, social representations theory, cognitive polyphasia

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CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH PROBLEM AND PHENOMENON OF INTEREST

1.1.   Introduction

This is a study about social representations of immorality in the marketplace. Unlike prior work on consumer morality that has focused on moralistic identity work (Luedicke, Thompson and Giesler, 2010; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007) where consumption choices are based on moral beliefs and values (Crane and Matten, 2004), or processes that can be used for the creation of moral responsible consumers (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014), or consumer misbehaviour such as shoplifting and credit card fraud (Fullerton and Punj 1997, 2004; Moschis and Cox 1989), the focus in this study is on social representations of immoral behaviour in the marketplace with an emphasis on multiple market actors. Social representations are prominent forces that shape how people think and act (Hall, 1997, Howarth, 2006; Moscovici, 1988), and this study aims to analyse moral perceptions and responses to illicit market practices from a social representations theory (SRT) perspective. This introductory chapter provides an overview of the study by detailing the research background, the theoretical perspective, the research questions, and the study context. The chapter also outlines the research methodology. This is followed by a summary of the study findings and contributions, and the complete dissertation outline detailing the sections in this thesis.

1.2. Background

Alcohol issues have a pervasive presence in the mass media globally, mainly due to the various negative economic, social and public health consequences of alcohol misuse. The concerns around alcohol misuse sometimes have implicit moral connotations (Brandt and Rozin, 2013; Meier, 1994) apparent in proposed or even imposed behaviour change initiatives, such as alcohol policies that aim to restrict access to alcohol. Consumer research has begun to consider issues relating to morality in the marketplace (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014; Grayson, 2014; Komarova et al., 2016) but this is still a nascent area of research, and therefore limited in its ability to shed light on a wide range of issues in consumer morality. There is a paucity of research on moral responses to illicit consumption practices, as well as the forces that shape moral perceptions and responses in the literature on consumer and marketplace morality. This study aims to examine the moral perceptions and responses to illicit consumption and market practices as well as some of the forces that shape these perceptions and responses, namely social representations.

In the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) research tradition, morality of consumption has largely been approached in terms of consumer resistance (Ulver-Sneistrup, Askeergard and Kristensen, 2011), for example morality as sustainable, reduced or green consumption. The proposition that consumption can be the problem as much as the solution to the many ills and evils in the marketplace has led to many consumer centred proposals for a moral marketplace (Carrington, Zwick and Neville, 2016; Chatzidakis, Maclaran and Bradshaw, 2012). The proposals urge consumers to incorporate notions of ethics, responsibility, social justice, and

ecological sustainability into their consumption practices (e.g. Connolly and Prothero, 2003; Giesler and Veresiu, 2014). This consumer-centred perspective is premised on the belief that a change in consumer behaviour can lead to a moral marketplace. This study proposes shifting the focus away from consumption and anti-consumption activities in the examination of immoral marketplace action. The shift is based on the recognition that markets are shaped by many players, not just consumers. The consumer as a lone market actor lacks the power, and hence the obligation to change the market system and the world through their consumption choices (Carrington, Zwick and Neville, 2016). The study adopts a market systems approach to the study of morality in the marketplace to illustrate how different social actors and institutions shape and are shaped by markets. This market systems approach acknowledges the complexity of markets that are comprised of multiple social actors. The approach incorporates multiple market actors and institutions in the study of market phenomena (Giesler and Fischer, 2017).

1.3.   Theoretical perspective

The researcher adopts a context driven approach, focusing on the moral questions that arise regarding the actions of different players in the illicit alcohol market in Kenya. The study draws on social representations theory (Moscovici 1984, 1988) to theorize immorality in the marketplace. This thesis rests on the central premise that social representations do not only entail a social group's description of a social phenomenon, they are also contained in the groups' social practices, further, they determine response and action (Hall, 1997; Howarth, 2006, Moscovici, 1988). The theoretical framework will cover the concept and specific

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mechanisms of social representations as well as examine the elements of social representations theory that are significant in the study of social problems such as problematic alcohol use.

1.4.   Research questions

The overarching aim of this thesis is to examine social representations of marketplace immorality in a context of contested legitimacy. More specifically, this research is guided by the following research questions: What are the dominant social representations in the illicit alcohol market? To what extent, and in what ways, is morality conveyed through these representations? What are the effects of these representations?

1.5.   Study context

This study focused on the Kenyan illicit alcohol market for the period January 2015 to June 2016 which represented a time of changing alcohol legislation and policy. In July 2015, there was a ban on second-generation alcohol and traditional homemade brews. These brews had been legalized in 2010 in the Kenyan Alcoholic Drinks Act, subject to meeting specific stipulations on quality and packaging standards. The judiciary then overturned the July 2015 ban in January 2016. The president ordered another crackdown on illicit alcohol in February 2016 following the return of the brews after the ban overturn by the judiciary.

Traditional alcohol dominates the alcohol scene in Africa (Willis, 2005) and constitutes between 60% (Mutisya and Willis, 2009) and 74% (Odalo, 2007) of total alcohol consumption in Kenya, the country of context for this study. Deliberate adulteration (Willis, 2003; 2005) of illicit alcohol to increase the potency and reduce brewing time to maximize profit and endear customers is a common practice in Kenya. Ingredients such as methanol, formaldehyde, herbicides, Anti-retroviral drugs (ARV), and aflatoxins have been found in theses drinks during product testing by the National Authority for the Campaign Against Alcohol and Drug Abuse (NACADA). These ingredients pose serious health risks to consumers and are a leading cause of death and blindness among illicit alcohol consumers. Illicit brews have resulted in over 30,000 deaths in Kenya since 2009 (Okata, 2015). The negative public health and social impact of illicit alcohol led to protests in various parts of Kenya as communities called on the government to eliminate illicit alcohol. Journalistic exposes of the protests preceded a ban on illicit alcohol through a presidential declaration of war against illicit alcohol in July 2015. The war received wide media coverage over the period June to September 2015. The Kenyan president issued another directive on fighting illicit alcohol in February 2016, one month after the ban on illicit alcohol was overturned by the judiciary. This study is based on interview and media data on the accounts in the illicit alcohol market in a context of constantly changing alcohol policy/regulation.

A notable feature in the Kenyan illicit alcohol market is the role of (non) consumers [1] and the media in market dynamics. Attempts by (non)consumers/activists to resist and reject existing market conditions in the illicit alcohol market and the media exposes on their collective action

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[1]To distinguish members of the public from illicit alcohol consumers, the terms "community" and "(non)consumers" are used for members of the public who are not consumers of illicit alcohol. Those who consume illicit alcohol are referred to as illicit alcohol consumers

were largely responsible for the market dynamics such as a war against illicit alcohol in the marketplace.

1.6.   Research methodology

The current study adopts a social constructionist approach for the qualitative analysis of both primary and secondary data to explore social representations of immorality in the marketplace. The research was carried out in two main stages:

- Stage 1: Ethnographic content analysis of media data to uncover media representations of immorality in the illicit alcohol market
- Stage 2: Empirical data collection on community representations of immorality consisting of interviews, informal conversations, observation, field notes and collection of photographs

The ethnographic content analysis (Altheide, 1987) of digital media data aims to address the research question on how immorality is represented in the illicit alcohol market. Media discourses on illicit alcohol are reconstructed using a content analysis of 310 articles from the three leading national newspapers, *The Daily Nation, The Standard and The Star.* The main period of interest is the eighteen months between 01 January 2015 and 30 June 2016 during which the regulatory status of illicit alcohol changed from legal to illegal and back to legal. Primary data collection sought the in-depth perspectives of the local residents living in communities with high levels of illicit alcohol consumption through extensive interactions

which included interviews, informal conversations and observation (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe, 2004). Ethnographic methods are suitable for studies on social representations because social practices and actions are a rich source of representations. Further, observations are a rich source of representations that are not verbalized (Jodelet, 1991). Family members of illicit alcohol consumers, traders, former traders, community leaders and anti- illicit alcohol activists were specifically targeted. Areas for participant and non-participant observation were defined through secondary research and through knowledge gained from the mediators in the research and the research participants. Primary data were collected/recorded in situ in the following modes: audio files, field notes and photographs (Emerson et al. 1995). The data set consists of different categories of data: 13 individual interviews and 1 group interview lasting between 20 and 90 minutes; 6 informal conversations with local informants lasting between 15 and 45 minutes; proceedings from a 3 hour alcohol traders meeting where 21 licensed alcohol traders were in attendance; 66 photos of the damage after the war against illicit alcohol and of home-made brews and second-generation alcohol; 56 A5 pages of field notes of observations and interviews where informants were unwilling to be audio recorded but consented to written records of the interview. In summary, the primary data set consists of transcripts of recorded interview data, notes from unrecorded interviews, notes from a traders meeting, field notes from the observation stage and photos.

1.7. Summary of findings and contribution

The findings can be summarised in relation to the research questions driving this study. First, in relation to identifying the dominant social representations in the illicit alcohol market, the thematic analysis in chapter six of this study shows that there are two dominant representations in the illicit alcohol market that influence perceptions about morality and the related behaviour. The two dominant social representations are a) illicit alcohol is harmful, and b) a war against illicit alcohol.

The thematic analysis in chapter 6 also illustrates the extent to which morality is conveyed through the social representations as well as how morality is conveyed in the dominant social representations, responding to the second research question. The findings reveal that morality is conveyed as a violation of several moral intuitions namely, harm/care; fairness/reciprocity; in-group/loyalty; authority/respect and purity/sanctity (Haidt and Graham, 2007; Haidt and Joseph, 2004) and the moral codes of community, autonomy and divinity (Shweder, 1990) extending the conceptualizations of consumer morality (Komarova et al., 2016). The findings also respond to the third research question on the effects of the dominant social representations. The findings in chapter 6 suggest that the dominant social representations result in selective objectification and oversimplification of solutions in the illicit alcohol market, dehumanization and moral exclusion, and the normalization of violence. These findings extend the existing literature on selective objectification (Jodelet, 2016) in social representations theory by illustrating the effects of selective objectification in a market context. The findings in chapter 7 show that the dominant social representations also lead to motivated moral reasoning processes (Ditto et al., 2009) extending the consumer literature on

morality with focus on the contextual factors that may motivate moral decoupling (Bhattacharjee et al., 2013). The research also contributes to the literature on morality (Graham et al., 2013; Haidt, 2001, 2007) by highlighting the role of emotion in moral judgement. These findings echo previous empirical research in moral psychology that relates emotion to moral judgement (Greene and Haidt, 2002; Haidt, 2001, 2007). Another notable feature in the social representations in the illicit alcohol market is the pervasiveness of cognitive polyphasia in social representations in the illicit alcohol market. For example, the use of traditional knowledge such as superstition in a modern society (Provencher and Wagner, 2012). This study's findings illustrate how different market actors use cognitive polyphasia in the marketplace. The concept of cognitive polyphasia has scarcely been studied in consumer behaviour. Cognitive polyphasia is used to make sense of pain, personal loss, deviance and misfortune in this study's context, and as a means of coping and sometimes defending the harm caused to, and by others. Cognitive polyphasia is also used to explain alcohol addiction. The findings also suggest that cognitive polyphasia is used to induce change in this study. Unlike prior consumer research that has focused on legitimation of market practices, delegitimization processes in the marketplace exposed in this study. The research proposes the incorporation of community cultural language when talking about, or implementing illicit alcohol policy, to help make the policies a part of the local culture. The study also proposes greater emphasis on emotional appeals in efforts to encourage moral consumer behaviour since the findings suggest that emotions are key in moral judgement.

1.8. Dissertation outline

The dissertation has 8 chapters. Chapter 1 sets the scene for the research and gives an overview of the research problem, approach, context and findings and illustrates how a market systems approach to morality through a social representations theory lens presents an opportunity for a broader and more comprehensive examination of marketplace morality. Chapter 2 offers a detailed description of the social, economic, historical, cultural and policy context of illicit alcohol in Kenya. Chapter 3 will cover a detailed review of the literature on morality from perspectives in consumer behaviour, moral psychology and moral philosophy to offer a broad conceptualization of the moral landscape in consumer behaviour and identify the gaps in the literature. Chapter 4 presents the theoretical framework where social representations theory (SRT) is discussed and the aspects of the theory relevant to alcohol/ drug use and morality are illuminated. Chapter 5 details the methodology from data collection, to analysis and interpretation. Chapter 6 presents the analysis of the dominant representations in the illicit alcohol market. The chapter also illustrates how morality is conveyed through the dominant social representations. Chapter 7 reveals the effects of the dominant representations on perceptions of morality and Chapter 8 is the final chapter where the conceptual and empirical contributions, as well as policy implications, research limitations and future research suggestions are presented and discussed.

CHAPTER TWO: STUDY CONTEXT

2.1.   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to orient the reader to the research context. The chapter presents a detailed description of the social, economic, historical, cultural and policy context of illicit alcohol trade and consumption in Kenya. The chapter begins with an overview of illicit alcohol. This is followed by a historical and policy context of illicit alcohol regulation, the economic context, the socio-cultural context of illicit alcohol consumption and concludes with alcohol policy and debates in other contexts

2.2.   Overview of illicit alcohol

The term illicit alcohol generally refers to the following categories of alcohol: homemade alcohol, illegally produced or smuggled alcohol, surrogate alcohol, namely industrial alcohol sold for human consumption, counterfeit alcohol, and alcohol not registered in the country where it is consumed. Most studies on illicit alcohol also use the terms informal alcohol or unrecorded alcohol to refer to the various categories of alcohol mentioned (Lachenmeier, Sarsh, and Rehm, 2009; Lachenmeier and Rehm, 2009; Rehm et al., 2016). In the Kenyan media, the term illicit alcohol refers to both traditional homemade alcohol, and industrially

produced commercial second-generation alcohol. This study adopts the media definition of illicit alcohol and will focus on traditional alcohol and second-generation alcohol.

2.2.1. Illicit alcohol prevalence and composition

Illicit alcohol dominates the alcohol scene in Sub Saharan Africa (Willis, 2005) and constitutes between 60% (Mutisya and Willis, 2009) and 66% (Rehm et al., 2016) of total alcohol consumption in Kenya. Some media sources estimate the illicit alcohol prevalence in Kenya at 85% because of the high prevalence of industrially produced illicit alcohol (Greenwood, 2010). The drinks include Chang'aa, also known as moonshine or kill me quick, busaa, muratina and mnazi among many others. Illicit alcohol accounts for 56% (Rehm, et al., 2016) of alcohol consumption in low income countries compared to the 24.8% global figure (WHO, 2014). In Africa, the illicit alcohol market was worth approximately \$3bn (£2.1bn) annually in 2010 (Greenwood, 2010).

2.2.2. The media and market dynamics in the Kenyan illicit alcohol market

Illicit alcohol issues are pervasive in the media and are a hotly debated subject in the public domain in Kenya. Debates on the illicit alcohol problem in the media and the community, are rife with metaphors, graphic descriptions and images as the public grapples with the illicit alcohol problem. The prevalence of the illicit alcohol subject in the news provides insightful ground for the study of social representations since the media wield power over the social representations in a community (Howarth, 2000) and reflect public opinion (Deephouse,

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1996). The media influences the public through various mechanisms which include agenda setting, priming and framing, indirectly shaping individual and community attitudes towards risk; and feeding into political debate and decision making (Hughes et al., 2010). Agenda setting involves steering the audience minds towards particular topics by calling public attention to the social issue through repetitive emotive coverage and co-constructing public discourse which influences public attitudes and policy debates. The agenda setting process builds consensus on the issues that are the most important for the community in relation to social control issues, such as crime and drug use. Research has shown that public concern is often influenced by the amount of media emphasis placed on the issue rather than the magnitude or an increase in the incidence of the problem. Several studies have found that campaigns against drugs and crimes cannot be explained based on the incidence of drugs (Beckett, 1994; Elliot and Chapman, 2000) rather media involvement in the issues and state initiatives drive public concern and policy (Jacobson, Wasserman, and Raube, 1993). Agenda setting also involves representing social issues in ways that imply the need for certain desired policy outcomes. Priming is the impact that agenda-setting has on the evaluation of social issues by influencing the thematic areas that individuals use to form these evaluations (Scheufele, 2000).

This research focuses on media coverage on the illicit alcohol market for the eighteen-month period between January 2015 to June 2016. The period was characterised by a peak in media coverage on the Kenyan illicit alcohol market. The (non) consumer protests against illicit alcohol, were a frequent feature in the mainstream news, culminating in a ban on illicit alcohol in July 2015. The coverage after the ban featured a war against illicit alcohol, with violent actions by the (non) consumers as well as consumers, against different market actors

and (consumption) objects associated with illicit alcohol. The legal battles over the legitimacy of the brews, and the actions of different market actors were also illuminated in the media.

The activities by the different market actors provoke questions about legitimacy, morality and ethics. Reed (1999) posits that legitimacy is not derived from democratic law making/ regulation alone, but also needs communicative action (Habermas, 1984) in the public sphere, where public autonomy is exercised in societal discourse (Reed, 1999). Legitimate law must incorporate moral concerns to meet the acquiescence of all the members of a society (Habermas, 2015). The legislative activities in the illicit alcohol market failed to incorporate the moral concerns of all the market actors and the market is portrayed as being in perpetual conflict because of this failure in morality. The activities in the illicit alcohol market are judged as illegitimate for contravening the law, as well as undermining the conditions of legitimate law (Reed 1999). For example, attacks on other market actors in the guise of fighting alcohol undermine the law and alcohol adulteration contravenes the law.

2.3. Historical and policy context

The colonial government banned traditional alcohol in the 1940's and the Kenyan government imposed another ban in the 1970's making the brews illegal (Willis, 2003). In a bid to regulate and "force backyard traditional brewing" into the open, the Alcoholic drinks control Act 2010 legalised production of traditional homemade brews as long as they meet certain criteria such as bottling in glass at a minimum volume and retailing within licensed premises (http://www.micahalbert.com/illegal-brewing-in-kenya/). Formalization of illicit alcohol can

however be problematic by resulting in an increase in large scale production and distribution of illicit alcohol. After the Alcoholic drinks control Act which provided for the formalization of illicit alcohol in Kenya, there was an explosion in the alcohol market where over 3,000 industrial brands of second-generation alcohol were produced and distributed openly in licensed outlets. Formalization of illicit liquor has also been perceived to be problematic in other contexts such as South Africa because it can lead to the mushrooming of numerous outlets and brands (Lawhon and Herrick, 2013). Second-generation alcohol in this study therefore refers to several new industrially produced, low priced, high alcohol content brands between 20% and 50% alcohol by volume content (Dumbili, 2013; Willis, 2003) for spirits. Second-generation alcohol is the most available, affordable and accessible in Kenya (NACADA 2011). It is also highly counterfeited. It was declared illegal on 01 July 2015 by President Uhuru Kenyatta. Previous versions of new generation alcohol in the 1990's was illegal and existed outside the formal economy. Present day industrially distilled beverages are produced in large quantities and are easier to transport and distribute compared to their traditional fermented counterparts (Willis, 2003) contributing to their availability and appeal. These are bottled drink and may therefore be perceived as modern brew compared to traditional home brews. Other African countries including Nigeria and Ghana have also legalised traditional brews (Dumbili, 2013).

Alcohol policy in Kenya was devolved in 2013, after the promulgation of the 2010 constitution. Devolution of alcohol policy aimed to decentralize alcohol control from the national government to the county government to enhance responsiveness to local needs and values, empower the different stakeholders and ensure community participation in alcohol policy, since different regions and counties have different homemade brews. For example,

mnazi the traditional brew in the Kenyan coastal region is still legal, despite the ban on homemade brews in other parts of the country. The devolution of alcohol policy however generated confusion among the stakeholders, especially the traders as there is little agreement on which laws should govern alcohol policy in some counties, the national law or the county law. The evolution of alcohol policy in Kenya is summarized in figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: The evolution of alcohol policy in Kenya

1940's: Colonial ban on homemade alcohol

1957: Liquor licensing act

1970's: Post colonial ban on homemade alcohol

2010: Alcoholic drinks control act formalizing homememade alcohol

2013: Devolution of alcohol policy

July, 2015: Ban on illicit alcohol (Homemade and industrial illegal alcohol)

January, 2016: Ban on illicit alcohol overturn (by the judiciary)

February 2016: Fresh fight against illicit alcohol

2018: Central Kenya- Kiambu county fight against illict alcohol

2.4. Economic context

In the developing world, the high proportion of illicit alcohol consumed by low income consumers can be attributed to the low affordable prices that make illicit alcohol accessible

for low income and marginalized populations (WHO, 2014). Notably, poverty in the low-income countries is not limited to a marginal underclass but is a widespread phenomenon. Additionally, the poor are marginalized from the formal economy in many respects (Viswanathan et al., 2012). Second, whereas the poor in advanced economies typically rely on low-wage employment and/or welfare payments for survival, many people in developing countries operate micro businesses that are embedded in the social fabric of the surrounding community (Viswanathan et al., 2012). Illicit alcohol traders operate the micro trade for survival. The low socio-economic status of illicit alcohol consumers is emphasized by a media discourse that focuses on pictures and stories of drunken people fighting on the streets or sprawled in muddy puddles in low income areas.

In Kenya, the media focus on the adverse effects of illicit alcohol has focused more on Central Kenya. The relationship between poverty and illicit alcohol use and outcomes is however unclear in Kenya since Central Kenya is among the regions with lower relative poverty levels compared to the rest of the country (Wiesmann, Kiteme and Mwangi, 2014). The adverse outcomes are mostly attributed to industrially produced second-generation alcohol, confirming previous propositions that the commercialization of homemade alcohol aimed at ensuring intoxication poses serious risks to consumer health (Nemtsov, 2009 in Radaev, 2015). Figure 2.2 is the Kenyan map, and Central Kenya, the region portrayed as the most adversely affected by illicit alcohol in Kenya is the purple region between Eastern and Rift valley.

Figure 2.2: Kenyan map

Source: Google.co.uk

2.5. Socio-cultural context of illicit alcohol trade and consumption

Most traditional drinks are prepared by single women and widows for subsistence (Willis, 2002; Wolpute and Fumanti, 2010). They are made using local ingredients (Willis, 2005) such as maize, sorghum and sugarcane. The drinks are served in old tins, plastic tumblers, glasses and other unlabelled containers in very modest buildings. They have no 'proper' seats or

tables and customers seat on logs, boulders or benches and hold their drinks. This contrasts with the "material culture of bars which sell bottled beer and have chairs and tables" (Mutisya and Willis, 2009:6). Distribution patterns for traditional alcohol vary and can include small scale distribution to family, neighbours and friends or large-scale distribution where an agent combines alcohol from several brewers for wider distribution to other parts of the country. This contrasts with traditional alcohol in the past which was rarely brewed for commercial purposes (Willis, 2005) or in large quantities. Additionally, traditional alcohol played a cultural role and was used for celebration and to mark major life-course events for example childbirth, marriage and rituals such as initiation (Dumbili, 2013; Freeman and Parry, 2006). It was also taken for pleasure and socialising. Daily drinking as is the case with modern day illicit alcohol was unheard of and routine excessive consumption attracted negative social sanctions (Mutisya and Willis, 2009; Thangw'a, 2016). Consumption patterns have changed and neither formal nor negative social sanctions have an impact on illicit alcohol consumption. This issue of the "changing role of beer drinking" in Africa has been discussed by several scholars where "social change" (Wilson 1977:186) and "changes in authority" (Willis 2001:1) have been attributed to beer drinking.

2.5.1. Drinking to intoxication

Alcohol news in the media centres on the illicit alcohol consumption of lower socio-economic classes. Even though excessive alcohol consumption and drunkenness is not a new phenomenon in Kenya (Willis, 2005), the Kenyan media tend to overstress the alcohol consumption among illicit alcohol consumers. This overemphasis of the alcohol consumption by the poor has also been observed in other contexts such as 18th century Britain (Berridge et

al, 2007). Drunkenness among men of higher socio-economic status is mostly ignored or met with less censure compared to the drinking practices of the poor and especially young women (Griffin et al. 2013; Nyamori, 2016). The drunkenness in the Kenyan illicit alcohol context is problematic because it has resulted in male impotence, sale of family resources to buy alcohol, neglect of family responsibilities, domestic violence and wasted youth (e.g. Juma 2015; Mosoku, 2015; Musungu, 2015).

2.5.2. Public health harms

Illicit alcohol that led to an estimated 2.4 percent of deaths globally (Rehm et al., 2009) due to mass poisonings (Mutisya and Willis, 2009). In May 2014 at least 105 people in ten counties across the country died after consuming toxic (Gridneff and Doya, 2014) second-generation alcohol. In July 2014, 7 deaths were reported. In total there were more than 140 instant deaths in 2014 from illicit alcohol consumption. People living in disadvantaged communities have been shown to suffer from more alcohol attributable harms than those living in more affluent communities. Other statistics show that there have been over 30,000 deaths in Kenya since 2009 attributed to illicit brews (Okata, 2015). The adverse public health outcomes from alcohol consumption are general unequal, with people of lower socio-economic status suffering higher levels of harm than those more economically endowed (Anderson et al. 2012, Erskine et al. 2010). These unequal outcomes are attributed to different factors such as unsafe drinking areas, and fewer resources to reduce the risks of heavy drinking, such as hiring a taxi (Schmidt et al. 2010, Room 2004) and unequal access to treatment for alcohol related illness (WHO, 2014). Illicit alcohol consumption has the additional safety risk, due to adulteration and lack of quality control.

2.6.   Alcohol policy and debates in other contexts

Low prices have been cited as a significant contributor to the harm from illicit alcohol in Kenya. Further, links have been established between low alcohol prices and increased harm from alcohol in other contexts such as Russia due to consumers resorting to poor quality alcohol (Radaev, 2015). Alcohol pricing has also been proposed as an effective measure for reducing alcohol related harm (Babor, 2010; Holmes, 2014). Some countries such as Scotland have implemented alcohol minimum pricing policies to reduce alcohol related harm (BBC, 2018). However, debates on alcohol pricing and inequality abound and minimum pricing has not been adopted in some countries such as England because there are concerns over the impact of alcohol minimum pricing on low income consumer groups. The arguments against low alcohol pricing in these contexts suggest that the policy targets drinks bought by the poor (Brooks, 2017; Holmes, 2014; Pickard and DaneshKhu, 2018).

2.7.   Conclusion

Illegal alcohol trade is a major international problem and industrially produced illegal commercial alcohol seems to pose the greatest harm to consumers. This is because industrially produced illegal alcohol is easier to distribute than traditional homemade alcohol and is also available at very low prices. Adulteration and the lack of quality control also increase the potential for harmful public health impacts from illegal alcohol.

CHAPTER THREE: CONSUMER AND MARKETPLACE (IM)MORALITY

3.1. Introduction

Given the study context of the illicit alcohol market in Kenya, and the emergent issues around moral perceptions and responses to illicit consumption and market practices, it is appropriate to take an in-depth examination of marketplace morality and how it applies in studies of consumption. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to explore and illuminate the relationship between marketing and morality. The chapter examines the definitional and conceptual nature of morality in general and in relation to consumption, covering the foundations of moral judgments and the process of moral judgement formation as well as the underlying motivations for (im)moral consumer behaviour. The chapter also highlights the relationship between morality and ethics. The chapter draws on literature from moral psychology, philosophy and consumer behaviour to offer multiple perspectives on morality and to illuminate the pluralistic nature of morality (Caruana, 2007). The chapter begins with a discussion on the intersection between morality and marketing, followed by conceptualising morality. Intuition and rationality in moral judgement is discussed next followed by moral philosophies and consumer immorality. A discussion on market and consumer responses to morality precedes the chapter summary and conclusion.

3.2. The intersection between morality and marketing

Ethics and values have become central to consumers approach to consumption as well as other aspects of daily life (Schor et al., 2010). The development and stability of capitalism is also dependent on moral marketplace conduct and actors (Amable, 2011; Weber, 1999). Marketing offers an opportunity for greater inclusivity or greater exploitation and exclusion (Hill, 2018; Santos and Laczniak, 2009a, b; Schor et al., 2010). For example, exploitative practices associated with marketplace transactions among low-income consumers have been illuminated in business ethics literature as well as the consumer literature on market inequality (Hill, 2018; Santos and Laczniak, 2009a). Marketing activity has also been instrumental in the sharing of wealth through consumer cooperatives and offering alternative products to consumers that have been produced with less exploitation and more attention to justice concerns (Littler, 2011). The extant marketing literature suggests that all marketing activity is potentially harmful to society with many consumer problems originating in the marketplace (Figueiredo et al., 2015; Reppel, 2012). Concerns about social justice, the environment, values and social connection arise from different marketplace activities (Schor et al., 2010; Wheeler, 2017). Currently however, many proposed solutions by researchers for a moral marketplace are customer-centric as the dominant paradigm has viewed consumerist orientations as the greatest threat to a sustainable society where consumer behaviour threatens the societal well-being (Holt, 2012; Kilbourne, McDonagh and Prothero, 1997). Fisk (1974), was among the earlier writers in the field of marketing to link a rise in consumption with the ecological crisis, and he advanced the idea of responsible consumption. Mick (2007, p. 289) posits that the "risks, costs, and moral complexities" of consumption are on the rise. Giesler and Veresiu (2014) introduced processes that can be used for the creation of moral

responsible consumers that include personalization, authorization, capabilization and transformation. Sheth and colleagues (2011) developed a case for mindful consumption with a focus on the consumer. Despite the focus on consumers for the transformation of the marketplace through changed consumption patterns, there has been a steady increase in per capita consumption (Seth et al., 2011) and this is a major focal point in consumer morality. Given the focus on consumers in marketplace morality, this study proposes shifting the focus away from consumption and anti-consumption activities in the examination of immoral marketplace action. The shift is based on the recognition that markets are shaped by many players, not just consumers. The consumer as a lone market actor lacks the power, and hence the obligation to change the market system and the world through their consumption choices (Carrington et al., 2016). The study thus adopts a market systems approach to the study of morality in the marketplace to illustrate how different social actors and institutions shape and are shaped by markets. This market systems approach acknowledges the complexity of markets that are comprised of multiple social actors. (Giesler and Fischer, 2017). The study therefore explores the perspectives, perceptions and actions of the following individual and institutional actors in view of market systems dynamics: consumers, producers, the media, activists/anti-consumers, communities, the government and nongovernmental organisations.

3.3. Conceptualising morality

Morality from a moral psychology perspective includes both moral content and moral judgements. Moral content is related to specific values or elements for example harm or

fairness that lead to moral violation (Graham et al. 2013). Moral judgement is concerned with the moral evaluation of actions (Haidt, 2001). The definition of morality as concern about harm (Gray, Young, and Waytz, 2012), fairness or justice and care (Killen and Smetana, 2006; Kohlberg 1971) and human welfare or happiness (Harris, 2010) has been criticised by moral psychologists for lacking explanatory adequacy and reducing morality to a few basic elements (Graham et al., 2013). The definitions are critiqued for addressing only a subset of moral concerns (Shweder, 1990). Attempts to offer a more comprehensive representation and explanation of the breadth of the moral domain have resulted in different accounts on morality. For example, Shweder and colleagues (1997) propose the community, autonomy and divinity (CAD) model as a more comprehensive way to conceive the moral domain. The CAD model classifies morality under three codes, namely community, autonomy, and divinity. Moral judgments about community are about violations of group solidarity and are concerned with concepts such as duty, respect, and loyalty, which preserve institutions and social order. Judgments about autonomy are about violations of individual rights and focus on concepts such as harm, rights, and justice, which protect autonomous individuals. Judgments about divinity are about violations of bodily or spiritual integrity and are concerned with concepts such as purity, sanctity, and sin, which protect the divinity inherent in each person against the degradation of hedonistic selfishness. Each of the three moral codes in Shweder's model emphasizes different aspects of the self. The moral code on autonomy privileges the individual self. The moral code on community views the self as interdependent on other individuals in a society and the interdependence may follow a hierarchical community structure. The moral code on divinity has a view that the self has a piece of divinity, connected with something beyond itself and therefore should not be degraded or demeaned by behaviours that can sully the self (Shweder, 1997).

Moral foundations theory (Haidt and Joseph, 2004) draws on Shweders's (1990, 1997) models on morality. Moral foundations theory (MFT) is premised on the assumption that morality is inborn but highly dependent on environmental influences (Haidt and Joseph, 2004). Further, intuitions precede moral reasoning in moral judgements, and the plurality of social challenges demands multiple moral foundations (Graham et al., 2013; Haidt and Joseph, 2004). MFT incorporates cultural differences in moral judgment, thus explaining the variation in morality across cultures. MFT splits morality into five moral intuitions namely harm/care; fairness/reciprocity; in-group/loyalty; authority/respect and purity/sanctity (Haidt and Graham, 2007; Haidt and Joseph, 2004). MFT is still undergoing development and there are additional foundations under investigation for inclusion since the moral domain is broader than five foundations as highlighted by (Suhler and Churchland, 2011). The proposed foundations include liberty/oppression and equity/undeservingness (Haidt, 2012; Meindl, Iyer and Graham, 2017 in Graham et al., 2016) and honesty/lying (Hofmann et al., 2014). The foundation harm/care is about kindness and is concerned with the prevention of physical or emotional suffering, triggering compassion for the victim and anger at the perpetrator/villain. Prosocial moral consumer behaviour for example donating to charities falls under this category (Strahilevitz and Myers, 1998). Fairness/cheating is about distributive and procedural justice and is concerned with fairness, justice and trustworthiness. Consumer behaviour such as buying Fairtrade for justice restoration is an example of behaviour triggered by this moral foundation (White Macdonnel and Ellard, 2012). Loyalty/betrayal is concerned with cohesion in coalitions and intergroup competition, for example betraying one's group. Authority/subversion is concerned with respect and obedience to superiors and focuses on violations such as disrespecting authority figures. Sanctity/degradation is about

spiritual and physical purity for example sexual deviance and sexual purity. The first two foundations (harm/care and fairness/reciprocity) can be viewed as foundations concerned with individual wellbeing because they are moral concerns about individuals and individual rights (Graham et al., 2016). The other three moral foundations in-group/loyalty, authority/respect and purity/sanctity can be thought of as binding foundations. They are group level foundations concerned with limiting autonomy and self-expression and encouraging individuals to look beyond themselves and their rights to emergent social entities such as families, clans, guilds, teams, tribes and nations (Graham and Haidt, 2010, p. 144).

Moral foundations theory expands the moral domain to consider moral concerns beyond harm and justice as summarised in table 1. The moral concerns addressed in extant consumer literature are not representative of all the possible moral foundations discussed in Haidt and Joseph's (2004) MFT (Komarova et al., 2016) and this study expands conceptualizations of morality in the marketplace by answering the second research question "To what extent, and in what ways, is morality conveyed through the social representations?" The study explores moral foundations such as authority/respect and group/ loyalty that are scarcely discussed in the extant literature on consumer morality (Komarova et al., 2016). People also value different moral foundations and their perceptions of moral transgressions also varies (Graham, Haidt, and Nosek 2009) but such individual and contextual differences are underrepresented in the literature (Bhattacharjee et al., 2013). This study explores the individual and contextual differences in perceptions of moral transgressions by answering the third research question "What are the effects of these representations".

Table 3.1: Moral foundations as an expansion of the moral domain

Key moral foundation	Moral concern	Group/individual	Indicative behaviour
harm/care	Preventing harm	individual	Prosocial consumer behaviour e.g. donating to charity to feed the hungry
fairness/reciprocity	Justice	individual	Fairtrade
group/loyalty	Betrayal	group	Conservative policies that view outsiders as out groups that should not receive the same benefits as ingroups
authority/respect	Disobeying superiors	group	Respect for elders
purity/sanctity	Spiritual/physical purity	group	Avoiding certain foods for moral reasons; environmental conservation

3.3.1. The relationship between morality and ethics

Ethics is the individual or group interpretation of morality, since there are different understandings of morality drawing from a set of common moral codes (Foucault, 1992). Crane and Desmond (2002, p. 566)   conceive ethics as "the formalisation and codification of moral rules". The extant literature on ethics in consumer research can be broadly categorised into ethical consumption, consumer ethics and ethics of consumption. Ethical consumption is the individual consumption choices based on a range of moral codes, for example avoiding certain foods or only purchasing Fairtrade coffee or chocolate, with a view of portraying a moral self (Barnett, Cafaro, and Newholm, 2005; Luetchford, 2016). Ethical consumption is also perceived to be a form of political action against a capitalist consumption system (Barnett, Cafaro, and Newholm, 2005), by seeking to reduce overall levels of consumption. Consumer ethics on the other hand is concerned with wrong or unethical behaviour such as

shoplifting and fraud (Rotman, Khamitov and Connors, 2018) where moral judgements are made on consumer conduct. Ethics of consumption involves a moral evaluation of consumption and the capitalist consumption system with the aim of steering consumption choices for moral good. These evaluations have diverse sometimes controversial outcomes. For example, Miller's (2001) evaluation of consumption as a means to moral outcomes such as poverty alleviation or Schor's (2008) evaluation of consumption as overexploitation of resources with adverse consequences. Ethical transgressions concerns harm done to other people, such as workers or consumers, that arise from the violation of the freedom or human dignity of others. Social transgressions involve harm to a community through, violation of norms or expectations or loyalty to the community (Grappi et al., 2013). Immoral behaviour has the potential to disrupt peaceful social coexistence and can threaten individual and societal well-being (Schimmack et al. 2002) hence the need for a study on consumer and marketplace (im)morality.

3.3.2. Dimensions of morality

Morality is conceived as comprising of two broad dimensions concerned with positive and negative behaviour. Prescriptive morality emphasizes what people should do, for example encouraging people to engage in moral actions. Proscriptive morality focuses on what should not be done, prohibiting immoral actions (Janoff-Bulman et al. 2009). Prescriptive and proscriptive morality can be observed in initiatives concerned with moral behaviour. For example, prescriptive morality deals with promoting moral behaviour such as buying Fairtrade or donating to charities whilst proscriptive morality prohibits behaviour such as

extravagant consumption or use of environmentally harmful materials such as plastics. The effective regulation of these two dimensions of morality in relation to consumer morality is a nascent area of study (Komarova et al., 2016). Table 3.2 summarises some of the key distinguishing characteristics of prescriptive and proscriptive morality.

Table 3.2: Distinguishing characteristics of prescriptive and proscriptive morality

Prescriptive morality	Proscriptive morality
High idealism- harm is always avoidable e.g. virtue ethics	Low relativism- based on ethical principles e.g. deontology
Sensitive to positive outcomes- actively seeks positive outcomes	Sensitive to negative outcomes – inhibition based- avoid negative outcomes
What we should be/do	What we should not do
commendatory, discretionary; desire	Condemnatory and mandatory; duty

3.4.   Intuition and rationality in moral judgement

According to rational models on moral judgement, moral reasoning precedes moral judgement and determines moral evaluation (e.g. Kohlberg, 1969). Intuitive models on moral judgement however argue that moral evaluation is a product of intuitive, affect laden processes. In this case, moral reasoning happens after the moral judgement has already taken place, due to social requirements to explain a moral stance (Haidt, 2001). In the intuitive perspective, the greatest action in moral judgment takes place in the automatic, affectively laden intuitions,

not in conscious verbal reasoning (Haidt, 2001, 2007; Haidt and Bjorklund, 2008). Moral

reasoning can however sometimes correct and override moral intuition (Haidt, 2007; Pizzaro

and Bloom, 2003). Moral intuitions are divided into different categories as outlined in MFT

(Graham et al., 2013). Even though individuals' aim is to make an accurate moral judgement,

some moral conclusions may still be preferred over others in a moral judgement. The

information related to the moral judgment is therefore processed in a way to ensure the

preferred moral conclusion. The information processing is affect laden, leaning towards the

desired moral conclusion, and away from information that challenges the preferred moral

judgement (Ditto, Pizarro and Tannenbaum, 2009). These reasoning processes have been

referred to as motivated moral reasoning.

Motivated moral reasoning is more likely to manifest in situations where there is ambiguity

about the nature or interpretation of an immoral action. Individuals and groups exploit the

ambiguity to interpret the immoral action in a way that supports their desired outcome (e.g.

Dana, Weber, and Kuang 2007; Mazar et al. 2008; Shu et al. 2011). Drawing on the literature

from motivated moral reasoning in moral psychology, there are several moral processes that

are of interest in a study on consumer morality. The processes are concerned with how the

information related to different moral acts is used to achieve desired moral conclusions about

oneself or others. Individuals' may process the information related to a moral judgement in

ways that manipulate the perception of the actor or the act/moral transgression. For example,

shifting attention away from the moral transgression and emphasizing the actor's performance

or competence in their designated duties (Bhattacharjee et al., 2013). There is a paucity of

research on moral reasoning that documents the roles of affect, mood, motivation, and

emotion on moral judgment (Ditto, Pizarro and Tannenbaum, 2009). This study examines the role of emotion in moral judgement as it seeks to answer the third research question "What are the effects of these representations?"

Some of the processes deriving from motivated moral reasoning include moral rationalization, moral decoupling and moral coupling. Moral rationalization involves justifying or forgiving immoral acts through making excuses for wrong behaviour, reconstruing harmful conduct or condoning wrong doing (Bandura, 1991; Tsang, 2002). In rationalization, people try to downplay a transgressor's role in causing harm, minimize or distort harms caused by a perpetrator, or blame others for the immoral act (Bandura et al., 1996; Lee and Kwak, 2016). For example, consumers may defend their decision to knowingly purchase cheap products produced using unfair labour practices citing their own economic constraints or rationalize that failure to buy will hurt the workers even more, if the factory closes and they have no wages. Or producers may excuse their provision of substandard products by citing the lower prices charged. Consumer willingness to exploit questionable actions (Al-Khatib, Vitell and Rawwas 1997; Belk, Devinney and Eckhardt, 2005) is one of the expressions of moral rationalization. By representing transgressions as immaterial, immorality is justified or excused, and consumers reduce the tension between desired outcomes and their moral standards (Bandura 1991; Ditto et al. 2009; Tsang 2002). People get involved in moral rationalization when they have no interest in the consequences of an immoral act, or the impact of failure to act (Dana, Lowenstein, and Weber, 2012).

Some of the most common moral rationalization strategies include pleading ignorance, in which case an individual may prefer not to know the consequences of their actions, to avoid

feeling compelled to act. Relying on someone else to step in and take moral responsibility during a crisis, for example relying on others to reduce their carbon emissions, or consumption to avoid feeling compelled to get involved. Exploiting ambiguities where the assignment of responsibility for an immoral outcome is uncertain (Dana, Lowenstein, and Weber, 2012). For example, should the consumer be blamed for purchasing low priced articles made through unfair labour practices, or are the producers and middlemen to be blamed? Belk and colleagues (2005, p.) found that some consumers also use the excuse that it is "simply the way of the world" when minimising ethical labour abuses in the production of consumer goods. While others use psychic distance to reduce their ethical concerns for abuse taking place far away from their homes and lives, or ethical situations too difficult for the consumer to make a difference through their choices and actions (White, MacDonnell and Ellard, 2012).

Moral decoupling refers to judgements that separate performance from morality, allowing an individual to condemn an immoral act, while supporting the transgressor, whether this is a public figure or a brand (Bhattacharjee et al., 2013). Moral decoupling involves extricating the immoral act from the performance of the immoral actor. Moral decoupling, like moral rationalization, may lead to consumer support for immoral actors and brands by exploiting the ambiguity in the boundaries between performance and actor's morality. For example, consumers' generally value competence more than morality when choosing between service providers (Kirmani et al., 2017). Consumer reactions to ethical transgressions by sellers (Whalen, Pitts and Wong, 1991), and the perception of company ethics and product purchasing (Sen and Bhattacharya, 2001) all illustrate moral decoupling processes.

Moral coupling involves the integration of moral judgements with judgements of performance where the misconduct of a public figure or brand impacts on the evaluations of the public figure and or, the brands endorsed by the transgressor (Lee and Kwak, 2016). People engage in moral coupling process when they find it difficult to compartmentalize or excuse immoral actions. In moral coupling, individuals are less forgiving of the transgressor (Lee, Kwak and Moore, 2015). The demand for, and willingness by consumers to pay for socially acceptable products (Auger et al., 2003; Elliott and Freeman 2001), and the protest, and boycotts of business organizations whose practices are morally questionable (Grappi, Romani and Bagozzi, 2013; Klein and John 2004; Klein, Smith and John 2002; Trudel and Cotte, 2009) are some of the expressions of moral coupling. Moral coupling can also be observed in consumer movements such as, carrotmobb which encourage consumers to reward producer morality by making many purchases in large numbers from the producer whose actions they affirm or where consumers want to encourage moral producer behaviour (www.carrotmob.org).

3.5. Moral philosophies and ethical theories

Moral philosophy is concerned with the overarching questions of morality. Moral philosophy is important for understanding how moral beliefs are formed. There are two main classifications of moral philosophy: metaethics and normative philosophy. Metaethics focuses on the nature and approach to moral judgements. Metaethical views are concerned with the

origin of morals, they define moral judgements and outline the process of selecting moral principles. For example, cultural relativism derives its moralism from social conventions, so morality is defined as socially approved actions and the moral principles are based on social conventions (society defines "good" and "bad"). Religious morality on the other hand defines morality based on Godly/divine principles and dictates that moral principles should be based on God's will (Gensler, 2016). Normative ethics is concerned with the expression of morals, the general moral principles by which people ought to live. It focuses on four main areas: right actions, good outcomes, virtuous character and moral rights (Gensler, 2016). The first two areas are concerned with what we should do (right or good) while the third theory is concerned with what we should aim to be, the fourth theory is concerned with the dignity of all human beings. Theories that give pre-eminence to the right, refer to duty, what ought to be done. Theories that refer to the good are more concerned with outcomes (Barnett, Cafaro and Newholme, 2005). Examples of normative ethics include: virtue ethics, utilitarianism, deontology and humanism. Hunt and Vitell (1986, 1993) argue that consumers' moral philosophies shape the ethical judgments of questionable practices. In turn, these ethical beliefs determine consumers' ethical intentions. The next section focuses on the expression of morals and discusses virtue ethics, utilitarianism, deontology and humanism.

3.5.1. Virtue ethics

Virtue theories stipulate the character traits, or virtues, are necessary for human flourishing (Hursthouse, 1999) by emphasizing a set of virtues that comprise a good character for any social role (Veatch, 1985). Virtues are character traits that guide behaviour for example

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honesty and benevolence (Hursthouse, 1999; Swanton, 2003). Virtues can be self-regarding or other regarding (Grappi et al., 2013). Virtue theories underscore personal excellence as pivotal for societal flourishing, rather than duty towards others. Different studies on ethical consumption suggest that a key motivation for ethical consumer behaviour is the consumers sense of personal integrity or a moral self-identity (Kozinets and Handelman, 1998; Shaw and Shiu 2003), underlining the role of personal excellence for societal well-being. Moral identity concerns in ethical consumption behaviour reflect an integration of the self-interested and altruistic aspects of morality (Barnett, Cafaro and Newholme, 2005; Cafaro 2004) since the concerns lead to the dual gratification of self and others and to consideration for one's moral self and others' wellbeing. Virtue theory aims at arousing rational self-interest, such as a moral self-identity, rather than seeking to defend altruism against self- interest as is the case with deontology and utilitarianism. Some of the virtues of interest include justice, compassion, tolerance, courage, patience, persistence, intelligence, imagination and creativity. Some theorists describe virtue theory liberally as a function of human conduct and character, for example Barnnet and colleagues (2005), when they depict virtue theory as concern with the behavioural process of learning virtues such as asking questions about which habits and practices might lead us to act in ways that are more environmentally friendly. Others such as Veatch (1985) limit virtue theory to human character, emphasizing praise worthy or blameworthy human traits, rather than right and wrong actions. Veatch uses the example of characteristic of will and characteristic of action to contrast conduct and character, where a malevolent character might do good, not because they are willing, but because they fear the consequences of doing otherwise. Veatch further argues that there is no ideal set of virtues for any social role, and that an emphasis on virtue can lead to wrong conduct. Veatch's perspective can however be challenged by questions such as "what is character, if it does not

lead to action", for example, is it possible to have benevolence that does not result in beneficence?

Haidt and Joseph (2004) argue that among the different approaches to morality (e.g. moral philosophies, moral reasoning, moral intuitions), virtue theories offer the best approach to morality, due to their congruence with moral development, judgement and behaviour. Virtue theories are however critiqued for their over emphasis on the role of environmental factors in learning virtues, yet human beings maybe constrained in their learning by innate features that cannot be overcome by environmental stimulus. In view of the natural constraints to virtue development, Haidt and Joseph (2004) base their theory on moral foundations on the learning of virtues supported by innate moral content or intuitions.

3.5.2. Utilitarianism

Utilitarianism is concerned with the outcomes, in particular the greatest good for the greatest number (Mill, 2015). Utilitarianism is contextually sensitive, so that the preferred course of action is dependent on circumstances rather than predetermined in advance by a set of rules as is the case with deontology (Barnett et al., 2005). Utilitarianism can therefore lead to immoral actions by privileging outcomes, over the means. Utilitarianism has also been criticized for assuming that the collective choices of whole societies are the same as individual choices. Another criticism on utilitarianism is that it sanctions the exploitation of some people, or limiting the rights of the minority, in pursuit of a more general utilitarian outcome.

Utilitarianism also ignores the plurality of views as to what constitutes the good benefit by considering only the outcome for the majority. Assuming that it is possible to collect, collate and calculate all sorts of information and chains of causality prior to, or even after, action is another critique against utilitarianism. It is also has limited use for personal/individual thinking and is only relevant in relation to evaluating collective, public decisions. It is highly abstract and rigid, ignoring the complexities and uncertainties involved in ethical decision making, and presenting a theoretical rather than practical model of the ways in which people are accountable for their actions (Barnett et al., 2005; Williams, 1973).

3.5.3. Deontology

Deontological perspectives posit that the actions taken in a moral crisis are predetermined based on a set of rules, disregarding the context and impact of actions (Barnett et al., 2005). Deontology is concerned with conformity to duty, even blind inclination to duty. Deontology has been criticised for prioritising the right, over the good, and for privileging the observance of duty as an end, regardless of the practical outcomes of observing duty. Deontology has also been criticised for promoting fanaticism by the categorical imperative to do unto others as we would have them do to us, because in extreme cases, it would allow one to inflict pain on others if they would also be willing to allow others to hurt them (Macdonald and Beck-Dudley, 1994).

3.5.4. Humanism

Humanism is a human centred moral philosophy that emphasizes the value, dignity and wellbeing of all human beings in all social exchanges, including economic exchange (Varey and Pirson, 2013). Human freedom and progress are at the heart of the philosophy (Marbaniang, 2009). Humanism in business is driven by concerns over the perception that human beings are just resources - a means to profit generation illustrated in terms such as "human capital" (Varey and Pirson, 2013) and evidenced by the absence of the term "people" in marketing discourse where consumers and marketers, are the predominant terms (Wooliscroft, 2013, p. 54). The dehumanization of consumers is another area of concern, where marketers manipulate and psychologically exploit consumers for profit (Stoeckl and Luedicke, 2013). Humane values such as "justice, fairness, dignity, wellbeing, freedom and equality" characterise humanism, whose goal is the authentic wellbeing of all human beings, not just material wellbeing (Varey and Pirson, 2013, p. 274). People's ethical reasoning and moral intentions are guided by different moral philosophies (Hunt and Vittel, 1993) and this section has highlighted some of the moral philosophies that individual's may draw upon when making moral/ethical choices in the marketplace. The prominent features that characterise the different moral philosophies are summarised in table 3.3.

Table 3.3: The prominent features of different normative ethics/ moral philosophies

Virtue ethics/Eudaemonist	Utilitarianism/ teleological	Deontology	Humanism
Virtuous character	Good outcomes	Right actions	Moral rights
High idealism	Low idealism	Low relativism	High idealism
Prescriptive	Situationist	Proscriptive	Proscriptive and prescriptive
What we should be	What we should achieve	What we should do	Human dignity
Morality of aspiration	Lesser evil/outcomes	Morality of duty/systems and rules	Authentic well being
Significant virtue and vice concepts e.g. charity, harm	Independent of moral obligation	Independent of outcome	Social principles and practices
Instructive e.g. be kind	Start with goals /goal oriented	Independent of goals	Less harm, more good
Personal excellence	Limit the rights of/or exploit some for the general good	Uphold rights/ duty	Better societies
Independent of context	Context dependent	Independent of context	Independent of context
Individual and collective rights	Collective good/no distinction between persons	Individual and collective rights	Societal good
Character	Emotional/intuitive	Rational	Rational

3.6.   Consumer (im)morality

In the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) research tradition (Arnould and Thompson, 2005), morality of consumption has largely been approached in terms of consumer resistance (Ulver-Sneistrup; Askeergard and Kristensen, 2011). Consumer morality has often been situated as increased consciousness of the impact of consumption decisions on the environment, consumer health and society (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014; Luetchford, 2016; Schor 1998).

Consumer studies on morality have focused on diverse areas such as illuminating moralistic identity work based on an increased consciousness of the impact of consumption decisions on the environment and the community (Luedicke et al., 2010; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007). For example, the preference for community supported agriculture over industrial-scale, global distribution of commercial food systems and agribusiness companies like Monsanto. Considerations of ecological sustainability, biodiversity, energy conservation, worker safety, living wages, and, the preservation of small farms and a rural way of life are positioned as critical for responsible consumption among these community supported agriculture consumers (Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007). Rhetorical and material strategies necessary for shaping and governing consumers as moral market actors are exposed in Giesler and Veresiu's (2014) study on moralistic government regimes on consumer subjectivity. Giesler and Veresiu adopt a neoliberal perspective on socio-moral responsibility in the marketplace (Amable, 2011; Lemke, 2002), where responsibility is assigned to individual market actors rather than on the market as a system. The role of institutions in such neoliberal environments is expected to be the formulation of responsibility-enhancing market regulations, policies, guidelines, and standards "both intrinsically and in their relations with each other" (Shamir, 2008, p. 4) rather than mere conventional consumer protection. Individual market actors are assigned the moral responsibility to resolve social problems. Increased individual moral sensitivity is proposed as the key to resolving a social problem.

The critique against consumer culture and condemnation of certain forms of consumption and conduct deemed as destructive is premised on moral concerns (Stoeckl and Luedicke, 2015). The condemnation arises because of the perceived impact of consumption and consumer

conduct on: social bonds (Borgmann, 2000; Humphery, 2016); the environment (Holt, 2012; Luedicke, Giesler and Thompson, 2010), personal health and economic well-being (Petterson, 2012). The critiques can be broadly conceptualised as: those that are concerned with consumption, and those that are concerned with consumer conduct. The critiques over consumption can be considered under those concerned with the attitude towards consumption, those that are critical of the volume of consumption, those that are concerned with both scale and composition of consumption (Schor et al., 2010), and those that are concerned with consumer conduct (e.g. Fullerton and Punj, 1997, 2004). The concerns on consumer conduct define immoral consumer behaviour as the lack of prosocial and altruistic values, such as donating, volunteering, or environmental conservation. Harmful, self-interested actions which may or may not be explicitly criminal are also considered immoral and are generally referred to as aberrant consumer behaviour (ACB). These behaviours include unfair treatment of others, stealing, cheating, or discrimination (Janoff-Bulman, et al., 2009). Table 3.4 summarises the critiques against consumers and consumption based on the focus of the critique, and the behavioural or attitudinal expression.

Table 3.4: Focus and expression of critiques against consumers and consumption

Focus	expression
Attitude	Materialism; Narcissism; Commodification; Hedonism (Schor, 2008)
Scale	Luxury; Commodification (Veblen, 1899)
Composition	Exploitation/mistreatment; Commodification; Licit/illicit (social and ethical transgressions in production or consumption) (Luedicke et al., 2010)
Conduct	Lack of prosocial/altruistic behaviour; Aberrant consumer behaviour (Fullerton and Punj 1997, 2004)

Despite the critiques against consumption, the role of consumption for life sustenance and for life satisfaction (Richins and Dawson 1992) cannot be trivialized. Consumption objects can yield satisfaction as ends in themselves or as signifiers as well as through making highly valued experiences and playful interactions possible (Holt 1995). The need for moral consumer conduct can however not be overemphasized. A functional capitalist marketplace is dependent on the moral capacity and adherence to norms of individual consumers, and other market players (Amable, 2011). Individual and collective wellbeing is also dependent on the moral conduct of all market players (Mick et al. 2012), hence the need to explore what (im)moral consumer conduct or experience is understood to be. Figure 3.1 summarises the focal areas in the moral debates on consumption and consumer culture.

Figure 3.1: The focal areas in the moral debates on consumption and consumer culture
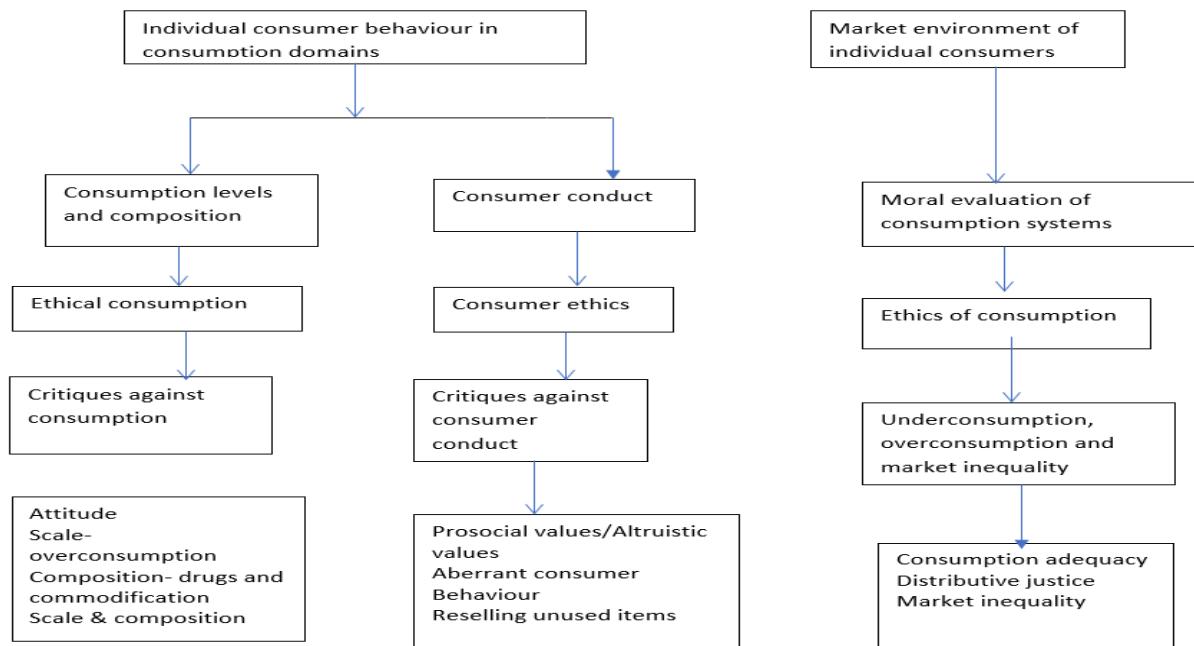
3.6.1. Critiques on attitude towards consumption

The critique against the attitude towards consumption is reflected in the sentiments of different scholars on consumer culture. For example, consumer culture has been defined as "a society in which human values have been grotesquely distorted so that commodities become more important than people...commodities become not ends in themselves but overvalued means for acquiring acceptable ends like love and friendship" (Schudson 1984, in Belk 1988, p. 104). For Campbell (1987) consumer culture is characterised as a shift from utilitarianism to hedonism, a search for positive pleasure in consumption rather than need satisfaction. Consumer culture is also depicted as the consumerist syndrome that values and esteems new products while devaluing the old (Bauman, 2001, 2005) as demonstrated by consumers who are keen on acquiring the latest must have commodity as the old objects lose their appeal and shine despite their utility. Baudrillard (2016) notes that consumption for its own sake breeds limitless consumption as it has no objective end. When consumption aims at the fulfilment of needs, utility is attainable with the consumption of necessities such as food, shelter and clothing. When the goal changes to pleasure seeking, an endless elusive pursuit of fulfilment is sought through consumption with little real pleasure being achieved (Belk, 1988). Firat and Venkatesh (1995, p. 48) observe that ''consumers are no longer need-driven but have driven needs''. In these views, consumers are represented as driven and consumed by a desire to consume (Bauman, 2001). Materialism, the consumption of signs and compensatory consumption, are some of the criticisms levelled on the attitude towards consumption and consumption objects.

Materialism can be conceptualized as the consumption style that results when consumers perceive consumption objects as more valuable than experiences or other people. Holt (1995) makes an important distinction between materialists and nonmaterialists, challenging the notion that materialism is evidenced by the volume of one's possessions. Holt argues that while nonmaterialists may have fewer possessions than materialists, some studies show that those who live with fewer objects may assign more importance to those objects that they do have, for example, the "ascetic" new class, (Bourdieu 1984) or the few special possessions owned by the homeless (Hill and Stamey, 1990). The fewer possessions in the two examples does not diminish the value placed on material possessions, which is a major critique against materialism. Holt (1995) further argues that it is possible to be nonmaterialist even while in possession of finer or numerous possessions. Satiability and the value placed on possessions, rather than volume of possessions becomes a key distinction between materialists and non-materialists. Sherry and Camargo (1987) portray materialism as a need to keep pace or outdo others in terms of social standing, further underlining the inconsequentiality of volume of possessions in the conception of materialism.

Consumption has replaced "religion, work and politics" as the means for attaining social status and distinction (Belk, 1985; Gabriel and Lang, 1995, p. 8). With the replacement of traditional forms of identity formation by consumption, consumer markets are used to showcase cultural competence and achievement, to be noticed and to inspire envy in others (Raymen and Smith, 2015; Schor, 1998). Consumption of this kind displaces leisurely enjoyment, the devotion to family, community and religion (Borgmann, 2000). Even non-visible expenditures that were previously exempt from the show and tell category of consumption, have joined the ranks in recent years (Schor, 1998). The growth of social media

and technology especially cameras on smartphones facilitate the display and show off, as consumers can capture their dining out, their visits to exotic locations and to share them on various social media sites such as Facebook and WhatsApp.

Sometimes consumer behaviour is characterized by a lack of coordination between action and need. Rather than satisfying specific needs, certain aspects of consumption are reactions to a more general dissatisfaction not related to any specific need, to compensate for failure or weaknesses. This pattern is referred to as compensatory consumption (Gronmo, 1988 in Woodruffe ,1997). Compensatory consumption has been normalised the lives of many consumers so that it is the automatic response to the frustrations of daily life when things do not go as expected (Woodruffe ,1997). For example, students may respond to the fear of exam failure by going on a binge drinking spree. Commodities are used to brighten up moods through purchasing (Connoly and Prothero, 2003). Consumption may also be used to escape from the dull everyday existence through visiting expensive stores, of engaging in fantasies of luxury and prestige, of owning acceptable brands for public display (Schor, 1998).

The overemphasis on consumption as a measure and means to economic development is argued to play a significant role in the problematic attitude towards consumption (Cohen, 2004). Quality of life is predominantly measured using levels of consumption. The problem is further compounded by the lack of qualitative measures for quality of life. Most measures are quantitative, and they are based on how much consumption is possible (Belk, 1988). Consumption is construed to guarantee material and non- material wellbeing ((Belk and

Pollay 1985; Scott, Martin and Schouten, 2014). Firat (1999, p. 284) criticizes this paradigm where consumption is equated with "success, and development with accumulation of material products" and where high levels of production and consumption are perceived to be fundamental to economic growth (Beckerman, 1956).

3.6.2. Critiques against the scale of consumption

"Man is an acquisitive animal whose wants cannot be satisfied" (Thurow 1981, p. 120 in Benton, 1986) The acquisitive nature dates as far back as the ancient civilizations and is not a preconditioning by the postmodern world (Belk, 1988). The postmodern world has only made unbounded acquisition possible through the mass production of goods and services (Belk, 1985, 1988). The impact of society's consumption in excess of sustenance has serious consequences on sustainable consumption, as resource overconsumption plays a major role in ecological, social and economic instability. The disregard for environmental (ecological, economic, individual and social) limitations leads to an imbalance since production and consumption take place as though the environment's capacity is infinite (Borgmann's, 2000; Connolly and Prothero, 2003; Kilbourne et al., 1997). The results are evident with rising cases of obesity, economic, ecological and societal crisis.

Conspicuous consumption which was observed among the super-rich by Veblen (1899) involved excessive consumption to impress and outdo others. This competition in

consumption is no longer limited to a marginal upper-class, or to consumers with similar socio-economic status. Reference groups for consumption are more upward looking, with consumers comparing themselves with others whose income is 3 to 5 times their income (Schor, 1999; Sheth et al., 2011). This competition to outdo others in consumption results in overconsumption. Overconsumption often entails high levels of debt and low levels of savings which are deleterious for both individual financial well-being and the economy as whole. Overconsumption often involves spending first then meeting the cost later. The consequences of these "buy now, pay later" culture is evident in rising unmanageable levels of debt. Peterson (2012) notes that bad debts guaranteed by federally owned lenders in the U.S cost the tax payer $169 billion in 2012. Such high levels of loan default impact negatively on the economy, tax payers the lenders and all potential borrowers who have to undergo more scrutiny and sometimes incur higher financial costs to access loans even if they are "innocent" law abiding consumers who have no problem meeting their financial obligations. Cohen (2007, p. 59) notes that nearly 60% of American cardholders do not pay off their outstanding balances in a timely manner, but instead roll over, on average, $5,000 each month; and the accumulation of untenable debt loads has prompted more than 1.5 million households to file for bankruptcy each year. These unsustainable levels of debt are detrimental to individual and communal well-being since communal well- being is tied to how well the individuals within the community are doing, and unmanageable debt is stressful for individuals and may lead to poor mental health (Fitch et al., 2011; Richardson et al., 2013).

Extravagant consumption also ties up wealth that should be used to help those who are economically disenfranchised and are living in poverty, leading to further disadvantage

(Borgmann, 2,000; Figueiredo et al., 2015). Overconsumption also puts a strain on the planet as resources are depleted jeopardizing the future of the next generation by compromising the planets capacity to sustain life. Overconsumption is responsible for climate change and ecological degradation. Some attribute overconsumption to affluent consumption in the developed world while others blame it on high population growth rate and hence over population in the developing world (Connoly and Prothero, 2003). The moral critiques against high levels of consumption are also reflected in concerns over excessive alcohol consumption that impact on personal and collective wellbeing by threatening law and order and draining public health and welfare resources (Griffin et al., 2009; Measham and Brain, 2005; Piacentini and Banister, 2009; Szmigin et al., 2007).

The critique against scale of consumption is utilitarian in its approach, with elements of deontology for example, when the approach calls for frugality and critiques the use of resources that could be devoted to helping the world's poor (Singer, 2002 in Barnett et al., 2005), or against excessive alcohol consumption due to the negative impact on the public healt and welfare system (Szmigin et al., 2007), the arguments are about consequences, seeking the greatest good for the greatest number. When the arguments for frugality are framed in terms of duty, (Brown 2002) they reflect deontological concerns. Repetitive (im)moral behaviours that are linked with lifestyle choices and habits have far reaching and permanent moral implications for individuals and society at large (Komarova et al., 2016; Sheth et al., 2011). Excessive alcohol consumption (Piacentini and Banister, 2009) is one such are with broad moral implications.

3.6.3. Aberrant consumer behaviour

Aberrant consumer behaviour includes consumer behaviours such as shoplifting, credit card fraud, vandalism, writing bad cheques, physical and verbal abuse of other consumers and marketing employees (Fullerton and Punj 1997, 2004; Moschis and Cox 1989). Other forms of consumer misconduct include intellectual property abuse (Giesler, 2014; Lee 2010), fraudulent returns (Timberlake, 2013), anger, hostility and aggression behaviour such as road rage (Rose and Neidermeyer, 1999) and insurance fraud (Tennyson, 2002) and lack of altruism and prosocial behaviour. Consumer misconduct often leads to profit loss for organisations and/or personal injury to service employees (Rose and Neidermeyer 1999; Warner, 2015).

Misbehaviour in the financial sector has also been observed where consumers write bad cheques or fail to honour their financial commitments (Cohen, 2007). Consumer returns that exploit liberal return policies (Wachter et al.,2012) and keeping wrongfully administered excess change have also been highlighted under consumer misconduct (Fullerton et al, 2014). Product misuse is another arena for consumer misconduct, for example using mobile phones to mobilise for violent action since mobile telephone has eased communication in many parts of the world.

3.6.4. Critiques against the composition of consumption

Certain consumption habits also carry social costs beyond the individual consumer. Consumption that results in deviance such as crime and violence affect both the consumer and the community. Alcohol and other drugs (AOD) use is one example of such consumption. Ailments related to drug use is also costly to the whole society. Peterson (2012) notes that the high number of Americans requiring medical care for tobacco related illnesses led to an increase in health insurance premiums for the whole population. The majority non-smoking population who were not involved in the production or consumption of cigarettes had to bear the economic and health costs of the minority group of smokers and producers. Health costs in this case are related to secondary smoke inhalation.

Another dimension to marketplace morality concerns products and services. Commodities such as alcohol, cigarettes and many other licit and illicit drugs and commercial activities such as gambling have always held a moral charge albeit an implied one due to their negative social and health effects. In recent years, concerns with fair labour practices and sustainable production processes throughout the value chain have introduced another facet to morality in consumption. Social justice, ecological and ethical concerns in production processes has introduced moral connotations to many consumer goods that were not traditionally in the domain of moral/immoral commodities. For example fine chocolate consumers concerns with unfair labour practices and the use of child labour (Mccabe, 2015); apparel consumers concerns with unfair working conditions (DeWinter, 2001); coffee consumers concerns with Fairtrade practices (Reichman, 2011); motor vehicles where consumer activists are concerned

with the environmental damage caused by certain models (Luedicke et al, 2010; Witkowski, 2010) and bottled water where consumer activists are concerned about the environmental impacts of high volumes of plastic waste that degrades the environment (Holt, 2012).

The commodification of certain goods and services is another aspect of immorality in market exchange. Questions on what may or may not be commodified drive the moral debates around market exchanges such as prostitution, sale of body organs and human trafficking including the sale of babies to childless couples among others. Moral debates abound as to the boundaries for the proper limits to the sphere of things that money can buy (Prasad, 1999; Sandel, 2013). The controversy arises over the choice involved in the above exchanges with some arguing that those involved in prostitution or sale of body organs might actually do so because of their desperate financial situations and are thus coerced into these exchanges by their circumstances (Kahn, 2003; Veatch, 2017).

The critique against both scale and composition of consumption arises because while concern over the composition of consumption is on the rise, evidenced by more environmentally friendly products, concerns about the scale of consumption are still low (Schor, 1998). The focus is on issues such as recycling and waste management and not consumption itself yet there is a need to link consumption with ecological degradation (Connolly and Prothero, 2003; Schaefer and Crane, 2005). In illicit alcohol consumption, concern arises over both the scale and composition of consumption (Rehm et al., 2016; WHO, 2014).

3.6.5. Underconsumption and market inequality

Other scholars have argued for the need to consider the context in the morality debate since societies with material scarcity have different needs and moral concerns from affluent societies. Those with material scarcity are conceived to need greater consumption (Miller, 2001) whilst the affluent are encouraged to adopt frugality (Witkowski, 2010). From these two perspectives, consumption can be problematic both due to underconsumption and overconsumption (Jackson 2009; Miller, 2001; Seyfang 2009). Underconsumption is a major problem for many consumers living at the "bottom of the pyramid" (BoP) (Sheth et al., 2011), and for this group of consumers, more consumption is needed (Miller, 2001). Restricted choice, poorer quality products and services and reduced consumption capabilities and capacity, are some of the challenges facing consumers with low socio-economic status (Blocker et al., 2012; Piacentini and Hamilton, 2013). The proposition of consumption as moral is premised on the assumption that more consumption leads to greater happiness (Belk, 1985).

There are two main paradigms which espouse greater access to consumption based on low socio-economic status and underconsumption, where many basic consumption needs are unmet. The paradigms are consumption adequacy (Hill, 2002, 2018) and Rawlisian justice (Rawls, 2005). The paradigms are premised on the need to uphold the dignity of all human beings (Hill and Martin, 2014). Consumption adequacy proposes that all persons regardless of their status should have unhampered access to basic goods and service that meet survival

needs. Consumption adequacy is concerned with minimising harmful physical and emotional

consequences that arise due to restricted access to basic goods and services (Hill, 2002, 2018).

Rawls (2005) approach to social contract theory is that fairness across a society requires all

people to have the same rights or liberties that also limit social and consumption inequities

(See, Hill, 2018; O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2005). Rawls (2005) difference

principle proposes that any economic inequality in a society must benefit the least advantaged

citizens over time, and the inequity must not be the result of differences in relative access to

marketplace opportunities. It proposes the levelling the playing field so that the least

advantaged members of society as a minimum are given the opportunity to succeed. Rawlsian

justice and consumption adequacy provide a basis for evaluating whether fairness and/or

adequate consumption exists (Hill, 2018).

3.7. Market and consumer responses to ethics and morality questions

Despite the criticisms against consumption and consumer culture, several research studies

demonstrate that consumers make socially and morally conscious consumption decisions

(Chatzidakis, Maclaran and Bradshaw, 2012; Dobscha and Ozanne, 2001; Thompson and

Coskuner-Balli, 2007) and will punish companies promoting unethical goods (Trudel and

Cotte, 2009) while rewarding those that promote justice such as Fairtrade (White,

MacDonnell and Ellard, 2012). The growing demand for ethical options such as Fairtrade

products (Humphery, 2016; McCabe, 2015), and the rewarding of ethical/moral companies

through consumer movements such as carrotmob, that use "boycotting" to reward socially

responsible companies is testament to this (Albinsson and Perera, 2012). Consumer

mobilization for social justice (Micheletti and Stole, 2008) is yet another illustration of

morally conscious consumers. These forms of organizing however fail to deal with the level

of consumption and appear to rubberstamp high levels of consumption as long as the products

are politically correct. Ethical consumer behaviour has been attributed to altruism (Batson,

1998, 2011), adherence to social norms (White and Peloza 2009), and egoistic self-interest

(Cialdini et al. 1987; Omoto and Snyder 1995), where ethical behaviours are pursued to meet

identity needs of portraying a moral self. Such self-interested motives have also been

observed in consumers whose ethical consumption is the result of a preoccupation with the

need to appear more ethical than others, rather than an actual interest in ethical behaviour and

outcomes (Sherry and Camargo, 1987).

 The market efforts to support consumers in making ethical choices include digital ethical

consumption apps that are downloadable onto consumers smart devices such as phones and

tablets as well as websites such as https://www.ethicalconsumer.org/technology/shopping-

guide/mobile-phones that guide consumers on ethical mobile phones. The apps and websites

facilitate ethical consumer decision making by providing information about the ethical status

of a product. The apps aid decisions by rating and comparing different products and marking

products with various positive and negative symbols or providing a tick, a question mark, or a

cross on the basis of how the local and global activities of the manufacturer score in relation

to environmental, animal welfare, and human welfare criteria (Humphery, 2016). The most

commonly used applications are digital versions of existing printed or web-based guides (such

as 'The Good Shopping Guide' in the UK, the 'Shop Ethical!' guide in Australia, or the U.S.-

based Good Guide website). The digital ethical consumption apps have however been

criticized for supporting the politics in the definition and framing of ethical consumption that focuses on the type/ composition, rather than scale. The applications emphasize consumer choice and enable consumer to digitally select moral/ethical products (Humphery, 2016; Humphery and Jordan, 2016). Some of the websites are also not up to date. For example, a check by the researcher on 12th October 2018 shows that the mobile phone ethical guide website https://www.ethicalconsumer.org/technology/shopping-guie/mobile-phones was last updated on 10th December 2016.

The changing face of status goods is yet another illustration of a move towards ethical consumption. Traditionally, status goods have been represented as very large, very costly, or too extravagant. With greater environmental and health consciousness, the images depicting status goods are changing in certain parts of the world. Burroughs (2010) uses the example of Charlottesville where local organic produce (poultry, meats, and dairy) sells out at a premium price consistently at the farmer's market. Other new status commodities include fair-trade coffee and whole foods while ecotourism has risen to the status of one of the most esteemed sectors of the travel industry (Burroughs, 2010). These examples serve to demonstrate that a moral production and consumption arena where producers and consumers do right by each other is viable in the commercial marketplace.

3.7.1. Potential avenues for increasing consumer morality

Intrinsic motivations or incentives for moral behaviour mean that acting immorally is costly to individuals who desire to be identified as moral. Ethical consumption campaigns can

exploit this egoistic need to appear moral by appealing to both self and other regarding values (Barnett, Cafaro and Newholme, 2005). Appealing to positive emotions ((Valdesolo and DeSteno, 2006) such as a sense of accomplishment in acting morally or resisting immoral behaviour can also be used to encourage moral consumer behaviour (Komarova et al., 2016). Increased individual moral sensitivity has also been proposed as the key to resolving a social problem through responsibilization of individual market agents (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014). The development of cost/benefit analyses for different consumption options is another possible avenue for facilitating ethical/moral rational consumer choices (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Highlighting the financial (e.g., Fullerton and Punj 1997), legal (e.g., Collins 1989), social (e.g., Ohtsubo et al. 2010) or psychological (Gino, Norton, and Ariely 2010) costs of immoral behaviour is another potential avenue for discouraging immoral behaviour (Komarova et al., 2016). Factors such as overcrowding, waiting time, background noise and temperature have also been listed as potential aggravators of consumer misbehaviour such as aggression (Rose and Neiderbeyer, 1999).

3.7.2. Potential barriers to consumer morality

This section covers potential barriers to moral consumer behaviour. The barriers include causality, agency and blame; external and internal considerations; rational approaches to morality and consumer ignorance

3.7.2.1.   Causality, agency and blame

The causal connection between harmful outcomes and consumer action can be overwhelming for consumers and may result in consumer cynicism, which causes consumers to wonder if they can have any impact (Bray, Johns and Kilburn, 2011; Humphery, 2016; White, MacDonnell and Ellard, 2012; Young, 2003). Many moralistic appeals to consumers, omit important distinctions on consumer responsibility. Consumers' causal responsibility for harmful actions, or responsibility for being a beneficiary of harmful actions, or being able to change the harmful events and outcomes is not always clear in the appeals (Barnett, Cafaro and Newholme, 2005). Such models of responsibility are unfair to consumers in assigning the responsibility for moral market structures to the consumer (Baumann, 2009; Carrington, Zwick and Neville, 2016). Humphery (2010) dismisses the consumer-centric perspectives by criticizing commentaries on overconsumption for focusing on individual consumers rather than the commercial and political institutions that drive consumption systems. The role of the state in positive change through policy is also obscured as responsibility is placed on consumers or producers (Baumann, 2009). It also leads to a diminishing sense of the role of collective rather than individual action in bringing about change (Monbiot, 2007). The consumer/producer responsibility models imply that market choice rather than state intervention and sensible, enforced policy is the path to sustainability and social equity (Humphery, 2016). Collaboration between entrepreneurs, producers, governments and non-governmental organisations has also been proposed as a solution to reducing the harmful impact of marketplace actors in the world Peterson (2012).

Non-individualised ascription on causality, agency and blame can reduce consumer's sense of helplessness and inertia attributed to the overwhelming sense of responsibility when ascription is personalized (Young, 2003). White and colleagues (2012) argue that clearly communicating consumer responsibility in ways that affirm consumer agency and impact, increase consumers' willingness to act morally. For example, when consumers behaviour, such as buying Fairtrade, is demonstrated to have high justice restoration potential, consumers are more likely to get involved in prosocial behaviour, and not feel overwhelmed by the need. When clear connections between actions and consequences are missing however, consumers are less likely to act because their actions have limited justice restoration potential, minimizing consumers chances of making a positive difference through their prosocial behaviour (Steenhaut and Van Kenhove, 2006; White et al., 2012). Consumer desire for justice in the world can be stirred to action by communicating both high need and justice restoration potential (White et al., 2012). Consumers' perceived lack of agency may leave consumers feeling helpless and one response to this helplessness is to rationalize the situation by construing the victim as deserving of his or her ill fate in one way or another (White et al., 2012). Another rationalization strategy is to conclude that the unjust or immoral situations are "simply the way of the world" (Belk, et al., 2005, p. 282) to minimise their guilt or compulsion to act to right the wrong.

3.7.2.2.   External and internal considerations

The externalization of morality by different moral philosophies that are centred on consideration for others can also act as a barrier to consumer morality. Most moral appeals are

other regarding, for example utilitarianism that can involve making sacrifices for the greater good. Few moral appeals are centred on the self, yet ethical consumer behaviour is not just a matter of selfless beneficence, but also includes self-regarding values (Barnett, Cafaro and Newholme, 2005). Personal innate intuitions of right and wrong (Haidt and Joseph, 2004) play a crucial role in ethical behaviour and yet they are scarcely included in moral appeals.

Neutralization is an internal process that allows consumers to rationalize immoral acts and redefine them as appropriate in certain situations. Neutralization reduces potential internal and external dissonance or disapproval that would arise from engaging in immoral acts, reducing the efficacy of social controls on deviance (Bersoff, 1999; Sykes & Matza, 1957). Consumers can also use neutralization of immoral acts in some instances by referring to their moral behaviour in all other instances. This kind of neutralization is a plausible explanation for the absence of spill over effects in consumer morality because consumers are inconsistent in their moral behaviour (Chatzidakis, 2015), deriving satisfaction in acting morally most of the time, even though they have occasional immoral behaviour.

3.7.2.3. Rational approaches to morality

Many conceptualisations of ethical decision-making processes overemphasize access to information by assuming that ethical decision making mainly works through rational calculations of the costs and benefits of ethical choices (Barnett, Caffaro and Newholm, 2005). Models based on these rational information intensive approaches to ethical decision-

making underestimate the motivations for consumption, for example, the psychological role of possessions and materialistic consumption (Van Dam and Apeldoorn, 1996; Connoly and Prothero, 2003) by assuming that ethical decision making is a purely rational process. Factors such as price sensitivity where economic concerns override ethical concerns when making purchase decisions (Bray, Johns and Kilburn, 2011; Devinney, Auger and Eckhardt, 2010) or when the perceived potential benefits of immoral conduct outweigh the costs of ethical or moral choices (Mazar, Amir, and Ariely 2008; Mazar and Ariely 2006) are undermined by the rational information intensive models for ethical decision making. Jackson and Michaelis (2003) argue that ignoring the social aspects of consumption, such as the capabilities (Sen, 2005) facilitated by consumption, makes it difficult to alter consumer behaviour. Ethical considerations may also be contradictory, for example, the desire to reduce food miles and support developing countries may be incompatible for consumers in the developed world in making an ethical choice to buy produce from developing countries (KPMG and Synovate, 2007, p. 1). The ethical consumption trajectory involves negotiating tensions between social and more formally economic goals and motivations (Luetchford, 2016) and any ethical decision-making model needs to mediate for all these tensions.

3.7.2.4.   Consumer ignorance

Sometimes, the lack of awareness of a transgression can result in consumer immorality, where consumers fail to realize that they have done something wrong (Granitz and Loewy, 2007). Consumers may be unaware of the illegality of a purchase in counterfeits products where the consumer assumes they are buying a genuine product (Kozar and Marcketti, 2011).

Distancing- is another potential avenue for unconscious consumer immorality. Many challenging environmental problems are obscured from citizens because they occur several steps away from consumption in the value chain (Princen, 1997).

3.7.2.5. Market imbalances

Perceived unfairness is also an antecedent to immorality in the marketerplace (Komarova, Haws and Bearden, 2015). Consumers may rationalize actions such as the unauthorized download of music from the Internet based on the argument that the action addresses a perceived imbalance that advantages the producer over the consumer. Consumers thus act to bring about justice and fairness in the market (Fullerton et al., 2014; Giesler, 2014). Contextual or situational variables that facilitate flexible interpretation of unethical behaviour (Mazar, Amir, and Ariely 2008) are another potential avenue for consumer immorality.

3.7.2.6. The barriers of ethical products and services

Even though many developed countries have a wide range of ethical goods in their retail sectors, access to ethical products is still limited for many people (Humphery, 2016) and often comes at a higher cost (Olson et al., 2016; Trudel and Cotte 2009). The effort required in accessing ethical products (Carrigan and Attalla ,2001) is a major hindrance to ethical consumer choice. Many contemporary forms of production, packaging, and distribution may

also have implicit moral connotations, for example organic produce packaged in polythene bags. The claims that one product is more ethical than another can therefore be difficult to ascertain as consumers are bombarded with numerous claims on products, all alluding to the morality of a product, for example, "organic," "earth friendly," or "fair" (Humphery, 2016, p. 183), increasing the complexity of ethical decision making. Further, the wide range of "Eco junk" and "eco- gadgets" are argued to just be another way of promoting green extravagance (Monbiot, 2007). Ethical consumption has also been criticised for assisting corporations in misleading the public and facilitating snobbery (Littler, 2011).

3.8.   Chapter summary and conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature on morality from moral psychology, philosophy marketing, business ethics and consumer behaviour. The literature review offers an expanded view on morality as well as conceptualisations of morality that are concerned with both harm avoidance/reduction as well as actively pursuing beneficial outcomes. By so doing, the review offers a clear picture of what is conceived as (im)moral consumer behaviour in the extant marketing literature. The review has also described the way in which the consumption and market landscapes shape the consumer's moral horizon. The review also illuminates how moral judgements are formed, including the socio- psychological processes involved in moral judgement as well as the different moral philosophies that individuals draw upon when considering a moral cause of action. By so doing, the review illuminates issues such as how, and why different market actors arrive at different moral judgements over the same moral

transgression. The strengths and critiques to various perspectives on morality are also discussed in the chapter, illuminating the conflict in individual and collective ascription of responsibility. In summary, the review offers a comprehensive account on the nature and structure of consumer ethics and morality (Belk, Devviney and Eckhardt, 2005) and illuminates the reasoning and justifications behind why consumers would or would not act in an ethical manner.

The review has also revealed several gaps in the consumer morality literature. The review shows that the extant consumer literature on morality examines only a subset of moral concerns (Komarova et al., 2016). Additionally, that people value different moral foundations and their perceptions of moral transgressions also varies (Graham, Haidt, and Nosek 2009) but such individual and contextual differences are underrepresented in the literature (Bhattacharjee et al., 2013).   Research on moral reasoning that documents the roles of affect, mood, motivation, and emotion on moral judgment (Ditto, Pizarro and Tannenbaum, 2009) is also highlighted as a potential future research area. This study seeks to establish social representations in the illicit alcohol market and to determine how morality is conveyed in the social representations as well as the effects of these representations on market practices. The study draws on moral foundations theory to illuminate moral concerns that are underrepresented in the extant consumer literature such as authority/respect. The study also draws on research on moral reasoning to explore how social representations of morality impact behaviour.

CHAPTER FOUR: SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS THEORY

4.1.   Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to introduce social representations theory (SRT), and the specific

mechanisms of social representations in detail, and to examine the elements of social

representations theory that are significant in the study of social problems such as problematic

alcohol and drug use. The chapter begins with an overview of social representations theory.

This is followed by a discussion of the functions of social representations, key concepts in

social representations theory and social representations and social constructionism. A

discussion on media representations and the limitations of social representations theory are

then included, followed by the chapter summary and conclusion.

4.2.   An overview of social representations theory (SRT)

Social representations theory (SRT) has its roots in the writings of various social scientists

including Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Freud, Mead, Lévy-Briihl, Bartlett, Piaget and, later,

Vygotsky. Moscovici abandoned Durkheim's (1898 in Howarth, 2006) concept of collective

representations because they were too static and applicable only to traditional society where

belief and knowledge systems are similar and where individualism is almost non-existent.

Collective representations could not account for the centrality of representational diversity,

tension and even conflict in modern life. In Durkheim's view, representation is equated with

collectivity. Representations are grounded on community and are shared by all the members

of that community. They are communal, shared by several generations and coercive and undisputable in all social situations. Durkheim's collective representations involve vast belief systems, science, religion, myth. Unlike modern society where social representation is only one of the many ways of understanding the world, myths are used to explain everything in these traditional collective representations (Howarth, 2006). Only under extraordinary circumstances can representations be modified, or new ones generated. These collective representations can only be conceived in traditional society as the level of uniformity and invariability they entail is impossible in modern heterogeneous societies. The concept of collective representations is still applicable when studying present day small-scale homogenous cultures (Jahoda, 1988). Durkheim's idea of collective representations was also criticized by Moscovici for being too versatile incorporating every kind of intellectual form (Moscovici, 1976 in Howarth, 2006). Table 4.1 summarises the distinctions between Durkheim's collective representations and Moscovici's social representations.

Table 4.1: The differences between Moscovici's social representations and Durkheim's collective representations

Moscovici's social representations	Durkheim's collective representations
Applicable to modern/heterogenous societies	Applicable to traditional/homogenous societies
Dynamic and amenable to change	static, uniform and invariable
Diversity of knowledge and belief systems	belief and knowledge systems are similar
Individuals and social groups	individualism is almost non-existent collectivity/community dominates
Tension, conflict and contradiction	Undisputable representations
Social representations are one of the many ways of understanding the world	Myth, religion and beliefs (representations) explain everything

Social representations theory was developed by Serge Moscovici (1961/1976) in "La Psychanalyse, son image et son public". In this influential study, Moscovici investigated how

psychoanalysis diffused in France in the 1950s and was variously appropriated by different social milieu, and by the Catholic and Marxist press as a function of their ideological commitments and their readership (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999; Gervais, 1997). Since then, SRT has been adopted in a range of social science studies, including studies on: racial representations in school exclusion (Howarth, 2004), the public understanding of science and new technology (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999), popular ideas of health and illness (Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000; Jodelet, 1991; Joffe, 2002) and representations of nature (Gervais, 1997) among other topical social science issues. SRT has also been adopted in marketing studies such as social representations of poverty within consumer culture (Hamilton et al., 2016) and social representations of rurality and product adaptation (Guda and Mishra, 2010).

The study of social representations has the potential of to illuminate large-scale social processes as well as fundamental psychological mechanisms, and the relations between the two, (Fraser, 1994) resulting in SRT's widespread adoption. Social representations can be studied in the making (Gervais, 1997), as well as retrospectively (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999). Some researchers have preferred to analyse the representations at a particular time and in a particular context in producing a case study (e.g. Jodelet, 1991), while others seek to compare social representations across different groups or cultures (e.g. Moscovici, 1961 in Bauer and Gaskell, 1999). In spite of the growing interest in SRT in various fields, no previous study has used SRT to illuminate marketplace immorality.

4.2.1. The nature of social representations

Social representations take shape and are transformed through the participation of the concerned social groups. The exchange and interaction involved in the (trans)formation of social representations is what makes them social rather than the individual (Howarth, 2006; Moscovici, 1988). Social representations are shared meanings of the social aspects in a community. Social representations can be thought of as theories, "networks of ideas," metaphors and images that include emotions, attitudes and judgements (Moscovici, 1988, p. 235). Social representations have been defined by (Moscovici, 1973, p. xiii in Howarth, 2006) as:

> "a system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history".

Wagner (1994, p.199) defines social representations as "a set of beliefs, images, metaphors and symbols collectively shared in a group, community, society or culture."   The definitions imply that:

1. Social representations are dual in nature comprising of a process and content. The process of representation involves psychological operations such as exploration, categorisation and interpretation. The content of a representation is the result of the process and could comprise of images or descriptions (Lahlou and Abric, 2011).

2. Social representations are both a process and outcome of individuals' and groups' symbolic coping with change (Wagner, 1994; Wagner et al., 2002) and, provide the means for individuals and social groups to actively and strategically appropriate new scientific knowledge to "feel at home, secure from any risk of friction or strife" (Moscovici, 1984b, p. 24).

3. Social representation is concerned with how the images used by social groups are generated, evolve and are maintained as a shared representation.

4. Social representations are used by the community to explain social objects, influencing behaviour and communication (Fraser, 1994; Wagner, 1995). They determine the social reality and social structure for a community. Social processes and history are emphasized as an integral ongoing part of the phenomenon of interest for the researcher (Farr and Moscovici, 1984).

In SRT studies, the phenomenon is the different folk theories, beliefs, images, myths, common sense and everyday knowledge, which are referred to as social representations (Wagner, 1995). Social representations acquire their meaning through communicative practices, including dialogue, debates, media discourses and scientific discourses (De Rosa, 1993; Markova, 2003). These multiple sources of meaning in social representation results in multiple representations and ambiguous meanings of the same social object that can be used for different purposes. SRT is concerned with how these different meanings are established or contested; how different versions of the same phenomenon coexist and the ramifications of using or resisting different meanings (Howarth, 2006).

Social representations theory is a product of the classical tradition, where a theory is both a lens for looking at social phenomena and a system of describing and explaining them

(Moscovici, 1988). On one hand, social representation is considered as a social process of communication and discourse, through which meanings and social objects are generated and expounded. On the other hand, primarily in empirical content-oriented research, social representations are viewed as individual attributes, structures of "knowledge, symbols, and affect, which are shared with other people in a community" (Wagner, 1995, p. 156). SRT is concerned with social knowledge processing, its construction, relation with action, and evolution. The theory is appropriate for understanding the evolution of social objects and social situations (which are socially constructed and in continuous evolution) because of its constructionist perspective and concern with social function (Herzlich, 1972 in Lahlou, 2001). The constructionist perspective considers the interpretation of social representations into thought and action. Social representations are not static mental constructs, rather they are in continuous evolution (Howarth, 2006; Lahlou, 2001). They are used to understand the world and constitute reality as representations not only influence action but are also present in peoples' actions. SRT emphasizes the social and cultural context as important influences on the interpretation of objects and situations (Abric, 1996; Jovchelovitch, 2001; Penz, 2006). A change in societal conditions leads to a change in the social representations in the community. SRT is concerned with current societal issues that are the subject of debate, strong feelings, conflicts and ideological struggle, and that change the public thinking in society (Hoijer, 2010). The application of SRT is also well suited for studies within contexts where there is considerable change. In times of change debate increases among social groups, existing social representations are often re- examined (Furnham, 2001), and the meanings of social objects and situations are socially re-constructed and re- interpreted (Elliott, 1999).

Social representations are concurrently representations of something and of someone or some collectivity (Moscovici, 1988) for example representations of drug use (something) by the

media (someone). Representation is simultaneously individual and collective, contributing to group identity, looping perception and action (Lahlou, 2001). Representation involves consensus building, communication, elucidation and acceptance of others' representations. Social representations constitute representations of the subjects (those who carry the representation), representations of the object (a concrete entity or abstract idea) and representations of the project (a social group within which the representation makes sense). The project links the subjects and the object. (Bauer and Gaskel,1999). For example, in Howarth's (2004) study on school exclusion, the subjects are the white teachers as they carry representations of race which is the object while the black pupils are the project as they constitute a social group within which representations of race make sense. The social group which is the project "black pupils" links the white teachers the subject with the object of representation which is race. The object of representation is often not mentioned explicitly in the representation. In Howarth's study mentioned above, the racial dynamics of the arguments are unspoken (Howarth, 2006).

4.2.2. Definitional distinctions between social representations and other related concepts

The term representation can be used in relation to different types of representations for example, social representations, cognitive representations, collective representations, mental representations and Kantian representations but these do not refer to the same concept as the social representations discussed in this chapter (Markova, 2005). **"Market representations are arrangements of coherent yet simplified views of what a market is, either now or in an

alternative future version… a market representation includes the representational objects (what) and the practices in which objects are put together (how), in order to privilege a view of a market (what for)" (Diaz Ruiz, 2013, p, 246-247). Practitioners use market representations to understand complex marketing environments (Deshpande and Zaltman, 1982; Diaz Ruiz and Kowalkowski, 2014). In addition to social representations, several other related concepts are also shaped by peoples' histories, group memberships, reference groups, and context-dependent experiences of a given time. These concepts include: Culture, attitudes, and values and each of them is discussed briefly to offer clarity on what they share with and how they differ from social representations.

4.2.2.1. Culture

Culture is a social construct used to refer to a large number of phenomena within a community. Different authors select diverse phenomena when defining culture leading to numerous definitions of culture. For example, Kroeber & Kluckhohn's (1952 in Jahoda, 2012) monograph listed 160 definitions of culture in addition to their own definition which states that : "Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action" (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 181 in Jahoda, 2012). The definitions of culture are dependent on where culture is argued to be located which could be in the mind or both in the mind and in the material world (Jahoda, 2012). Some of

the other definitions of culture include: a broad network of representations held together as an organised whole by a community (Duveen, 2007), "recurring patterns of behaviour" (Brislin, 1990, p. 10 in Jahoda, 2012), "widely distributed long lasting representations" (Dan Sprber, 1985, p. 74 in Jahoda, 1988) and a system of representations (Kaes, 1984) implying that representations are a core aspect of culture. Moscovici (1984a) however posits that peoples' thoughts are determined by both the social representations circulating in their community and the culture, setting culture and social representations as two separate, distinct entities.

Moscovici's definition of social representations as "a system of values… with a twofold function; first to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it," (see above definition Moscovici, 1973, p xiii) describes social representations as a process and outcome, satisfying certain functions of the groups and relating to issues of identity that are usually absent from definitions of culture (Psaltis, 2012). Jahoda (1988, p. 200) however argues that culture cannot be separated from social representations and the latter constitutes one of the central aspects of culture. He further posits that an analysis of social representations is essential for the understanding of culture (Jahoda, 2012). Duveen (2007) posits that the difference between culture and social representations is one of scale and scope. He argues that culture and social representations refer to different levels of analysis. Through the observation and analysis of specific representations one is able to determine the culture of a social group. Social representations are thus viewed as particular cultural forms, and the analysis of social representations is always within the cultural context in which they take shape (Psaltis, 2012).

4.2.2.2.   Values

Just like culture, the values construct has multiple definitions. For example, Van Deth and Scarbrough (1995) counted close to 200 different definitions of values. Values can be modes, such as individualism, means, such as diligence, or ends, such as success (Bergmann, 1998). Distinctions are also made between ideal values and real values. For example, diligence is an ideal value but doing the basic task to enable one to get by may be more salient and influential in daily life. Values are central to group membership and to understand social groups, many researchers study values (e.g. Schwartz, 1992; 1997; Hofstede, 1980). Moscovici's definition of social representations as "a system of values, ideas and practices" which function to make the unfamiliar, familiar (See 4.1 for the full definition), implies that social representations emerge from values, ideas and practices, but also produce values, ideas and practices (Bergmann, 1998). Values are relatively stable affective beliefs that guide perception, evaluation and behaviour (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987; Schwartz, 1997). Past and future aspirations, motives, and attitudes are all components of a particular value system (Bergmann, 1998).

4.2.2.3.   Attitudes

Fishbein and Ajzen (1972) identified 500 different definitions of the attitude construct. An attitude reflects a subjective mental position toward an abstract or concrete object. Attitudes are mental constructions and affective judgements of an object by an agent. Unlike social representations, attitudes do not make unfamiliar phenomena familiar and they are not context

dependent like social representations. Attitudes do not have to be shared by social groups and can be formed instantaneously (Bergman, 1998). Attitudes are viewed as perceptions of the world which differentiate amongst individuals in a group. Attitude is as a measure of the differences between individuals. Attitude scales such as the Likert scale are developed through an item analysis, which involves excluding items which fail to discriminate amongst individuals. The study of social representations on the other hand entails illumination of widely shared within group similarities (Fraser, 1994). It is possible to have attitudes about everything that can be grasped mentally but not everything can be a social representation. Attitudes are however strongly influenced by social representations (Bergman, 1998). Attitudes are studied under experimental settings using complex quantitative techniques. Conversely, social representations are usually studied using naturalistic, descriptive methods and the findings are often presented in qualitative unquantified form (e.g. Howarth, 2000, 2002).

4.3. Functions of social representations

Representations meet various social needs both cognitive and/or practical shaping social consciousness. Rousing consciousness about a social problem is not about discovering a hidden problem but rather creation of representations serves as an eye opener to the problem (Moscovici, 1988). Representations enable individuals to familiarise with and master their material social world and facilitate communication by providing a code of naming and classifying (Moscovici, 1988). Representation also conventionalizes and gives objects a definite form, categorizing and establishing them as a model of a certain type, distinct and

shared by a social group. New elements must conform to the model and merge into it. Even when an object has deviations from the model, it is classified together with the model and constrained to become identical to it at the risk of the object not being understood or decoded (Duveen, 2000). Representations are also prescriptive and dictate what people should think and guide action. Human beings are born into a social world where the information received and processed is already constrained by representation. All the systems of classification, images and descriptions in circulation within a society are related to previous images and systems and reflect past knowledge which interferes with current information. Social representations "control the reality of today through that of yesterday" (Duveen, 2000, p.24). Representations can also be used for acting in the world and on others (Jodelet, 1991) as well as for re-acting, rejecting or re-forming and resisting versions that conflict with one's self identity. They can also be used to defend and so preserve a particular version of reality or mentioned in resistance to another version of reality (Howarth, 2006). For example, the gay men in Joffe's (1995) study on social representations of AIDS resist the stigma associated with homosexuality by redefining the previously negatively viewed characteristics of homosexuality in a positive light by forming a "Gay pride" movement to protect the positive self-esteem of gay members by creating an in-group for those who are otherised. Social representations also serve the purpose of maintaining social groups. Social representations involve common values that structure the communication among social groups (Lahlou, 2001).

4.4.   Key concepts in social representations theory

This section illuminates the processes which explain how social representations emerge, spread and change and what social representations do. The concepts covered include representation formation, components of social representations, representation transformation, their functions, their nature and social representations and social constructionism.

4.4.1.   The processes that underlie social representation formation

Social representations integrate two components namely: a cognitive component, arising from the fact that a person or a group has an active role in the interpretation, application and alteration of reality and a social component arising from the fact that social representations are collectively produced and generated by social interaction, and they relate to a reality that is shared by a social group (Jodelet, 1991). The processes involved in social representations aim to fulfil two major functions: the cognitive function aims to anchor and to stabilise, while the social function aims to maintain or create collective identities and equilibrium (Abric, 1996).

Anchoring entails associating the unfamiliar phenomenon with existing concepts and images in order to give an everyday or common meaning. The familiar concepts and images give their own descriptions followed by the explanations. Anchoring involves a transfer of "a

network of concepts and images" from one field to another which then function as a model (Moscovici, 1988, p. 235). Examples of anchoring mechanisms include naming, use of metaphors and thematic anchoring as well as antinomies or contradictions in beliefs (Moscovici, 2000). The next step is objectification where the unfamiliar is made familiar through transformation of the abstract concepts into something concrete or material. For example, when a physical element is attributed to the phenomena of interest, such as flooding attributed to climate change (Hoijer, 2010). Objectification example

Objectification can be a language-based process which involves naming something or someone, and subsequently converting it into a "habitual social practice" (Markova, 2012, p. 212). Objectification may also be graphic, where written posters or pictures turn an idea into a graphic object, where images or signs become a part of the reality (Howarth, 2000; Moscovici, 1984b). When images become a part of the reality, they "inform, constrain and disrupt" the lived experience/social reality of those represented (Howarth, 1999, p. 47).

According to Jodelet (1991, 2016), objectification explains social representations in three processes which include: selective construction, structuring schematization and naturalization. Selective construction involves using only certain elements while ignoring others in the representation. For example, Jodelet (1991) found that sexuality, affectivity and willpower were not included in lay representations of mentally ill patients. The only features included in the villagers' representations of the mentally ill were those relating to the prohibitions and fears of the group relating to close personal contact in the daily interactions of those with and without mental illness. Selective construction has particular characteristics depending on the target of objectification (Markova, 2012). For example, objectification by HIV positive individuals around their sexual partners was different from objectification around strangers or

employers. Among strangers, objectification was constructed around the object of deviance and immorality. The HIV positive individuals' thought that strangers would judge them as homosexuals or drug addicts if they revealed their status. Around employers, objectification was constructed around the object of incapacity and illness. The HIV positive individuals feared that if potential employers learnt of their HIV status, it would jeopardize their chances of getting employment (Markova, 2012). In structuring schematization, an imaginary structure visibly reproduces a conceptual structure, where the theoretical concepts are constituted in a graphic and coherent set, enabling people to understand the concepts individually and in their interrelations. This is the concretization of the imaginary image aspect of the representation, where the abstract ideas are transformed into images. In naturalization, each of the elements that are part of the reality are concretized so that the representation becomes something palpable and natural (Moscovici, 2005 in Morera, 2015). In naturalization, the image becomes reality, not just a symbol. For example, when a war against drugs is realized as violent actions against drug dealers and drug users and intensified monitoring of drug issues.

Anchoring and objectification are however interdependent, so that securely anchored representations are objectified (Howarth, 2000). For example, the representation of the management of drug use as a war involves both naming the representation as a war and creating a reality about opposing forces. Anchoring and objectification as the process through which representations are formed has been discussed by Joffe (1995; 1998) in the social representations of AIDS where AIDS is described as a plague attributed to outgroups such as homosexuals hence the "gay plague" (1995, p. 2).These processes of anchoring and

objectification have however scantily been investigated in relation to already existing belief systems of the social actors/objects of interest (De Rosa, 1993; Duveen and De Rosa, 1992).

4.4.2. Components of social representations

Social representations comprise a central system referred to as the nucleus or core and the peripheral system. The nucleus consists of a small number of elements which organize the representation giving the representation meaning/coherence and stability. It is also the place of consensus for the representation. The organizing dimension of representations which is the nucleus has been variously referred to as the representative nodal, the common core and the organizing nucleus (Guimeli, 1993). The nucleus produces values, attitudes, opinions and behaviour which are important for social relations and greatly impact on the subject's relation with the object of representation (Guimelli, 1993). The core has the following characteristics:

- It is a product of the historical, sociological and ideological conditions hence it is characterised by the collective memory of the group as well as their norms.

- It defines and achieves the homogeneity of a social group.

- It is stable, coherent and resistant to change ensuring consistency and continuity of the representation.

- The central core legitimizes social practices.

- The central core also constitutes prescriptions which are unconditional unlike the peripheral schemas which are conditional depending on the situation.

- It is autonomous of the immediate social and material context in which the representation stands out (Abric, 1993).

If the stable central element of the representation is contravened, the entire representation may collapse, unlike questioning a peripheral element which are supple and flexible (Abric, 1996). The peripheral system acts as a buffer to the central core by absorbing new information which has the potential of challenging the central core. The double system of a stable central system and a flexible peripheral system makes it possible for representations to respond and adapt to social situations (Abric, 1993). The meaning of peripheral elements is dependent on the core of the representation. The significance of the peripheral elements is in the analysis of the processes which give birth to the dynamics of social representations. The peripheral elements are considered as schema. Schemas are defined as "sequences of information acquired by subjects during their personal and social life (Guimeli, 1993, p. 86). Schema can be prescriptive dictating action and behaviour or descriptive describing a situation or phenomenon. Peripheral elements are mostly prescriptive. Peripheral elements dictate the social practices connected with the object of the representation, they constitute the interface between the representation and the reality. The same peripheral schema may dictate varying responses depending on the situation of the subject (Abric, 1996; Guimelli, 1993). For example, in Howarth's (2004) study on education exclusion, the teachers would ignore the black students when they raised their hand in class to draw the teachers' attention and would "not see" the black students but whenever there was some disturbance in the classroom they would look meaningfully at the black students (Howarth, 2006). On one hand the peripheral schema dictates that the black students are only to be seen and not heard so the teachers ignore them in class. On the other hand, the central core in representations of race implies that black students always stir trouble so if there is a problem in the classroom then they ought to be reprimanded through the gaze. From this example, the double system of core and peripheral elements can thus be used to explain the diverse nature of social representation.

4.4.3. Social representation transformation

Cognitive processes are at the heart of representation transformation and can take various forms (Flament, 1993 in Guimelli, 1993). The differentiation between peripheral and central core illuminates the process of social representation transformation. There are three types or three processes of social representation transformation (Abric, 1996). A "resisting" transformation (or superficial transformation) where only the peripheral elements are changed. A "progressive" transformation (Guimelli, 1988) which occurs when the central core is changed by integrating new elements without breaking down the existing central elements; and a brutal, direct and complete transformation of the central core which occurs when the defence mechanisms are unable to fulfil their role (Abric, 1996, p. 80). The transformation of a social representation can only be effective if the central nucleus is transformed.

Duveen and De Rosa (1992) discuss social representations from a sociogenetic perspective referring to the diffusion of representations through society as well as the historical processes of representation transformation. The microgenetic aspect of social representations is the genetic moment which arises in all social interactions when individuals meet and communicate under social influences. The participants strive for a common definition of the matter in question using social representations. In this social interaction, participants' perspectives may be altered and, in this sense, microgenesis is a process of change and sociogenesis is the result of microgenetic processes (Duveen and De Rosa, 1992).

4.4.4. Cognitive polyphasia and social representations

Moloney, Williams and Blair (2012) define cognitive polyphasia as "the differential use" of different forms of knowledge to make sense of an issue (p. 2). These forms of knowledge can be knowledge defined by acculturation levels (Jovchelovitch and Gervais, 1999), traditional and modern beliefs (Wagner et al., 2000); or different rationalities such as science, religion or philosophy (Moscovici, 1961 in Moloney et al., 2012). The definition of cognitive polyphasia implies that cognitive polyphasia as a process, allows individuals to cope with and adapt to change, by enabling them to make sense of a social phenomenon (Batel 2012). Cognitive polyphasia explains how it is possible to support two versions of the same social representation at the same time and hold diverse views of the same object at the same time (Howarth, 2006). The development of cognitive polyphasia can be explained by two perspectives, namely diachronic and synchronic perspectives. In the diachronic perspectives, traditional knowledge can be found in modern societies, explaining cognitive polyphasia since knowledge from traditional and modern society coexist. From a synchronic perspective, different types of knowledge have distinct characteristics, and therefore serve different purposes. Individuals, groups and societies use these different types of knowledge to make sense of social objects and to accomplish different goals (Provencher and Wagner, 2012). The use of scientific knowledge together with lay knowledge in reference to a social phenomenon is one example of the synchronic perspective on cognitive polyphasia. Diachronic perspectives on the development of cognitive polyphasia argue that traces of old forms of knowledge and thinking persist into modern societies despite the progression from one society to another. An example of cognitive polyphasia in the diachronic perspective is the use of traditional knowledge such as belief in superstition in a modern society, where contemporary

forms of knowledge exist. Diachronic perspectives view cognitive polyphasia as an act of rebellion against new types of knowledge, brought about by modernity. For example, when scientific knowledge is perceived to be too domineering, individuals, groups and societies may opt to use other types of knowledge (Provencher and Wagner, 2012). The use of different knowledge systems in relation to a social phenomenon leads to multiplicity and tension within a representation because different spheres of knowledge present possibilities for negotiation, resistance, innovation and transformation of social representations.

There are different interpretations of cognitive polyphasia. Moloney and colleagues (2012) promote cognitive polyphasia as a product of the context in which certain contextual factors bring to the fore certain representations, and/or elements of a representation in favour of a different representation. For example, emphasizing the performance of a public figure, rather than their moral transgressions, where a public figure has been involved in questionable moral behaviour (e.g. Bhattacharjee et al., 2013). Mouro and Castro (2012) view cognitive polyphasia as enabling individuals to navigate heterogenous meanings across the different spheres of social life by drawing on different rationalities. For example, the same individual may have to navigate the social spheres of a home and religion and thus draw on different rationalities for these social spheres.

Cognitive polyphasia has been observed in contexts of cultural change (Gervais and Jovchelovitch, 1998; Wagner et al., 1999), reinforcing the adaptive character of cognitive polyphasia. Cognitive polyphasia can also be instrumental in resisting change (Castro & Batel, 2008; Moloney & Walker, 2002; Mouro & Castro, 2012) and can thus be used to support or resist change. Cognitive polyphasia is a useful concept for exposing how people

understand their reality but it has not achieved its full potential contribution to social representations theory. Some of the areas of potential development in the literature on cognitive polyphasia include clarifying the key aspects of cognitive polyphasia, defining some of its functionalities and the operationalisation of cognitive polyphasia (Provencher and Wagner, 2012).

4.5.   Social representations and social constructionism

Moscovici (1993) posits that we define reality through the negotiation of social representations. Social representations thus comprise the interface between re-presentation and reality. Gervais (1997) argues that social representations create reality. Social Construction and communication are the main features of SRT (Lahlou, 2001). SRT deals with knowledge which aims at creating reality. We live in a social world where all the information we receive, and process has been influenced by social representations (Moscovici and Duveen, 2000). Representations whether conscious or not (Moscovici, 1993) "determine our world view and our reactions to people and things" (Moscovici, 1984a: 953). People transform a piece of knowledge, create information that confirms it and simultaneously objectify it in their everyday practices (Moscovici, 1993). Representations are not just a way of recognizing phenomena but are a means of constructing reality. Representation can constitute reality in two ways :(a) It is perfomative like language or symbols when it is shared, it defines a given situation; (b) It is constructive as it selects and relates persons and objects to meet group demands enabling it to communicate and act as per shared concepts and images hence a phenomenon is a product of the way it is represented (Moscovici, 1988).

Social re-presentation refers to the re-interpretation, re-thought and re-presentation of social representations to understand the world (Howarth, 2006).

The social reality of a phenomenon depends on how it is represented for example drug use represented as a genetic defect will differ from when it is represented as a sign of family breakdown or socio-economic coping, deviance or even a cultural tradition. The proposed interventions will also vary depending on the representation and in turn determine the reality of the drug user and their social groups (Moscovici, 1988). It will determine where we place the burden of adjustment, on the drug user or on ourselves (Moscovici, 1984b) because if for example if it is a genetic defect then the user cannot help but use drugs and society needs to show compassion.

Different individuals and social groups in a community have varying interests and viewpoints leading to different constructions of reality. Social representations support a particular reality protecting certain interests over others (Howarth, 2006; Jovchelovitch, 1996). If a social group is in a disadvantaged position, its members may be subject to pressure to alter their representations so that they more closely resemble those of more powerful groups; alternatively, their ideas might simply be ignored (Foster, 2003). Dominant social representations reflect the interpretations of hegemonic groups rather than societal interpretations transmitted through communication (Visconti, 2016). Dominant representations can thus be said to support the world view of powerful groups.

Hall (1997) posited that social representations or "cultural meanings are not only mental images but they "organise and regulate social practices, influence our conduct and

consequently have real, practical effects" (p.3). The use of social representations such as metaphors in the definition of a social problem has been observed to inadvertently oversimplify the problem and may result in inappropriate, limited and sometimes detrimental responses. The oversimplification has also been observed in other social issues summarized by metaphors, for example where HIV/AIDS in the early years was represented as the "gay plague", resulting in exposure to many other social groups, because the metaphor implied that the plague affected homosexuals. It reduced the HIV/AIDS pandemic to an identity issue, affecting outgroups, rather than a syndrome transmitted through contact with bodily fluids through sexual intercourse or blood transfusions. This exposed many individuals who thought they were not at risk because they were not gay (Joffe, 1996). In the consumer behaviour literature, Belk, Ger and Askeergard (1997) argue that the use of consumer metaphors of desire serves to legitimize uncontrolled consumer cravings. Wishes are framed as needs, and desires are portrayed as uncontrollable in metaphors such as "lust", and their indulgence is justified on the basis that they are natural, and uncontrollable.

According to Moscovici (1984b) social representations determine responses to phenomena that individuals encounter. If individuals change or acquire a new social representation, they change their behaviour. SRT also posits that individual reaction to unfamiliar stimuli depends on their pre-established representations, and the way they are anchored. So, the same phenomena may incite different responses depending on the representation that is activated at a particular time and in a specific situation. For example, minorities or outgroups who are stigmatized can resist the stigma by drawing attention to the stigma and idealising the stigmatised condition. Equating blackness with beauty, or gayness with pride is one such

example. In other instances, the outgroups may experience despair due to the stigma related to their conditions (e.g. Joffe, 1995).

Social representations both mirror and influence reality. They are created in a real, concrete world and they are embedded within the social construction of the world. Social representations can re- present reality in ways that are not exactly the same as that reality. For example, in Howarth's (2000, p. 53) study, for insiders Brixton is a "bad" place in representation; for neighbours Brixton is a bad place in reality and anything associated with Brixton is not good. All social groups are not equal, and the groups with access to the construction of media representations have the power to impose their interests and meanings over others (Thompson 1990). Dominant groups such as the media, political elites, the church and state institutions can impose representations which support their own interest in the construction of reality (Howarth, 2000).

4.6.   Media representations

The term media refers to the main means of mass communication namely broadcasting, publishing and the Internet regarded collectively (Oxford dictionaries.com). In this study the term media is used to describe mainstream news and current affairs, and social media news sites. The media are a primary influence on social representations (Farr, 1993; Jovchelovitch, 1995) and media representations have been used in studies on social representations of community, nature and poverty among other topical issues (Gervais, 1997; Hamilton, et al., 2014; Howarth, 2000). Stockdale (1995) advocated the examination of representations in the

media to explore their contribution to the beliefs and attitudes that make up social reality. The media not only reflects society's representations and beliefs, it also plays a central role in contributing to them. Moscovici saw the media as intermediaries between experts and the public (Farr, 1993). Maeseele and Schuurman (2008) posit that the mass media are a crucial public arena where the interpretive struggle of social reality is fought. The strong constructionist version of social representation theory (Gervais, 1997) that acknowledges the role of social representations in the construction of reality (as discussed under social representations and social constructionism earlier in this chapter) enables us to investigate how social representations in the media become objectified in public life, and vice versa. A constructionist account of the crime and drug issues anticipates that the public's evaluation of the nature of social issues will be shaped by their popular representation (Beckett, 1994; Lancaster et al., 2011). The media is a mirror of the public attitude towards social issues but a mirror which often alters the true picture resulting in misleading images that are not a proper reflection of the social issues (McArthur, 1999) which then influence public perceptions often leading to a wrong focus where the most pressing needs are overlooked and scarce resources are misdirected to symptoms rather than causes (Hartman and Golub, 1999).

Media accounts in the press on alcohol and other drugs (AOD) issues are often exaggerated, inaccurate, distorted, one-sided and sensationalised (Blood, Williams and McCallum, 2003; McArthur, 1999; Taylor, 2008; Tieberghien, 2014). The media may not deliberately set out to offer misleading information but they are sometimes limited by their sources of ideas on what will make news as well as competition for audience share which may cause them to rush to be the first to release a story even if it is based on incomplete or inaccurate information (Coomber, Morris and Dunn, 2000) . Once the subject matter has been published in the news,

other related stories based on the first one and with additional details are likely to be reported (Fishman, 1978 in Hartman and Golub, 2012; Fleming 2010) giving credibility to the initial incomplete story. Davies and Coggans (1991) suggest that media inaccuracies result from the fact that the media is just as misinformed about alcohol and other drugs issues as the public. Kitzinger and Reilly (1997) however argue that the public profile of any risk issue is a product of the interaction between the media and their sources, as well as broader sociological factors and hence a blanket judgement of media accounts on AOD as inaccurate and sensationalised is overly simplistic.

4.6.1.   Media representations and agenda setting

The media influences the public through various mechanisms which include agenda setting, and framing, indirectly shaping individual and community attitudes towards risk; and feeding into political debate and decision making. Agenda setting has been discussed in 2.2.2. in this thesis and this section will focus on framing. Framing is the way an issue is presented so that it communicates certain things (Chapman & Lupton, 1994; Entman, 1993; Snow and Benford, 1992). Framing increases the salience of a subject for the reader through emphasizing particular aspects while overlooking others (Entman, 1993) and by so doing supports a particular version of the perceived reality (Rooke and Amos, 2013). Whereas agenda-setting is concerned with the salience of issues, framing, or second-level agenda-setting is concerned with the salience of certain elements within a social issue (McCombs et al., 1997). Frames influence opinions by highlighting specific values, facts, and other considerations, giving them greater relevance to the issue than they might appear to have under a different frame (Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley 1997). Schon and Rein (1994) defined frames as ''the broadly

shared beliefs, values, and perspectives familiar to the members of a societal culture and likely to endure in that culture over long periods of time, on which individuals and institutions draw to give meaning, sense, and normative direction to their thinking and action in policy matters'' (p. xiii). On the macro-level, the framing of an issue forms ''the basis by which public policy decisions are made'' (Wallack et al., 1993, p. 68). The way in which a social problem is defined determines the appropriate policy response (Wallack et al., 1993; Ryan, 1991). The selection, omission, and framing of issues and events are crucial in shaping not only public opinion, but political debate and policy as well (Becket, 1994; Lancaster et al., 2011). If the substance use problem is represented as a criminal problem rather than a social or public health problem, the subsequent policy initiatives will differ remarkably. For example, greater law enforcement or harsher sentences will be required for criminal offenders as opposed to job creation and educational programs for a social problem or even drug treatment for a public health problem. The ability to politicize issues through framing represents an important component of the exercise of power and of serving particular groups' interests by legitimizing their position on a social issue (Maeseele and Schuurman, 2008).

Carragee and Roefs (2004) examined framing within the contexts of the distribution of political and social power and proposed to integrate framing research with the media hegemony thesis. They noted that the former provides "a specific means to examine how the news media construct ideological meanings largely consistent with the interests of powerful elites since frames, as imprints of power, are central to the production of hegemonic meanings" (p, 222). They distinguished the "uncontested" from the "contested" realm of media discourse. In the former, particular frames are so dominant that they are taken to be ideologically neutral reflections of the social world, although this dominance or hegemony is

the product of ideological enterprise. In the latter, challengers to the status quo such as social

movements have succeeded in contesting these dominant frames by igniting an interpretive

struggle. As premier challengers of hegemonic values, they do this by achieving standing and

displaying their counter hegemonic frames. On the other hand, in an uncontested realm of

media discourse, an interpretive struggle is inhibited by the media's reproduction of the ruling

ideas of dominant social groups, resulting in the construction of one viewpoint as legitimate

(Maeseele and Schuurman, 2008).

4.6.2. Media representations of alcohol and other drugs (AOD)

Media representations of AOD has often been criticised as narrow, sensationalised and one

sided ignoring the wider historical, political, economic and social contexts of production

marketing and consumption (Blood, Williams and McCallum, 2003; Hughes et al., 2010;).

Howarth (2000) posits that news are by nature negative and the media are more likely to focus

on negative, exaggerated and misleading images than conventional ones. The AOD news

coverage is no different and the exaggeration has been referred to as media hysteria

(Reinarman et al., 1989). The representations of drugs and drug users in the media focuses on

the extreme cases and these are generalised to represent the 'typical', which is stereotypical

(Blood, Williams and Mc Callum, 2003). Goode (2008) posits that the same harms of AOD

are reported, regardless of the pharmacology of the substance concerned. Jenkins (1999, p. 4)

describes a "timeless" process, where each new drug of concern has the same rhetoric applied

as previous ones. If a drug breaks into the mainstream press for any reason for example

increased prevalence or a high-profile case, the drug is immediately constructed as a problem

(Levine and Reinarman, 1988) with subsequent stories being reported in a disproportionate

way (Goode, 2008) until a policy response takes place. Once a policy reaction has taken place, the volume of news about the drug reduces (Forsyth, 2001; Goode, 2008). The problem with the modes of representation discussed above is that the real dangers of existing drugs are ignored because the media focus on a novel drug (Laurance, 2010 in Forysth, 2012).

Media accounts are not "neutral" and have also been found to frequently insert negative value judgements about drug use, and those who use drugs (Hughes et al., 2010). Drug dealers and users are consistently represented as social problems or social evils and as 'others' in the media who pose a risk to societal wellbeing. "Othering" describes practices of marginalization based on apparent differences, often race or ethnicity, but can also include social class or social status (Haines-Saah, 2014) and is "a process that identifies those that are thought to be different from oneself or the mainstream," which "can reinforce power and reproduce positions of domination and subordination" (Johnson et al., 2004, p. 253).The criminal justice system policy reinforces this representation further stereotyping and ostracizing certain groups in the society. Drug policies and public health campaigns in many countries also support this representation of an issue that affects a marginal population base extending to the main population (See Boyd, 2002). News discourses frequently associate substance use with specific kinds of people from particular locations such as low-income settlements, creating an image of outsiders. The solution is then constructed as a legal one rather than a public health one since the problem is criminal in nature (Boyd, 2002; Boyd and Carter, 2010).

4.6.3. Media representations and public opinion and policy debate

The mass media are a major information source on alcohol and drug use for the community (Gelders et al., 2009; Hughes, et al, 2010; Lancaster et al., 2011). This information from the media is readily transmitted to other members in the community who are actively seeking AOD advice when they interact with the news (Fan and Holway, 1994). The media are also important both for influencing the agenda for national discussions and for forming opinion within the agenda (Lancaster et al., 2011). There are a number of policy decisions, which can be, at least in part, attributed to the influence of media, for example, the proposed Australian Capital Territory (ACT) heroin trial in Australia (Christie, 1998) and the mephedrone ban in the UK (Hughes et al., 2010). It has been shown that the more the media emphasize an issue the more likely it is that politicians and policy makers will take notice and that media coverage will influence policy decisions (Hughes et al., 2010; Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007; Tieberghien, 2014).

Policy makers ought to bear in mind the diversity of public opinion by broadening their sources beyond the mass media (Jenkins 2010). This broader perspective has the potential to expose a great variety of opinions leading to a larger scope for government initiatives on a wide variety of issues leading to better and more comprehensive responses to social issues (Marsh 1997). Meaningful consultation involves more than looking at the news headlines and consulting all those whose interests are directly affected by proposed change, not just the vocal, and influential (Christie, 1999) as they may not portray the full picture. Since the media has been shown to guide policy making by providing knowledge on issues, researchers who want to influence policy can aim for wide media coverage. The media is well equipped to put

things on the public agenda and has access to policy makers who in turn have access to the media. However, in heavily politicised and mediatised subjects, the relationship between scientific research evidence and policy is more delicate. Researchers who choose the media for disseminating scientific research knowledge acknowledge that most research fails to go beyond academic publications (Ritter, 2009 in Tieberghien, 2014)

4.7. Limitations of social representations theory

Social representations have been described as irresistible, as physical forces that decree what people should think before they even began to think, imposing themselves with an irresistible force (Moscovici,1984a; 1988). This prescriptive power of social representations implies that individuals are passive recipients of information (Jahoda, 1988). The theory of social representations also attempts to conceptualise both the power of social reality and the agency of social subjects (Howarth, 2006; Moscovici, 1984; Rose, et al., 1995) who are not just passive recipients. For example, the homosexuals in Joffe's (1995) study on social representations of AIDS resist the stigma associated with homosexuality by redefining the previously negatively viewed characteristics of homosexuality in a positive light by forming a "Gay pride" movement to protect the positive self-esteem of gay members by creating an in-group for those who are otherised. The black student in Howarth's (2004) study on education exclusion also resist the racial representations that stigmatize them. The contradictory stance of the irresistible power of social representations and the agency of individuals in resisting representations is criticized by Jahoda (1988). He posits that the forceful representations are more akin to Durkheim's collective representations whilst agency and resistance can be

attributed to Moscovici's social representations. Despite Moscovici's attempt to differentiate collective representations from social representations, he appears to apply the concept of coercive collective representations to his social representations. Moscovici (1988) has however pointed out that there are different types of social representations including hegemonic representations which are social representations exhibiting this irresistible force as powerful social groups representations become the dominant social representation.

The lack of a rigorous definition is another criticism against SRT. Moscovici (1988) notes that there are numerous concepts which have more than one definition for example attitude, self, schema which result in descriptions which may or may not be accepted by all, yet these concepts are still useful in exploring and explicating social phenomena. He also notes that a few authors have defined social representations, they include (Codol, 1969; Doise, 1985; Filament, 1986; Jodelet, 1983 in Moscovici, 1988)

SRT is also criticized for its failure to adopt more rigorous research methods. Jahoda (1988) points out that a review of the literature on SRT provides no proof that the theory has been tested. He further posits that SRT is too loosely formulated to be falsified. Moscovici however notes that concern for rigour should not override heuristic concerns. SRT is a conceptual framework that enables discovery of new aspects of facts as well as their discussion and interpretation rather than a system of hypothesis derived from facts that can be verified or falsified .SRT cannot thus be expected to have great precision or be subjected to exhaustive factual tests. Additionally, SRT is a comparatively new theoretical framework which broke the language barrier and penetrated Anglo-Saxon literature in the 1980's (Raty and Snellman,

1992). For SRT to be nurtured to achieve its full potential it needs to rely more on the creativity of researchers than on tried and tested procedures (Moscovici, 1988).

De Rosa (1993) observed that most research on social representations uses individuals as representatives of social groups to study social representations and does not in fact involve social groups. Harre (1984) posits that social representations are social due to the influence of social situations on the minds of individual actors. Additionally, they are not social only because they belong to the group, they are individual representations, each of which is akin to each of the others (similar set of individual representations). These are the social representations he refers to as "distributed individual representations" (Harre, 1984, p. 930). Further the representations of individual actors and those of the group are co-constructed and therefore co-dependent (Lahlou, 2001) and cannot be separated. The use of individual representatives is thus justified.

4.8. Chapter summary and conclusion

This chapter has detailed the key features of social representations and has demonstrated how and why a study on social representations can provide a meaningful way to explore the conditions of human wellbeing. The chapter discusses how people use social knowledge, past experiences and belief systems as well as media information to help them interpret both every day and unusual experiences. Social representations operate at a social and collective level, and the media are also social in their production and consumption. A study of social and

media representations thus provides an ideal framework that can allow for collective

processes and collective meaning making to be tackled.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGY

5.1.   Introduction

The overall aim of this chapter is to present the procedures and rationale used to carry out the research. The chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part covers the theoretical perspective for this thesis and situates the study within critical social constructionism. The second part of the chapter provides an overview of the specific methods used to carry out the research. Following Crotty's (2008) four element in social research, the chapter begins with the theoretical perspective followed by the epistemology, methodology and an overview of the specific methods used to carry out the research. Data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations precede the researcher's personal reflection on the research process.

5.2.   Theoretical perspective

The overarching aim of this thesis is to examine social representations of marketplace immorality in a context of contested legitimacy. The rationale for a critical approach to the research is to enable the researcher to explore how current thinking about immorality in the illicit alcohol market came about and how the current conceptualizations can be transcended or transformed (Holstein and Gubrium, 2008). Critical research challenges commonly held values and assumptions and questions existing ideologies and initiates action for social justice (Crotty, 2008). The main features of critical enquiry that guide this study are, 1) a critical approach to taken for granted world views that questions taken

for granted assumptions with the aim of offering a different account on social phenomena and raising consciousness 2) Historical and cultural specificity that emphasizes the role of contextual factors and time and space in determining world views. 3) The role of social processes in knowledge generation. 4)The relationship between knowledge and social action (Burr, 2003; Gergen, 1985; Holstein and Gubrium, 2008).

5.3. Epistemology

This research views knowledge as socially constructed. Social constructionism is concerned with the various ways in which people individually and collectively make sense of the world understood through both verbal and nonverbal communication (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe, 2004). In a constructionist perspective, human action is deemed to arise from peoples' interpretation of the world through social interaction rather than from external sources (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Burr, 2003). Constructionism is concerned with collective construction and communication of meaning (Crotty, 2008) and knowledge generation is a process of social exchanges (Burr, 2003; Gergen, 1985). Human beings live within institutions which also live within them. These institutions are used for the formulation of collective mutually agreed guidelines for the construction of meanings within a particular context and form a fundamental code for human conduct, and are generally referred to as culture (Crotty, 2008). Culture acts as a lens for viewing the world from a historical and social perspective. Events in the cultural history impact on present interpretations, meanings and actions which are subject to infinite revision determined by future events as well the culture along with the contextual indicators (Burr, 2006; Gergen, 1982).

5.4. Methodology

The goal of social constructionist research is to gain a better understanding of how people construct structures to help them interpret their world by collecting detailed accounts on small purposively selected samples about the social phenomena in question while considering the views of the researched. This often involves extensive interactions with the researched including conversations, observation and relevant document analysis. Rather than breakdown situations into smaller measurable units as is the case with positivism, the researcher deals with the composite or multiple accounts of social reality. Generalization in this research is through sense making in order to make associations with existing theory and to determine in which settings the findings are relevant. In social constructionist research, the researcher is part of the research and is not independent of the research. (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe, 2004). Ethnography has been espoused for social representations studies because social practices and actions are a rich source of representations, beyond talk. Observations are also a rich source of representations that are not verbalized (Lloyd and Duveen, 1992).

The strengths of an ethnographic approach for this study include the ability to generate rich detailed accounts in a natural way that can contribute to theory generation. The ethnographic approach was also used to examine evolution in regulation and to understand how people make sense of the world as well as adjust to new concerns and ideas as they develop. The approach was however time consuming and costly as I had to travel from the United Kingdom to Kenya to collect the data in the natural settings. Data analysis and interpretation was also challenging and dependent on researcher tacit knowledge and experience. Figure 5.1 summarises the methodological approach to the study.

Figure 5.1: Methodological approach

Epistemology	Theoretical Perspective	Methodology	Methods
Constructionism	Critical enquiry	Ethnography	Media analysis
			Observation
			• Overt
			• Covert
			Individual interviews
			Group interviews
			Informal conversations
			Natural group discussions
			Photographs
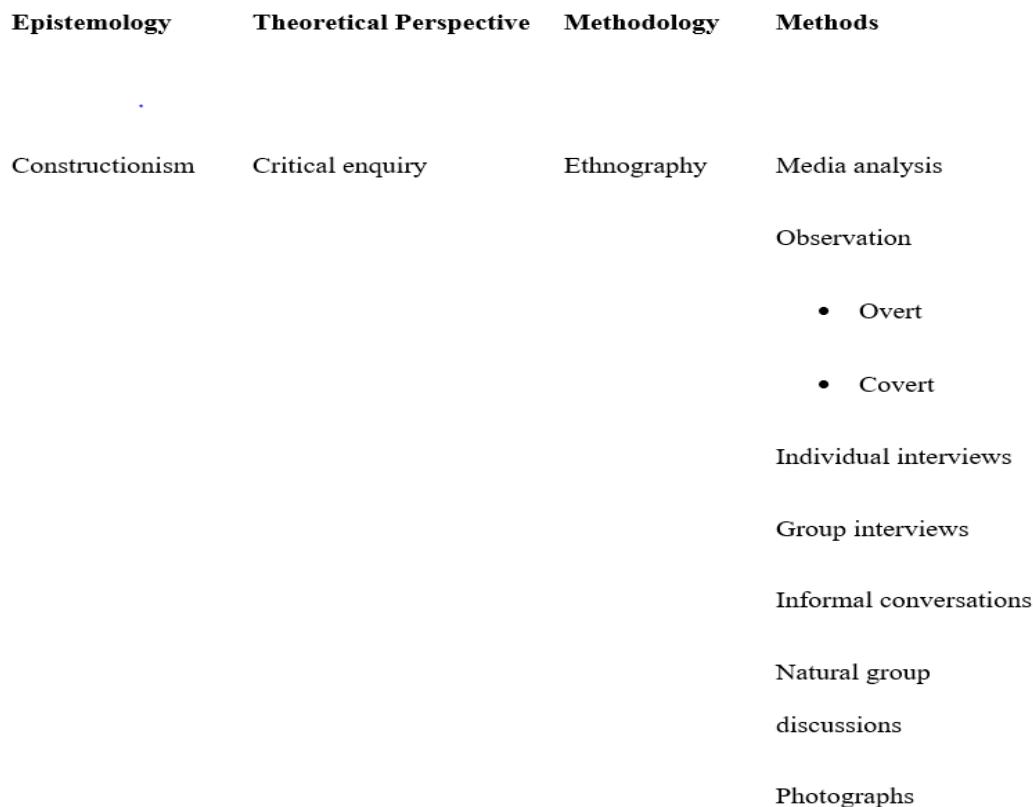
Adopted from Crotty, 2008

5.5. Overview of the specific methods used to carry out the research

Social representations theory suggests the use of a plurality of methods for illuminating different versions of reality because different versions of reality support different interests (Howarth, 2006). Within the framework of social representations, triangulation is not used to validate results or to obtain an objective description of an existing reality. Different methods are used to gain access to the multiple versions of reality that are constructed. The social researchers' role is to expose competing versions of reality and to understand their origins and functions in the particular contexts within which they are constructed and put to work.

Triangulation adds depth and breadth to our understanding of the multiple dimensions of the social construction of a phenomenon (Gervais, 1997) such as illicit alcohol and/or immorality in the marketplace.

To access collective, rather than individual, understandings of marketplace immorality, the study utilised the ethnographic methods of observation and field notes, thirteen individual depth interviews, one group interview, informal conversations, one natural group discussion and content analysis of digital media data. These ethnographic methods are well suited to illuminate the intersubjective construction of social reality as they facilitate extensive interactions with the researched (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe, 2004; See also Howarth, 2000) and illuminate the complexity of the issues involved. The data set consists of different categories of data: 13 individual interviews and 1 group interview all lasting between 20 and 90 minutes; 6 informal conversations with local informants lasting between 15 and 45 minutes; proceedings from a 3 hour alcohol traders meeting where 21 licensed alcohol traders were in attendance; 66 photos of the damage after the war against illicit alcohol and of home-made brews and second-generation alcohol; 56 A5 pages of field notes of observations and interviews where informants were unwilling to be audio recorded but consented to written records of the interview. In summary, the primary data set consists of transcripts of recorded interview data, notes from unrecorded interviews, notes from a traders meeting, field notes from the observation stage and photos. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 in the next sections provide a summary of the data sources for the study and table 5.3 provides a summary of the participant information.

To uncover the social meaning given to marketplace immorality in the illicit alcohol market, the researcher considered insider perspectives (community perspectives), outsider perspectives (media perspectives) and the meeting point between these perspectives. A media analysis on illicit alcohol coverage was used to uncover outsiders' and insiders (through consumer comments on digital news) representations of marketplace immorality. Observation and interviews with community members were used to unveil insiders' representations of marketplace immorality. The overlap between insiders' and outsiders' representations of marketplace immorality was analysed through a comprehensive examination of all collected material. A bifocal analysis of the media representations in conjunction with what people say about them was done to explore how the public perceives media messages. A textual analysis of media content without some audience research would omit the social significance of the text. It would also fail to relay how the story is understood, evaluated or challenged, or what its effects may be in everyday life (Lewis, 1994; see also, Gervais, 1997; Howarth, 2000). The focus of the research was on both the occurrence and frequency of particular beliefs and practices, as well as the changes in beliefs and practices, and their impact on social change (Lauri, 2015). The rest of the chapter details the mechanisms of data collection and analysis beginning with the secondary data and followed by the primary data.

5.6. Data collection

There were two main stages of data collection in this study.

1. Collection of digital media data covering the illicit alcohol market (January 2015 to June 2016).

2.   Primary data collection from research participants selected for their knowledge and experience with illicit alcohol trade and its effects.

5.6.1.   Digital media data collection

The ethnographic content analysis (Altheide, 1987) of media data aims to answer the 3 research questions:

1.   What are the dominant social representations in the illicit alcohol market?

2.   To what extent, and in what ways, is morality conveyed through these representations?

3.   What are the effects of these representations?

Pressing social and cultural problems require a theoretical framework which allows for collective processes to be tackled (Wagner et al., 1999). SRT operates at a social and collective level (Farr, 1996; Moscovici, 1984b) and provides a participatory approach to the exploration of the conditions of human wellbeing hence the rationale to use media data to study social representations in the illicit alcohol market. The media productions are social (Allen, 1992) in that a social process is involved in determining what will be conveyed in the news, and media consumption is also social (Livingstone, 1991; Wagner et al., 1999). Media productions are also a reliable indicator of generalized public opinion (Deephouse 1996; Gamson 1992; Gamson and Modigliani 1989) as they both reflect and influences public perceptions. Digital media data were collected from the three-leading local Kenyan newspapers with the largest circulations namely, The Daily Nation, The Standard and The Star, for the period January 2015 to June 2016. (The business daily was excluded because it focuses on regional business news, thus fails to effectively meet the needs of this study. One

article from the business daily was however included in this study because of the way in

which the article captured the ban on illicit alcohol in July 2015). The eighteen-month period

in focus corresponds to important regulatory changes and increased media coverage on the

illicit alcohol market. This period saw a peak in media coverage on illicit alcohol due to

numerous anti-illicit liquor campaigns following the deaths of consumers and an eventual ban

on the drinks in July 2015. This ban was overturned by the Kenyan judiciary in February

2016 hence the focus on this period.

To gather the secondary data, a search on the individual newspaper websites was done. For

the three newspaper websites (http://www.nation.co.ke/; http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/ and

https://www.the-star.co.ke/), the key words "illicit brews", "illicit alcohol", "alcohol",

"brews", "second-generation", "chang'aa", "chang'aa" will be used. For Nation media group,

date and news divisions will filter the search further. The categories include "news",

"counties", "OpEd", "business" and "lifestyle" to capture all articles under any of these news

categories. The other websites do not have a filter function beyond the key search words. A

total of 310 news articles were generated (see table 5.1 for data sources).

Other digital data from news sites that offered representations that were not covered in the

leading newspapers were also collected. The Facebook and Twitter sites for The Star were

also used for news that was not covered in the stories in the leading newspapers. A search was

conducted in Google after the interviews were conducted to explore additional media data on

alcohol related to the themes introduced during interviews. Most of the data outside the

leading news sites was mostly sensational for example, the presence of used condoms in illicit

brew and the reward of pregnant women by politicians. Table 5.1 provides an overview of the digital sources of data.

Table 5.1: Summary of digital sources of data

Name	Sources	Number/period	Rationale/Role
Digital Newspapers	Daily Nation	216	Media discourse surrounding phenomenon and public response to media discourse in public comments
	The Standard	73	
	The Star	21	
Other digital news sites	Capital FM News	3	Media discourse surrounding phenomenon
	Citizen digital	2	
	President.go.ke	1	
	Radio Jambo	2	
	showbient.blogspot.co.uk	1	
Social media News sites	Facebook	1	Media discourse surrounding phenomenon and public response to media discourse in public comments
	Twitter	1	
Photographs	Media	310	Review of the imagery in media representation

5.6.2. Primary data collection from community members

The researcher arrived in Kiambu county in Central Kenya in July 2017. The researcher used her personal networks to gain access to the community. The county under study had been in the limelight in the media due to numerous anti-illicit liquor campaigns in the area and offered a good location for this study. The researcher spent two months in local trading centres and other public places mainly churches as well as administrative offices, in particular

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the local chief's office. The researcher also attended an alcohol traders meeting and visited

participants' in their homes and local business premises. A logbook for recording activities,

significant events, and some preliminary interpretations of these events was maintained

Appendix E provides a sample of the field notes. Interviews and conversations with locals

were audio recorded where consent was accorded or notes of the interview taken, where

participants were unwilling to be audio recorded. The dataset consists of 13 individual

interviews and 1 group interview lasting between 20 and 90 minutes and 6 informal

conversations with local informants lasting between 15 and 45 minutes. Field notes of the

proceedings of a 3-hour alcohol traders' meeting where 21 licensed alcohol traders were in

attendance; 66 photos of the damage after the war against illicit alcohol and of home-made

brews and second-generation alcohol. 56 A5 pages of field notes of observations and

interviews where informants were unwilling to be audio recorded but consented to written

records of the interview. Participants were selected based on a snowball strategy where

community mediators introduced the researcher to potential interview participants who fit the

profile for the illicit alcohol study (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981). The depth interviews and

informal conversations provide emic views from varied associations with illicit alcohol trade

and illicit alcohol consumers (e.g., community leaders, family members, traders and former

traders). The informants were selected with the goal to understand their perspectives about

illicit alcohol regulation, the impact of illicit alcohol on consumers and families and possible

measures to reduce the harm from illicit alcohol consumption. Field notes include both

nominal information such as prayers by the traders, staggering drunk men and quantitative

information such as the number of outlets in a trading area (Johnson and Sackett 1998). Table

5.2 provides a summary of the primary data sources.

Table 5.2: Summary of primary data sources

Name	Sources	Number/period	Rationale/Role
Individual Interviews	Licensed Traders	3	Phenomenological understanding from the perspective of different market actors
	Former illicit alcohol traders (unlicensed)	3	
	Family members	2	
	Community leaders	2	
	Government officers	2	
Group interviews	Former illicit alcohol traders (unlicensed-3)	1	Discourse on phenomenon
Natural group discussions	Licensed Traders meeting	1	Discourse on phenomenon
Informal conversations	Family members	2	Phenomenological understanding from the perspective of different market actors
	Community members	4	
Observation	Local communities in public spaces	2 months	non- verbalized social representations
Photographs	Researcher	66	Review of the imagery in social representation

Table 5.3 provides the participant information. All the participant names are pseudonyms and the exact age for the participants was not available to the researcher, so an age range is indicated in the information sheet.

Table 5.3: Participant information

Name	Age	gender	Role/occupation	Data collection mode
Mike	40-50	M	Community leader	Interview
Kevin	50-60	M	Community leader	Interview
Jane	60-70	F	Affected family member	Interview
Dorcas	40-50	F	Affected family member	Interview
Julia	40-50	F	Anti-illicit alcohol Activist, affected family member	Interview
Carol	40-50	F	Local business woman	Interview
John	40-50	M	Licensed alcohol trader	Interview
Kate	40-50	F	Licensed alcohol trader	Interview
Anthony	50-60	M	Licensed alcohol trader	Interview
Ken	60-70	M	Retired government officer	Interview
Dave	50-60	M	Government officer	Interview
Anne	60-70	F	Former illicit alcohol trader, single mum	Interview
Nancy	30-40	F	Former illicit alcohol trader, single mum	Interview/group interview
Ivy	30-40	F	Former illicit alcohol trader/single mum	Group interview
Amy	30-40	F	Former illicit alcohol trader, single mum	Group interview
Florence	50-60	F	Former illicit alcohol trader, single mum	Informal conversation
Grace	40-50	F	Local business owner	Informal conversation
Mary	40-50	F	Affected family member	Informal conversation
Bea	60-70	F	Affected family member	Informal conversation
Fred	20-30	M	Anti- illicit alcohol activist, affected family member	Informal conversation
Peter	30-40	M	Casual labourer and mediator	Informal conversation

Source: Researcher

5.6.2.1.   Individual interviews: Description, justification and consent process

Thirteen in-depth, semi-structured individual interviews lasting for an average of 50 minutes

were conducted (Thompson, 1997). This approach is a standard method of data collection for

the study of social representations as it aims at unveiling deep information and knowledge. The researcher sought to attain the same deep level of understanding of issues as that held by the research participants. Joffe (1996) in her study on social representations of AIDS found in-depth interviews a useful way of accessing lay representations from members of the community. Herzlich (1969/1973) posits that this form of interviewing is the only satisfactory technique for data collection in the study of social representations

Most interviews took place in the respondents' homes, offices and/or business premises. They were conducted in the following sequence: during the preliminary phase, the researcher introduced herself as a student researcher and the context of the research (a doctoral dissertation). Consent was then sought from the interviewees and they were made aware of their rights including the right to withdraw from the interview at any point if they so desired. Consent to audio record the interview was also sought. In some instances, the participants said no to the recording of the interviews but consented to note taking and the researcher took field notes. Potential participants were informed that participation was voluntary, and confidentiality was guaranteed. There was no coercion or undue influence to gain participant consent. Agreement was based on full information on what the research was about and the level of involvement required of participants including: the researcher's identity; the purpose of the research; time commitment which was 20 to 90 minutes for individual interviews; the possible risks especially due to the sensitive nature of the research topic owing to the fact that it touches on alcohol misuse including the negative consequences such as death and illness. The researcher also provided resources to all informants as part of the informed consent and ice-breaking process by making available the numbers of relevant toll-free hotlines for NACADA the drug agency mandated by the government to support citizens in needs related

to drug abuse. The limits/risks of confidentiality were clearly explained in the consent process where participants were informed that the moral imperative to report harmful acts could in certain instances outweigh the research demands on confidentiality but thankfully, such incidences did not arise.

Non- hand-written forms of consent were used with both literate and illiterate participants because written consent before the interview would have aroused suspicion increasing social distance since research requiring written forms of consent is not a common occurrence among the target research population. Verbal consent was used in such instances and the information on the consent form was paraphrased and the consent was audio recorded, except in the instances where the participant was unwilling to be audio recorded in which case the consent was recorded in the field notes.

 Appendix D has a copy of the participant information sheet and consent form. Grand tour questions (McCracken, 1988) on illicit alcohol then followed. The researcher sought to gain the respondents' views and feelings about illicit alcohol, illicit alcohol sellers, illicit alcohol consumers, anti-illicit alcohol campaigns and law enforcement in the illicit alcohol market. Their perceptions on media depictions of illicit alcohol were also sought. Interviews also evolved as the researcher gained new knowledge from the initial participants and the researcher adapted the grand tour/initial questions to the emerging topics and focal concerns, for example the dehumanization of illicit alcohol traders. Appendix D contains the sample interview guide used to probe research participants.

In-depth interviews allow for the exploration of multiple meanings of the research phenomenon. The research question in this study involves highly conflicted emotions and different groups in the research community hold multiple perspectives on illicit alcohol. In-depth interviews are thus a suitable approach to reveal these varied viewpoints on immorality in the illicit alcohol market. The flexibility accorded by this method allowed the interviewees to not only give full accounts on the list of broad themes singled out by the researcher, but to also make associations, pursue new ideas, explore personal feelings and report on other people's views (Gervais, 1997). In-depth interviews were also used to supplement knowledge gained through observation and to clarify and learn about the meaning of observed actions in order to minimise unintended misrepresentation of the community's observed activities. Interviews fulfilled a purpose not only for the interviewer and the research topic (that interviewees found interesting, relevant and meaningful to talk about and to share their reflections on) since some of the informants might have considered the interviews an opportunity to tell their own story (Kristensen and Ravn, 2015) and in so doing, to challenge a well-established myth and stigma of alcohol trade.

5.6.2.1.1. Selection of participants

The interview research topic significantly impacts on recruitment (Kristensen and Ravn, 2015) and the research topic in this study necessitated the recruitment through snowball sampling. Qualitative samples such as snowball samples (Goodman, 2011) are selected subjectively with a specific goal in mind. Such samples cannot be determined before the fieldwork commences because the recruitment process is both exploratory and goal oriented,

making it difficult to predefine a neutral sample before commencing fieldwork (Kristensen and Ravn, 2015). The sampling method resulted in more research with certain groups than others. There were more female respondents than male. This could be mainly because many illicit alcohol traders are single women, and the women in this study were also more vocal on the negative impact of illicit alcohol on their families, resulting in more female participants for these categories of respondents. Additionally, despite having 2 male mediators and 2 female mediators to help gain access to the research community, the mediators often referred female participants as the one's most likely to offer the information sought by the researcher. The researcher needed mediators to introduce her to the research community. There were 13 female participants and 8 male participants in the study (Table 5.3). There were 7 female individual interview participants and 6 male individual interview participants. A mediator is a person who uses their formal or informal position and relationships to enable a researcher to reach potential informants (Wanat, 2008). The decline rate was surprisingly low, where two potential participants were unwilling to participate in the research. Those who declined were mainly licensed practicing alcohol traders who had suffered economic losses in the war against illicit alcohol, or who were afraid of the implications of participating in an interview on illicit alcohol. Research topics that people perceive as important to themselves and society are easier to explore than those where potential informants lack interest, or are uncomfortable discussing (Kristensen and Ravn, 2015) and this may explain the low decline rate.

5.6.2.2. Informal conversations

Six informal conversations lasting between 15 and 45 minutes were audio recorded. Storytelling is one of the most central forms of human communication and has been used in a number of social representation studies (Jovchelovitch, 1995; Laszlo, 1997). Informal conversations were opportunistic and unplanned for exchanges where the researcher used the conversations to make new discoveries about illicit alcohol. The informal conversations involved recording stories about illicit alcohol that came up during the research process. For example, when the mediator and the researcher were on their way to meet potential research participants, the researcher took notes and recorded conversations about illicit alcohol. Sometimes the conversations arose in the course of the researchers' daily activities such as entertaining visitors and when these conversations gravitated towards illicit alcohol, which is a topical issue in Kenya. The researcher took notes or recorded the conversations with informed consent from the participants obtained in a similar manner as consent for depth interviews, excluding the details about time commitment. Informal conversations enhanced rapport and collaboration between the researcher and research participants (Archer, 2009).

5.6.3. Group interview

No interview is context free or neutral to meaning and the conditions of an interview influence how interviewees talk about a representation (Wagner et al., 2000). The group interview with the traders revealed trader experiences that had not been forthcoming in the individual interviews with the former illicit alcohol traders when interviewed in isolation. The

interaction between the former illicit alcohol traders introduced group dynamics to the conversation allowing the information to flow more freely and naturally. For example, the issues of "snakes in the brew" left in the bush to avoid arrest by police only came up because of the group dynamics and traders seeking to defend themselves against the accusations of witchcraft/sorcery. Informed consent from the participants was obtained in a similar manner as consent for depth interviews.

5.6.4. Observation: Description and justification

In this thesis, observation is not defined as a single method, but rather as a characteristic blend of methods and techniques which involved social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, some direct observation of relevant events, informal interviewing, and the collection of documents and artefacts including the media analysis (McCall and Simmons., 1969). The researcher carried out initial observation in open public spaces and especially in the trading centres/markets where most of the illicit alcohol consumption takes place. The participants were unaware of the researcher's purpose. Subsequent observation took place in the full knowledge and consent of participants as the researcher got involved in some of the activities of interviewees such as the traders meeting.

Observation was used because it seems well suited to social representation studies (Duveen, 1997). Activities were observed as and when they take place, so the researcher did not have to rely solely on participants' accounts of an activity or phenomenon. Observation made it possible for the entire context of an event to be included in the researcher's account of events,

rather than relying on the interpretation, recollection, and reordering of events by the participants. Farr and Moscovici (1984) have argued that observations in natural settings are a suitable method for collecting data, which illuminates the diffusion of social images of a social group. Observation is also able to reveal representations that have not attained a verbalized level and to support verbalized representations or expose contradictions if any. For example, Jodelet (1991) observed social practices which depicted madness as contagion even though the French villagers in her study claimed to ascribe only to scientific explanations for madness as a psychological disorder which was not contagious. Only observation could expose the contradictory representation. Additionally, certain social representations are only apparent in action (Howarth, 2006) hence the need to use observation to discern them. In this study, observation revealed how the traders sacralise (Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry, 1989) their trade by commencing and ending their business meetings with prayers, where they cite scripture that condones alcohol trade. The purpose of participant observation was to understand things from the researched group's perspective and to blend into the setting without interfering with daily activities. Participation gave the researcher insight into things people may never mention or would not normally want to discuss, such as the prayers mentioned.

Covert observation was done in open public spaces especially trading centres/markets over the two months fieldwork period. where the researcher interacted with the community observing their activities in the trading centres. Anonymised accounts (where the names of places and people are excluded) of the activities in public spaces are recorded in the field notes. Observation also involved informal interviewing and taking mental notes of events, which were then written down once the researcher left the observation setting. For the observed

activities to remain as 'normal' as possible it was only possible to observe them by being covert in order to affect the research setting as little as possible. Defining myself as a researcher early in the research relationship would have been counterproductive and failed to yield the desired results of natural observations. Field notes on the observations include both nominal information such as prayers, staggering drunk men early in the morning and quantitative information such as the number of outlets in a trading area (Johnson and Sackett 1998).

To avoid distorting the observed activities, the researcher employed covert observation in some instances, where participant consent was not sought. In populous open public spaces, such as markets, it was also not possible or practical for the researcher to directly ask 200 or more people to fill in a form (AAA, 1997 in Arnould, 1998).

5.6.5. Use of natural groups: description and justification

Social representations theory privileges information in circulation concerning the object of study. Moscovici proposed listening to people in various natural settings where people meet and talk formally of informally about issues that are important to them. Farr and colleagues (1996 in Lauri, 2015) argue that focus groups are the ideal tools for a study on social representations. When people have a discussion in a group setting, they generate and convey opinions that can be useful in understanding important issues because it considers the feedback loop between social constructionism and individual thought and practice (Lahlou, 2001, p. 162). The researcher attended an alcohol traders meeting (licensed traders) which

made it possible to explore the meanings around illicit alcohol, especially the war against illicit alcohol more successfully than for example in the one-to-one interview. Twenty-one traders met to strategize on how to cope with the fight against illicit alcohol which was affecting licensed alcohol trader, since the attacks were indiscriminate. The meeting lasted for three hours. The discussions and exchange of ideas and images helped the researcher to see things through the eyes of participants, and to understand traders' woes and fears, for example the impact of the alcohol war on legal business as well as the effects of counterfeit alcohol in the market. The meeting was also a useful demonstration of collective action among traders. People influence each other in their understanding of issues and concepts and in the production of knowledge (Lauri, 2015) and this was evident in the traders meeting.

5.7.   Data analysis

The level of analysis in this study is the collective nature of the social construction of marketplace immorality through content analysis. The purpose of the analysis is twofold: to demonstrate the scope of social representations in the illicit alcohol market and to reveal the specific representations used.

5.7.1. Content analysis

Content analysis, both textual and graphic in social representations research has been used by (Corcoran, 2008; Gervais, 1997; Howarth, 2000) for the analysis of non-reactive forms of data such as media content. "The non-reactive nature of these data helps ensure that the social representations which emerge from the analysis do not change by being investigated" (Farr, 1993, p.25). The content analysis of the media and primary data addresses the three research questions in this study: What are the dominant social representations in the illicit alcohol market? To what extent, and in what ways, is morality conveyed through these representations? What are the effects of these representations? Content analysis covers a wide range of methods, but its origins are in quantitative approaches (Neuendorf, 2002; Titscher et al., 2003). Media content analysis is a specialised subset of content analysis which can be characterised as message-centred methodology for the study of texts (Macnamara 2005). Since it is not viable to make assumptions about the intentions of producers or the way audiences interpret media data from media content analysis alone (Neuendorf 2002), the media content analysis also included the analysis of consumer comments on digital news platforms. Additionally, the media data was supplemented with interview data from primary research with the audience to interpret audience response to the media representations and to the social issue of illicit alcohol. The approach this study takes is that content analysis plays "inferential and predictive" (Macnamara, 2005, p.4) roles to facilitate analysis rather than draw conclusions on the potential effects of media representations (Neuendorf, 2002).

The study uses three types of content analysis: thematic, affective, and frame analysis. Multiple methods were used because they are useful for capturing complex processes and phenomena (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2007; Mello, 2002). Thematic analysis examines changes in the way illicit alcohol market activities are represented in the different regulatory periods. The affective analysis tracks changes in valence, and emotion (jubilation, celebration, anxiety, sadness, and anger), providing insight into the representations of how different market actors feel about the activities in the illicit alcohol market at different times. The analysis focuses on the positive and negative feelings in the representations of the moral evaluations of different actions in the illicit alcohol market. Affective reactions are argued to be a good predictor of moral judgment and behaviour (Batson, 1987), so the affective analysis provides insights into the moral judgements and behaviour in the illicit alcohol market. The frame analysis explores the perspectives of different market actors on the problems in the illicit alcohol market and illuminates the proposed solutions. Frames focus attention on phenomena, emphasizing the seriousness or injustice of a social situation (Snow and Benford, 1992; Gamson and Modigliani 1989). Frames can also be used for attribution and articulation, which entails problem diagnosis and prognosis. The former involves problem identification whilst the latter entails proposing solutions to the identified problems (Snow and Benford, 1992; Entman, 1993). Analysis by article was used for the thematic analysis and analysis by words was used for the affective analysis. The content analysis of the secondary and primary data was done in two steps namely data systemisation and data interpretation. The conceptual framework and the basis for the coding (coding frame) is presented in figure 5.2.

5.7.2. Data systemisation of media data

The first step in the systemisation of media data was analysis of the news headlines/captions. According to Van Dijk (2006, p.373) "headlines are typically used to express topics and to signal the most important information of a text and may thus be used to assign (extra) weight to events that in themselves would not be so important". Due to word limit constraints, every word of a headline is carefully chosen and structured for maximum effect (Teo, 2000). A thematic approach, searching for the emergence of themes in the headlines that might be relevant to the research questions was utilised. A coding template was developed based on the research questions and the theoretical framework. The final coding framework reflected the themes which emerged from the first pass over the media headlines. The researcher was not searching for repetition explicitly, but for recurrence; for "although 'repetition' looks at superficial/ explicit repeated use of the same wording, 'recurrence' addresses repetition of the text's latent meaning, through perhaps different wording" (Mitra 2010, p. 580). Thematic coding of headline topics reveals the shifting emphasis on reporting on illicit alcohol at different times of the year based on: 1) the effects of illicit alcohol and illicit alcohol trade, with news captions such as "MURANG'A: Man Found Dead Near Brewing Den" 2) the ban and subsequent war/crackdown on illicit alcohol with news captions such as "This is how not to win war on alcoholism" and 3) actions by different government institutions and a return of illicit alcohol after the war with news captions such as "After the crackdown, illicit brews have bubbled back". These three themes form the basis for the three overarching codes in the study. Headlines relating to the effects of illicit alcohol appeared most frequently in the period January 2015 to June 2015, with a gradual shift in emphasis to the crackdown for the period July 2015 to December 2015. Story focus then shifted to the eventual return of the brews after

the judicial ruling overturned the ban on illicit alcohol for the period January 2016 to June 2016.

A total of 310 articles were coded under the three overarching codes Death/Harm; Crackdown/war and the return of the brews: All the articles were also coded for the media house, headline topic, geographic location, month of publication and the social actors involved. The first cycle coding was performed using elemental methods of descriptive, in vivo and process coding (Saldana, 2013) and the coding categories were derived directly from the text data (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). In vivo coding uses participants' exact words and is suitable for critical ethnographic research (Saldana, 2005). Examples of in vivo codes in this study are "war", "death" and "destroy". Descriptive codes summarize the topic/subject of the text and are used to document and categorize the opinions of multiple participants. Descriptive codes have been used in the analysis of longitudinal data (e.g. Saldana, 1997). Examples of descriptive codes in this study are "corruption" and "community". Process codes are words or phrases which capture action. Examples of action codes in this study are "alcohol regulation" and "demonstrations". The epistemological questions in this study are best investigated using the elemental methods mentioned as the research questions are explorative. Appendix C provides a comprehensive list of the codes.

Figure 5.2: Coding frame for media data
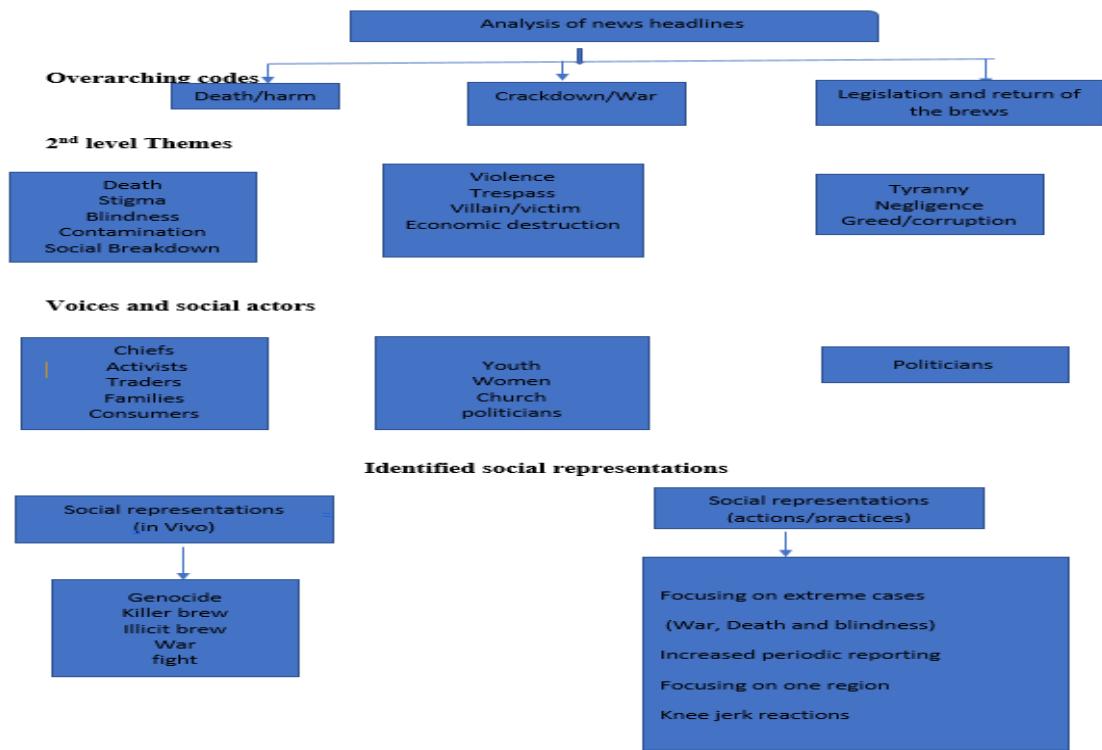
5.7.3. Primary data systemisation

Transcription and translation are some of stages of data analysis (Kvale, 1996; Arksey and Knight, 1999), because what "passes from tape to paper is the result of decisions about what ought to go on paper" (Arksey and Knight, 1999, p.141,). In this research, transcription and translation involved verbatim translations from Kikuyu a local Kenyan dialect to English. The transcription included word repetitions, and expressions like sadness (Kvale, 1996). Once the textual data-set was established, the researcher proceeded with analysing the interview, informal conversations and group discussion data. Following grounded theory procedures (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), the systemisation began with open coding to reduce the data into meaningful segments. The coding frame for the individual interviews and informal

conversations was adapted to the themes found in the secondary data systemisation. The coding identified themes in the interview transcripts that resonated with those in the media data such as death, harm, and emergent themes from the interview data such as the elaborate collaboration between illicit alcohol traders and the police. The discussion in the traders meeting was systematised through a coding frame which considered three levels of content: descriptions about alcohol trade and regulation; claims and explanations made regarding such descriptions, and, finally, strategies of coping developed in relation to the situations the groups were discussing.

5.7.4. Data interpretation of both primary and secondary data

The primary and secondary data were interpreted using a hermeneutic approach. In a hermeneutic perspective the focus is on meanings, rather than the specific phenomena (Thompson, 1997). The analysis identified thematic and narrative commonalities that emerged across the secondary data based on the themes emerging from the headlines data in the three categories in figure 5.2 through systematic and methodical comparisons across the data, commonly referred to as constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The computer data analysis program ATLAS.ti, was a valuable tool in exploring the breadth, depth and detail of the themes found in the study in order to develop theoretical links between themes during data analysis (Howarth 2002). The following factors were used for the analysis within and between themes:

Table 5.4: Factors used for analysis within and between themes

Thematic Analysis	
Frequency	the frequency/regularity within which a theme appears
Extensiveness	how many articles; how many locations; how many media houses; how many people are involved/affected; different ways of using the theme
Intensity	the level of emphasis/ emotion
Evaluation	is the theme evaluated as positive or negative
Perceived validity	are the themes seen to be true or false
Associated themes	the relationships between and among themes and subthemes for example, the association of contamination/filth with witchcraft/sorcery
Contradictions-	contradictions within and across themes by groups, individuals; institutions and media houses
Absence-	the absence of salient themes in certain newspapers, groups, individuals, institutions
Frequency –	the frequency/regularity within which a theme appears
Extensiveness-	how many articles; how many locations; how many media houses; how many people are involved/affected; different ways of using the theme
Intensity	The level of emphasis/ emotion
Evaluation	is the theme evaluated as positive or negative
Perceived validity	are the themes seen to be true or false
Associated themes	the relationships between and among themes and subthemes for example, the association of contamination/filth with witchcraft/sorcery

Adopted from Howarth (2002)

Accounts related to morality in the secondary data were compared with other accounts in the secondary data appearing to belong to the same category, exploring their similarities and differences. For example, media accounts related to the war against illicit alcohol explored the social actors involved in the attacks, both victims and perpetrators and the form of the attack. As the analysis progressed, specific categories emerged, and accounts were now linked to the emergent category, rather than specific accounts, an example of an emergent category from the accounts on war is "moral exclusion" where some market actors did not consider other market actors worthy of moral consideration. The emergent categories were related to each other to develop "meta observations" (Spiggle, 1994, p. 494) such as meta observations of dehumanization in the war. The focus was on specific descriptions and meanings related to morality. The primary data was also analysed through systematic and methodical comparisons across the data for new categories that had not been identified in the secondary data such as "alcohol traders who supported the war". The accounts in the primary data were linked with

the categories in the secondary data and emergent categories that were absent in the secondary data were identified, such as "moral decoupling processes" by illicit alcohol traders who had quit the trade. The researcher notes written during the participant observation phase were used to aid interpretation and contextualisation of emerging themes from the primary and secondary data. The researcher also examined the literature on morality from multiple perspectives, linking the findings to the literature. This iterative process between the literature and the data is referred to as grounded reading in data (Straus and Corbin, 1990). Through iterations between the data and the literature the research critically analyses the dominant social representations in the illicit alcohol market, how they convey morality, and the effects of the social representations.

Carrying out secondary data analysis first and doing the comparison across accounts in the data guided the purposive sample of the primary data collection as the researcher was already aware of emergent categories and propositions in the data. The researcher could specifically seek out informants who could help build on the existing categories and could also compare the accounts in the primary data with the secondary data categories and concepts.

5.8. Ethical considerations

The researcher considered different ethical dimensions during this study. The first was procedural ethics where the researcher sought ethical approval to conduct the research from the FASS_LUMS research ethics committee at Lancaster University and the Kenyan research

licensing corporation "The National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). The procedural ethics aimed to protect the human actors in the research, including the researcher and to ensure the basic rights and safety of all the human actors in the research. Procedural ethics provided an ethics checklist that helped the researcher to consider and reflect on issues such as the potential risks to participants, the balancing of the benefits of the research against the risks, how to ensure confidentiality, and the inclusion of acceptable forms of consent that were sensitive to the research context. The procedural ethics was useful for designing a research project that is ethically acceptable in its approach and provided institutional credibility to the researcher to undertake the research (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004).

The researcher was conscious of potential ethical concerns relating to observation as a method of research. To protect herself and the research participants from harm and undue risk from the violation of research ethics, the following issues were considered:

The extent of participant observation was an ethical issue since the research is on illicit alcohol. The researcher however did not participate in illicit alcohol consumption or anti-consumption activities. Additionally, complete participation in covert observation poses the risk of going 'native' and losing any sense of objectivity, while complete observation is overt and detached (Musante and DeWalt, 2010). The researcher strove for balance between the two by starting off as a non- participant observer and later participating in some of the community activities. The researcher participated in community activities that do not raise ethical concerns such as church gatherings and a traders' meeting. It was not possible to acquire informed consent from all observation participants as the researcher could not access

the total population observed for consent in open public spaces (AAA, 1997 in Arnould, 1998). Reporting of observed events was however in the form of anonymous accounts of activities in public spaces minimising potential harm to participants. Exploitation of people who cannot have agreed to take part and therefore can have no control over how they are represented in the case of covert observation is another potential ethical concern (AAA, 1997 in Arnould, 1998; Musante and Dewalt, 2010). The researcher strove to clarify observed actions using formal and informal interviews to avoid misrepresenting the research participants. The researcher also faced a challenge of accurately portraying the informants' life world. The researcher has endeavoured to portray all shared perspectives/representations in line with social representations theory where the existence of multiple realities is acknowledged.

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The researcher was also vigilant about the ethical concerns of using in-depth interviews in this study. Some of the driving concerns related to how far the interviewer could go in probing informants' answers and the potential consequences for such probing such as distress for the research participant (Corbin and Morse, 2003). To address this concern, the researcher provided resources to all informants as part of the informed consent and ice-breaking process This involved availing the numbers of relevant toll-free hotlines and the hours and locations of local crisis counselling centres. The resources provided an avenue for participants to get help should the interviews cause distress. The researcher was also sensitive to participant's moods throughout the interview to avoid intentionally upsetting participants by continued probing where participants did not wish to share further information (Corbin and Morse, 2003). Informed consent and audio recording was another concern during the depth interviews where some participants were unwilling to be audio recorded and research contexts

where introducing a form would arouse suspicion. There were also concerns over protection of research participants from information misuse (Berg, 2004). To address this concern, the researcher coded all interview data and used pseudonyms for information protection. The researcher had also planned on destroying any potentially incriminating field notes but the need for this did not arise.

There were also ethical concerns over the risks arising from the use of digital data on social media. Data on social media websites is not explicitly or necessarily public and there may be concerns involving reidentification of data and informed consent (Townsend and Wallace, 2016; Wolfinger, 2016). The researcher handled this ethical concern by anonymising the social media data that could lead to reidentification by paraphrasing the quote(s) from social media. The paraphrasing also eliminates the need for informed consent as the risk of reidentification is minimised (Wolfinger, 2016).

5.9. Personal reflection on the research process

Ethnography is a reflexive process that requires the researcher to adapt to new themes as they emerge during the research in order to gain a better understanding of the research phenomenon. The ethnographic research process also necessitates an opportunistic approach to data collection so as to enable the researcher to collect any available data on the research phenomenon (Selleck, 2017). In this study, the reflexivity included responding to unplanned for opportunities such as group interviews that arose in the process of carrying out individual interviews. The group interviews unveiled contradictory themes and information. exposing

competing versions of reality. The researcher then strove to understand their origins and functions of these contradictions in the particular contexts. For example, in the data there were accusations of sorcery and witchcraft against the traders by the community which were countered by the traders who offered an alternative perspective on the presence of contaminants in illicit alcohol (see, 6.2.1.3).

The reflexive nature of ethnographic research can also be illustrated in some of the alterations the researcher had to make to the initial approved procedures for gaining informed consent for the primary data collection. During the ethical approval process, there were potential concerns about informed consent with illiterate consumers, or consumers who are suspicious of signing documents. The researcher prepared for such incidences in advance and assured the research committee that consent would be audio recorded, and so would the participant information process, where the participant information sheet was read out to the participants. In practice however since the interviews took place in mother tongue, the researcher had to paraphrase the information in mother tongue informing the participants of potential risks, time commitment and the right to withdraw from the research at any point and all these was audio recorded. There were also other participants who were unwilling to be audio recorded and the informed consent in these instances was recorded in the field notes by the researcher. This paraphrasing and translation or note taking of informed consent reflects a dimension of ethics referred to as ethics in practice, that requires the researcher to adapt the procedural ethics to the research context whilst still seeking to ensure no harm from the research activity to the participants (Ellis, 2007; Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). There were many ethically significant moments during the research for example, the aforementioned participants who declined to be audio recorded for the full interview or conversation, or only certain parts and disclosures of

fraudulent dealings/financially questionable dealings by civil society organizations with regard to former illicit alcohol traders. The traders were supposed to receive financial aid from the government to aid them in new economic activities after quitting alcohol trade. The finances were channelled through a civil society organisation that never delivered the full amounts to the former traders, according to the traders' narratives during the interviews and other conversations. The researcher sought to be reflexive throughout, and in the instance of accusations of fraud considered the ethical obligations of a researcher and offered help lines to the research participants, who claimed they had already exhausted all these avenues of seeking redress. These instances illustrate the micro ethics of research practice (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004; Sieber and Tolich, 2013)

CHAPTER SIX: DOMINANT REPRESENTATIONS IN THE ILLICIT ALCOHOL MARKET

6.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to identify and the dominant representations in the illicit alcohol market and to explore how morality is conveyed in the social representations in the illicit alcohol market. By so doing, the chapter responds to the three research questions: what are the dominant representations in the illicit alcohol market? To what extent, and in what ways, is morality conveyed through these representations? What are the effects of these representations? The chapter begins with a chronological multimodal thematic analysis of the media and interview data and a summary of the themes and issues during the different legal periods. Following this analysis, the emerging dominant social representations in the illicit alcohol market are identified and unpacked, and finally there is a chapter summary and conclusion. The thematic analysis examines changes in the way illicit alcohol market activities are represented in the different regulatory periods.

The analysis includes the following social actors' voices:

1. The traders (brewers/producers, marketers, wholesalers, and retailers)

2. The government (various regulatory representatives including the judiciary, elected legislative members, government agencies such as alcohol control agencies, law enforcement officers, administrative officials, and the executive)

3. Consumers (those who use illicit alcohol)

4. The media (bloggers, journalists)

5. Activists/(non)consumers (those who were involved in the anti- illicit alcohol campaigns and attacks),

6. The community (those affected by the sale and consumption of illicit alcohol)

6.2. Chronological multimodal analysis of the themes in the media and interview data

Section 6.2.1 will uncover themes in the data from January to June 2015, the period when illicit alcohol was legal and before the ban denoted as **LPreB** (Legal Pre-Ban) in the citations. The section 6.2.2 will analyse data from July to December 2015, the period when illicit alcohol was illegal following the ban and denoted as **IPostB (Illegal Post-Ban).** Section 6.2.3 will focus on January to June 2016; the period after the ban was overturned when illicit alcohol was legal and denoted as **LPostBO** (Legal post-ban overturn) in the citations.

6.2.1. *January to June 2015: Legal period before the ban*

This section focuses on the period when illicit alcohol was legal. The themes during this legal period before the ban focused on: (1) the harm from illicit alcohol, protests and the reactive government response; (2) The filthy nature of the brews, witchcraft and sorcery; (3)

Indigenous Knowledge systems and cognitive polyphasia. The media accounts as well as interview data illustrate these themes.

6.2.1.1. The harm from illicit alcohol, protests and reactive government response

The data emphasizes the negative public health and social impact of illicit alcohol. The wider literature on illicit alcohol echoes this perspective of the negative effects of illicit alcohol. For example, the World Health Organisation has emphasized the need to reduce the public health impact of illicit alcohol (McGovern et al., 2011). Lawhon and Herrick (2013) have also highlighted the adverse social impact of illicit alcohol in developing economies as a causal factor in poverty, crime, violence, and social disintegration, in their study on illicit alcohol in South Africa. The following media excerpts illuminate the negative public and social health impact of illicit alcohol as well as the moral violations in illicit alcohol trade and consumption:

> A middle-aged man from Mamumbu village in Murang'a East subcounty has died
> after allegedly consuming illicit brews. David Maina's body was found near
> a chang'aa den yesterday evening. Neighbours said Maina drank illicit brew on the
> New Year's Eve and collapsed a short distance from the den on his way home.
> Neighbours, who sought anonymity, said the brewer, a disabled woman only known
> as Nyambura, has been arrested numerous times but has never been convicted.
> Murang'a county commissioner Kula Hache, however, dismissed the allegations,
> saying Maina was a habitual drunkard who was in poor health (Article1a: **LPreB**).

The excerpt presents a good example of the violation of several moral foundations namely harm/care and authority/subversion (Haidt and Joseph, 2004), and a violation of community and autonomy from the CAD model (Shweder, 1997). The representation of illicit alcohol as a harmful substance in the media accounts is objectified in calamities such as death, blindness, wasted youth and social breakdown. The data also illuminates the government response to the public outcry. In one instance, a county commissioner is portrayed as disregarding the community's outcry against a local brewer who is blamed for the death of an illicit alcohol consumer. The commissioner's response appears to normalize the death of an illicit alcohol consumer. The response emphasizes the fact that the victim was a habitual drunkard in poor health, possibly implying that the death was not unusual for such a person, and the community concerns are dismissed. The commissioner, who represents government authority, is portrayed as failing to use the authority for the good of the community. County commissioners are mandated with alcohol control in Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2014), and the commissioners is depicted as having failed in this role as a consumer in the county dies from alcohol consumption. The dismissal of the death of an illicit alcohol consumer also illustrates a violation of the autonomy moral code where an individual's rights are disregarded when his death is dismissed rather than investigated. The media narrative highlights the fact that the brewer has never been convicted despite numerous arrests, and despite conducting illegal activities in the full knowledge of the community. Gamburd (2008) notes of incidences in Sri lanka where illicit alcohol traders openly carried out their trade, were arrested, but never convicted because they would bribe the authorities to get rid of the evidence. This analysis will also reveal similar bribery allegations against illicit alcohol

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traders from both the media and interview data. The lack of conviction could also be attributed to difficulties in getting willing witnesses to appear in court and testify against their fellow village member due to a strong sense of community (Green, 2016). The role of social ties in low-income countries and communities is also alluded to in the data where the neighbours prefer to maintain anonymity in their accusations. Market actors depend on close social ties and kinship to compensate for material and financial resource constraints in low-income contexts (Viswanathan, Jose and Julie, 2010). These close social ties may explain the desire for anonymity in the excerpt. The plight of the trader is also alluded to in the excerpt, where the trader is described as a "disabled woman". The role of illicit alcohol trade in economic survival for single mothers, widows, and the disabled and the representation of illicit alcohol as a societal necessity for the traders because it offers a livelihood strategy for the poor is ubiquitous in the data (see, Lawhon and Herrick, 2013). In another news excerpt, government officers confront the same county commissioner over the failure to deal with illicit alcohol in her county:

> And in Murang'a County, the provincial administration has come under heavy criticism over failure to deal with sub-standard brews that have flooded the market. Senate Deputy Speaker Kembi Gitura, MPs Clement Wambugu (Mathioya) and Peter Kamande (Maragua) blamed county commissioner Kula Hache for failing to control the rate of alcoholism. … the legislators claimed some of the chiefs were condoning alcoholism in their areas…Mr Wambugu claimed many of the alcoholic brands in most outlets were sourced from unknown manufacturers. The leadership, he said, must work to save the region from creeping back to alcoholism. "These brews are turning our youth into zombies. We must confront this issue once and for

all to save the future generation," said Wambugu. Ms Hache admitted excessive

drinking was a challenge in the region, but also accused the residents of not liaising

with the security agencies to report those flouting the law (Article 2a: **LPreB**).

In the second excerpt, the commissioner acknowledges the illicit alcohol problem but blames the residents for not reporting the culprits. The conflict and contradiction in representation is evident in the commissioners' responses to the different groups, namely the community, and other government officers. The different basis for objectification results in contradictory positions by the same social actor. When confronted by the community, the commissioner blames the illicit alcohol consumer for his own death, since he was a "habitual drunkard" (Article 1a: **LPreB**). When confronted by the legislators, who can call her to account for her role as an officer in charge of administration in an area with illicit alcohol use, she transfers the blame to the community. The role of the social context in contradictory social representations (Wagner et al, 2000) is evident in this contradiction. The multiplicity and tension within any representation presents possibilities for communication, negotiation, resistance, innovation, and transformation (Howarth, 2006). The commissioner appears to use the multiplicity of representations for resistance, rather than transformation, by passing on the blame to the community. Social representations can also be used for rejecting and reforming a representation of the world that conflicts with one's stake or position (Howarth, 2006). Here, the commissioner could be using the representation of uncooperative residents to protect her position, which includes enforcement of county alcohol control policies, by shifting the blame to the community. The excerpts also demonstrate the processes involved in selective objectification. In the first excerpt where the county commissioner is responding to the community, the illicit alcohol problem is constructed in a nonchalant offhand way, including

dismissing the death of a consumer. This could be reflective of government negligence (Barchan and Moorkhejee, 2006) and the lack of accountability in the government role of consumer protection. In the second excerpt when dealing with other government officers, illicit alcohol is constructed as a serious problem that requires the engagement of all stakeholders, especially the community which is construed as uncooperative. The need for accountability in the face of other powerful government officers is exposed in the excerpt. The authority/subversion moral code is primarily concerned with respect for authorities and traditions in moral foundations theory (Graham et al., 2016), but these findings and other studies on accountability (e.g. Besley and Prat, 2006) suggest that the foundation could also include accountability for those mandated with authority rather than just insubordination of authority.

Different arms of government, namely the legislature and the executive also blame each other for the illicit alcohol problem. For example, the legislators blame the provincial administration for failing to control the sale of illicit brews (Article 2a: **LPreB**). The residents also blame the government, even citing that government officers are involved in illicit alcohol trade and hence cannot deal with the problem. The public outcry against the brews was also reflected in the interview data. The pervasiveness of the illicit alcohol in societal discourse and debate, and the strong feelings and conflicts (Hoijer, 2010) are reflected in the following excerpts, which document the community perspectives on the illicit alcohol problem, and the complaints against the executive arm of government, namely the provincial administration (police and chiefs). The community laments that the government has failed in its duty and the government response is portrayed as reactive, resulting from the community outcry since the

community adopts the role of whistle-blower, regulator and law enforcer as shown in some of the excerpts.

This interview excerpt illustrates community initiatives to contain illicit alcohol consumption and the subsequent irresponsible behaviour of drunk mothers:

> Even before the crackdown, we had formed a welfare group in this community.... We all agreed that alcohol had negatively impacted our village, and most of the social problems in the community had their roots in illicit alcohol. The most problematic alcohol is illicit alcohol sold in homes, and second-generation alcohol sold in licensed outlets, where they even share a bottle of alcohol between consumers. We spoke with different people including religious leaders and agreed that something must be done about the illicit alcohol problem in our community. We approached the government representatives in the community and other public officers, we wrote to the police and the chief, asking them to rid our community of illicit alcohol, but they did not respond. We gave them an ultimatum, we told them that if they did not rid our community of illicit alcohol, we would take it upon ourselves to visit brewers and rid our community of illicit alcohol. Before the ultimatum was over however, the president ordered the crackdown (Mike, community leader, age: 40 - 50).

This media excerpt reports on the death of illicit alcohol consumers and also portrays the police and other government officers of neglecting their duty of controlling the sale of dangerous drink:

Death toll of youth who died at Gatundu South, Kiambu County after consuming illicit brew known as Mzizi and Croton has risen to four after two. The alcohol is sold at Ksh 50 for each bottle of 500ml. The residents are now appealing to the County Government of Kiambu and health officers to carry out investigations. Locals are lamenting that corruption has heightened in the county leading to production of such liquor. They further accuse the police of protecting those involved in manufacturing the alcoholic drinks instead of arresting them for putting the youth's lives at risk. Claiming that chiefs and other government officers' own bars that sell the illicit brews, the residents said that the officers are frustrating efforts of curbing the sale of the illicit brews and[2] for failing to faithfully provide their services to the residents (Article 3a: **LPreB**).

This excerpt shows the police acknowledging that their efforts to contain illicit alcohol are reactive, provoked by community complaints:

Twenty-five people were on Wednesday arrested as police raided chang'aa dens. The police together with ward administrators and chiefs also seized 35 litres of the illicit brew in an operation led by Juja subcounty administrator Samuel Okenye.

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[2] The legal period before the ban was characterised by sale of low quality second-generation alcohol. Even though the regulation had legalised second-generation alcohol, the brews were illegitimate in the media and the community due to the high ABV, the adulteration, and the counterfeiting, and resultant negative impact of second-generation alcohol. The brews are consistently referred to as illicit brew in the public domain regardless of the regulatory status

Okenye said they conducted the raid after an outcry from residents that brewers are selling chang'aa along school fences. The raid was conducted in Muchatha (Article 5a: **LPreB**).

The strong sense of community is also illustrated in the concern for other people, even though the harmful consequences of illicit alcohol does not have a direct impact on the non-consumers who rally for change. The excerpts also reemphasize the failure of the relevant authorities to curb the harm from illicit alcohol. This is reflective of government negligence and lack of accountability by the government in their role of consumer protection, especially for vulnerable, powerless consumers. The excerpts also show that the sustained complaints against the government failure to deal with illicit alcohol eventually yield some results as raids against illicit alcohol dens begin. The officers acknowledge the reactive nature of their response when one of them says that they are responding to the community outcry. Weak institutional environments, where law enforcers fail to maintain law and order are depicted as playing a major role in the illicit alcohol problem. This is demonstrated by the consistent complaints and blame against the provincial administration officers' failure in curbing illicit alcohol. Corruption and collusion of government officers with illicit alcohol traders is cited as another problem in the illicit alcohol market. Gamburd (2008) also notes that it is not possible for large scale illicit alcohol trade to continue without the knowledge and consent, albeit silent consent of law enforcement officers. When the community pressures the government officers, they lead raids on alcohol dens where they even burn down the outlets as shown in image 6.1. During this period, the community also carries out their own protests and raids such as the attack on consumers cited in the excerpt. From blaming the traders, to blaming government

officials, the community[3] now appears to hold consumers responsible for their harmful alcohol use and attempts to remedy the situation through physical attacks on consumers. It may be that the harmful alcohol use by consumers is viewed as a violation of social norms, which must be remedied by punishing the norm violators (Lin, Dahl and Argo, 2013), or it may be that the moral code of community drives the concern for illicit alcohol consumers leading to community activism against illicit alcohol consumption. Image 6.1 provides an example of a raid on illicit alcohol dens.

Image 6.1: Police, chiefs and ward administrators bring down a chang'aa hub in Muchatha area in Juja on Wednesday.

Image source: the-star.co.ke (Image caption from Article 5a: **LPreB**:).

6.2.1.2. The filthy nature of the brews, witchcraft and sorcery

The detailed descriptions of the contamination, filth, and pollution in illicit alcohol seem to imply a holistic view of contamination. Piecemeal representations of contamination would

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[3] As stated earlier in this chapter, the community refers to members of the public who are against the sale of illicit alcohol and are affected by illicit alcohol consumption either as concerned family members, leaders or members of the community. Consumers refers to illicit alcohol consumers1

imply one kind of dirt, or a single context of contamination (Douglas, 1966), but in the data, everything to do with illicit alcohol, rather than just parts and pieces, is depicted as contaminated. The composition, the images, the visible and invisible contents, and the outcomes are all portrayed as polluted. According to Graham and colleagues (2013), filth is also one of the moral foundations. The following excerpts and images illustrate the contamination:

Most, if not all illicit brew narratives end in tragedies. People have lost sight and lives after taking illegal hooch prepared in the most unhygienic conditions in the world. Families have broken, breadwinners lost, pupils and students forced out of school... into early marriages. But whenever the brewers and sellers are asked why they do the illegal business, the answer has always been, "I do it to get something to feed my children (Article 7a: **LPreB**).

Condoms, panties and bras found in chang'aa during Laikipia West raid (Facebook 1b: **LPreB**)

The STAR has published a shocking story from Laikipia West in which a crackdown on illicit brew by area residents and local leaders saw citizens confiscate drums of chang'aa which also had inside them panties, condoms, bones, bras and torn pieces of socks. The crackdown which was led by Marmanet MCA Francis Mukuria, Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization leader Irene Wacuka, was sparked by the recent death of an area resident who passed away hours after consuming illicit brew … These items are added to the liquor during the brewing process in the belief

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that clients will be hooked to a certain brewer," a protester said of the items found at

one den (Article 2b: **LPreB**).

The unwholesome nature of the brews depicted by the details of the dirty, impure composition

of illicit alcohol acts to emphasize the filthy nature of the brews. The contamination is

pervasive according to the excerpts which allude to impurities in the brews, with insinuations

about witchcraft. The community claims that the strange items in the brews are used to lure

and hook customers. Images in the media are also used to emphasize the filthy nature of the

brews. The use of images and words to emphasize the filthy nature of the brews also depict

hygiene as a social construction, where (Douglas 1966, p, 2) notes that "There is no such

thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder." The filthy brews are thus only

filthy to those who wish to view them as such, since filth lies in the eye of the beholder.

Ideas about contamination are central to the problems of illicit alcohol, demonstrating why

illicit alcohol poses a clear and present danger to consumers. The contention against the brews

is based on moral issues such as death, physical impairment (blindness), family breakup, and

destroyed childhoods' through early marriage where many young alcohol consumers marry

young or have children at a very early age. The magnitude of the issues implies that the brews

are a cultural and social misfit, since they do not match existing and expected cultural and

social schemas of care. The role of illicit alcohol in survival is, however emphasized to justify

the existence of the brews and serves to demonstrate the competing representations in the

illicit alcohol market. Social representations can be used in resistance to other versions of

reality (Howarth, 2006) and by highlighting this aspect of survival, illicit alcohol is

represented as a means of survival, rather than a cause for death. The degree, to which illicit

alcohol is socially normalized, culturally acceptable, and desirable among different groups, determines the response of these groups to the illicit alcohol problem. Illicit alcohol is portrayed as a "societal necessity for the traders because it offers up an essential, and historically notable livelihood strategy for the poor" (Lawhon and Herrick, 2013, p .989). The community however perceives illicit alcohol as a threat to personal and collective wellbeing. The following images illustrate the filthy nature of illicit alcohol.

Image 6.2: Residents of Bondeni Village in Laikipia West pour illicit brew confiscated during a raid in the area on Wednesday.

Image source: The star (Image caption from Article 8a: **LPreB**).

Local leaders such as members of the county assembly (MCA) and rural women's organization leaders join the community in activism against illicit alcohol as shown in image 6.2. The activists' efforts further resonate with the theme of filthy brews through the display of media images of dirty liquid, full of personal effects deemed to be mechanisms of sorcery

and witchcraft discussed in the next section. The multimodal use of descriptions of filth and images of filth, enhances resonance and consequently memorability (Mcquarrie and Mick, 1992) about the contamination. In view of this perspective on resonance, the images and words can be perceived to be a constant reminder of the filthy nature of illicit alcohol and may also elicit feelings of disgust which are associated with judgements that the disgusting phenomenon is morally wrong (Wheatly and Haidt, 2008). Images 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5 are additional illustrations of the filthy brews and of contents in the brews. Image 6.4 shows a politician (member of the county assembly) posing for a photo while holding a bra allegedly retrieved from a brewing container. Image 6.5 also has a local women's group leader publicly displaying a condom she purportedly retrieved from a container with illicit alcohol. Image 6.4 and 6.5 appear more like poses for photos, than actual raids as sown in image 6.2 and 6.3.

Image 6.3: illicit brew.

Image source: Data collection photo shared by a government officer (Image caption: Researcher)

Image 6.4: Marmanet MCA Francis Mukuria displays a bra that was found in a drum of illicit brew that was confiscated during a crackdown in Laikipi West.

 Image source: the-star.co.ke (Image caption: Article 2b: **LPreB**).

Image 6.5: Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization leader Irene Wacuka displays a condom that was found in a drum of illicit brew that was confiscated during a crackdown in Laikipia West.

 Image source: the-star.co.ke (Image caption from Article 2b: **LPreB**:).

6.2.1.3. Indigenous Knowledge systems and cognitive polyphasia

Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) refer to local knowledge used by communities in their everyday communication and decision-making (Flavier, 1995; Warren, 1991). They are indigenous ways of knowing and being (Nabudere, 2011) using cultural images and artefacts. Ideas about indigenous knowledge are regarded in Western intellectual tradition with suspicion, fear, and ridicule and as an irrational means of coping with stressful situations by invoking mystical, supernatural forces (Yanik, Handelman and Taylor, 2011). The use of indigenous knowledge systems along with modern forms of knowledge is one aspect of cognitive polyphasia (refer to chapter 4 for a detailed review on cognitive polyphasia). Diachronic perspectives on the development of cognitive polyphasia argue that traces of old forms of knowledge and thinking persist into modern societies despite the progression from one society to another. An example of cognitive polyphasia in the diachronic perspective is the use of different modes of knowledge such as tradition and science. Diachronic perspectives view cognitive polyphasia as an act of rebellion against new types of knowledge, brought about by modernity. For example, when scientific knowledge is perceived to be too domineering, individuals, groups and societies may opt to use other types of knowledge (Provencher and Wagner, 2012). Most of the interview participants in this study draw on traditional beliefs in superstition, despite living in a modern society, perhaps because of the complexity of the problems (Moscovici, 1976; Wagner, 1998) with illicit alcohol trade. Drawing on their IKS, consumers are portrayed as unconscious, powerless and insatiable, held captive by the sorcery of the traders and the power of the illicit alcohol in this study. News headlines on social media and interview data reflect these views:

Those illicit alcohol traders use sorcery to draw consumers, they use supernatural

powers. But God is all powerful and he deals with them. Just the other day an illicit

alcohol trader who has sold alcohol for a long time in my locality died. He died in

absolute poverty and suffering. He was using witchcraft to draw consumers and to

hold them captive (Grace, local business owner, age, 40-50: 16/08/2017).

I also believe, though not very strongly, that those traders do something to the illicit

alcohol to bind people's minds and hold customers captive. During the crackdown,

they found very strange items, very bad things in the alcohol, which was poured out,

such as women's underwear, rats, and used sanitary towels. There is a way they bind

people's minds and the consumers are unable to reason clearly after taking that

alcohol. That's why consumers keep going back (Kevin, community leader, age, 40-

50: 20/08/17).

These excerpts from social media (A blogger and Facebook) show that some members of

the community believe the contamination is a result of some form of magic or sorcery to

bind consumers:

The local residents condemned the production and consumption of the brew that will

"finish their sons" …These items are added to the liquor during the brewing process

in the belief that clients will be hooked to a certain brewer," a protester said of the

items found at one den… Mukuria blamed illicit brewing for the declining number

of children enrolled in schools, saying the exercise was aimed at completely ridding

his constituency of illicit brew. "Look at that nursery school, it has very few children

and one class has been converted to a kitchen. This is because our sons consuming these liquids," said another protester (Article 2b**: LPreB**).

"definitely, sorcery and other forms of disgusting manipulative practices are used in illicit alcohol trade to entice consumers and keep them captive and bound" (Consumer comment: Article 1b: **LPreB –** anonymised by paraphrasing to protect the privacy of the person).

The producers are depicted as "merchants of mystique" (Belk, Ger, and Askegaard, 2003, p, 327) because their products contain strange items used supposedly for bewitching the consumer. The sorcery imagery is literal, rather than figurative as in the extant consumer literature. Some of the comments on the Facebook news post about the strange items found in the brews reflect the beliefs in witchcraft, where traders are accused of using different schemes to enslave consumers. The consumer is depicted as trapped in a dominating and manipulative system through sorcery. The consumers are also portrayed as powerless against the powers of witchcraft, they have no agency, and they cannot help but consume illicit alcohol. The perspectives of supernatural powers are used to explain the irresponsible illicit alcohol consumption, and alcohol addiction is explained as sorcery that keeps drawing the consumers back to the alcohol den since magical powers force and constrain the subject (Mauss, 2001). The respondents seem to grapple with how to believe in witchcraft in a modern society. The struggle with traditional and modern knowledge is demonstrated by the inability to articulate the term sorcery, in some of the instances even though the respondents imply it with their illustrations. The findings confirm contemporary explanations of consumer culture that cite the manipulation of consumers by producers (Baudrillard, 2016), that work

like sorcery (Belk, Ger, and Askegaard, 2003), leaving consumers at the mercy of the market. This perspective portrays resistance as impossible.

The conflict in representation and the politics at play in oppositional constructions of reality (Howarth, 2006) is reflected in the accusations and counter accusations between the community and the traders. Ivy and Amy[4] (both former illicit alcohol traders) offer a defense against the sorcery accusations and the "strange items" found in the brew during the crackdown. While Ivy claims the activists brought the foreign objects found in the alcohol, Amy makes a claim that the alcohol distillation process guarantees that such foreign objects cannot be found in the alcohol:

> The women/activists used to bring those things (dead rats, underwear, used sanitary
>
> towels) and display them, claiming they got them in the alcohol. Those women used
>
> to come with the strange items. So that they can support the claim that the alcohol is
>
> very bad (Ivy, former illicit alcohol trader, single mother, age: 30- 40)

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[4] The two traders Ivy and Amy were together during Amy's interview because Ivy was the one who introduced me to Amy and she also accompanied me to Amy's house for the interview. Ivy was present during the interview and on several occasions, she interjected, transforming the interview into a paired interview.

And you should even ask yourself, the alcohol preparation process includes vaporisation (for spirits). How can you have those strange things in a vapour (Amy, former illicit alcohol trader, single mother, age: 30- 40) [5]

Ivy however presents a contradiction when she claims that animals can be found in the alcohol:

The only strange things you can genuinely find in the brews are dead rats, because once the alcohol is ready, it is left uncovered, and a rat can easily fall in. Or you can find a snake drinking the alcohol, especially when you brew in the bush to avoid arrest (Ivy, former illicit alcohol trader, single mother, age: 30- 40).

The traders are aware that the public accuses them of using sorcery and they dispute the accusation. The traders claim that the activists are deceptive and manipulative. By portraying the activists as liars, the traders suggest that the activist cannot be trusted. The traders' statements also appear contradictory where they accuse the activists of throwing "strange items" into the brew, but at the same time acknowledging and explaining the presence of other "strange items" in the brews. The two female traders in the excerpt also indicated that many women accuse the traders of stealing husbands and breaking homes. According to the traders, the accusation about the use of sorcery is a means of getting back at the traders for

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[5] The two traders Ivy and Amy were together during Amy's interview because Ivy was the one who introduced me to Amy and she also accompanied me to Amy's house for the interview. Ivy was present during the interview and on several occasions, she interjected, transforming the interview into a paired interview.

their role in the sale of alcohol that has led to many social problems including broken homes.

Questions on the credibility of activists' claims and motives have also been raised in other

studies (see Holt, 2012; Sandlin and Callahan, 2009). The traders' interests are demonstrated

in this defence against the accusations from the community. Howarth (2006) notes that

representation is never disinterested and the definition of what is real is premised on contested

interests. The traders' interests are reflected in their utterances since thought and language are

dependent of their realms of use (Wagner et al., 2000). The contradiction in representation is

also evident from the traders' utterances. The traders acknowledge that it is possible to find

rats and snakes "accidentally" in the brews, giving credibility to the claims on contamination.

Image 6.6 shows alcohol in preparation in the bush as traders seek to evade law enforcement

officers. The condition and position of the brewery in the bush illustrate the possibility of

contamination, since the alcohol is outside and uncovered.

Image 6.6: Police inspect an illicit liquor "brewery" during a crackdown along Muringato River in Kiganjo, Nyeri
Image source: Nation media group (Image caption from Article 16a: **LPostBO**)

Some former illicit alcohol traders also use indigenous knowledge systems to make sense of their personal misfortunes, which they associate with illicit alcohol trade as shown in the following excerpt:

> "I had to look for an alternative source of income since I am a widow without anyone I can depend on for financial support" … Though she would at most times get better returns from changaa sales, she just won't go back to it… She therefore encourages other men and women who are still engrossed in the business to explore other legal means of putting food on the table…. despite the 'better' returns that may be coming their way, changaa[6] business is full of 'curses." She attributes her only son's death in Nakuru …to the 'bad mouths' that mentioned her name – in a negative light – during her days as a renown changaa brewer and seller. "When somebody's son working in town comes home and finishes all his money in alcohol, you as the brewer becomes his mother's enemy whether or not the son in question came to drink at your place" (Article 7a: **LPreB**).

The former trader in illicit alcohol quit illicit alcohol trade on her own volition. The trader acknowledges the economic contribution and the lucrative nature of illicit alcohol trade in her interview. At the time of her interview with the journalist, she had switched from illicit alcohol trade to selling fish, a trade with lower returns than those from illicit alcohol trade. She however had no regrets despite the lower income, because the former trade is "full of curses." The metaphor implies misfortune, which accompanied the trade. In her interview, she notes that the community was unhappy with her trade and blamed their family woes

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[6] Homemade spirit/moonshine

caused by illicit alcohol on her. She even goes further to attribute her personal misfortunes such as the death of her only son to the ill wishes from the community because of her harmful trade. Her son died in electoral related violence, where at least 1,000 other people died, yet cause and effect explanations do not seem to have been considered in explaining the death. The trader in this incident hails from Western Kenya where superstitious beliefs play a major role in everyday life in the culture of the community. The concept of chance is not considered in the cause and effect explanations for communities where superstition is rife. Personal misfortune is attributed to cultural causes such as witchcraft, sorcery or curses in punishment for some neglect (Hammond-Tooke, 1970). The former trader urges illicit alcohol traders to consider other sources of livelihood because of the misfortune associated with illicit alcohol and vows never to trade in illicit alcohol.

The consumers in the above excerpt are shown to be so enthralled by consumption that they use up all their resources on illicit alcohol, to the point of neglecting their cultural obligations to cater for their parents (Hoddinott, 1992). The trader notes that mothers' blame her, when their sons use all their money on alcohol. The burden of the breech in cultural obligations (to cater for one's parents and family) is placed on the trader. The cultural consequences of cultural violation are objectified in misfortune and curses. The diachronic perspective of cognitive polyphasia in social representation can be observed in this excerpt. The former trader draws on traditional beliefs in superstition despite living in a modern society. The persistence and power of traditional knowledge (Provencher and Wagner, 2012) in a modern society is also demonstrated by this social representation of "bad mouths" that lead to misfortune. Cognitive polyphasia in this excerpt is seemingly used to make sense of pain, personal loss and misfortune in this context, and probably as a means of coping with the harm from illicit alcohol. Cognitive polyphasia also appears to induce change in this context.

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Attributing her misfortune and personal loss to illicit alcohol trade using traditional knowledge was one of the factors, though not the only factor, that led her to change occupation and stop brewing illicit alcohol. Cognitive polyphasia has been observed in contexts of cultural change (e.g Wagner et al, 2000) but this analysis demonstrates that it can also induce change. In this study, cognitive polyphasia, is shown to be a mechanism used by individuals and social groups as a means of coping with change, resisting change, and inducing change.

6.2.2. *July to December 2015: Illegal period after the ban*

The themes during this illegal period following the ban on illicit alcohol focused on: (1) the war against illicit alcohol; (2) Violations of the divinity moral code; (3) Dehumanization during the war against illicit alcohol; (4) Normalization of violence; (5) Allies and adversaries in the war against illicit alcohol and (6) environmental degradation.

6.2.2.1. The war against illicit alcohol

The crackdown on illicit alcohol is frequently referred to as the "war" against illicit alcohol in the media. According to Godelier and Thom (1986), social representations describe and shape reality. Moscovici (1988) also notes that representations may be so dominant, that they become reality. Human beings are born into a social world where the information received and processed is already constrained by representation. All the systems of classification, images and descriptions in circulation within a society are related to previous images and

systems and reflect past knowledge, which interferes with current information. Social representations are thus said to "control the reality of today through that of yesterday" (Duveen, 2000, p.24). The representation of a "war" against illicit alcohol, shapes the actions, and determines the responses of all actors involved in the illicit alcohol marketplace. The social actors use their already existing social representations of war to make sense of the "war" against illicit alcohol. The role of social representations in influencing behaviour and social relationships is demonstrated through the "war" metaphor. The President's declaration of war on illicit alcohol is captured in these excerpts which also show that some government officials are involved in illicit alcohol trade:

> The President said the fight against the illicit brews would begin in Central Kenya because it is the worst hit. Later the war will be escalated countrywide.
> The President described the sale of the highly toxic and destructive brews in the country as "the business of death" and initiated a four-day campaign to rid Central Kenya of the drinks before the same war is extended to the rest of the country. "We cannot allow this (sale and consumption of the illicit brews) to continue," said the President when he met MPs, Senators and Women Representatives from the larger Central Region at State House…The campaign to rid this region of the killer brews will be spearheaded by General Service Unit (GSU) commandant Joel Kitili in close collaboration with the MPs who will report their progress, action and achievements to the President on Tuesday when they convene again at State House… He mandated the MPs and all those supportive of the new drive to move from door to door closing all outlets selling the illicit drinks and destroying those in the process of manufacturing and sale (**Article 4a: IPostB).**

> He … gave the MPs four days to "clean" Central Kenya of the illicit drinks…
>
> "Nobody has a licence to kill other Kenyans. All these businesses must be closed.
>
> All county commissioners are mandated to revoke these licences and close the
>
> businesses," he said (Article 9a: **IPostB**).

In the excerpts, the president issues a directive that government officials must take all measures possible to get rid of the brews; he says that no effort should be spared. He also speaks of closing all illicit alcohol outlets. Some media houses reported the directive as an order to destroy all illicit alcohol outlets. His directive at this point was in response to calls by the public and especially affected women, for the government to intervene and save the men and youth from illicit alcohol. The media focus on the social and public health impact of the brews, gave power to the public (Davis, 2003), who were calling for the eradication of the brews, calling the president to action. The president however had to call for caution in the war against illicit alcohol when the destruction became indiscriminate:

> The campaign we kicked off last week to rid our country off illicit brews is only
>
> meant to help the youth who have been rendered hopeless by the brews," said the
>
> President. "Destroy the brews, but don't destroy… factories where they are being
>
> distilled. We will need them in future," he told worshippers (Article 10a: **IPostB**).

Some government officers were also found trading in illicit alcohol:

Kigumo location chief[7], Stephen Kihara, became a victim after he was found in possession of second-generation brews, which the team discovered in his bedroom. Mr Kang'ata toured banks of Kayahwe stream after the residents disclosed of chang'aa distilleries, which have been operating with full knowledge of the security officers. The youth broke into the dens as the women cheered urging the politicians to be regularly leading the onslaught against the illicit brews that have ruined their marriages (Article 11a: **IPostB**).

The first excerpt was written in the wake of the traders crying foul in response to the destruction of alcohol and property in the war. The power shifted to the traders, when the media ceased to focus on the negative impact of the illicit alcohol, to the negative impact of the war. The government had adopted an elimination stance towards illicit alcohol, but when the elimination was condemned, the government shifted its position to regulation. During the crackdown, certain government officials were also caught trading in illicit alcohol. The second excerpt demonstrates that government officers not only protect the traders but also get involved in the trade. The government officers violate authority/subversion and loyalty/betrayal moral intuitions (Graham et al., 2013) according to the data. The officers collude with criminals, abetting crime and get involved in illicit trade.

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[7] A chief is a government official in the provincial administration. The chief oversees a location

6.2.2.2. Violations of the divinity moral code

The moral code on divinity is about violations of spiritual integrity. Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry (1989) illustrate how consumption can be a means of expressing the sacred aspects of life. In the following excerpts, traders sacralise alcohol trade by associating themselves and their trade in alcohol with spirituality. The associations with divinity are also used to condemn alcohol trade or failure to report illicit alcohol trade activities:

In this excerpt, a devout church member was accused of hiding alcohol while a trader defended his business on the basis that he had constructed a church:

> In Githunguri, the team led by area MP Njoroge Baiya and MCA Karungo Thangwa found traditional brew and second-generation alcohol hidden at a wholesale shop owned by a woman said to be a devout church member at Kwamaiko shopping centre…. The owner wept when he saw the MP and security officers, saying he had invested Sh500 million in the company. Mr Ceasar Njagi said he was ready to face President Kenyatta and tell him that he conducted a legally established business. "I have even constructed a Catholic Church here in my business premises where workers pray on a daily basis before they start working. The church was officially blessed and opened by Bishop Maria Wainaina," he told the MP and the officers. The MP told the workers and Mr Njagi that the officers would not destroy the alcohol (Article 24a: IPostB).

Police in Meru impounded 400 litres of illicit liquor that was found hidden near a

church…I urge church members to work with us and report such cases, because it is an

embarrassment to have a chang'aa den next to a place of worship," said the chief (Article

23a: **IPostB**).

The traders' business meeting began and ended with a prayer that included these

phrases:

Lord Jesus, you turned water into wine, you know our business is not bad. Help us

in our challenges in this business (Prayer at the end of an alcohol traders meeting).

Religion, especially strong protestant communities has traditionally frowned upon alcohol

consumption and drunkenness (Room, Babor and Rehm ,2005). The reference to a woman

who was a devout church member hiding alcohol may serve to illustrate the moral

transgression against divinity, since in this context association with alcohol is frowned upon

as immoral (See, Hirschman, 1992). Constructing a church also signifies devotion to divinity,

so the second trader in the excerpt defends his alcohol business by identifying himself as a

devout Christian who even gets his workers to pray before embarking on alcohol production.

The trader uses neutralization to define his trade in alcohol as legitimate and moral, because

he has even constructed a church where the workers can pray. The sighting of illicit alcohol

near a church is also highlighted to show the violation of divinity, and to provoke the

conscience of the church community to report illicit activities. The prayer by the traders at

the end of their business meeting and the citing of bible verses that justify alcohol

consumption could serve to deal with the dissonance that arises from the representation of

alcohol trade as immoral. The traders associate their trade with Jesus's miracle of conversion

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of water into wine as documented in the bible (John 2: 1- 11), to neutralize the accusations of the immorality of their trade. The rationalizations using divinity make it possible for the traders to continue with a questionable trade by neutralizing potential internal or external disapproval (Bersoff, 1999) from accusations of immorality.

6.2.2.3.   Dehumanization during the war against illicit alcohol

Opotow (1990) conceptualized moral exclusion as perceiving people to be unworthy of moral consideration, such as fair treatment and justice. This moral exclusion is one of the manifestations of dehumanization, which is a categorical act of exclusion from a moral community that considers the suffering and unjust treatment of others as inconsequential. Bandura (1999) argues that dehumanization enables a detachment and numbing of the aggressor's moral self-sanctions, making the dehumanized seem less morally worthy and reduces the guilt and empathy that restrain aggressive behaviour. In the following excerpts, alcohol traders are attacked in ways that suggest that they deserve the violence meted against them for their transgressions as illicit alcohol traders, consumer responses to the media articles as reflected in the comments, underline the perspectives that traders deserve the violence and are undeserving of fair treatment.

> Ms Lucy Wangare, who owns a pub there, told the Nation on Sunday that a group of
> women stormed her premises and demanded the keys to her bar at 6.30 a.m. on
> Thursday morning, "They broke down the door with axes and destroyed crates of

alcohol. "I was stripped naked and caned. I collapsed and regained consciousness at Ngong Medical Centre," she said…Ms Mary Njeri, a bartender, said her hair was shaved (Article 12a: **IPostB**).

Mr Mwai confessed that he had been selling alcohol but said that he had already repented…, "They visited my home on Wednesday and I promised them that I will never sell the alcohol, only for the villagers to burn my home today," he told journalists. He added that residents also assaulted his wife, whom they found washing clothes before setting the houses on fire. Nothing was salvaged (Article 13a**: IPostB).**

The consumer comments illustrate how the audience response can resonate with the sensational stories about alcohol and drugs:

Destroy destroy destroy...burn burn burn (Consumer comment 1: Article 12a: **IPostB**)

The women broke the law for sure. Destruction of property is a crime. But again, destruction of lives through alcoholism or the availing of alcohol is a crime against humanity. Which is the lesser of the two evils here? (Consumer Comment 2: Article 12a: **IPostB**)

Jane claimed that burning was very effective for paralysing alcohol trade:

> In the neighbouring village, there was great destruction of property. The chief came
> with people from another village, they destroyed the alcohol and set the houses on
> fire   because that homestead was a brewery. When they set the property on fire, the
> owner of the homestead stripped in protest. So, the police beat her up for stripping
> and she was an old lady in her 70's…That lady had a huge brewery, they used to
> prepare beer, spirits, wine, all sorts of alcohol. The youth were captive in her
> homestead. They all used to go and drink at her home. They would not remember
> their responsibilities. After toiling all day, they would take all the money to the
> brewer and consume alcohol (Jane, affected family member, age: 60 to 70).

Wars arise out of provocation and the offended feel compelled to respond in kind (Steinert, 2003). The negative public health and social impact of illicit alcohol is portrayed as the trigger for the war. As in war, the community takes offense at the trade and attacks the traders, the product and the trading premises as shown in the excerpts. The war is objectified as offense attributed to the provocation by illicit alcohol traders. The physical attack on the traders involves caning, stripping and shaving. The activists appear keen on humiliating the traders. The public takes offense, not just at the trade, but also against the traders. The indifference to the suffering and the unfair treatment of the traders (Opotow, 1990) is demonstrated in the consumer comments on the news in the digital newspapers and in the interview data, where consumers support and/or justify the attack on the trade and the traders. The comments imply that the traders deserve the violence against them. The consumption object is also attacked. The product is destroyed to demonstrate the public hatred for the

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consumption object. The attackers also destroy the trading premises that are associated with illicit alcohol trade. Setting the houses on fire symbolises destruction, including the memories associated with the illicit alcohol since burning leaves no trace of the trade. The attack paralyses illicit alcohol trade not just on that occasion but for the foreseeable future, since all the elements in the trade are attacked. The traders suffer personal injury, the physical trading premises is destroyed, and the product is also destroyed. The trade, the trader, and the product are all considered combatants in the illicit alcohol war, and each of them is fought in the war against illicit alcohol consumption. The physical attack on the traders and their premises is illegal but is condoned in the illicit alcohol war because like in war, there is no distinction between combatants and innocent non-combatants and casualties are expected for both groups (MacIntyre, 2013) and dehumanization leads to perceptions where opponents are considered unworthy of fair treatment or moral consideration (Opotow, 1990).

According to the interview data, the salvation of the consumers' victims, such as young children under the care of illicit alcohol consumers, as well as liberation from an oppressive marketplace is another motivator for the violence against consumers. The assault on consumers is depicted as the rousing of consumers, who seem unaware (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004) of the consequences of their immoral actions

> We used to find young girls with babies on their backs, drunk and asleep out on the streets or in the drinking dens at midnight. We would chase them by beating them up so that they could at least go home and take their children to bed, but the next day we would find them on the streets at night again. …The beatings may not have changed the consumers, but at least for that night, they would take the baby home to

sleep or they would take the baby indoors and away from the cold on the streets. We

chased them so that they could take the babies home, to ease the babies

suffering. But it did not change the consumers, because you would still find them,

the following day. They rise in the morning and report to the alcohol den as though

reporting to work (Interview: Mike, community leader, age: 40 - 50).

The dehumanization was not exclusive to traders as shown in these excerpts where consumers

are also targeted for attack. The illicit alcohol consumers are described as seemingly

unperturbed, ignorant, and unconscious of the consequences of their actions, both to

themselves and others. They subject their young children to extreme weather elements such as

cold nights, as they seek to satiate their appetite for alcohol. The representation of consumers

as irresponsible and lacking in prosocial values leads to dehumanization. People are

dehumanized when they are perceived to have no prosocial values or when their values are

thought to be incompatible with those of the aggressors social group (Schwartz and Struch,

1989), and the dehumanization can lead to violence against the dehumanized. The consumers

are further portrayed as passive recipients of whatever the traders' and the activists hand out.

The findings correspond to activists' perception of passive consumers in Kozinets and

Handelman's (2004) study. The representation of passive consumers who are puppets in the

hands of the corporations has however been disputed by various consumer behaviour scholars

(Dobscha and Ozanne, 2001; Gabriel and Lang, 1995; Ozanne and Murray, 1995) who posit

that consumers can, and do resist the market. The activists on the other hand portray

themselves as the agents of redemption, zealously seeking lost consumers and using every

effort to rouse the consumers and to transform them. The findings demonstrate the lack of

balance in consumer agency, since consumers act on extreme ends either as passive victims of

marketers, or aberrant in their activism as shown in the excerpts (see, Østergaard, Hermansen and Fitchett, 2015). The findings in this study entrench this perspective. The activist further argues that the assault on consumers was effective in the short term since the consumers would leave the alcohol dens and go home for the night after the beating. The consumers are however regarded as insatiable, and irredeemable, despite the redemptive efforts of the activists because they keep going back to consume illicit alcohol. The attempts to curb and curtail morally contentious consumption are portrayed as failing to have lasting effect (see Goulding et al, 2008). The failure may serve to confirm that the violation of moral norms is an inescapable aspect of consumer desire (Belk 2000), or that perhaps the market society is an arena of manipulation and enslavement which has created an "eternal consumer" (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2000, p.13) who keeps going back to the alcohol den regardless of the consequences of their consumption. The consumer is also portrayed as responsible for the culture of consumption by their repetitive consumption acts, and is thus targeted for both redemption, and punishment through violence. The addictive nature (Hirschman, 1992) of illicit alcohol is emphasized in the perceived perpetual offensive behaviour of illicit alcohol consumers.

6.2.2.4. Normalization of violence

Brown and Hogg (1996) argue that the war metaphor "structures and prepares the ground for necessary tough responses. For war is the realm of the exceptional and the exceptional obviously requires exceptional measures in response" (Brown and Hogg 1996:180). The use of the term "war" may have normalized violence against different market actors since war is a violent affair. Media articles prior to the use of the war metaphor in the illicit alcohol market

reported of measures such as possible litigation against illicit alcohol traders. For example, the NACADA chairman was quoted as follows in 2013: "We did a research where we found that out of the 162 samples taken, 52 per cent were not fit for human consumption," he said. He said they would hand over the list of brewers to the Director of Public Prosecutions for further investigations and possible prosecution" (Article 7a). Media and public accounts on illicit alcohol after the use of the war metaphor in July 2015 are replete with violence and destruction as well as physical assault on other market players. Through the diffusion of the war metaphor, the physical attacks on consumers or ambush as in war (Wadley, 2003) was normalized in both the media and interview data as shown in these media and interview excerpts:

> We had attended a women's group meeting and saw a drunk man. We wondered where he accessed alcohol since alcohol had been banned. We beat up the drunk man until he told us where he had bought the alcohol from. We then raided that home as a women group… This was very effective in fishing out underground traders. We used to beat up consumers, and they would point us to the source of alcohol, but we have now stopped since the war is over (Mary, affected family member, age: 40 to 50).

Mary and other women, justify the physical attack on consumers by claiming to seek a wider social good as citizen consumers (Lang and Gabriel, 2005). They portray the consumption and sale of illicit alcohol as immoral practices that need to be stopped through war. They adopt the higher moral authority in the community, seeking and punishing wrong doers who violate social norms (Lin, Dahl and Argo, 2013). The trader and the consumer are portrayed

as transgressors, who are punished for their moral corruption of selling and consuming illicit alcohol. Neutralization techniques, such as, denial of victim, where wrong doing is justified, because the perpetrator believes that the victim deserved it (Dana et al., 2007), is demonstrated in this excerpt. The consumer is portrayed as deserving the physical punishment meted by the activists, who rationalize their wrong actions by amplifying the consumers' transgression. The actions also reflect dehumanization, where the moral rights of perceived transgressors are disregarded, because the wrong doers are considered unworthy of fair treatment or justice (Opotow, 1990). The women appear happy to be able to handle both the demand and supply side of the illicit alcohol problem through physical attacks. The women seem to seek social change (Izberk- Bilgin, 2010) not through persuasion, as is often the case with other consumer movements (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004), but forcefully, through punishment and war.

6.2.2.5. Allies and adversaries in the war against illicit alcohol

The findings also reflect a Manichean worldview of friend and foe or allies and adversaries. Just like in war, the traders carried out defensive attacks against their enemies (Evera, 1998), and against the onslaught on their trade:

A senior chief has been hacked to death in Ossen, Baringo County while leading a team in the crackdown against illicit brew"(Article 14a: **IPostB**)

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Illicit alcohol traders construct the war as a fight against the government, for their livelihood. The war against illicit alcohol is an assault to their economic wellbeing. The traders fight back physically, fatally injuring and even causing the death of government officials. The traders appear unable to separate the regulation that bars illicit alcohol trade, from the government officers who seek to enforce law and order, hence the attack on the officers, who embody the regulation. The war metaphor led to a perception that illicit alcohol misuse is a law and order problem rather than a multifaceted problem that includes health, and social dimensions (O'Toole, 1999). This limited the interventions, as all efforts are geared towards enforcing law and order in the illicit alcohol industry neglecting the social dimensions of the practice. Further, different market actors attacked each other as a Manichean world view pervaded the market. Resonance, where images are used together with words in media communication has been argued to aid better recall in advertising (Mcquarrie and Mick, 1992; 2003). The use of images and words depicting the war as vandalism and burning of property evokes resonance, many attacks included burning property and vandalism as activists and members of the community recalled previous representations of the war, suggesting that the multimodal use of words and images of war may have had an impact on actions and recall. Image 6.7 is an example of the war images depicting destruction and burning.

Image 6.7: Mashwa Breweries goes up in smoke during a crackdown on second-generation brews in Naivasha where one person was shot dead during a crackdown on illicit brews.

Image source: the-star.co.ke (Image caption from Article 15a: **IPostB**)

6.2.2.6. Environmental degradation

Concerns over contamination in the moral domain are aimed at ensuring survival. The moral foundation on purity focuses on contaminants such as pathogens as well as dissimilar social groups (Graham et al, 2016). In the consumer behaviour literature, contamination has been associated with overconsumption and environmental contamination or degradation (E.g Luedicke et al., 2010; Nixon and Gabriel, 2016) or questionable market practices such as gambling (Humphreys, 2010). In the following excerpt, the purity/filth moral foundation is linked to environmental pollution:

> He [an environmental expert] said the recent admission by government officials that
> they had poured out 16 million litres of illicit liquor had caused concern among

environmental experts. This is because the toxic components in the liquor may end up in the rivers, oceans and underground water, which is eventually used by human beings, animals and marine life…. "If they are not properly disposed (of), they will end up being consumed by the animals and in future, people will start seeing the disappearances of certain species which consumed the contaminated water," he said. The expert added that tourism may also be affected if contamination goes into rivers that supply water to tourism sites like Lake Nakuru. (Article 35a: **IPostB**).

The critiques against environmental pollution are usually levelled against producers and consumers in the extant consumer literature (e.g. Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Varman and Belk, 2009). In this excerpt however, the blame is placed on the government, broadening the perceptions about responsibility for immoral marketplace actions. The excerpt shows that government response to producers or consumers moral transgressions, can lead to further compounding of the harm from immoral market practices. From the excerpt, the harm from illicit alcohol is not limited to human beings. Environmentalists view it as a pollutant, with the potential to damage plant and animal life, as well as leading industries in Kenya such as tourism. The violation of the purity/filth moral foundation threatens the survival of individuals, communities, plants, animals and economics. The pervasive nature of the contamination from pouring illicit alcohol implies a holistic view of contamination. Piecemeal representations of contamination would imply one kind of dirt, or a single context of contamination (Douglas, 1966), but in the excerpt, the disposal of illicit alcohol on the ground contaminates all aspects necessary for survival and thriving. Image 6.8 provides a visual illustration of the filth and environmental pollution by government officials in uniform.

Image 6.8: Administrators pour illegal illicit brew 'Kangara' at a sugarcane plantation of

Lunyu village in Kakamega East district during a major crack down

Image source: Daily Nation (Image caption from Article 17a**: LPostBO**)

6.2.3. *January 2016 to June 2016: Legal/ Illegal period after the ban overturn*

The themes during this legal/illegal period following the ban on illicit alcohol s are discussed under the following headings: (1) Normative versus regulative legitimacy: (2) The cyclic nature of events in the illicit alcohol market and (3) The unfairness of illicit alcohol trade.

6.2.3.1. Normative versus regulative legitimacy

The conflict in representation caused by drawing on different types of knowledge (Wagner, 2000), is demonstrated in the Judiciary's response to the war on illicit alcohol. The judge

acknowledges the moral problem with illicit alcohol but is bound by regulative legitimacy because of his position as a justice overseer:

> Justice George Odunga said President Uhuru Kenyatta had acted unlawfully when he issued a directive for the crackdown on the alleged illicit liquor operators because he failed to act according to the Constitutional provision which stipulate how such directives should be issued…The Alcoholic (Control) Regulations 2015, which were issued by Interior Cabinet Secretary Joseph Nkaissery were also nullified because they were not formulated through a consultative process… Mr Justice Odunga in his ruling, however, said that illicit drinking in the country has gone to levels beyond proportion and called on state authorities concerned with registration and licensing to ensure that only qualified firms whose products have been certified are allowed to operate (Article 14a: LPostBO).

Kymlicka (1988) argues that liberal market theories espouse deontology, over utilitarianism and this is demonstrated in the above excerpt, where concern over rights and duties, supplants the community well-being. The ban is overturned because the right procedures were not followed in issuing the ban, and the traders rights were violated, because they were not consulted. The ruling disregards the gains made from the ban, the benefits to the majority community in favour of the rights of the traders. The blogger in (Article 18a: IPostB) criticizes this prioritising of the right, over the good, and privileging the observance of duty as an end in itself, regardless of the practical outcomes of observing duty, which is characteristic of deontology (Macdonald and Beck-Dudley, 1994) when she says that "the process of banning consumption of "second-generation" alcoholic brews may not have been

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consultative, as required by law, but how does the law define the unnecessary resultant deaths and the hopeless drunkard youths due to illicit brews?"

Regulative legitimacy is depicted as being concerned more about the rule of the law, than the spirit of the law. The President acted on normative legitimacy to reduce the harm from illicit alcohol and issued a ban (regulative legitimacy) but the ban is nullified on the basis that it does not conform to regulative demands. The conflict in legitimacy is demonstrated here where the superiority of regulative legitimacy over normative legitimacy is underlined. Principles and rules appear to be elevated above human welfare in the ruling to overturn the ban (Forysth, 1992) reflective of deontological moral philosophies where rights and duties take pre-eminence over outcomes (Barnenn, Cafaro and Newholme, 2005). Moral coupling (Lee and Kwak, 2016) process are also evident in the judgement to overturn the ban on illicit alcohol. The moral judgement in this context fails to separate the transgressors actions from the motives and outcomes. The judgement failed to consider that the activists in the war were motivated by the negative impact from illicit alcohol, the judge overturns the ban because of the destructive war, and failure to follow legal procedures in banning illicit alcohol. The judge does not separate judgements of motives and outcomes, from judgements of right and duties, resulting in a setback on the war against illicit alcohol, where the illicit alcohol bubbles back everywhere one looks (Article 2a: LPostBO). The moral coupling in this context results in condemnation of the acts without regard to the motive or outcome. The judge appears to struggle with normative and regulative legitimacy, where he overturns the ban, but notes with concern that something needs to be done. Drawing on legal knowledge and moral knowledge causes the conflict. The judge acknowledges the moral problem but is bound by regulative legitimacy because of his position in government. The social and political consequences of

different representations (Howarth, 2006) are also evident since regulative legitimacy has consistently been portrayed as more superior to normative legitimacy (Scott, 1995) resulting in a reversal of the gains made against illicit alcohol trade. The relationship between representation and the social order is illustrated in this process, where representing one form of legitimacy as superior results in disruption of the social order in the return of the brews. The fact that representations are alive and dynamic (Howarth, 2006) is also confirmed since in one instance the ruling appears to defend the traders and condemns them at the same time.

6.2.3.2. The cyclic nature of events in the illicit alcohol market

After the ban overturn in January 2016, illicit alcohol consumption, which had been contained according to the media, exploded once more. The media excerpts during this period after the ban overturn emphasized the return of the brews, prompting the president to initiate another fight against illicit alcohol. The return of the brews, the lack of coordination between different arms of government, and accusations and counter accusations over the return of the brews involving responsibility shifting and blame games (Hood, 2007,2010) is illustrates in these excerpts:

> Central Kenya leaders are set to meet with the Interior Cabinet Secretary Joseph Nkaissery on Monday to discuss the return of illicit brews in the Mt Kenya region ahead of the presidential visit to Nyeri… Devolution Cabinet Secretary Mwangi Kiunjuri has said. "The president is concerned about the increase in

(the) consumption of illicit brews. It is very shameful for us as Mt Kenya region and this will not be allowed," said Mr Kiunjuri. "It is a cancer that must be cured and a monster that must be slayed. There are no two ways about it," he added… Newly elected Kenya National Union of Teachers (Knut) executive secretary Mutahi Kahiga said that teachers had been left alone to battle with the effects of alcoholism. Mr Mutahi said that the return of illicit brews had contributed to the deteriorating standards of education in Nyeri. (Article 18a: **LPostBO**)

Another drive to stop consumption of illegal alcohol in central Kenya will be kicked off next week. The announcement was made yesterday at the State Lodge, Sagana, where President Uhuru Kenyatta hosted leaders from the five counties in Central, joined by others from Laikipia and Nakuru. President Kenyatta said the fight against illegal brews will this time be multi-pronged using the security apparatus, MPs and MCAs (Article 20a).

President Uhuru Kenyatta has urged the Judiciary to support the fight against illegal alcohol. The President said a campaign to stop consumption of illegal alcohol in Central Kenya will begin next week and asked the Judiciary to "take a stand for the common good", saying the initial drive was slowed down by numerous court injunctions. "The law should protect life. It should not be used to protect those who are killing the youth," Uhuru said (Article 21a).

The excerpts here suggest a form of negativity bias, where negative information produces more activity and impact than positive information (Hood, 2007). The media focus on the

return of the brews, negates any gains made from previous efforts against illicit alcohol, provoking another war against illicit alcohol. The consequences of the second war however receive less attention in the media. The illicit alcohol problem is also politicized and loaded with ethnic connotations in the first excerpt. Central Kenya leaders continue to portray the illicit alcohol problem as a regional and ethnic problem. The president hails from central Kenya and from the excerpt; the president's home area should not be associated with illicit alcohol. The findings suggest that the illicit alcohol problem is consistently associated with poverty and low- socio economic status, and this may explain the shame associated with the practice. The practice is also associated with teachers according to the first excerpt, negating the views that it is mainly a socio-economic problem. The negative impact of illicit alcohol is further highlighted in the excerpts which show that teachers have also been adversely affected by addiction to illicit alcohol and this impacts on education. The excerpts also illustrate the violation of authority/subversion and loyalty/betrayal (Graham et al., 2016) moral intuitions where authorities collaborate with wrong doers, abetting crime.

6.2.3.3. The unfairness in illicit alcohol trade

Illicit trade in legal drugs such as alcohol and tobacco increase the public health risks posed by the drugs. Illicit trade makes the drugs cheaper, more accessible, and more difficult to monitor and regulate (LeGresley et al., 2008). In the following excerpt, additional negative impacts of illicit alcohol trade on the market and the government are highlighted, emphasizing the gravity of the immorality in illicit trade:

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The illegal business also significantly hurts the economy in other ways. First it robs the country of young men who would work in various sectors and contribute in growing the economy…More fundamentally, the unlawful trade robs the country billions of shillings in revenue. "The government is the biggest loser here since the illicit dealers don't pay tax at all, yet they narrow revenues of those who genuinely pay taxes. Mr Mutugi said… The network of illicit alcohol trade runs deep with the entire chain comprising contraband goods or counterfeited materials that they use in brewing, allowing them to sell their products cheaply. …Mr Kairu Thuo, a legal, finance and tax administrator based in Nairobi, said the government is faced by the double headache of missing out on revenues from the illicit brewers and spending heavily to address the challenges they bring about, including mounting a cracking down against them…. "It is possible to drive down the prices of genuine alcohol even as tax remains high as long as the industry is administered well with all players paying tax. Legitimate brewers are forced to raise the price of alcohol to recover their earnings that are lost to those drawn to the cheap illegal liquor," Mr Thuo said (Article 25a: **LPostBO**).

The excerpt highlights the violation of the fairness/cheating foundation. The adverse impact on human capital, government revenues and the business environment, especially competition in the alcohol industry is emphasized in the article. The illicit alcohol trade is credited with creating a cycle of negative effects in the entire alcohol market system especially due to tax evasion and counterfeiting. One of the outcomes of the interference with the market system is that the prices of formal alcohol are set higher to make up for the

losses due to illicit alcohol. The higher prices in the formal alcohol sector, further

compound the illicit alcohol problem because many low-income consumers cannot afford

the higher priced formal alcohol, creating an even bigger demand for illicit alcohol

according to the excerpt. The unfair nature of illicit trade is emphasized (Murphy, 1995).

Table 6.1 provides a summary of the themes in the different periods.

Table 6.1: Summary of the themes in the different regulatory periods

Timeframe/Legal status	Main themes
January to June 2015: Legal period before the ban (LPreB)	The harm from alcohol, protests and destruction The filthy nature of the brews, witchcraft and sorcery Indigenous Knowledge systems and cognitive polyphasia
July to December 2015: Illegal period after the ban (IPostB)	The War against illicit alcohol Violations of the divinity moral code Dehumanization during the war against illicit alcohol Normalization of violence Allies and adversaries Environmental degradation
January 2016 to June 2016: Legal/ Illegal period after the ban overturn (IPostB)/(LPostBO)	Normative versus regulative legitimacy The cyclic nature of events in the illicit alcohol market The unfairness in illicit alcohol trade

6.3. Identifying and unpacking the dominant representations in the illicit alcohol market

The thematic analysis suggests that there are two dominant representations in the illicit

alcohol market. The first dominant representation is centered on the themes of the all-

pervasive harm from illicit alcohol – "Illicit alcohol is harmful", and a second related

representation is that of a "war" against illicit alcohol. These representations operate within

the same representational field, attaining their meaning and distinction only in relation to each

other (Howarth, 2000). The structure of the two dominant social representations is presented

next, followed by the core and peripheral elements of the "illicit alcohol is harmful" social representation and the "war" social representation.

6.4.1. The structure of the dominant representations

As noted in chapter 4, a social representation comprises of a stable consensual core and the peripheral elements. The thematic analysis of the Kenyan illicit alcohol market shows that the harmful substance representation is so dominant, it underpins the war representation and is also the core of the war representation. The main peripheral element of illicit alcohol is harmful representation is elimination, it is the foundation of the war representation. Figure 6.1 presents the structure of the dominant representations.

Figure 6.1: The core and peripheral elements of the dominant social representations
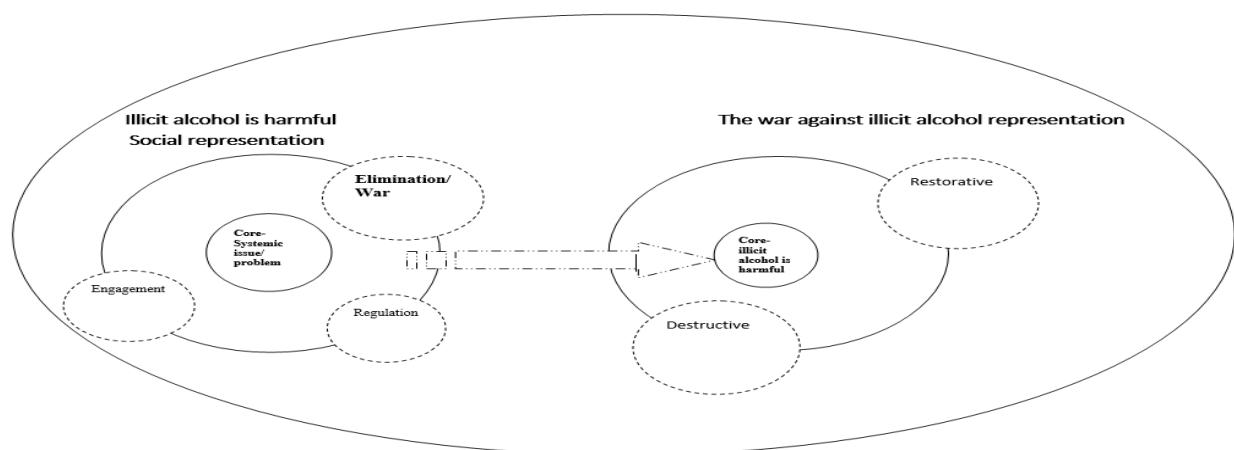
The stable core is a product of the historical, sociological and ideological conditions (Abric, 1993), which gives meaning to the whole social representation (Wagner, Valencia and Elejabarrieta, 1996). It is coherent and resistant to change ensuring the consistency and continuity of the representation. It is not affected by the immediate social and material context in which the representation stands. The core produces values, attitudes, opinions, and behavior, which are important for social relations and greatly impacts on the subject's relation with the object of representation (Guimelli, 1993). The more flexible peripheral system, on the other hand, acts as a buffer to the core by absorbing new information, which has the potential to challenge the central core. The double system of a stable central system and a flexible peripheral system makes it possible for representations to respond and adapt to social situations (Abric, 1993; Wagner et al., 1996). The meaning of peripheral elements is dependent on the core of the representation. The peripheral elements consist of information acquired through personal and social experiences (Guimeli, 1993). The peripheral elements are the functional part of the social representation (Abric, 1993).

6.4.2. *Illicit alcohol is harmful social representation*

The core of the social representation of illicit alcohol is harmful draws on the notion that illicit alcohol production and consumption is a systemic problem. This perspective of a systemic problem externalizes the illicit alcohol problem, and depicts the challenge as involving multiple economic, social, and political levels, but fails to incorporate the notion of individual agency and choice (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014). The following excerpt from consumer comments on digital news summarizes the systemic problem:

This notion that Central Kenya problems start and end with illicit brews must stop.

Let these leaders engage the real issues among them the coffee sector which is at its

death bed, land issues, just to mention a few…some leaders pretend not to know

what the problems are…We are trying to control the symptoms instead of addressing

the real problem… Gross unemployment, inequality between the rich and the poor,

hopelessness, uncontrollable alcoholism. ...The way to eliminate a problem is by

education and attacking the root causes. Using brute force has never worked and

never will… Yes, because you tried to solve problems cosmetically not getting to

the root of the problems joblessness (idleness), alcoholism and moral degradation

from grownups who have no time to raise their children right and grownups who

have shown the young the way to go is to be criminals through stealing from the

government, from where they work, corruption (stealing) etc etc…. The other

problem is the education system in Kenya does not allow young people to be self-

sufficient but to rely on white collar jobs. When I was in school not too long ago, we

had technical courses such as carpentry, home science, accounting, typing and office

practice etc. Where did these courses go to? With those courses, many of us were

able to get jobs immediately on leaving school even without going to university

(Article 19a: **LPostBO: Consumer comment**).

The consumer in the excerpt argues that the system within which illicit alcohol is produced

and consumed is the problem, not illicit alcohol as a substance. The excerpt urges the leaders

to review various social and economic systems. From a systemic problem perspective, the

market system has failed to cater for the needs of different market players. The economic

system for market exchange perpetually fails to engage with or include certain groups (Bennet et al, 2016; Viswanathan et al., 2012). The different market actors suffer one or more disadvantages that make it impossible for them to effectively participate in formal economic exchange. Different market actors thus have limited ability to participate equally in market activities. In such instances, consumers are unable to safely satisfy their needs, they lack market competencies such as the economic resources to meet their consumption needs, traders are unable to offer safe affordable products, the regulators are unable to proactively develop and enforce safe and appropriate policies. The failure in the system (economic, political, and cultural) has resulted in a problematic market system that has harmful products, as well as clients for these harmful products. Economic exchange occurs despite the knowledge that the product is harmful. The self-interested behaviour of different actors in the market instead of working towards the greater wealth or well-being for all (Brenkert, 1998) results in harm to other players in the market. The systemic problem that infiltrates the market exchange is replicated in many developing economies in the global south. For example, Lawhon and Herrick (2013), write about nascent alcohol (the illicit alcohol equivalent) in South Africa where there are over 300,000 illicit liquor outlets. They report on the tensions between alcohol as a source of livelihood for a significant proportion of the population, in a context of endemic unemployment, and poverty and alcohol as a causal factor in poverty, crime, violence, and social disintegration. The small-scale liquor retailing is illegal but is an important element of the informal trade and, a necessary part of the formal supply chain. There is "agreement that South Africa's alcohol "problem" must be addressed …there is little consensus as to what the problem actually is" (Lawhon and Herrick, 2013, p, 989), due to the multiple, complex intersecting economic, social, and cultural dimensions in the illicit alcohol problem. The central nucleus or core of the representation of illicit alcohol as a harmful

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substance is evaluated differently to create three distinct, activated versions of corrective

moral action to reduce the harm from illicit alcohol practices. The actions are war,

engagement and regulation reflected in the peripheral elements, which are discussed in detail

in chapter 8 under the affective analysis. The plurality in versions of corrective action,

demonstrate the diversity in social representations of morality.

6.4.3. *The war social representation*

The thematic analysis of the Kenyan illicit alcohol market shows that the harmful substance

representation is so dominant, it underpins the war representation and is also the core of the

war representation as noted in (6.3.3.1). The core of any social representation is the point of

consensus in a social representation (Abric 1993; Guimeli, 1993). From the thematic analysis

in this chapter, the war against illicit alcohol is premised on the harm from illicit alcohol, and

all the market actors agree that illicit alcohol is harmful. The contention arises on how to deal

with the harm, as shown in the peripheral elements of the illicit alcohol is harmful social

representation. The peripheral elements consist of information acquired through personal and

social experiences (Guimeli, 1993), and in the war representation, there are two peripheral

elements namely: the war is restorative, and the war is destructive. The experiences of

different market actors determine their perception of the war. The traders who benefit

economically from illicit alcohol, view the war as destructive. Families and communities

impacted by the negative social and public health impact of illicit alcohol view the war as

restorative. These evaluations of the war are discussed in chapter 7 in the affective analysis of

frames.

6.4.   Chapter summary and conclusion

The thematic analysis has unveiled 2 dominant social representations in the illicit alcohol market. The first social representation is "illicit alcohol is harmful" and the second social representation is of a "war against illicit alcohol". The thematic analysis also reveals how morality is conveyed in the illicit alcohol market. Morality is conveyed as concerned with the moral intuitions harm/care; fairness/reciprocity; in-group/loyalty; authority/respect and purity/sanctity (Haidt and Graham, 2007; Haidt and Joseph, 2004) and the moral codes of community, autonomy and divinity (Shweder, 1990). The chapter has also illuminated some of the effects of the dominant social representations such as selective objectification of solutions in the illicit alcohol market, dehumanization and moral exclusion and the normalization of violence. The chapter also shows that the mechanisms aimed at harm reduction in the illicit alcohol market are objectified in a "war" against illicit alcohol, regulation and calls for cooperation and engagement among different stakeholders. The two dominant social representations can be used to explain the motivation for the consumer conflict in the illicit alcohol market, and the expression of the conflict.

CHAPTER SEVEN: JUSTICE, MORALITY AND MARKET INEQUALITY

7.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to unveil the responses of different social actors to the market initiatives to minimize harmful alcohol use (adopting war as a means of dealing with illicit alcohol, engagement with different stakeholders in the market, and regulation) aimed at harm reduction in the illicit alcohol market. These market initiatives are also alluded to in chapter 6 as the peripheral elements of the dominant representation "illicit alcohol is harmful". The mechanisms are evaluated in terms of their perceived impact on justice, morality, and market inequality through an affective analysis and a frame analysis (Snow and Benford, 1992). The evaluation responds to the third research question: "What are the effects of these representations?"

The previous chapter highlighted the harm from illicit alcohol through identifying the dominant representations in the illicit alcohol market. The chapter also illustrated how the social representations are used to convey morality. Some of the effects of the dominant representations were also elucidated upon. This chapter begins with a brief overview of affective analysis and frame analysis. This is followed by an analysis of the responses to the war against illicit alcohol, engagement and regulation mechanisms, then the chapter summary and conclusion.

7.2.   Overview of affective analysis and frame analysis as used in this analysis chapter

The affective analysis tracks changes in valence, and emotion (jubilation, celebration, anxiety, sadness, and anger), providing insight into the tenor with which the market initiatives to minimize harmful alcohol use, namely: war-fighting illicit alcohol trade, regulation and engagement are represented, and how different actors feel about the mechanisms at different times. There are both good/positive and bad/negative feelings about the mechanisms. Affective reactions are argued to be a good predictor of moral judgement and behaviour (Batson, 1987), so the affective analysis provides insights into the moral judgements and behaviour in the illicit alcohol market. Frames focus attention on phenomena, emphasizing the seriousness or injustice of a social situation (Snow and Benford, 1992; Gamson and Modigliani 1989). Frames can also be used for attribution and articulation, which entails problem diagnosis and prognosis. The former involves problem identification whilst the latter entails proposing solutions to the identified problems (Snow and Benford, 1992; Entman, 1993). The analysis will focus on the content of framing as well as the identity of the frame articulator (Rhee and Fiss, 2014). Framing that emphasizes positive outcomes signifies "positive" feelings about the war and the other mechanisms, whereas framing that emphasizes outcomes in terms of losses signifies "negative" feelings (Shah, Higgins and Friedman, 1998). The frames follow a similar pattern to the affective responses where market actors who have good feelings about a mechanism, for example the war, also discuss the outcomes of the war positively. In summary, the affective analysis demonstrates the positive and negative feelings towards the mechanisms, whereas the frame analysis outlines the gains/positive or losses/negative outcomes of the initiatives to minimise harm in the illicit alcohol market.

7.3.   Analysis of the response to the war against illicit alcohol

The evaluations of the war in the illicit alcohol market demonstrate the relationship between affect and action. Bradley and Lang (2000) argue that emotions evolve from simple reflexive reactions. These primitive affective responses are classified into two categories: approach movements towards positive, appetitive stimuli and avoidance movements away from negative, aversive stimuli (Bradley et al., 2001; Lavender and Hommel, 2007). Emotional stimuli are normally transmitted to the centre of the brain concerned with regulating behavioural responses such as survival instincts in the face of danger. These transmissions enable appropriate responses for survival, for example, they prompt us to "withdraw our hand from fire and to shrink back from a snake long before we have realised that we are in danger" (Lavender and Hommel, 2007, p. 1271). A similar survival instinct can be observed in the response to the illicit alcohol war. Illicit alcohol is perceived as a threat to community survival, motivating the community to approach or embrace the war as a means of ensuring the continuity of the community, and this is reflected in positive/good feelings about the war. Affected family members also embrace the war. The traders on the other hand perceive a threat to their economic survival in the face of the war on illicit alcohol, resulting in negative/bad feelings about the war. Other actors with positive feelings about the war include: community leaders; former illicit alcohol consumers; former illicit alcohol traders, formal licensed traders, and traders who stated that they intend to quit alcohol trade. Other actors who sometimes have negative feelings about the war include: the media; community leaders; and the public on social media.

The analysis demonstrates the role of different interests in the definition of reality and the construction of meaning (Pfeffer, 1981) as different market actors express different, sometimes contradictory feelings and emphasize different outcomes, depending on the stakes. From this analysis, the dynamic nature of representation, where individuals and social groups use representations to defend, reject, or sustain different versions of reality (Howarth, 2006) is illuminated. The analysis also demonstrates how actors manipulate the war representation to achieve different goals. The analysis documents the following responses to the war:

1. Positive feelings about the war and emphasis on positive outcomes;

2. Positive feelings about the war and emphasis on negative outcomes;

3. Negative feelings about the war and emphasis on positive outcomes;

4. Negative feelings about the war and emphasis on negative outcomes.

Table 7.1 summarises the semantic concepts which reflect the affective responses to the war against illicit alcohol by different market actors.

Table 7.1: Affective responses to the war against illicit alcohol by different market actors

Valence/frame (War)	Market actor	Vocabulary used by media and informants
Positive/gains	Community; government officers; family; Ex consumers[8]	Happy, upbeat, transformation, liberation, sober, success, good, positive, gains
Negative/losses	Consumers; Traders; Ex illicit alcohol traders[9]	Economic loss, chaos, looting, vandalism, destruction, death

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[8] Former illicit alcohol consumers

[9] Former illicit alcohol traders

7.3.1. Cultural binaries in talking about the war against illicit alcohol

The binaries of right and wrong in talking about war (Walzer, 1977), and gains and losses structure discussions on the morality of the war against illicit alcohol. A cultural binary is a pair of concepts that people use to organize the world. Levi-Strauss (1969) posits that cultural binaries can be used to form propositions, and to structure public discourse. Proponents and opponents of the war espouse or renounce war for moral reasons, which are expressed through positive or negative feelings towards the war, and emphasis on the gains or losses from the war. For the (non)consumers/community, the war is consistently associated with positive feelings and gains. For the traders the war is consistently associated with negative feelings and losses. For former traders and former consumers, the war is associated with both positive and negative feelings and gains and losses, reflecting a contradiction in the emotional response. Discourse about the war is structured by four semantic concepts organized into two binaries, positive/negative feelings about the war and gains/losses from the war. The binary of positive and negative emotions towards the war as well as gains and losses from the war is illustrated in Figure 7.1 and Table 7.1.

The semiotic relationships (Gamson 1992; Gamson and Modigliani 1989) elaborated in figure 7.1 illustrate the representations of how the proponents and opponents of the war feel about the war, and their moral reasoning and consequent judgements on the war. Conceptually, the semantic networks illustrate the socio-cognitive dynamics of morality. Diverse moral emotions (Haidt, 2001, 2007) are shown to arise from the modulation of individual motivations (Lavender and Hommel, 2007) such as egoistic self-interest or community interest for different market actors. For example, the positive feelings and resultant moral

judgements of the war as right by the public is related to concerns over community well-being whilst the negative feelings about the war by the traders and the related moral judgement of the war as wrong, are associated with the personal economic losses from the war for the traders. The semiotic square (Figure 7.1) is a visual representation which projects the semantic categories derived from an analysis of the affective response to the war. The semiotic square is a tool for mapping semiotic relationships and forming larger structures from primary binary concepts. The semiotic square is used in this study to demonstrate the way in which semantic frames illustrate underlying motivated moral reasoning processes (Ditto et al., 2009). These motivated moral reasoning processes are useful for explaining the fragmented nature of morality (Bauman, 1993, 1995; Caruana, 2007) or the contradictions in moral perspectives (Luedicke et al., 2010). For example, the former consumers depicted as ex consumers in the semiotic square, initially express negative feelings towards the war, but also acknowledge the gains from the war. The former traders depicted as ex traders in the semiotic square express positive feelings towards the war but emphasize the losses from the war.

Figure 7.1: Semiotic square on emotional valence on the war (Positive/gains and negative/loss)
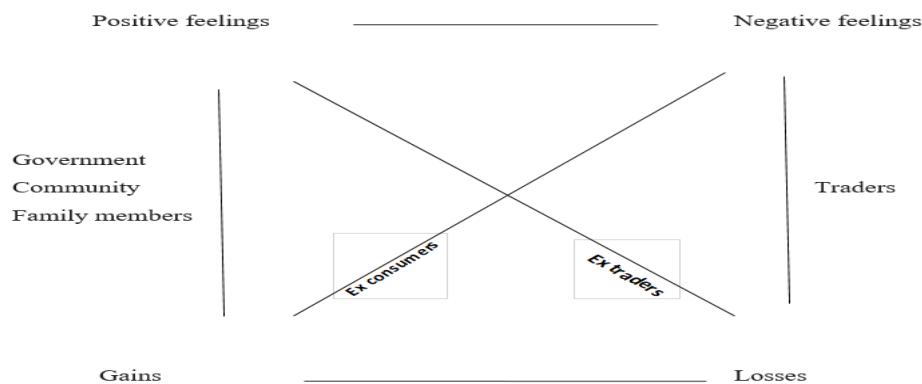
7.3.1.1.　Positive and negative feelings towards the war

The positive/negative binary is an expression of the moral evaluation of the war and a reflection of different moral philosophies. Utilitarian moral philosophies are illustrated in the positive feelings (Valdesolo and DeSteno, 2006) towards the war, which is credited with saving many lives despite the violation of traders' human rights in the war. Deontological moral philosophies (Gensler, 2016) are reflected in the negative feelings towards the war, where the violation of the rights of the traders takes pre-eminence over the negative outcomes from illicit alcohol consumption. There are four types of positive affect reflected in the discussions about the war. The first is restoration, the second is celebration, the third is liberation and the fourth is joy. Similarly, there are four types of negative affect illustrated in the representations of the war. The first is loss, the second is destruction, the third is violence, and the fourth is chaos/disorder. The semantic distinction between positive and negative feelings is foundational to moral judgement (Grappi et al., 2013; Haidt, 2001, 2007). Representations of positive and negative feelings in relation to the war are used to depict the emotional response to the war. Representations of positive affect in the data are discussed in the following excerpts:

> In Nyeri, Murang'a, Kirinyaga, Kiambu and Meru towns youths, who on normal days can be seen staggering around aimlessly, were yesterday unusually sober as police and residents conducted door-to-door raids (Article 13a: **IPostB**).

> The war transformed lives. My brother in the neighbouring county is now a good person. In his village, they managed to get rid of all illicit alcohol. To date, there are

no home brews in that village. So, there is transformation in some areas. If in our area they had managed to get rid of all alcohol, our youth and husbands could have been transformed for life (Jane, affected family member, age: 60 to 70).

Women in Mathira West Sub-County, are a happy lot as their recovering husbands are joining them in community activities. They said they are now ready to have more children because they are certain that their husbands will look after the offspring… "My husband has resumed duties as the head of the family. I now feel I have a husband" Ms Mary Wanjiku, 28, said. Ms Jane Wambui Muriuki, also aged 28, said: "My husband is now sober. He used to abuse me and was always rude, but now there is happiness in our house because he no longer drinks and is taking care of the family." … They said President Uhuru Kenyatta's intervention was timely, and if no action was taken, the country would have lost an entire generation. (Article 26a: **IPostB**).

The first and second excerpts illustrate restoration and liberation (sober youth who no longer wonder aimlessly due to alcohol use and transformation of illicit alcohol consumers into "good people") whilst the third excerpt portrays joy and celebration (Happy women who recount the change in their husbands and homes). The positive impact of the war is emphasized by stories of celebration and transformed homes and lives. The war is credited with the healing of broken homes where irresponsible, absent men, husbands and fathers are changed, and the women speak of a brighter future. The previous neglect due to illicit alcohol consumption is perceived to be in the past and families can now rejoice since the threat has been dealt with. The comments depict the war against illicit alcohol as necessary

and moral because it has a positive impact on families. Women are depicted as bearing the greatest burden from the effects of illicit alcohol consumption. The women are represented as negatively affected by alcohol consumption of their spouses, their sons and their siblings. The women are also depicted as being at the forefront in the war against illicit alcohol in both the media and interview data. The community leaders frame illicit alcohol trade and consumption in terms of losses and negative outcomes. The negative frames also emphasize avoidance movements away from illicit alcohol, which is portrayed as a threat to community well-being. The findings also portray both the threat from illicit alcohol, and hence the motivation and good feelings favouring the war, as well as the expected positive impact of the war, namely saving the youth and the community.

Traders who have quit illicit alcohol trade and formal licensed traders also view the war in a positive light, even though they highlight the negative outcomes of the war. They also have positive feelings about illicit alcohol as a profitable business, while highlighting the negative outcomes from illicit alcohol to consumers. The conflicting representations of the war as good and bad or illicit alcohol as good and bad by the same individuals and groups can be explained by the concept of cognitive polyphasia in social representations theory (SRT). Cognitive polyphasia can be used to explain how it is possible to support two versions of the same social representation at the same time and hold diverse views of the same object at the same time (Howarth, 2006). Cognitive polyphasia is dependent on an individual or groups' interest, or the social setting in which it is used (Batel, 2012; Wagner et al., 2000). The contingent use of cognitive polyphasia shows that thought and language are dependent on their realms of use (Wagner et al, 2000) as shown in the media and interview data in the following excerpts. In the excerpts below the traders' express concern over the threat from

illicit alcohol, whilst regretting the economic losses from the crackdown. They also frame illicit alcohol as a profitable business, while regretting the outcomes of illicit alcohol consumption on consumers. The sentiments of licensed traders are illustrated in this excerpt:

My opinion on the crackdown is that it had some positive and negative effects:
On the positive side, it was very helpful. I can tell of my neighbour here (pointing to the opposite wall) beyond this wall there is a club where they were dealing with illicit alcohol. Even when I shut down my premises at 3.00 a.m., I would still hear revellers next door. Sometimes they would go on until 6.00 a.m. in the morning. Most of those who drunk until 6.00 a.m. in the morning are PSV drivers and the conductors. They used to drink alcohol and carry takeaways. Even before I came to this business premises I have heard that several people have died in that club... Before the crackdown, illicit alcohol was pathetic with the youth. This area was pathetic. You would find youth early in the morning already drunk. PSV drivers would drink until morning without going home and commence their driving work in the morning… before the crackdown. The pub owner used to have brands of alcohol that were not in the market. He even used to brew some spirits at the club. They never used to throw away any empty alcohol bottles. They just used to refill them onsite with their own concoctions which were not even tested. That is why people used to die at that club, because they would drink unknown and untested stuff. Even the club owner did not know what he was mixing. That is why people died…We heard of several cases where people went in to drink and were later taken out as corpses. Others lie outside the club after drinking and after some time they are confirmed dead. Things were terrible before. The traders were only after profit. And

I can tell you that alcohol trade is very profitable especially when you know what you are doing. The industry is very attractive, so many traders were keen to brew anything, to capitalize on the market. The alcohol problem is serious, if left unchecked, it will be very bad. It will finish this generation…The fight against illicit alcohol is beneficial, it has helped reduce many social ills. People were neglecting their families. Even PSV drivers were drinking recklessly. They used to drink throughout the day. Spending more than 20% of their daily wage on alcohol. Also, physically, these people are very weak. They look unwell. Since the crackdown, we have become very cautious, because you can make huge economic losses (John, licenced formal alcohol trader, age 40 - 50)

John highlights the negative impact of illicit alcohol trade. He claims to deal only in legal formal alcohol brands. John uses the incidents from a neighbouring pub to point out the threat from illicit alcohol. He is particularly concerned about the public service vehicle (PSV) drivers who consume illicit alcohol, and forfeit their sleep, and therefore endanger the lives of commuters, in addition to putting their own lives at risk by consuming untested alcohol. The greed of both the traders and the consumers is reflected in traders who mix anything for profit, and consumers who drink alcohol all night long. The challenges of illicit trade in legal drugs such as alcohol are exposed in the excerpt. Illicit trade makes the drugs cheaper, more accessible, and more difficult to monitor and regulate (LeGresley et al., 2008) and affects the quality compounding the public health risks from alcohol consumption. Former illicit alcohol traders also acknowledge the harm and threat to community from illicit alcohol trade and express positive feelings about the war. The negative feelings towards the war are objectified in the economic loss to the traders. If there is a war against alcohol, the traders stock is

destroyed so they make losses. The lack of discipline in the war (Steinert, 2003) is another reason for the negative feelings as depicted in the following excerpt:

> We would also caution that mandating politicians to lead the campaign against killer drinks in their constituencies might inadvertently encourage hooliganism and vendetta. We have seen just the other day an MP lead an unlawful mob against licensed bars, which just turned into a looting spree for drunkards (Article 27a: **IPostB**).

The excerpt paints a picture of chaos and disorder in the war against illicit alcohol. Criticisms against the war are heightened by the lack of restraint and discipline by the combatants. Unlike real wars where soldiers are trained and disciplined (Steinert, 2003), this war in the marketplace, is carried out by untrained and undisciplined recruits leading to negative evaluations of the war. Additionally, the losses from the war, such as the destruction of property, lead to negative emotions about the war, especially among the traders.

The following market actors express negative feelings about the war, reflecting avoidance movements, away from negative stimuli (Bradley and Lang, 2000): The media; the traders; community leaders and the public on social media. The traders perceive the threat to their economic survival in the war against illicit alcohol, and they respond negatively to the war to safeguard their future. Social representations can be expressed both verbally, and non-verbally in social practices (e.g. Hall, 1997; Howarth, 2006; Jodelet, 1991). The representations by the traders are verbalized, or acted out in the following excerpts:

Mr Waititu led a group of more than 200 youths into Wangige and Gikuni trading centres where they descended on all bars looking for these illicit brews. In the course of the crackdown, they tore down doors and windows. They also destroyed furniture, electronic goods and in some areas, the youths are said to have stolen money they found in cashboxes…Bar owners in the county, led by their chairman, Mr Richard Kagiri, and reported the destruction of their businesses to the police. They demanded that Mr Waititu be charged with malicious damage to property and pay for the losses they had incurred (Article 10a: **IPostB**).

A raid on illicit brews by chiefs yesterday nearly turned tragic after they were attacked by brewers. Kichutmo Assistant Chief Daniel Soi nearly lost his hand after he was attacked with a panga by the illicit brew dealer, who accused the administrators of disturbing him. The chief is fighting for his life at Tenwek Mission Hospital in Bomet" (Article 14a: **LPostBO**).

In the excerpts cited, the traders are concerned about the economic loss and destruction from the war, threatening their economic survival. The violence is also condemned. For the licensed traders, the destruction of property and suspension of licenses not only led to economic loss, but also made it impossible to continue trading and make economic gains. For the illicit brew dealer in the second excerpt, the raid on the alcohol den destroys his means of making a living. He fights back those who want to destroy his valued brew. The response to the war is based on survival instincts, fight back or condemn the war, for economic survival. Some community leaders also have negative feelings about the war. Rival politicians assume opposite stances in the war, even though war is usually

perceived to be a uniting factor, bringing people together against a common foe (Steinert, 2003). The conflict in the evaluation of the war among politicians is reflected in the following excerpt:

> Mr Waititu's enthusiasm has divided leaders in Kiambu with its Governor William Kabogo, who is his political rival, taking a different side …On Tuesday the president convened a meeting for all MPs from the region at State House and asked them to lead the crackdown to save the youths. Then, the following day, Mr Kabogo organised a meeting of all bar owners in his county and advised them to temporary remove all second-generation brews from their shelves in the face of the crackdown. In certain quarters, his advice was construed as discrediting the campaign. Mr Kabogo also promised to assist the traders whose property was destroyed should they seek legal redress from the MP. The governor also wondered why the Inspector-General of Police, Joseph Boinet, had remained silent over the destruction (Article 10a: **IPostB**).

Mr. Waititu from the excerpt, is the area MP in the constituency where the war began, he was the leader who mobilised the community against illicit alcohol. According to the excerpt, the governor of the same area acts in ways to suggest that he does not approve of the war. He advises the traders to hide the offending brews and retail and display only the legal formal alcohol, until the war is over. The statement suggests that the war is a temporary affair, and it will soon be business as usual, when the traders can continue with second-generation alcohol trade. The governor also appears to incite the traders to fight back, albeit legally. The negative feelings and emphasis on negative outcomes appear to be predicated on political rivalry, since

the animosity is alluded to in the excerpt. Interpersonal politics and power struggles are portrayed as interfering with the fight against illicit alcohol. The findings confirm existing perspectives that large-scale production and sale of illicit liquor cannot be concealed and is only possible if tolerated by the political power. Such illegal production and sale can be abolished if there is a political will, and if the respective laws are enforced (Lachenmeier, 2011). In other instances, government officials publicly confiscate illicit alcohol but fail to destroy it. For example, "In Nyandarua, Kasuku Location Chief Peter Kiragu led a raid during which 1,300 cartons of second-generation alcohol were seized. The alcohol was taken to the office of the Ol-Joro Orok deputy commissioner for further investigation despite calls from residents to destroy the brews" (Article 13a: **IPostB**). The raids are staged to demonstrate commitment in the fight against illicit alcohol, but the alcohol is later traded in the market. Gamburd (2008) noted a similar trend in Sri Lanka where illicit alcohol brewing equipment would be confiscated during the day and returned to the brewers at night. The collusion of government officials with illicit alcohol traders is reiterated by a member of parliament as follows: "All political leaders are working towards reduction of alcoholism but feel frustrated by officers colluding with brewers," said Mr Kembi (Article 2a: **LPreB**).

7.3.1.2. Gains and losses from the war

The concepts of gains and losses are applied both literally (economic gains/losses) and figuratively (wasted lives and economic opportunities) to the war to describe the outcomes of the war. Ideas about gains and losses are complementary to those of positive/negative emotions. The discussions under these concepts are structured along concepts such as salvation and restoration and death and destruction in reference to the war. For example,

saving the youth, as a gain to the community and economic loss for the traders and the nation. Community leaders such as religious leaders and elected politicians elucidate the gains from the war and the losses from illicit alcohol as shown in these excerpts:

> Reverend Evans Kiuna Wanjama of Racecourse Baptist Church in Eldoret said that many youths have started attending church services unlike before. "Apart from being a pastor, I am also a contractor and I see many youths coming to look for work which is a good thing," said Rev Kiuna. Deputy Governor Daniel Chemno said that the community has felt the impact of the fight against illicit brew in a positive way. "The President's effort is a success as it is yielding fruits (Article 28a: **IPostB**)

> In Murang'a, Kigumo MP Jamleck Kamau led the raids … "We will not relent in the fight against alcoholism because we cannot continue to lose lives to unscrupulous business people," he said… Woman Representative [10]Sabina Wanjiru Chege said "The raids on bars will go on as we support the directive to reclaim the youth of Mt. Kenya. We will not allow the youths to drown themselves in these brews anymore," she said (Article 13a: **IPostB**).

The gains from the war are objectified in productive lives where youth now seek gainful employment rather than just drinking illicit alcohol. The war is depicted as salvation for youth who were drowning in illicit drinks. The gain/loss binary is also used to depict the actual economic losses resulting from the war as shown in these excerpts:

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[10] Elected member of the legislature

During the crackdown, they destroyed alcohol worth a lot of money. The ground outside here was wet with alcohol for about a month. They burnt down everything here, everything, they left me destitute. They even burnt my seats. The police came and destroyed everything (Florence, former illicit alcohol trader, age 50-60).

The crackdown affected me adversely. Look at my house, I do not even own a coffee table. All my furniture/ things were burnt down. We were left with nothing. You know the crackdown was very abrupt, there was no notice. … Personally, I was adversely affected. I was brought up in an alcohol brewing home, I picked up the trade. I do not have any other skills. They destroyed my livelihood. They destroyed everything (Nancy, former illicit alcohol trader, age 30-40).

The loss to other businesses that depend on alcohol business is depicted in the following excerpt:

It is, however, instructive to note that some Kenyans have sought to push others out of legitimate business in the guise of fighting alcohol. Others are blaming genuine alcohol business for the break-ups in their families and now seek to rid their towns and trading centres of all forms of alcohol. Supposedly joining the fight against alcoholic drinks that had been started by the women of Central Kenya, they, like marauding invaders armed with crude weapons, overran the town, marching from bar to bar, breaking and entering to destroy everything in sight… So, the women, their supporters and sympathisers must look for alternative ways of keeping their

men on a short leash, instead of paralysing a whole town… the beer drinking

industry also supported many other businesses. Most of those who drink alcohol eat

nyama choma [11]thus keeping the meat industry going, they buy all sorts of snacks

and so support food hawkers and even buy ornaments like the ones sold by the

women who want alcohol out of their town" (Article 30a: **IPostB**)

A loss in tax revenue is illustrated in this excerpt:

The ongoing war against second-generation alcoholic drinks could back fire on the

State, a Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) manager has said. The officer, who

declined to be named said the sector was one of the leading in terms of tax returns

warning that the Government stood to lose over Sh50 billion (Article 29a: **IPostB**).

The negative perception of the war arises when the former traders consider their

economic loss. They acknowledge the threat posed by illicit alcohol to community well-

being, but they regret the economic loss. Even government officials cite the revenue loss

from the war. The fourth excerpt above about revenue loss to the government however

contradicts the logic of illicit trade, since one of the main negative effects of illicit trade

is revenue loss for the government (LeGresley et al., 2008). Cognitive polyphasia is used

to achieve different goals (Provencher and Wagner, 2012) in these findings. In the first

instance it is used to delegitimize illicit alcohol and illicit alcohol consumers by citing the

negative impact and behaviour. In the second instance, it is used to condemn the

economic destruction. Synchronic perspectives on cognitive polyphasia maintain that

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[11] Roast meat

different types of knowledge/logic have distinct characteristics, and therefore serve different purposes. Individuals, groups and societies use these different logics to make sense of social objects and to accomplish different goals (Provencher and Wagner, 2012). It could be argued that knowledge about living in community is used to vilify illicit alcohol, and consumers. Knowledge on economics, profit and loss, is then used to condemn the war. Both Florence and Nancy express "good" and "bad" feelings about the war for similar reasons (see the first and second excerpts above).

The vandalism described in the destruction of property aligns the war with the semantic category of loss. This semantic categorization operates as a mechanism to moralize the war and delegitimize the activists. Journalists seem to revel in the gruesome details of chaos, death and destruction as well as the irrationality of the war. The second excerpt above implies that there is no basis for the activists' actions in the war. The actions and the actors are condemned. Collateral damage is emphasized, and the activists and their supporters are blamed, and their concerns are downplayed to show there was no justification for their actions. The side effect-effect (Ditto et al., 2009) is emphasized in the moral judgement. These findings confirm Ditto et al's (2009) argument that the motivation to justify blameworthiness can lead to a distortion of the objective facts surrounding an event. The second excerpt also portrays the women activists as irrational and criticizes the activists' intentions and failing to acknowledge the motivation for the activists' actions. The writer expresses concern over the economic loss caused by the war, threatening their economic survival of many different traders, not just illicit alcohol traders. The impact of the war on national revenue collection is also highlighted to emphasize the losses from the war. Several

other accounts offer a balanced view of the War with both gains and losses but those that appear bent on painting the war in a negative light emphasize the blameworthy acts

Gain/loss binaries are also used in reference to illicit alcohol, not just the war, for example a political journalist writing on the 3rd day of the war highlights the threat from illicit alcohol, emphasizing the negative outcomes from illicit alcohol.

> In some cases, the drunks are unable to separate day from night and clearly have little economic contribution to the livelihoods of those they are supposed to provide for. Yet, unless the directive given on Thursday banning second-generation drinks is effective, unlike past ones, they are never short of watering holes. So bad is the crisis of alcoholism that women particularly in Central Kenya have confronted the illegal brewers, whose deadly drinks are a threat to a generation, with young men lost to backstreet drinking dens. Ravaged by the poisonous drinks, the young and old alike have either abandoned their families or are unable to marry, thrusting to the fore the problem racking society, which has now become a national shame. On the back of the worsening crisis, top national and county government officials Thursday declared an all-out war on killer brews that have claimed the lives of hundreds and shattered families (Article 6a**: IPostB**).

The excerpt highlights the fact that past bans on illicit alcohol were ineffective and the alcohol outlets, referred to as "watering holes" were still abundant despite the changes in regulation. The war could be a more effective means than bans and regulations to ending the illicit alcohol menace, since bans do not stop the flow of illicit alcohol according to the

excerpt. Both the scale and composition of consumption (Schor et al., 2010) are criticized in the data. Terms such as "drown" in the brews portray the excesses involved in illicit alcohol consumption, and the negative feelings associated with the brews. The journalist appears to defend the attack or confrontation of illegal brewers by the women of central Kenya when he highlights the grave harm from illicit alcohol, reflecting positive feelings about the war. Affected family members also anticipate gains from the war as shown in these excerpts:

The crackdown was good. The brews had been eliminated but the government has let us down …This illicit alcohol has destroyed families. In our family, all the young men are gone, they are all crazy, and they have all lost their minds. Imagine my brother Joe goes drinking with his wife, no one in that family can help the other, because each one of them is drunk. My brother's wife (sister in law) now has a very dark complexion, like this black polythene bag, because of regular consumption of illicit alcohol. My brother does not care about his children, even the orphans who were left by my sister who passed away in his care are now under my care…. The young men are impotent and infertile. They are not able to father children. The consumers are unkempt and dirty. They skip meals regularly. They are unable to care for themselves or their families. In the next few years, there will be no children as the women have no one to impregnate them. That is why I had to take part in the war against illicit alcohol" (Julia, Anti- illicit alcohol activist, age 40- 45, local business woman).

For Peninah Wambui, a fruit vendor in Murang'a town, that her son is wasted

because of alcohol is annoying and humiliating, a fact that pushed her to lead other

women in destruction of premises selling alcohol. She says: "I took my son to

school and I have tried to use all the connections I have to get him a job but so far he

has lost five of them. He is at home; I take care of his wife and children while he

drinks himself silly (Article 37a**: IPostB**).

Family members affected by illicit alcohol consumption justify their participation in the war

against alcohol as they cite their personal pain and loss due to illicit alcohol consumption by

members of their families. The negative effects of the brews are objectified in broken

families, absconded duty and death. The war against illicit alcohol is described as necessary

for the survival of young men, families and the community. The community destroys the

trading premises to rehabilitate consumers since they claim that the temporary closure of the

trade will give consumers an opportunity to abstain. The community appears to perceive the

illicit alcohol consumption problem as a supply issue. The blame is consistently placed on the

traders/producers. The demand side of the problem is obscured. Anti-alcohol campaigns in

other contexts, for example in Russia (Leon et al., 1997; Cockerham, 2002) tackled both

supply and demand side channels of illicit alcohol by raising the effective price of alcohol and

subsidizing substitutes for alcohol consumption concurrently and were effective in reducing

poisonous alcohol consumption. Elements of collateral damage, where both the combatants,

and non-combatants in war are wounded or killed (Bauman, 2007; McIntyre, 2013) are

evident in the illicit alcohol war, where property is destroyed, in the process of destroying

illicit alcohol.

The loss accruing from illicit alcohol consumption is widely acknowledged even among the traders. One of the traders interviewed expressed an intention to quit alcohol trade, citing the negative impact of alcohol on consumers:

> If I had another occupation I would not sell alcohol. One day I met a consumer on my premises, he was so drunk he could not remember his name or where he comes from. We had to retrieve his mobile phone and call some of his contacts. They told us his name and where he lives so we took him home because we did not want him to sleep at the pub. When we got close to his home, he remembered where he lives. I do not want to grow old and retire in this business I used to drink alcohol, but I cannot drink now, I do not think that this is a good business. I consumed alcohol for many years but there was no gain, only loss. I drunk because of peer pressure, I was single then" (Kate, licensed alcohol trader who also sells second-generation alcohol, age, 30 - 40).

The excerpt reveals the tension and cognitive dissonance faced by illicit alcohol traders. The trader expresses regret at being involved in alcohol trade. She sells both licensed alcohol, including second-generation alcohol, which is legal, even though it is referred to as illicit alcohol in the public domain. The trader notes that the alcohol business is harmful to the community, she recounts an unfortunate incident of a consumer who was rendered helpless by illicit alcohol and feels that alcohol consumption can only hurt the consumer. After acknowledging the threat from illicit alcohol, Kate defends her position as a trader, citing economic reasons, but promising to quit the trade once she has an alternative means of

making a living. Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralization techniques are illustrated in the excerpt where the trader defends her involvement in illicit alcohol trade. The justifications for a (perceived) moral transgression are valid to the perceived violator, but not to the community, for example the continued sale of illicit alcohol to make a living. The lure of profit/gain motivates the neutralization (Vitell and Grove, 1987). The feelings of regret for participating in illicit alcohol trade, coupled with the resignation to the fact that it is a critical means of survival leads to acceptance of the situation and neutralization of guilt which leads to continued engagement in illicit alcohol trade. The justification for illicit alcohol trade is economic survival. "I do it to get something to feed my children" (Article 7a**: LPreB**), and it results in moral rationalization that involves making excuses for wrong behaviour or condoning wrong doing (Bandura, 1991, Tsang, 2002).

7.3.2. *Moral ambiguities and motivated moral reasoning*

The ambiguities inherent in moral judgement processes (Ditto et al., 2009) are illustrated in these excerpts where the destruction of property in the war is condemned but the motives for the war is upheld revealing moral decoupling processes (Bhattacharjee, Berman and Reed, 2013).

Oloosirkon/Sholinke Ward Representative Daniel Kanchori said the women are acting out of desperation due to the failure of relevant institutions to get rid of illicit liquor especially in the rural areas of Kajiado … The MCA[12] said the women have

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[12] Member of county assembly

good intentions to prevent alcoholism from destroying their families … Mr

Kanchori said the Kajiado County Assembly was preparing a motion to tighten the

rules on alcohol sale and consumption. … the women were motivated by other

underlying issues such as sale of land, absenteeism, abandoned homes and

children…Mr Kanchori said … "We have held several meetings with the women

and advised them to desist from destroying property and licensed alcoholic drinks

(Article 12a: **IPostB**).

Moral reasoning is critical in social contexts where people try to influence others' moral

judgements (Greene and Haidt, 2002). In the excerpt, the MCA attempts to absolve the

women from blame, even though he condemns their destructive actions. The separation of

motives from the transgressions illustrates moral reasoning processes that result in moral

decoupling (Bhattacharjee, Berman and Reed, 2013) where the judgements of motive are

separated from judgements about a moral transgression, avoiding blanket condemnation. The

excerpt reflects multiple and competing, social, economic, and political agendas in the illicit

alcohol debate. On one hand, the member of the county assembly (MCA) sympathizes with

the women and acknowledges the institutional failure to regulate illicit alcohol, but he also

condemns their actions. The findings support propositions in social psychology about

motivated moral reasoning processes, that people can easily come up with reasons to justify

moral transgressions, and that the motivations to maintain relationships can lead to biased

judgements and induce additional moral reasoning (Greene and Haidt, 2002). The MCA is an

elected politician and he may be interested in maintaining relationships with his constituents

and community for future votes, motivated additional reasoning to avoid condemning the

women. The excerpt also relays the reactive, ex post facto way alcohol regulation is carried out. The county assembly is preparing a motion at a time when the community has suffered from the effects of illicit alcohol and the alcohol has been banned and a war against illicit alcohol is ongoing. Whereas alcohol policy regulation should be approached proactively, the reverse is shown to be true in the illicit alcohol market in Kenya from the excerpt.

Consumers who stopped consuming illicit alcohol because of the war on alcohol initially had bad feelings about the war but the bad feelings were overshadowed by the positive outcomes of the war on their lives. Several motivated moral reasoning processes are illustrated in the following excerpt. At first, there is moral rationalization (Tsang, 2002), where the consumer justifies illicit alcohol consumption, then there is a negative moral judgement on the war, followed by a moral override of the negative judgement by a positive judgement on the war due to the positive outcome of the war. The moral override occurs where an initial judgement is altered because of additional moral reasoning processes.

> Mureithi, 30, was among those who felt the immediate impact of the crackdown…
> "I wondered why the MP and residents were destroying the brew that had kept me going," he told the Nation. To him, the drink would drown his frustrations, which mainly stemmed from the fact that the Form Four leaver was unemployed. A day after the alcohol was destroyed; Mureithi's body started shaking due to lack of alcohol. The shaking was, to him, yet another sign that he had embarked on a long journey of misery now that he would be without his "companion" — his dear bottle It was the first day in a long time to go without alcohol "I cannot recall a day I went without alcohol and after the crackdown, I worried about how I would face my tribulations without liquor. What was available in the shelves was too expensive for

me," said Mureithi, whose only source of income until then was menial jobs. However, he did not know that he had taken the first step to freedom from the shackles of alcohol. After the crackdown, the MP brought together 43 young men and women … he sponsored them to join the Munyu Institute of Technology in Ngoliba, Thika, where they took basic electrical and agribusiness courses free of charge. The institute…, also collaborated with anti-drugs agency NACADA and counsellors, who took the 43 through sessions to avoid relapse. After a month of learning and rehabilitation, the group was ready to graduate, each equipped with skills to enable them to have a decent life (Article 33a: **IPostB**).

The excerpt here shows that the initial feelings about the war were negative. The consumer experienced negative alcohol withdrawal symptoms. He felt helpless in his predicament as he could not afford formal alcohol, and illicit alcohol had been destroyed. The predicament however turned out to be good fortune. These findings reaffirm the role of context in conflicting representations (Batel, 2012; Howarth, 2006). The initial negative representation of the war is premised on alcohol withdrawal symptoms that a consumer dependent on alcohol had to grapple with the symptoms, with no alcohol to help him. The representations of the war are then transformed from negative, to positive, when the freedom from alcohol addiction is realised. This representation transformation is reflective of the "brutal, direct and complete transformation" of representations discussed by Abric (1996, p.80) where the central elements of a representation are broken down. The representation changes from one where cheap accessible illicit alcohol is necessary for coping with life and preventing alcohol withdrawal symptoms, to one where the destruction of alcohol is a positive move, liberating captive consumers. Since the greatest action in moral judgement takes place in the automatic,

affectively laden intuitions, not in conscious verbal reasoning (Haidt, 2001; Haidt, 2007; Haidt and Bjorklund, 2008), the initial negative judgement on the war was driven by a desire for illicit alcohol. Moral reasoning can however sometimes correct and override moral intuition (Haidt, 2007; Pizzaro and Bloom, 2003). The former consumer has a change in perspective on the war when his life is transformed by the freedom from addiction, illustrating a form of moral override from the initial negative judgement on the war to the latter positive evaluation of the war. The analysis of moral override illustrates the fact that the moral judgement process is not one off but can be in continuous revision in light of new information or experience. The former consumers credit both the destruction of alcohol, and the rehabilitation efforts for their transformed lives. The former consumers were also equipped with life skills, which were lacking before. The tactics employed for consumer rehabilitation in these excerpts demonstrate a holistic approach to alcohol problems, targeted at both the supply and demand sides. The alcohol was destroyed, tackling the supply aspect and the consumers were rehabilitated, and equipped with life skills. This kind of approach is the exception in the war on illicit alcohol, yet it appears to be very effective in reducing harmful illicit alcohol consumption. The excerpt illustrates different moral reasoning process.

The affective analysis demonstrates the role of different interests in framing reality and the construction of meaning (Pfeffer, 1981) as different market actors express different, sometimes contradictory feelings and emphasize different outcomes, depending on the stakes in the war. From this analysis, the dynamic nature of representation, where individuals and social groups use representations to defend, reject, or sustain different versions of reality (Howarth, 2006) is illuminated. The analysis also demonstrates how actors manipulate the war metaphor to achieve different goals as well as different moral reasoning.

7.4.   Analysis of engagement as a means of minimising harmful alcohol use

Engagement has been proposed as a viable alternative to resolving ethical and moral dilemmas in the marketplace (Ladkin, 2006). Engagement recognises the interdependencies and connections among different stakeholders (Uhl-Bien, 2011) in complex social or organizational problems. In engagement different stakeholder groups are consulted about a problem and all their concerns, assumptions and emotions behind their concerns considered (Ladkin, 2006). Various comments on the digital news imply that the government is detached and aloof and therefore unable to deal with the "real issues" facing the country. The following comments on digital news sites argue that the government is not in touch with reality:

> You tried to solve problems cosmetically not getting to the root of the problem"
> (consumer comment: Article 19a: **LPostBO**).

> The country is targeting side shows instead of the real areas where genocide is
> (Consumer comment: Article 31a: **IPostB**).

> Kiunjuri, have u just landed in Kenya from Jupiter? (Consumer comment: Article
> 19a: **LPostBO**)

The illicit alcohol problem is presented as a complex intractable social issue. The government on the other hand is portrayed as ignorant of the complexity of the problem. The members of the public accuse the government of being out of touch with reality. The failure to pay attention to the context to recognize the real problems, leads to inappropriate solutions. Those

in charge are portrayed as being unfamiliar with the suffering of the public and unwilling to engage in a depth analysis of the problem. The public claims that alcohol policy does not engage with the real problems. The effort is misdirected, and real harm is ignored. The cabinet secretary for devolution Mr. Kiunjuri is specifically mentioned as one of the leaders that is out of touch with reality and too far removed and so is completely unfamiliar with the context of illicit alcohol consumption. The focus on the macro level is particularly criticized as "targeting side shows" while ignoring the communities where "genocide" or harm is experienced. The excerpts imply that welfare enhancing change can only be possible by engaging with the source of the problem and the actual areas where the problem is experienced. This type of engagement can be made possible through involving different sectors in the community (Austin and Seitanidi, 2012) such as government, civil society, the public and the traders/business community.

A recent crackdown on illegal alcohol inspired by a presidential directive has pushed Kenya towards the brink of a complex social and political crisis whose consequences will be legal, medical and economic. Most Kenyans agree with the assertion that the fight against illicit brews is long overdue, but many doubt whether the campaign should be executed by armed, militia-like gangs of men and women commanded by politicians, and wielding machetes and other crude weapons, as opposed to the nation's constitutional security forces. Even as we grapple with processes, many are still asking whether requisite steps are being taken to address the underlying social deficiencies that got the nation here in the first place (Article 32a: **IPostB**).

The community bears the greatest level of responsibility. The government officials are too greedy, and they accept bribes, so they cannot do their duty. The penalty is not high enough to deter the trade. All the alcohol traders who flout the law and are charged in a court of law are able to pay the fine so no trader has ever been jailed. The whole community is aware of where the changaa dens are. As long as changaa dens exist, we have to sell second-generation. They also need to close second-generation alcohol breweries. Today, there are very many illicit alcohol traders who sell even the banned brands of second-generation alcohol and they are known to the authorities. They walk around with the sachets hidden in small bags which they retail to consumers. The community has the power because they know these traders and they determine that the alcohol will not be sold, they can stop it. The community is unstoppable" (Kate, licensed alcohol trader who also sells second-generation alcohol, age, 30 – 40).

The government should get serious about fighting illicit alcohol because it can help, and the public should cooperate. Even when we sat at that meeting, we told her frankly that even we traders only want to deal with the legal stuff. If you open an outlet in this place to sell illicit alcohol, you will make huge profit. You will overtake me, an established trader, illicit alcohol trade is very profitable" (John, licenced formal alcohol trader, age 40 - 50).

Engagement involves acknowledging multiple emergent meanings and perspectives (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000) when dealing with a problem. The failure to engage results

in inappropriate sometimes harmful interventions as depicted in the first excerpt. The criticism against the market initiatives to curb the harm from alcohol are founded on the notion that the government acts without consultation or without engaging well with the problem or the stakeholders. According to the data, when the government engages with the stakeholders, it is purely a public relations gimmick, with no real intention of addressing the concerns. The excerpts suggest that the resolutions proposed or enacted do not address the problems in the illicit alcohol market. Different stakeholders expressed concern that the proposed solutions are not tailored for the context in which illicit alcohol takes place. There are no "tests of fit" for the various proposals, and they are offered as a final solution. Public forums were also cited by several interviewees for their efficacy in the fight against illicit alcohol. The public forums involved the community, alcohol traders and government officials meeting together to chart a way forward regarding alcohol trade and consumption.

7.5. Analysis of regulation as a mechanism for minimizing harm in the illicit alcohol market

The state and the market can be instrumental in limiting market inequalities (Barrios et al, 2016) or perpetuating them. The state seeks to limit inequalities through initiatives such as regulation, subsidies, taxation, and minimum pricing. The market can limit inequalities through equal treatment of all consumer groups and providing equal value, for equal dollars, regardless of the status of the consumer (Shultz, 2015). The injustices in the illicit alcohol market are attributed to the regulatory void in the illicit alcohol market, injustice by the state and market inequality as discussed in the following sections.

7.5.1. *The regulatory void in the illicit alcohol market*

Traders in the illicit alcohol market maintain that their role is to sell alcohol, not to inspect alcohol. The traders have however been forced to assume governance duties because of the problems in the illicit alcohol market, and the regulatory voids left by a state which is portrayed as negligent (Scherer and Palazzo, 2011). The regulatory voids include the ex post facto alcohol policies illustrated in this analysis (e.g.7.2.3) and the failure to enforce standardization and quality by the relevant government authorities. The traders also suffer losses because of these lapses, but they also take advantage of the regulatory voids. The following excerpts illustrate these regulatory voids:

> The brews were being produced everywhere, every week, you would hear of a new brand of second-generation alcohol. In one week, you would hear that this brand is the most powerful, but in another week, it would be outdone by a new brand in the market. The government played a major role in the proliferation/explosion of illicit alcohol…Alcohol trade is a legal business and it is not the role of the retailer to test for licit and illicit products. We have a bureau of standards, KEBS should test the products. Alcohol distributors contact retailers and solicit for business and the retailers end up in trouble. These days we ask distributors to bring all the legal documents including a KEBS certification, before we accept their products …Those distributors in the illicit business were very smart, they even had a KEBS seal. They used genuine KEBS seals. There was a lot of corruption in the business. The government should appreciate that this is a legal business. We pay for licenses. They should not do things

the way they did them…Most of the distributors have gone out of business. A friend of mine had two distributorships and those business died because of the crackdown. He did not have money to restock after the crackdown. I can only buy from the company (KBL) or from my neighbour here. I cannot buy anywhere else. You do not want to buy from a distributor and then consumers die after drinking alcohol at your club (John, licensed alcohol trader, age, 40-50).

The public was trying to get rid of the illicit alcohol that has destroyed homes, but the government is to blame for the economic loss suffered by retailers because all the alcohol that was destroyed has KRA[13] and KEBS[14] stickers" (Anthony, licensed alcohol trader, age, 50 – 60)

All alcohol should be inspected at the source like they do with meat, rather than at the retailing point. Today the government asks brewers for samples which the brewer takes to the government body KEBS, for testing, they should instead send quality control teams at random to the breweries to sample the product. There should be routine, random tests at the point of production. There are brewers in the market who have no alcohol metres, so they have no way of determining the level of alcohol in their brews, making the brews very hazardous (Antony, Licensed second-generation alcohol trader, age 50-60).

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[13] Kenya Revenue Authority

[14] Kenya Bureau of Standards

The excerpts are taken from interviews with licensed traders who sell legal alcohol. The government is blamed for the presence of illicit alcohol in the market, and for the failure to curb illicit activity. The traders claim that the illicit alcohol, namely second-generation alcohol which is retailed in licensed outlets had all the correct labels and certifications similar to legal alcohol. The traders appear reluctant to assume any responsibility for vigilance in the alcohol market, for which they blame the government. The traders claim they are forced to play the role of regulator, anti-counterfeit agency, and retailer, and to be extra vigilant. Corrupt law enforcement officers are also blamed for the problem, since they are bribed to allow illicit trade to continue unabated (See also, Gamburd, 2008). Unlicensed traders such as changaa traders and licensed wines and spirits agents also take advantage of the regulatory void and sell alcohol all day, frustrating the efforts to restrict drinking hours as stipulated in the law, and shifting the alcohol business from legal licensed traders who run pubs. The traders' expressions imply that they are at a disadvantage for operating legally within the constraint of the law, observing strict alcohol selling hours and paying the necessary government levies. Despite their compliance with the law, the unlicensed and licensed competition who do not play by the rules make the most out of alcohol business.

The regulatory void in the market is also highlighted by members of the community who complain about a negligent government:

> The crackdown was good. The brews had been eliminated but the government has let us down. The police have allowed the trade to continue in certain quarters because they can get bribes from those traders. They warn the traders to beware of the public and to be careful of their trade. This has brought back illicit brews…We can do nothing, we have no power, the traders and the police are in charge. The

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traders are protected by the police. If you report the traders to the police, the police

alert the trader about the public outcry and caution them to be careful in their trade

and to hide the alcohol. By the time the public visits a trader, there is nothing to

destroy…They are negligent, they have let us down. I think an NGO [15] should be in

charge of eliminating and regulating illicit alcohol, the government cannot manage.

The NGO would be able to support the public to fight illicit alcohol. The

government does not support us but fights us. On one occasion, the chief summoned

me and asked me not to cite the government or regulation when raiding illicit

alcohol dens. Apparently, the chief had even warned the traders of an impending

crackdown. We raided a homestead where they had hidden illicit alcohol, the

alcohol was even disguised as tea in flasks (Julia, Anti- illicit alcohol activist, age

40- 45, local business woman).

Julia notes that all the gains from the crackdown have slipped away due to the negligence of

the government, and the frustration of community efforts by government officials. She goes

on to propose that alcohol regulation and law enforcement in the alcohol sector should be

assigned to civil society organisations, because the government is not capable or culpable.

Julia also cites an incident where she was asked not to mention the government, or alcohol

laws, when she and other women raid alcohol dens, that they are on their own in their efforts

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[15] Non-Governmental Organisation

7.5.2.   *Injustice by the state*

The state is portrayed as perpetuating market injustices (Rawls, 2005) by having a unidimensional outlook on issues of regulation as well as allowing politicians to play a central role in the illicit alcohol market as shown in these media excerpts by different bloggers and traders as well as observation by the researcher:

> Illicit brew dens are back on the mountains, in the valleys, city alleys, dens and everywhere one looks. The funerals will follow, the village demonstrations will come next and emotional politicians will hit the villages with a message of redemption, before the sad cycle repeats itself. The process of banning consumption of "second-generation" alcoholic brews may not have been consultative, as required by law, but how does the law define the unnecessary resultant deaths and the hopeless drunkard youths due to illicit brews? (Article 18a: **IPostB**).

> The reason why the government cannot win the war on corruption, cattle rustling, alcoholism and terrorism began when left a bunch of headless adrenaline driven mob to decide on what is good and what is bad, who is the criminal, and who is not. We turned the war on corruption, cattle rusting and terrorism to be political matters in order to achieve some parochial political sympathy from the masses without really tackling the underlying issues or decisively dealing with the culprits. now the same is repeating itself in the war against alcoholism (Article 27a: **IPostB).**

There are 18 alcohol outlets selling second-generation alcohol within a 300m radius

in 1 trading centre and 10 second-generation alcohol outlets within a 100-m radius

in another trading centre (Observation by researcher in August 2017: **LPostBO)**

From a frame analysis perspective, the problem in the illicit alcohol market is defined as one

of access. Illicit alcohol is easily available everywhere. The negative public health impact of

available illicit alcohol, namely the death of illicit alcohol consumers is also highlighted.

Procedural justice has also failed according to the bloggers. The measures put in place to

enhance equality in alcohol consumption are not working, for example the ban on illicit

liquor, and the judicial ruling regarding illicit alcohol which is alluded to in the excerpt as

shown in 7.5.3 in this analysis. The ruling overturning the ban cited the failure to involve all

stakeholders, in particular the traders when the ban was issued, and on that basis, the ban was

nullified. The blogger in the first excerpt considers this to be a unidimensional approach

where consultation is regarded above the well-being of consumers who die when taking the

banned products, now turned legal. The failure to engage and deal decisively with the illicit

alcohol problem is also highlighted. After highlighting the problem, a diagnosis of the

responsible factors, and a moral judgement on the actors involved are detailed. The

community and the government (politicians) are blamed for their reactive, rather than

proactive response to the illicit alcohol crisis. Illicit brews are everywhere, but nobody speaks

out, until tragedy strikes, then they respond, emotionally, perhaps rather than rationally. This

emotional response as a function of moral judgement has been documented by social

psychologists such as Graham and colleagues (2013), where he proposes that what

intuitionists (e.g. Haidt, 2001) refer to as moral judgement is a function of the emotions.

When intuition is responsible for moral judgement, the moral reasoning takes place after the

moral judgement has already occurred. The prominence of private reasoning is diminished in this intuitionist model, in favour of social and cultural influences, making it a social model (Haidt, 2001). The blogger however appears to ridicule emotional/intuitive moral responses. The manipulation of crisis by politicians to gain popularity (Steinert, 2003) is also highlighted in the excerpt, where politicians wait for catastrophes to strike before offering their leadership.

Licensed traders also imply that the approach to alcohol regulation and enforcement is one sided, focusing solely on licensed traders, while illicit traders go unchecked.

> A few weeks ago, we had a meeting with he DO[16] and she imposed very strict measures on us on the operating hours. Yet our products are harmless, even if one was to drink a whole crate they would only get drunk but the next morning you wake up and go about your business The DO should concentrate on illicit alcohol which is killing people (John, licenced formal alcohol trader, age 40 - 50).

The existing regulation already stipulates opening and closing hours, but since many traders prefer longer trading hours, they disregard the regulation on closing hours. When the traders are asked to comply with the law, they term the requirement as too restricting for good alcohol. The trader argues that the alcohol laws mainly focus on licensed traders who deal in legal alcohol, yet legal alcohol is harmless according to the trader. He continues to argue that the government should concentrate on illicit alcohol, which is the problem, and allow licensed legal alcohol to continue without such strict measures. The labelling of good and bad alcohol

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[16] District Officer

seems to have resulted in psychological distance between illicit alcohol and legal alcohol where the long-term public health impact of alcohol is obscured by the acute and immediate impact of illicit alcohol (e.g. Lawhorn and Herrick, 2013). The perception in the public domain based on this excerpt, and other data in both the media and the interview, is that legal alcohol has no negative impact on health.

7.5.3.   *Market inequality*

The inaccessibility of formal legal alcohol for a big percentage of the population due to price is argued to lead to social and consumption inequities (Hill, 2018) in both the media and interview data as shown in these excerpts:

> Clearly there is a gap in this area – that of affordable alcoholic beverages. The more than 40 per cent of Kenyans who live below the poverty line still need to consume alcohol, for whatever reason… Many traditional cultures in Kenya had elaborate systems for brewing, consuming and controlling the consumption of alcohol. Members of society rarely operated outside this system since the cultural repercussions for dishonouring it, were punitive, harsh and unavoidable. Culture clearly dictated who, when and where such consumption could be done. Now we have a need that we cannot agree on the best way to fulfil – even as many young Kenyans die, denying this country one of the most pertinent factors of production (Article 3a: **LPostBO**).

"The policy argument I am advancing also provides equality of opportunity for drinking clean and affordable alcohol. The current policy privileges one class over another in drinking, but it needs to be said that it is not the preserve of the elite to drink, nor is drunkenness respectful of class. The current campaign against illicit brews focuses on brews consumed by the poor while ignoring the problem of drunkenness in general. The resources currently being expended to destroy the budding traditional liquor industry needs to instead be put towards nurturing this nascent industry as a source of opportunity, promoting clean and responsible drinking and weaning addicts of alcohol…The war on 'illicit brews' presents an interesting study in the policy dilemmas associated with controlling drunkenness - and its associated social problems, promoting local entrepreneurship and promoting equality. The current policy has instead focused on the first, while ignoring the second and the third aspects of local brews… A policy environment that is more favourable to controlled brewing of traditional liquors - besides the economic benefits - is also likely to contribute to a more equitable distribution of ownership of opportunity. While a number of the distillers might have grown rich over the years, it would not be inaccurate to say that majority of them are poor people trying to get ahead in life. So, the characterization of their distilleries as "illicit" necessarily privileges those of the bigger wealthier entrepreneurs – many of which are also foreign." (Article 34a: **LPostBO**)

The above excerpt espouses the creation and implementation of new solutions to social problems (Tracey and Stott, 2016), such as the nurturing of local breweries to address the

market inequality in the illicit alcohol market. Some of the bloggers also blame consumers for their culture of consumption. Consumers are depicted as poor, living below the poverty line, but they still seem to have a driving need to consume illicit alcohol "for whatever reason", unable to resist the lure of consumption. Baudrillard (2016) explains the cause of the driving need to consume as the product of industrial mass production which necessities the creation of mass consumers. This kind of irresistible consumption seems to be unconscious and is alienating because the people become subject to consumption where the consumption object dominates. Consumers can refuse this social domination by rebelling against the code or seeking new consumption styles. The blogger appears to propose new consumption styles as the solution (Murray and Ozanne, 1991, 1994). Conscious disengagement with the consumption object could empower the consumers by removing their dependence on consumption as the definition of life (Ozanne and Murray, 1995). Mass resistance to the consumption object has the potential for social change and to aid consumers to become conscious of the overdependence on consumption. The blogger highlights the role of public policy/regulation in facilitating this social change and the current failure in public policy. The blogger's moral judgement is demonstrated by blaming the failure in procedural justice and regulatory legitimacy for requiring the consultation of all stakeholders to make the ban on illicit brews lawful (https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Crackdown-on-illicit-liquor-unlawful/-/1056/3035226/-/djbmy2/-/index.html). She claims that the law is more concerned with protocol, than preserving the lives of youth who consume illicit alcohol. The first blogger offers several remedial actions such as: considering the negative consequences of illicit alcohol on the youth as sufficient reasons to uphold the ban on illicit brews, rather than insisting on a consultative process when the negative impact is visible for all to see. Cultural restraints are also depicted as very effective in minimising harmful alcohol use. The problem

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is also framed as an issue of trader versus consumer justice, with the balance tipping in favour of the traders. The strategies used in the market are also blamed for selective objectification, where the focus is on controlling drunkenness and social problems, whilst obscuring equality, and local entrepreneurs in a nascent industry. The selective objectification is blamed for the cyclic nature of the illicit alcohol market where harm breeds outcry, which leads to community and government intervention, then a lull followed by a return of the brews, and the cycle continues, as bans are issued, and the drinks continue to be sold (Willis, 2003). The focus on illicit alcohol, which is mainly consumed by consumers in lower socio-economic classes may also magnify the excessive alcohol consumption of the poorer classes, whilst obscuring the heavy drinking of more affluent groups. The overemphasis on the dangers of marginalised groups' excessive consumption of alcohol, while portraying the alcohol consumption of the middle-classes as refined, safe and moderate has also been documented by other scholars (e.g. Cohen, 2002; Berridge et al. 2007).

The notion that traditional homemade alcohol was harmless and that the industrially produced second- generation alcohol is the problem is reflected in the above excerpts and in the interview data as well as shown in this excerpt.

> The illicit alcohol we used to brew was very good. Because we used to prepare it ourselves. The police messed it up. When they started harassing brewers, brewers started taking shortcuts to avoid being arrested. So, they would brew for shorter periods, or they would buy ready-made alcohol to mix with water and they were aware that this was industrial alcohol. It was packaged in a small polythene bag. When you mix the alcohol with water, you pray and hope that there will be no ill

effects such as death and blindness from the alcohol you sell (Florence, former

trader, age 50-60)

The authentic traditional alcohol is again acclaimed as safe and good in the above excerpt and

elsewhere in the data (e.g. Article 3a: **LPostBO)**. Increased surveillance is depicted as the

source of dysfunctional entrepreneurial activities (Hill and Stephens, 1997) in the illicit

alcohol market, such as the adulteration of alcohol to reduce brewing time, or the use of

readymade industrial alcohol in consumer drinks. Further, the role of cognitive polyphasia

(Provencher and Wagner, 2012) where traders pray and hope that outsourced alcohol, which

has previously caused harm will not cause harm this time, and thus causes the traders to take

unnecessary risks. The abandonment of local culture, where apprentices could gain local skills

such as brewing, and cultural constraints that regulated drinking are also posited as additional

problems in the illicit alcohol market. The blogger appears to propose traditional brewing

skills revival, and cultural constraints on harmful drinking practices as the solution in the

illicit alcohol market. The proposal would deal with inequality by ensuring that alcohol is

accessible to all and would control harmful use through cultural constraints (Swidler, 2000).

The blogger acknowledges the role of cultural-cognitive legitimacy in minimising harmful

alcohol use. Initiatives aimed at formalizing entrepreneurial activity in the alcohol sector are

also argued to have marginalized the majority small scale brewers, while benefiting more

affluent entrepreneurs who are able to take advantage of industrial large-scale production of

alcohol (see Varman et al, 2012; Piacentini and Hamilton, 2013). The alienating role of

industrialisation or formalisation (Marx, 1976) of alcohol trade is highlighted in such

arguments.

The illicit brew industry is also positioned as the embryo that might lead to industrialization in the least developed countries if well nurtured, so in this context, it is constructed as necessary: Provision of low-cost formal sector alcohol at prices the population can afford, through measures such as special tax rates for products offered to low-income consumers has also been proposed as a solution to reducing illicit alcohol consumption (Botha, 2009). This move of low cost commercial drinks is aimed at substituting illicit alcohol with formal sector alcohol. Babor and colleagues (2010) however argue that such a move may lead to an increase in the total consumption of alcohol, as was the case in Finland (Mäkelä and Österberg, 2009). Illicit alcohol traders could also lower their prices as a counter measure, rendering the move ineffective in curbing illicit alcohol consumption (Lachenmeier, 2011). Lower prices may also be ineffective for consumers who are looking for potency to get drunk in the quickest way (Lachenmeier, Taylor and Rehm, 2010) as is often the case with many illicit alcohol consumers who seek high strength alcohol.

Klein (2008) has argued that the calculations of costs and benefits of market actions can be useful in implementing distributive justice. Alcohol pricing debates, where different social actors discuss the pros or cons of different market actions, such as minimum pricing or availing cheap alcohol are an example of these proposals which aim to enhance distributive justice as illustrated in the following quotes from the interviews:

> The cheapest legal alcohol in stock in this club is Ksh. 150[17]. It is called Balozi[18]
> and it is in very high demand. It is the fastest moving. If alcohol was affordable,

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[17] £1.1

then people would drink something good. But a consumer who is accustomed to drinking second- generation[19] alcohol cannot feel the impact of 3 bottles of Balozi, worth, Kshs. 450[20]. It is not potent enough to get them drunk. That person will need 7 or 8[21] balozi worth about Kshs. 1200[22] before they can begin to feel the impact of the alcohol. Price plays a major role in driving consumers towards second-generation alcohol… The hike in the price of Keg is what made second-generation alcohol very popular. The government played a major role in the explosion of illicit alcohol in the market (John, licenced formal alcohol trader, age 40 - 50).

This excerpt also advocates lower alcohol prices

The government needs to lower the price of good/legitimate alcohol so that consumers can stop taking dangerous unhealthy alcohol which has a negative health impact…: It is better for our young men to take alcohol, rather than indulge in illicit drugs because illicit drugs are very expensive and costly. At least with Kshs. 50[23] the young men can drink the illicit alcohol and then go home, rather than take drugs...We must eliminate illicit alcohol completely before introducing lower priced legitimate alcohol… I wish that Kenya breweries and Keroche breweries, the two major breweries in Kenya would produce some low priced good quality alcohol for our young men. They should not come up with some bad products like they have done in the past. For example, Eabl produced KEG which has adverse health effects

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[18] 4.2% ABV

[19] 50% ABV

[20] £3.3

[21] Approximately 7 pints or 16 units

[22] £8.8

[23] Approximately 35 pence

on consumers. It is approved by the government, it is currently on sale in the market, but it is a terrible brew. It is even responsible for the spread of tuberculosis among alcohol consumers because the glasses used for serving the alcohol are never cleaned (Julia, Anti- illicit alcohol activist, age 40- 45, local business woman)

The excerpts that advocate for lower prices, imply that alcohol has been normalised and is accepted as part of a youth culture, hence the need for good alcohol at lower prices, since alcohol is a part of everyday youth life. In developing countries, poverty is a widespread phenomenon (Viswanathan et al., 2012) and the majority poor consumers face significant constraints in the marketplace (Botti et al, 2008). In view of these constraints, some members of the community argue that affordable good quality alcohol should be available for all. The data also suggests that most of the consumers are heavy drinkers who prefer high alcohol content brews, hence the inclination to purchase cheap illicit alcohol.

This excerpt advocates high prices:

A consumer just needs Kshs. 35[24] or Kshs. 70 to buy a portion of the drink… but I think if the prices were higher, the consumption of alcohol would reduce. Even addictions and the negative effects from alcohol would reduce. I usually see PSV conductors and drivers coming together, each with a small amount, such as Kshs. 35 and they are able to buy a bottle of that alcohol and share. This alcohol is even available in the supermarkets and wines and spirits shops throughout the day. Most of those conductors spend their day drinking because as soon as they are able to

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[24] 25 pence

raise Kshs. 75, they come together and buy a bottle to share. By 3.00 p.m. they are

so drunk, and they have no money, nothing to show for their labour, their lives will

never improve. The government should ensure that there is no cheap high strength

alcohol, the minimum price should be between Kshs. 350 and Kshs.400[25] so that

people work first, before embarking on drinking. And people can find it more

difficult to access alcohol if it is at Kshs. 400, and they will also feel a pinch of

having to part with more money which can be used for a durable consumable or

possession e.g clothes, so they may not drink as much, and they also must first work

for the better part of the day, before they can make enough for alcohol but when it is

so cheap, they do not realise they are spending money, and they start drinking quite

early in the day (Mike, community leader, age: 40 - 50).

Community leaders express concern over the heavy drinking, and some of them propose high

alcohol prices, to curb alcohol misuse and minimise the harm from alcohol consumption. The

community leaders argue that the heavy consumption of illicit alcohol is linked to the low

affordable prices that make illicit alcohol accessible for low-income consumers (see, Rehm et

al., 2016; WHO, 2014). Since illicit alcohol is available outside the regulated market, the

prices are low, increasing overall consumption (Rehm et al., 2014). Inequality of access to

formal alcohol, leads to more inequity (Hill, 2018) where consumers resort to illicit

unregulated alcohol, where overall alcohol consumption is higher. Alcohol use disorders

resulting from heavy alcohol use then lead to marginalization and stigmatization and increase

the gaps in social status of the affected consumers, resulting in social harm in addition to the

negative public health impact (Room, 2005; Schmidt et al., 2010).

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[25] Approximately 3 pounds

The public health harm from alcohol is highlighted throughout the data, confirming England's chief medical officer's claim that "there are no "safe" levels for alcohol consumption since any level of alcohol consumption is linked to increased risks to various diseases (Edwards, 2016). In the developed world, research findings suggest that minimum unit pricing has a significant impact on heavy drinkers who must pay more for higher volumes of alcohol, while the impact on moderate drinkers on low incomes is negligible. Minimum pricing is also proposed to play a role in reducing health inequalities in such contexts (Holmes, 2014). While some perspectives of justice conceive equality of access for all members of a society as the ideal dispensation of justice, others are more concerned with equality of outcomes. Distributive justice (Rawls, 2005) is concerned with the distribution of outcomes and goods that enhance the well-being of disadvantaged members in the society. Arguments for the equality of outcomes in alcohol consumption demonstrate the conflict and contradiction in social representation. Some proponents for low alcohol prices, such as Julia argue that high legal alcohol prices lead to injustice by restricting access to safe alcohol, resulting in adverse unequal outcomes for illicit alcohol consumers, who face many economic constraints (Piacentini and Hamilton, 2013; Viswanathan et al., 2012). These arguments appear congruent with perspectives of distributive justice concerned with the distribution of goods since minimum prices restrict alcohol access to the poorest.

Those who argue for increased alcohol prices perceive alcohol as neither intrinsic, nor instrumental to personal well-being, they see no need for initiatives that enhance access to alcohol for all, so they propose restriction. From a distribution of outcomes perspective then, distributive justice would lean towards minimum pricing for alcohol to reduce the harm from alcohol consumption (See Holmes, 2014). This is similar to common good ideals where the

pursuit of benefits for all members of society, may involve some level of individual or personal sacrifice. Drawing on the Kenyan illicit alcohol example, minimum prices may lock out the poorest consumers but should ideally result in harm reduction from alcohol misuse for all members of the society, so minimum pricing is proposed for the common good.

From the findings, it is important to consider both access and outcomes for the aims of distributive justice to be achieved as far as alcohol pricing is concerned. This is similar to other views of justice which argue that justice is concerned with equality among parties relative to the issues at stake (Klein, 2015). In the case of alcohol, access and outcomes are closely interlinked and there appears to be no win-win situation regarding minimum pricing, because consumers resort to illicit alcohol, when formal alcohol is economically out of reach. Other arguments for minimum pricing are illustrated by Mike who suggests that consumers are enticed by low alcohol prices, because there is no equivalent monetary value consumer product they can purchase with the amounts they spend on alcohol, resulting in a hedonic, versus functional trade-off (Chitturi, Raghunathan and Mahajan, 2007). Mike from the interview data, argues that if alcohol prices were higher, consumers might opt for more durable consumer products rather than hedonistic pursuits, reducing harmful alcohol use.

The findings also demonstrate that regulation is not sufficient for legitimacy. Second-generation alcohol had institutional legitimacy before the 2015 ban but has consistently been labelled as illicit alcohol, along with illegal homemade alcohol. This may be due to the failure to achieve cultural-cognitive legitimacy, even though the alcohol is normalized among consumers. The composition of most brews, especially the high alcohol content and the brewing process also leads to the legal/illicit classifications.

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The social and consumption inequities (Hill, 2018) are amplified in the adverse and unequal outcomes of illicit alcohol consumption among those who are unable to access formal legal alcohol as discussed previously, and further demonstrated in these excerpts which also detail the sources of unequal outcomes:

> Chemically, the killer in "second-generation" brews has been proven to be either methanol a form of alcohol that is unsafe to drink, formaldehyde, a colourless gas that when turned into a solution, is best known for preservation of dead bodies, or arsenic, a brittle metal commonly used in rat poison. All these are highly-controlled substances in Kenya. How they get into just any hands is a mystery that the law cannot seem to explain or deal with… Kenya legalised the production of traditional brews in 2010 with the passing the Alcoholic Drinks Control Act, popularly known as the 'Mututho law,' which repealed the Chang'aa Prohibition Act. We have heard a lot on the consumption and sale of alcohol, including regulations on selling hours, age of consumers and Alco blow, but the production part remains a miasma (Article 18a: **LPostBO).**

> Statistics show that although Kenya has one of the lowest per capita consumption rates in Africa, it suffers more from alcohol-related deaths because of the informality of the market…Six others are reported to have died from withdrawal

complications in Kiambu, where scores have been admitted to hospitals (Article 36a:

IPostB)

The blogger in the first excerpt, diagnoses adulteration with poisonous chemicals as the reason for harmful alcohol in the marketplace, another indication of the failure in procedural justice. The measures proposed to enhance safety and reduce harm, increasing the possibility for equality of outcomes are ineffective according to the blogger. She also appears to blame those in charge of enforcing control over the highly toxic substances. Institutions are judged as failing in their role of protecting the consumer, by allowing controlled substances to be freely available, without accountability. The institutions are also judged as incapable of carrying out their enforcement mandate. Piecemeal laws that seek to ensure compliance in the consumption of alcohol but fail to enforce compliance in production are also criticised since the focus on alcohol regulation appear to be on allowable drinking hours. The move to control toxic substances is aimed at preventing fatal poisonings from methanol or other poisonous substances as well as the prevention of chronic toxic effects from other denaturing compounds (Lachenmeier, 2011). In Kenya, the control of toxic substances has been ineffective.

This excerpt shows the negative outcomes of alcohol withdrawal for illicit alcohol consumers:

"When the crackdown came, the second-generation drinks disappeared. My friend began to shake and sweat. He looked like he was burning. Later, I understood these were withdrawal symptoms." As days turned to weeks, his friend fell seriously ill.

"He died. We buried him on August 8," Mutisya said. Luckily for him, he lived to

tell the tale (Article 38a: **IPostB**).

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The heavy drinking associated with low priced illicit alcohol (Rehm et al., 2014), also leads to

adverse alcohol withdrawal symptoms, in the event of sudden changes in alcohol

consumption. The ban on illicit alcohol was coupled with abrupt removal of illicit alcohol

from the market. Many illicit alcohol consumers suffered from the alcohol withdrawal, and a

some of them even died. The ban on alcohol which was targeted at saving their lives caused

their death, an example of unintended harm caused by negligence.

7.6.   Chapter summary and conclusion

The affective analysis of frames reveals that the dominant representations lead to motivated

moral reasoning processes such as moral rationalization and moral decoupling of moral

judgements as well as Manichean perspectives such as good and bad alcohol. The findings

support intuitionist approaches to moral judgement where affective responses, namely

emotional response and survival instincts govern moral responses. Moral responses in these

scenarios are first and foremost a reflexive action for survival. The community fights for

survival of the youth, and the next generation. The reasons are offered afterwards, to support

the moral actions (Haidt, 2001). Position and context determine the valence which is the

positive or negative feelings about a situation. The feelings and evaluation of outcomes

appear to be pegged on threat to survival, whether community or economic. In this study,

those who feel "good" about the war echo utilitarian moral views that advocate for solutions that yield the greatest good for the greatest number, whereas those who feel "bad/anger" about the war reflect deontological moral perspectives where individual actions are evaluated based on their consequences.

The frame analysis diagnoses the illicit alcohol problem as one of regulatory voids, injustice by the state and market inequality. The suggestions for ameliorating the problem include reviewing the implementation of regulatory mechanisms, cultural controls; cultural local production as opposed to industrial mass production, as well as the assignment of responsibility for carrying out the resolution which involves the community, and the government, and the processes involved. The diverse views of morality suggest that even though the goal of morality is to guide individual conduct, it does not necessarily lead to an acceptable solution for everyone (Caruana, 2007).

CHAPTER EIGHT: RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

8.1.   Introduction

The aim of the research is to examine social representations of marketplace immorality in a context of contested legitimacy. Social representations are prominent forces that shape how people think and act (Hall, 1997; Moscovici, 1988). A study of social representations involves analysing the complex interplay of beliefs and values within a society, and how these beliefs and values influence, and are reflected in perceptions and behaviour (Howarth, 2006). This study has examined the role of social representations in influencing perceptions and behaviour, in relation to morality in a context of contested legitimacy. This chapter details the theoretical, managerial, practical and policy contributions and implications of the perceptions and market practices related to social representations of immorality in the Kenyan illicit alcohol market. The chapter begins with an overview of the key findings, followed by a discussion of the theoretical contributions of this study to marketing and consumer literature and social representations theory. The managerial and practical and public policy implications are then discussed, followed by methodological reflections, research limitations and future research suggestions and finally a conclusion.

8.2. Overview of the key findings

This study sought to answer the following research questions: 1. What are the dominant social representations in the illicit alcohol market? 2. To what extent, and in what ways, is morality conveyed through these representations? 3. What are the effects of these representations? The thematic analysis in chapter 6 identified two dominant social representations in the illicit alcohol market. The two dominant social representations are "Illicit alcohol is harmful", and a second related representation of a "war" against illicit alcohol. By so doing, the research responds to the first research question and illustrates which social representations shape thinking and acting (Hall, 1997; Howarth, 2006) in the illicit alcohol market. The thematic analysis in chapter 6 also illustrates the extent to which morality is conveyed through the social representations, particularly the dominant social representations in the illicit alcohol market, thus responding to the second research question. The findings reveal that morality is conveyed as a violation of several moral intuitions identified in moral foundations theory namely, harm/care; fairness/reciprocity; in-group/loyalty; authority/respect and purity/sanctity (Haidt and Graham, 2007; Haidt and Joseph, 2004) as well as a violation of the moral codes of community, autonomy and divinity (Shweder, 1990). These findings extend the conceptualizations of consumer morality that only focus on a few moral concerns related to harm and justice (Komarova et al., 2016) by highlighting additional moral concerns related to authority, loyalty, community and divinity. The findings also respond to the third research question on the effects of the dominant social representations. The findings in chapter 6 suggest that the dominant social representations result in selective objectification and oversimplification of solutions in the illicit alcohol market, dehumanization and moral exclusion, and the normalization of violence. These findings extend the existing literature on

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selective objectification (Jodelet, 2016) in social representations theory by illustrating the effects of selective objectification in a market context. Another notable feature of the social representations in the illicit alcohol market in the Kenyan context is the pervasiveness of cognitive polyphasia in social representations. For example, the use of traditional knowledge such as superstition in a modern society (Provencher and Wagner, 2012). The findings illustrate how different market actors such as consumers, producers and the media use cognitive polyphasia in the marketplace illustrating market systems dynamics. Cognitive polyphasia is used to make sense of pain, personal loss, deviance and misfortune in this context, and as a means of coping and sometimes defending the harm caused to, and by others. Cognitive polyphasia is also used to explain alcohol addiction. The findings also suggest that cognitive polyphasia is used to induce change in the illicit alcohol market in Kenya and to delegitimize market practices. The findings in chapter 7 also respond to the third research question. The findings suggest that the dominant social representations also lead to motivated moral reasoning processes (Ditto et al., 2009) extending the consumer literature on morality by suggesting some of the contextual factors that may motivate moral decoupling (Bhattacharjee et al., 2013).

8.3. Contributions to marketing and consumer literature

The study makes the following contributions to the existing consumer and marketing literature: (1) The study's findings extend the extant conceptualizations of consumer and marketplace morality that currently focus on a few moral concerns related to harm and justice (Komarova et al., 2016) by highlighting additional moral concerns. The study also focuses on

multiple market actors (consumers, producers, the media, activists/anti-consumers, communities, the government and nongovernmental organisations) in view of market system dynamics (Giesler and Fischer, 2017). (2) The study findings illustrate moral ambiguities in the marketplace as well as the psychological and socio-cognitive processes used to navigate the moral ambiguities. (3) In relation to low- income consumer groups, the study highlights some of the unique marketplace challenges that low-income groups contend with (Olson et al., 2016) and some of the strategies used to navigate the constraints (Nuttall et al., 2013) such as opting for illicit consumption and the resultant inequality. The contributions are discussed in the following order: broadening the moral domain in consumer and marketplace morality, socio-psychological processes relevant to moral judgement and low-income consumers.

8.3.1. Broadening the moral domain in consumer and marketplace morality

This is a descriptive study on morality, not normative or prescriptive. Marketers, social psychologists, media, policy makers, and citizens need to describe and understand moralities for personal and collective well-being since immorality can result in harm (Mick et al., 2012; Schimmack et al. 2002). Many studies on morality explore only a subset of moral concerns (Graham et al., 2013) and marketing and consumer studies on morality are no exception (Komarova et al., 2016). This study expands the conceptualization of morality in a market context and responds to Komarova and colleagues (2016) call for a broader definition of consumer morality. The study focuses on plural moral domains with several moral concerns and multiple market actors (consumers, producers, the media, activists/anti-consumers, communities, the government and nongovernmental organisations) in view of market system

dynamics in their natural, real life settings for a holistic view of a market level phenomenon (Giesler and Fischer, 2017). The study highlights both individual-centred and other-centred moral concerns (Haidt and Graham, 2007; Graham et al., 2016). For example, the violation of individual rights and the harm to individuals, as well as the violation of divinity and community moral codes expanding the literature on consumer and marketplace morality. The study illustrates the functions of plural moral domains, as well as their impact on moral judgements, behaviour and outcomes. For example, the study findings show that morality driven by community and loyalty can hinder justice in some instances as illustrated in the findings in actions such as seeking anonymity when reporting moral transgressions in the community, making it impossible to procure witnesses against a fellow community member involved in unlawful activities (Green, 2016). The findings also suggest that the moral code of divinity can be used to neutralize (Bersoff, 1999) or defend moral transgressions since those involved in an immoral activity can associate themselves with divinity or they can sacralise their actions (Belk et al., 1989), diluting the gravity and perception of moral violations (see, Rai and Fiske, 2011). The findings also suggest that the plural moral domains meet individual and community social-functional needs such as the suppression of injustice, or the neutralization of guilt.

The findings suggest that autonomy and community values are in conflict in the marketplace (Fourcade and Healy, 2007). Moral judgements about community are about violations of group solidarity (concerned with concepts such as duty, respect, and loyalty, which preserve institutions and social order), while judgements about autonomy are about violations of individual rights (concerned with concepts such as harm, rights, and justice, which protect autonomous individuals). Violations of individual rights takes precedence over violations of

community and the social order, for example when the ban on illicit alcohol was overturned, due to considerations on the violation of the traders' rights, rather than the threat to the social order {See chapter 6 (6.2.3.1.) for details}. Deontological moral philosophies when placed in opposition to utilitarian perspectives explain the conflict in community and autonomy since the former are more concerned with individuals' rights whilst the latter place emphasis on the consequences to the majority and are more concerned with outcomes for the majority community (Ladkin, 2006). The findings therefore show why autonomy and community values are in conflict in the marketplace when deontological and utilitarian moral philosophies are pitted against each other.

8.3.2. Socio-psychological processes relevant to moral judgement

The findings illustrate moral ambiguities in the marketplace as well as the socio-psychological processes used to navigate the moral ambiguities. The processes illustrated include social representation, moral exclusion (Chapter 6), moral rationalization which involves excusing wrong behaviour, moral decoupling which entails separating judgements on transgressions from judgements on motive, and moral override where initial moral judgements are altered through additional moral reasoning processes (see Chapter 7 for details). These processes provide insights into the reasoning and justifications behind why consumers would or would not act in an ethical or moral manner. For example, moral exclusion and dehumanization leads consumers to disregard the moral rights of others who are considered unworthy of moral consideration. Dehumanization can lead to a sense of moral superiority by the victimizer over a perceived transgressor (Bar-Tal, 1989). Denying the

moral worth of a perceived transgressor can be used to rationalize or justify the violation of the rights of the perceived transgressor (Haslam and Loughnan, 2013). Kelman (1976) argues that dehumanization is a perception of victims that can weaken the victimizer's normal restraints on violent behaviour.

People differ in the moral foundations they value and their perspectives on moral transgressions vary (Graham, Haidt, and Nosek 2009). Such individual and contextual differences are a potential avenue for research in consumer morality (Bhattacharjee et al., 2013). This study illuminates contextual differences in the response to moral transgressions. For example, some political leaders use moral decoupling to separate judgements of motive from judgements of transgression while families use moral rationalization to justify moral transgressions. The findings suggest that when the transgression is perceived as a personal threat, or threat to a loved one, moral transgressions to right the wrong are justified as seen in the sentiments from the alcohol war supporters who have a direct stake such as an affected family member and the traders defending their business. When the transgression has personal ramifications or ramifications on personal networks or interests, moral rationalization of the transgression in response to the initial transgression, as opposed to moral decoupling is used. The media and politicians who have no personal stake in the war use moral decoupling, allowing them to support the motives for the war, while condemning the actions in the war. The study also extends the stream of literature on moral decoupling by demonstrating decoupling of moral transgressions and adverse outcomes from motives; and examines public response to consumers' transgressions. The findings suggest that empathy where social actors have a deep understanding and compassion for a moral transgressor, social representation transformation where representations about alcohol change as illustrated in

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7.3.2. and personal experience such as having a family member affected by the negative effects of illicit alcohol are important factors in moral decoupling. Previous studies emphasize decoupling of performance from moral transgressions (Bhattacharjee et al., 2013) and focus on the unethical behaviour of corporations (Haberstroh et al., 2015), or public figures (Bhattacharjee et al., 2013). The present study also examines public response to consumers transgressions. The processes and factors involved in moral decoupling are underrepresented in existing literature on morality, but this study illustrates social representation transformation, empathy and personal interest or stakes as important influences in moral decoupling. The findings suggest that the level of emotional engagement with the consequences of a moral transgression will lead towards either moral rationalization or moral decoupling of judgements on the moral violations in response to the initial moral transgression.

This research also extends consumer and marketplace literature on morality by highlighting the influence of emotions in moral judgement (Graham et al., 2013; Haidt, 2001, 2007). Consumer ethical decision-making models posit that moral intentions and actions are the result of moral judgements (Ferrell and Gresham, 1985; Hunt and Vitell, 1986) but extant consumer literature on moral judgements has scarcely highlighted the influence of emotions in moral judgement. Intuitive models in moral psychology on moral judgements argue that moral judgement is a product of intuitive, affect-laden processes (Greene and Haidt, 2002; Haidt, 2001,2007; Haidt and Bjorklund, 2008). These intuitive models position emotion as central to moral judgement (Koenigs et al., 2007). The discourse in the illicit alcohol market is structured around immorality and focuses on right and wrong actions. An affective analysis of the emotions expressed in the data imply that emotion influences moral judgement and

actions. For example, the threat to community survival, signified by the harm from illicit alcohol, motivates the community to approach or embrace the war as the means to survival for the community, reflected in positive feelings about the war and resonating with utilitarian moral philosophies that are associated with positive emotions (Valdesolo and DeSteno, 2006). The findings also show that motivational factors can lead people toward reliance on either utilitarian or deontological principles depending on perceptions of threats or opportunities or positive and negative feelings. The role of motivation and emotion on judgements in this study leans towards utilitarian judgements for the majority who see the threat of illicit alcohol for their communities and act to thwart this threat through a war on illicit alcohol. The minority traders who feel that their economic future is threatened by the war reflect deontological judgements. Ditto and colleagues (2009) demonstrated similar findings of reliance on either utilitarian or deontological judgements but in their study, the judgement reflected ideological preference, as opposed to perceptions of threat or opportunity as demonstrated in this study. The multifaceted roles of affect, mood, motivation, and emotion on moral judgment (Ditto et al., 2009) are a nascent area in consumer research and the findings shed light on the role of emotion and motivation in moral judgement.

8.3.3. Low income consumers

The study highlights some of the unique marketplace challenges that low-income groups contend with (Olson et al., 2016) and some of the strategies used to navigate the constraints (Nuttall et al., 2013) such as opting for illicit consumption. Problems with low quality products (Hill, 2018), disempowerment by producers (Chakrabarti and Mason, 2014) and negligence by the government (Scherer and Palazzo, 2011) are highlighted in the findings.

The impact of these challenges on consumer wellbeing and inequality are also highlighted. The findings show that inequality of access can also lead to inequality of outcomes. For example, the lack of access to legal alcohol due to high prices is cited as leading consumers to seek alternative illicit alcohol, which has adverse health and social outcomes. The outcomes for illicit alcohol consumers are represented as worse than those of legal alcohol consumers 8.3.1.3. The study also illustrates the diverse perspectives of different market actors on market access and inequality in a low-income context and illuminates the challenges posed to distributive justice and consumption adequacy for consumer goods with moral connotations such as alcohol. The findings show that different market actors are unable to agree on the role of alcohol pricing in harm reduction in low-income contexts. Some market actors perceive restricting access through pricing as creating greater inequality and reducing consumers' freedom, while other market actors argue that restricting access through price would be the most effective way to reduce the harm from alcohol.

8.4. Theoretical contributions related to social representations theory

A social representation theory (SRT) approach necessitates the study of social phenomena in their context (Sammut et al., 2016). The study of phenomena in context enabled the researcher to examine multiple stakeholders and market shapers in the illicit alcohol market, for a holistic view of market phenomena (Giesler and Fischer, 2017). SRT also enhances the theorization of lay knowledge in relation to cultural, historical and social frameworks. Lay knowledge is produced through social interaction by a community (Jovchelovitch and Gervais, 1999) and therefore communicates identities, interests, and culture. The way in

which social encounters are interpreted by those who experience them is not just in the victim/objects mind, but is embedded within wider social, and ideological knowledge systems and practices (Howarth, 2006). The weight of the history of illicit alcohol use and the ideological construction of illicit alcohol is apparent in the actions of different social actors. The meanings are relational, contextual, and historical, unveiling some of the forces that shape thinking and acting in the illicit alcohol market, the "context of context" (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011). The study contributes to the existing literature on social representations theory in the following conceptual domains: cognitive polyphasia, social representation transformation and selective objectification and experience. The specific contributions include: (1) In relation to cognitive polyphasia, this study contributes to consumer and marketing literature by using the concept of cognitive polyphasia to understand how different market actors draw on different forms of knowledge. This study also demonstrates that cognitive polyphasia can induce change and is not just a means of dealing with change as previously documented (e.g. Castro and Batel, 2008). The study also highlights the delegitimation of market practices, unlike previous research that focuses on legitimation processes. (2) In terms of social representation transformation, the analysis of moral override suggests that the moral judgement process is not one off but can be in continuous revision in light of new information or experience, extending the existing literature on social representations and consumer morality. (3) The contribution to selective objectification and experience include(a) Illustrations of how selective objectification obscures a thorough engagement with the issues around the potential harm associated with all alcohol consumption by over- emphasizing illicit alcohol (rather than all forms of alcohol) in the social representations of harmful alcohol and a war against illicit alcohol. (b)The findings also challenge current conceptualizations of consumption adequacy and distributive justice that

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espouse levelling the playing ground for all market actors in order to benefit the least advantaged. (c)The findings highlight opposing perspectives on the impact of alcohol price on access and market (in)equality. The findings also illustrate the conceptual power of a metaphor through selective objectification and the potential harm of the "war metaphor" in a market setting. Section 8.4.1. discusses cognitive polyphasia and change; 8.4.2 covers social representation transformation and 8.4.3 covers selective objectification and experience.

8.4.1. Cognitive polyphasia and change

This study contributes to consumer and marketing literature by using the concept of cognitive polyphasia to understand how different market actors draw on different forms of knowledge. This study's findings reveal that cognitive polyphasia is a pervasive feature in the illicit alcohol market. Most of the interview participants in the study draw on traditional beliefs in superstition, despite living in a modern society. This is due to the complexity of the problems (Moscovici, 1976; Wagner, 1998) with illicit alcohol trade. The persistence and power of traditional knowledge (Provencher and Wagner, 2012) in the face of scientific knowledge in a modern society is also demonstrated by social representations anchored on "witchcraft", "curses" and "bad mouths" that lead to misfortune for all the market players according to both media and interview data. Cognitive polyphasia has been observed in contexts of cultural change as a means of coping or adapting to change (Batel, 2012; Gervais and Jovchelovitch, 1998; Wagner et al., 2000) as well as resisting change (Castro and Batel, 2008; Moloney and Walker, 2002; Mouro and Castro, 2012). This study's findings contribute to the existing knowledge on cognitive polyphasia (Jovchelovitch, 2015; Provencher, 2011; Moloney,

Williams and Blair, 2012; Wagner et al., 2000) by revealing cognitive polyphasia as a means of adapting to change. For example, coping with change such as the loss of a loved one; resisting change, through resigning to misfortune as punishment for one's transgressions of dealing in illicit alcohol trade, or explaining and accepting alcohol addiction. This study also demonstrates that cognitive polyphasia can induce change and is not just a means of dealing with change. Reference to traditional knowledge is cited in several accounts as the reason for changed perceptions on illicit alcohol trade. Traders who quit brewing and selling illicit alcohol claim that the business is full of curses and many of their personal misfortunes are attributed to the trade. The analysis of this aspect of cognitive polyphasia presents new dimensions of the role of cognitive polyphasia as inducing behaviour and perception change.

The study also highlights the delegitimation of market practices through cognitive polyphasia. Different market actors draw on traditional knowledge about curses in illicit alcohol trade and this triggers changes in perceptions on illicit alcohol trade. Some traders who previously viewed illicit alcohol trade as a practice associated with lucrative profits and the only means of survival begin to view illicit alcohol trade as illegitimate because it is incongruent with existing schemas of culture. A former illicit alcohol trader's narrative on why she quit the illicit alcohol trade was used in the study to demonstrate the changing views on illicit alcohol trade as a lucrative means of making a living to viewing it as a cursed business. Consumers play an important role in this change process as demonstrated by the research findings. Previous consumer research has discussed legitimation processes (Humphreys, 2010; Sandikci and Ger, 2010) but this research examines the role of cognitive polyphasia in driving changes in perceptions and practices and delegitimizing a market practice. Cognitive

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polyphasia is also an understudied concept in marketing and consumer research and this study's findings contribute to this scarcely researched area of consumer behaviour.

8.4.2. Social representation transformation

The study draws on primary data to make theoretical contributions about social representation transformation, which is illustrated using the transformed consumer's narrative in 7.3.3. The social representation transformation in these findings is reflective of the "brutal, direct and complete transformation" of representations discussed by Abric (1996, p.80) where the central elements of a representation are broken down. The representation changes from one where cheap accessible illicit alcohol is perceived as necessary for coping with life and preventing alcohol withdrawal symptoms, to one where the destruction of alcohol is a positive move, liberating captive consumers. Psychosocial processes are also illustrated in this changed perspective on illicit alcohol. Since the greatest action in moral judgement takes place in the automatic, affectively laden intuitions, not in conscious verbal reasoning (Haidt, 2001; Haidt, 2007; Haidt and Bjorklund, 2008), the findings suggest that the initial negative judgement on the war against illicit alcohol was driven by a desire for illicit alcohol. Moral reasoning can however sometimes correct and override moral intuition (Haidt, 2007; Pizzaro and Bloom, 2003). The former consumer had a change in perspective on the war when his life was transformed by the freedom from addiction, illustrating a form of moral override from the initial negative judgement on the war to the latter positive evaluation of the war. The analysis of moral override suggests that the moral judgement process is not one off but can be in

continuous revision in light of new information or experience, extending the existing

literature on social representations and consumer morality.

This study also sheds light on the process of consumer "responsibilization" which is the

creation of responsible consumers. The findings on social representation transformation

suggest "capabilization" and "transformation" processes (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014, p. 841)

in former illicit alcohol consumers. Those illicit alcohol consumers who undergo

rehabilitation and receive life skills such as tertiary training provide a good example of

transformation through capabilization and this could present a policy opportunity for

supporting illicit alcohol consumers in transformation.

8.4.3. Selective objectification and experience

The findings here contribute to our knowledge of the interaction between selective

objectification and experience (Jodelet, 2016). The study furthers knowledge on how social

representations influence experience through selective objectification. Processes of selective

objectification are observed in the two dominant social representations in the Kenyan illicit

alcohol market: (1) Illicit alcohol as a harmful product, and (2) the war against illicit alcohol.

Selective objectification entails using only certain elements of the reality while ignoring or

obscuring others in the concrete expression of a social representation (Jodelet, 2016). This

research illustrates how selective objectification is mobilized to legitimate or delegitimize

different perspectives in a market context. By illuminating selective objectification in the

illicit alcohol market, the study illustrates the potential of social representations theory in

addressing social problems and inviting practical engagement and intervention in consumer

and market problems. This practical application of SRT is under explored in many social

domains (Howarth, 2006, p. 66). Howarth argues that few studies have demonstrated the

potential of SRT to address social problems empirically, and this study addresses this gap by

discussing the effects of selective objectification and proposing some of the missing

factors/elements that can be incorporated in the objectification of the dominant social

representations in the illicit alcohol market. The analysis of selective objectification in the

illicit alcohol market also illustrates the relationship between psychological processes and

social processes (Howarth, 2006) where selective objectification in social representations is

reflected in social practices. The analysis of selective objectification develops a "critical and

potentially transformative account" of the illicit alcohol market (p. 66), rather than just

offering a confirmatory approach to the status quo (May, 2006). The discussion on selective

objectification follows next under the subheadings: selective objectification and Manichean

perspectives on alcohol; selective objectification, distributive justice and consumption

adequacy; and selective objectification in the use of metaphors.

8.4.3.1.   Selective objectification and Manichean perspectives on alcohol

The research findings illustrate the role of selective objectification in Manichean perspectives

on the harm from alcohol where there is good and bad alcohol. These perspectives on good

and bad alcohol lead to a specific (and arguably over-) emphasis on the public health impacts

of illicit alcohol, rather than on the public health issues associated with alcohol per se. This

focus leads to proposals and efforts to make good alcohol affordable or to make all alcohol

good, obscuring a thorough engagement with the issues around potential harm associated with

legal alcohol consumption. The effects are demonstrated in the policies as well, for example, the Alcoholic Drinks Control Act 2010 that sought to make all alcohol good by bringing illicit alcohol into the legal system. However, an unexpected negative outcome of the 2010 Act was the explosion of second-generation alcohol, and the associated adverse public health impacts linked to its widespread availability, low price, low quality, adulteration and high alcohol content. The Manichean worldview also supports socio-protectionist market perspectives and externalizes the blame for the harm from illicit alcohol use, rather than support individual responsibilization (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014). The illicit alcohol problem is both a micro and macro level issue, but selective objectification obscures the micro aspects of the problem. To prevent harmful alcohol use, lower formal alcohol prices, or higher overall prices for both illicit and formal alcohol are proposed by different market actors in the data. Both approaches externalize the blame to alcohol pricing, where the problem is either cheap poor-quality alcohol, or expensive out of reach formal alcohol. Adopting upstream and downstream approaches has been more effective in diffusing behaviour change in relation to desirable practices such as reduced plastic bag use (Carrigan, Moraes and Leek, 2011). Emphasizing and facilitating individual behaviour change, as well as the addressing the market level factors may be more fruitful in fostering change in the illicit alcohol market.

8.4.3.2. Selective objectification, distributive justice and consumption adequacy

The research findings show that the Manichean outlook provoked by the selective objectification in the social representations also leads to questions of distributive justice (Rawls, 2005) and consumption adequacy (Hill, 2018). This outlook portrays inequality of

access to alcohol as the source of harm in the illicit alcohol market. The questions on justice and equality arise because the representations imply that there is no good affordable alcohol, or the affordable alcohol is harmful. From a distributive justice perspective, questions such as "to what extent formal safe alcohol is a public good for societal well-being" arise from the selective objectification. Even though there is no agreement on alcohol as a public good, the lack of access appears to amplify existing socioeconomic inequalities. Some of the findings from this research suggests that providing access will attenuate these inequalities, while other findings in the study imply that restricted access through higher prices is the best way to reduce the harm from alcohol. These findings on restricting access complement alcohol policy rationale in both the developed, and developing countries (Babor et al., 2010). The findings also show that inequality of access can also lead to inequality of outcomes concerning alcohol use. The lack of access to legal alcohol due to high prices is cited as leading consumers to seek alternative illicit alcohol, which has adverse health and social outcomes. The outcomes for illicit alcohol consumers are represented as worse than those of legal alcohol consumers, depicting an inequality of outcome resulting from inequality of access.

Rawls (2005) approach to social contract theory is that fairness across a society requires all people to have the same rights or liberties that also limit social and consumption inequities (See, Hill, 2018; O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2005). Rawls (2001) difference principle proposes that any economic inequality in a society must benefit the least advantaged citizens over time, and the inequity must not be the result of differences in relative access to marketplace opportunities. It proposes the levelling of the playing field so that the least advantaged members of society as a minimum are given the opportunity to succeed. This perspective according to the findings leads to the following questions. Should the playing

field for alcohol consumption be levelled? Does enhancing access to alcohol for those in the lowest socio-economic stations benefit them? Is lack of access to formal alcohol a social disadvantage? Are policy measures seeking to avail low priced liquor that is accessible to the poor creating equality? Is it necessary to have alcohol for all social groups?. The answers to these questions are premised on whether alcohol is defined as a primary good as demonstrated by some of the findings, while other findings in the study contradict this claim. Levelling the overall market playing field so that the least advantaged members of society as a minimum are given the opportunity to succeed might be more acceptable to all, and this can be enhanced by tackling the overall inequality problem. Legal regulation and government intervention can remedy most harmful marketing practices (Laczniak and Murphy, 2008) but practices that harm the consumers and the public at large may not be easily remedied through short term regulation because their root cause may be systemic rather just regulatory. Issues such as illicit alcohol raise questions about the design of the exchange system itself. Thus, in addition to law and ethics, the nature of marketing systems and subsystems requires periodic analysis (Laczniak and Murphy, 2008) by policy makers and researchers. Each of the perspectives on alcohol access and inequality (restricting or enhancing access to reduce inequality) places the issues on access in a certain frame of reference that can then be used to argue for enhancing or restricting access.

The other paradigm that addresses concerns on market inequality is consumption adequacy. Consumption adequacy is concerned with minimising harmful physical and emotional consequences of various restrictions that keep consumers from meeting ordinary needs (Hill, 2002; 2018). Consumption adequacy is of concern because nearly half the world's population

live in absolute poverty (Shah, 2013; http://www.globalissues.org). Marketplace imbalances take advantage of consumption restrictions and force consumers to choose between shoddy arrangements or forfeiting minimal need satisfaction (Alwitt, 1995; Hill, 2008). The illicit alcohol market is positioned as one such arena of marketplace imbalance with adverse consequences for consumers as the shoddy arrangements result in harmful alcohol production and consumption with adverse outcomes (Bertrand et al., 2006). The restricted access to formal alcohol is depicted as leading to market alienation and negative physical and social consequences where inequality of access leads to more inequity (Hill, 2018). The contention on access however according to the findings, is the extent to which alcohol meets the criteria for an intrinsic need, necessary for survival or continuous development.

The synthesis of Rawlsian justice as fairness and support for opportunities for all suggest that most citizens agree consumers should have certain resources at their disposal regardless of their societal starting places. The constitution of these goods and services and how they are to be distributed is however ambiguous (Hill, 2018). Does alcohol fall outside the goods and services that should be at everyone's disposal? Further, the poverty and destitution of illicit alcohol brewers, the bulk of whom are single uneducated women, is demonstrated to be a driving factor in illicit alcohol trade in this study. The issues demonstrate that the illicit alcohol problem may have less to do with market or distributive justice and consumption adequacy and more to do with basic human dignity (Hill, 2002; Hill, 2018). The findings also suggest that some perceive constraints to alcohol access as a threat to freedom, while others view these constraints as harm reduction. Public engagement and education on which kinds of constraints are needed and why, may open awareness of the possibility that, sometimes,

accepting constraints can enrich life rather than act as a drawback (Markus and Schwartz, 2010). Rawls (2005) posits that rational persons would attempt to protect themselves from major, negative outcomes arising from immoral practices, but the findings suggest that if the persons in question are already vulnerable to the negative outcome, there is no motivation to avoid the risk (Murdock, 2017). For example, the illicit alcohol consumers in this study are portrayed as financially constrained. These financial constraints increase vulnerability to negative health and social outcomes. Illicit alcohol poses health and social risks to consumers who are already vulnerable to these risks owing from their low socio-economic status. This provides a plausible explanation for the high-risk behaviour in illicit alcohol consumption by economically disadvantaged consumers who are already vulnerable to many other negative outcomes such as starvation, malnutrition and disease. Illicit alcohol consumers may feel that abstaining from illicit alcohol may not fully mitigate the health and social risks that they are already exposed to (e.g. 7.3.3).

8.4.3.3. Selective objectification in the use of metaphors

Selective objectification is also observed in the use of the war metaphor. The findings demonstrate that the market conflict in the illicit alcohol market is intersectional, systemic, and multi-layered, so the resolution requires numerous players; institutions; and political, cultural, economic, and consumer forces. However, the study findings illustrate selective objectification in the "war" against alcohol that only focuses on a few players and factors. The "war" is primarily objectified as combat but the peace making and keeping aspects of the war receive less attention from all the market actors. For example, the war does not incorporate

reintegration and disarmament of combatants (Barrios et al., 2016), which would entail tackling the systemic issues and seeking resolution to the source of conflict. By studying the war in the illicit alcohol market, this study makes theoretical contributions beyond the "war" in the Kenyan illicit alcohol market. The findings expose the conceptual power of metaphors and suggest that metaphors have consequences in different contexts. The salience of a metaphor in the media can impact social representations because media representations mirror and affect public perceptions and evaluations of acceptable social practices (Habermas, 1984), including the legitimation of harmful or immoral practices. The negative consequences of the war metaphor have also been observed in other contexts. For example, the war metaphor in marketing and business strategy shifts the focus to the conflict with the competition, rather that the satisfaction of consumer needs and wants (Rie and Trout, 1986) as well as obscures the potential benefits of inter-competitor cooperation (Rindfleisch, 1996). Food wars shift the focus to the conflict in the modes of food production, rather than the food shortages (Heasman and Lang, 2015). The war metaphor when used in medicine (for example the war against cancer), may lead to aggressive interventions for the patient, and fear among the general population (Chiang and Duann, 2007; George et al., 2016). In biodiversity wars, the metaphor has led to human rights abuses and deadly violence against humans in the defense of biodiversity (Neumann, 2004). The war frame portrays outcomes as either win or lose situations where clear winners and losers are expected, raising the stakes for all parties leading to radical sometimes harmful actions. A war against drugs may rouse fear, panic and overreaction, (Alexandrescu, 2014; Elwood, 1995) and regulating the consequences of crime and fighting an enemy are blurred in the process (Steinert, 2003). Positive impacts have also been observed in the use of the war metaphor, for example resulting in increased funding for cancer research in the war against cancer (Flusberg, et al., 2018). The findings suggest that the

consequences of the war metaphor are particularly dire when human subjects are the perceived provocative agents/moral transgressors in the war and when the object in focus has moral connotations.

8.5. Practical and public policy implications

This study proposes that the use of metaphors in the definition of a social problem should be considered very carefully because the social representation through the metaphors, goes beyond describing the phenomenon, it influences the actions in the public sphere because social representations also determine conduct (Jodelet, 1991). The findings suggest that the consequences of the war metaphor are particularly dire when human subjects are the perceived provocative agents/moral transgressors in the war. The "war" metaphor is driven by a need to eliminate illicit alcohol. The metaphor reduces the illicit alcohol consumption issue into a law and order problem rather than a multifaceted problem that includes health, and social dimensions (O'Toole, 1999). The war metaphor oversimplifies and restricts remedial strategies. People become less inclined to use social skills that are perceived to take too long because there is the alternative of immediate coercion (Steinert, 2003). This limits the interventions as all efforts are geared towards enforcing law and order in the illicit alcohol market by eliminating the illegal alcohol. The approach neglects the social dimensions of the practice. Additionally, the use of emotionally loaded metaphors during social conflicts may result in casualties for all social groups. Brown and Hogg (1996) argue that the "war" metaphor "structures and prepares the ground for necessary tough responses" (p. 180). The

study suggests that media use of metaphors in the public domain has significant effects on public response in markets that can be detrimental in the community.

The study also proposes the incorporation of cultural language in alcohol policies and educational campaigns on the harm from alcohol. The role of local beliefs and cultural practices is widely accepted and incorporated in the implementation of many community health initiatives for HIV prevention programs (e.g. Campbell, 1997). Since local beliefs appear to play a major role in illicit alcohol trade, they could be incorporated in illicit alcohol management programs. Recommendations can be framed in metaphors that have local meaning (Wagner et al., 2000). The harm from illicit alcohol trade can be articulated in local terms that the community can relate to, rather than expert terms, since scientific frames of reference are not common in the study context. The communication could factor in the local language and community perspectives when talking about or implementing illicit alcohol policy, making the policies a part of the local culture. For example, rather than using expert scientific terms such as methanol poisoning to explain the harm from illicit alcohol, the use of local cultural equivalent terms for poisoning could be explored when designing policy and communicating the harm from illicit alcohol. Hammond-Tooke (1970) has also documented the use of local, familiar terms in health issues where a white doctor described an abdominal surgical procedure as an operation to remove a "worm" from the patient. The community accepted the explanation because it was framed in familiar terms.

The study also offers a caution on the proposed use of cognitive polyphasia since the oxymoron of cognitive polyphasia is demonstrated in this study where religious or traditional

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knowledge suggests that misfortune is the divine punishment for involvement in illicit alcohol trade. In such cases, cognitive polyphasia could hinder behaviour change as traders are resigned to misfortunes. The use of cognitive polyphasia may also imply that the consumers have no agency or control over their consumption behaviour because they have been bewitched and bound. There is a delicate balance in using cognitive polyphasia because the findings demonstrate that it has both the potential to induce social change, as well as obstruct the desired social change. Eagle (2005) also noted the possible negative impact of cultural belief systems in a modern society where such beliefs can lead to harmful consequences, as they seem counter-therapeutic.

The study findings reveal the role of selective objectification in piecemeal alcohol policies and alcohol initiatives in Kenya and beyond. The research suggests additional factors/elements that can be incorporated in the objectification of illicit alcohol. The research also proposes ways of navigating the selective objectification. In the Kenyan context, the illicit alcohol as a harmful substance representation is objectified in the breakdown of the cultural, moral, family, economic, and political life of the community. Individual or personal elements/characteristics such as individual moral responsibility and agency (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014) is missing from the objectification. Shared moral responsibility among individual market actors, as well as alcohol agency (Demant, 2009) and addiction (Hirschman, 1992) are also absent in this objectification. Selective objectification is also manifested in the objectification of illicit alcohol as a market problem. The challenge with this perspective is the conceptualisation of alcohol harm as a problem that can be solved by marketing alone, ignoring the other elements mentioned. The cyclic nature of events in the illicit alcohol market where the regulation is constantly changing can also be attributed to

selective objectification. Selective objectification results in piecemeal initiatives rather than

holistic approaches to illicit alcohol problems. To minimise piecemeal solutions in the illicit

alcohol market, the community proposes greater engagement among the different actors for

appropriate responses to the alcohol problem. Beyond the Kenyan context, selective

objectification impacts on alcohol harm reduction interventions as well. For example, the

World Health Organization (WHO) has proposed some broad policy interventions as potential

solutions to the public health impact of alcohol. Among the considerations for alcohol policy

is the need for a comprehensive position on policy formulation that goes beyond the health

sector, and involves such sectors as development, transport, justice, social welfare, fiscal

policy, trade, agriculture, consumer policy, education and employment, as well as civil

society and economic operators (McGovern et al., 2011, p.6). The other key consideration is

the formulation of specific policies aimed at the illicit/informal alcohol market, which is

dominant in low-income countries. The WHO's conceptualization of alcohol interventions

reflects selective objectification in the representation of alcohol because the focus is on

external/environmental factors at the macro level. The focus on external/ environmental

causal factors alone, however limits interventions on controlling harmful alcohol use as micro

and meso level factors such as individual responsibility and family background are obscured.

Owing to the selective objectification in the representation of illicit alcohol in the Kenyan

context, most of the interventions are targeted at the supply, rather than demand aspects of

illicit alcohol. For example, there is limited public access to information and education and

public awareness programmes among the different levels of society on the full range of

alcohol-related harm experienced in the country. There are limited public rehabilitation

facilities; limited free counselling services; and limited illicit alcohol trader empowerment

and education. There is also no systematic evaluation of illicit alcohol both locally and globally, perhaps because it is perceived to be a systemic issue that can be resolved by addressing the external economic and political problems highlighted.   In view of the negative impact of selective objectification in alcohol policies, this study proposes a systematic evaluation of the illicit alcohol market, which could be useful in informing more holistic policy formulation. Public health warnings on the negative health impact of alcohol could also be considered. The government and the media could champion these messages, rather than the legal brewers, as is currently the case. Warning messages from the legal brewers can be misconstrued given the ill effects of illicit alcohol. People may assume that the excessive consumption of alcohol, which is harmful to health, only relates to illicit alcohol, not to legal alcohol. Currently, there are no government initiated public health warnings on the negative impact on alcohol, only those by the industry hence the proposal to involve the government in public health messages on the harm from alcohol.

The study findings suggest that the cyclic nature of events in the illicit alcohol market (where there are bans on illicit alcohol, elimination of illicit alcohol changes in regulation, a return of illicit alcohol to the marketplace) could be attributed to selective objectification since the interventions are designed based on an incomplete perspective resulting in unsuitable/incomplete interventions. By exposing the selective objectification of illicit alcohol and the implications, the findings contribute to our knowledge of the interaction between selective objectification and the oversimplification of market/social problems and solutions.

8.6.   Managerial implications

The role of emotion in motivating prescriptive moral behaviour has been documented in social psychology literature (De Hooge et al., 2011; Frank, 2004). The role of affect on consumer morality is still a nascent area and this study has provided some insights into this area by highlighting the influence of emotions on moral judgement. Ethical consumption campaigns and policies frequently employ consequentialist assumptions and appeals premised on the assumption that ethical decision-making is a function of rational calculation of ethical obligations, and that requisite knowledge, advice, and information must be provided to facilitate ethical decisions and behaviour (Barnet et al., 2005). This study's findings suggest that moral judgement is emotionally driven and can be amenable to affective and motivational stimulus (Andrade, 2005; Ditto, Pizarro and Tannenbaum, 2009; Myers et al., 2012). For example, the negative or positive feelings towards illicit alcohol appear to correspond to either right or wrong moral judgements on the war. These findings have implications for ethical consumption campaigns because they support the incorporation of emotional appeals in moral/ethical campaigns.

The study also has implications for initiatives to encourage moral marketplace behaviour by proposing an expanded view of morality. Hill's (2017) critique of the current outlook on corporate social responsibility (CSR) where the moral obligation of corporations is to a few select and strategic stakeholders alludes to this expanded view of community. Hill argues for CSR initiatives that are based on genuine concerns for community, since the interconnected nature of the world makes it possible for marketers to recognize consumer needs even where consumers lack purchasing power. He argues for a CSR that reaches beyond the commercial

value of consumers and a focus on profits to a justice delivering CSR. This is the essence of the moral code on community, which is driven by a concern for the welfare of others.

8.7. Methodological reflections

This study draws on multiple perspectives to examine marketplace morality. The study draws on literature from marketing and consumer behaviour, moral psychology, moral philosophy, social psychology and media studies. Approaching a phenomenon from a single perspective creates a limited understanding but pluralistic outlooks, enable a more holistic and connected view (Fournier and Mick, 1999). The diverse perspectives provide additional nuances to the study of marketplace and consumer morality enhancing the study contributions and implications. The study also adopts a market systems approach to the study of morality in the marketplace to illustrate how different social actors and institutions shape and are shaped by markets. This market systems approach acknowledges the complexity of markets that are comprised of multiple social actors. The approach incorporates multiple market actors and institutions in the study of market phenomena (Giesler and Fischer, 2017). By so doing, the study also uncovers emic and etic perspectives on illicit alcohol by drawing on media data that provides outsiders perspectives on illicit alcohol and primary data that illuminates the insiders' experiences with illicit alcohol. Drawing on multiple perspectives also serves to enhance the findings and contributions. The longitudinal design made it possible to carry out a longitudinal tracking of market evolution, facilitating a more nuanced understanding of the social representations in the illicit alcohol market and their effects. The study also involves content analysis of actual real-world accounts, not in an experimental setting with limited

variables manipulated to demonstrate certain effects. This analysis of real world phenomena in their natural context enabled the research to focus on processes and changes in the marketplace (such as social representation transformation, perception change) minimising marketing biases inherent in many studies which privilege variance questions over questions of change and development (Giesler and Fischer, 2017). The macro level approach however posed challenges to a thorough engagement with microlevel factors in morality such as individual level factors.

8.8. Research limitations and directions for future research

Selective or erroneous reporting in newspapers is a common flaw in newspaper data (McCarthy, 1994). In the SRT framework, this is not an error per se since competing representations are considered and there is no true or objective reality. However, data triangulation was also used to compensate for omissions. Digital electronic data on mainstream and social media as well as interview data was used to compare accounts and for data that are more comprehensive. Additionally, due to ethical concerns on vulnerable populations, the emic views of illicit alcohol users are scarcely incorporated in the research, yet they are also key stakeholders in illicit alcohol consumption practice, so the representations that will be exposed do not include the perspectives of some of the key stakeholders in the illicit alcohol market. The researcher did not speak to illicit alcohol users and gain first-hand accounts but spoke to family members and used media accounts. Another limitation arises because the study covers informal sector alcohol for which there are relatively few sources of published data available. Most of the current statistics on illicit

alcohol are not available for example the prevalence rates and even the old statistics used in this study are estimates. Additionally, the full course of media coverage on illicit alcohol spans well over a decade. Due to financial and time constraints, this study only covers eighteen months, which is only part of that course of media discourse on illicit alcohol.

Based on the research findings and research limitations, there are several potential avenues for further research: A research study focusing on the constantly changing legislative environment in the illicit alcohol market could provide insights into how unstable regulative environments impact on illicit practices or alcohol culture/ways of being. The current study has focused on social representations of immorality, but the breadth of issues covered limited the study's engagement with the impact of a constantly changing regulatory environment. Some of the questions in the proposed study could explore how a constantly changing legislative environment affects illicit market practices and the impact on harm reduction or control. Another potential avenue for future research is a study focusing on reformed consumers and traders. The study would be beneficial for a depth understanding of social representation transformation in illicit alcohol trade and consumption. The current study has exposed some of the processes involved in social representation transformation from the data but a specific focus on reformed market actors is likely to provide more nuanced insights into social representation transformation in the context of illicit consumption and market practices. The research questions could explore some of the following issues: the reasons for quitting illicit alcohol trade or consumption; the perceptions on illicit alcohol prior to and after the change. A study that focuses on illicit alcohol consumers directly rather than by proxy to gain their perspectives first-hand would also provide additional insights into illicit alcohol consumption. The current study explored the representations of consumers by the media and

other market actors, as well as consumer narratives in the media. Depth interviews with illicit alcohol consumers would provide emic views of illicit alcohol consumption from a consumer perspective and may be useful in informing policy. The research questions could explore the reasons for illicit alcohol consumption; the barriers to quitting illicit alcohol; and the support consumers feel they need.

A systematic evaluation of the Kenyan illicit alcohol market that interrogates specific areas would also be useful for informing illicit alcohol policy. The evaluation might involve interrogating the following areas in relation to the Kenyan illicit alcohol market: What are the health consequences: mortality and morbidity rates? What measures are in place to report/reflect these mortality and morbidity rates? (Many illicit alcohol deaths are unreported and unrecorded as such; the recording only happens when there is mass death or morbidity). What help is available for consumers/ families/ communities? (E.g. counselling, education, rehabilitation) How accessible is this help? Are consumers /families/communities aware of the available help? How many people have used this? Are addiction treatment options accessible and affordable? What quality control measures are in place? How are they implemented? What are the barriers to implementation? What is the impact of previous bans? (bans have been issued and reissued in the Kenyan illicit alcohol market) What was the impact of bringing illicit alcohol to the formal system? What are the barriers to controlled illegality? What are the tracking and tracing mechanisms in place? How are they implemented? What is their impact? What is the scale of illicit alcohol consumption? Economic and social, both locally and globally? What systems are in place for the exchange of relevant information on combating illicit alcohol amongst authorities at national and international levels? This research has revealed instances where strong self-centred motives

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are forfeited in pursuit of the greater good. For example, among the traders, quitting illicit alcohol trade comes at a cost of profit forfeiture but benefits the community and involvement in destructive consumer activism maybe at the expense of reputation/moral self-concept. The research has also illustrated the negative public health and social impact of self-interest in the pursuit of personal gain, such as adulterated alcohol that harms consumers but profits the traders. Research to establish when the norms most consistent with self-interest exert stronger influences on behaviour to achieve personal gain, and when strong self-centred motives are forfeited in pursuit for the greater good is another potential avenue in light of the role of self-interest in immoral behaviour in the marketplace in general and in illicit consumption practices in particular. Potential research questions might explore the situational and individual difference determinants for acting or not acting in a self-interested manner when personal gains are at stake. The research could also seek to uncover the factors that can lead consumers or other market actors to forfeit benefits to the self in pursuit of a greater good for the community.

8.9. Conclusion

This study has made contributions to the marketing and consumer literature by broadening the moral domain in consumer and marketplace morality. The study also offers insights into the socio-psychological processes relevant to moral judgement as well as the challenges low-income consumers face in the marketplace and the strategies used to navigate these challenges, extending this stream of literature on low- income consumers. The study has also contributed to the literature on social representation theory. In relation to cognitive polyphasia, this study contributes to consumer and marketing literature by using the concept

of cognitive polyphasia, a scarcely researched concept in consumer research to understand how different market actors draw on different forms of knowledge. The study also highlights the delegitimation of market practices through cognitive polyphasia. Previous consumer research has discussed legitimation processes (Humphreys, 2010; Sandikci and Ger, 2010) but this research examines the role of cognitive polyphasia in driving changes in perceptions and practices and delegitimizing a market practice. As such, this study depicts how policy makers and communities can engage in cultural language to shape the process of change by communicating in relevant terms about the harm from illicit alcohol. The research has significance for marketing practitioners, policy makers, activists, communities and scholars by showing how cultural structures contribute to change. The study also demonstrates how cognitive polyphasia can induce behaviour change.

In terms of social representation transformation, the study findings shed light on "capabilization" and "transformation" processes (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014, p. 841) in former illicit alcohol consumers that lead to social representation transformation. Those illicit alcohol consumers who undergo rehabilitation and receive life skills such as tertiary training provide a good example of transformation through capabilization and this could present a policy opportunity for supporting illicit alcohol consumers in transformation. The study also shows how selective objectification impacts on people's experience, offering a critical and potentially transformative perspective on social representations.

In conclusion, drawing on multiple perspectives in social psychology, philosophy and marketing to study marketplace immorality has enhanced the theorization of morality and alcohol policy relevant to consumer behaviour and marketing and sheds light on potential research areas as highlighted. The study findings illustrate the diverse views on morality

suggesting that even though the goal of morality is to guide individual conduct, it does not

necessarily lead to an acceptable solution for everyone (Caruana, 2007).

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Appendix A

Refereed Newspaper articles

Article 1a: MURANG'A: Man Found Dead Near Brewing Den, January 3, 2015 , The Star

Article 2a: Outrage as Waititu takes on 'killer brews' with a hammer, June 29, 2015, Standard Digital News

Article 3a: Four dead in Gatundu after consuming illicit brew, June 12, 2015, Citizen Digital

Article 4a: Uhuru disbands NACADA, orders crackdown in Central, July 1, 2015 Capital FM News

Article 5a: Police Seize 35 Litres Of Chang'aa & Arrest 25 In Raid, February 20, 2015 , The Star

Article 6a: Kenya declares total war on killer alcohol as crisis worsens 03 July 2015 the standard

Article 7a: Why I quit brewing changaa, April 28, 2015, Standard Digital News

Article 8a: Condoms, panties and bras found in chang'aa during Laikipia West raid, June 5, 2015, The Star

Article 9a: Uhuru orders crackdown on illicit brews in central Kenya, July 1, 2015, Business Daily

Article 10a: Uhuru calls for caution in war on illicit alcohol, July 5, 2015, Daily Nation

Article 11a: Crack down on brew dens enters third day, July 5, 2015, Standard Digital News

Article 12a: Kajiado alcohol dealers in mortal fear of women, August 23, 2015, Daily Nation

Article 13a: Man shot dead as war on killer drinks sweeps across country. July 3, 2015, Daily Nation

Article 14a: Chief fighting for life after illicit brew dealer attacks him during raid February 22, 2016, Daily Nation

Article 15a: War on Illicit Brews Should Not Hurt the Genuine Businesses, July 07, 2015, The Star

Article 16a: Crackdown, sacking of chiefs drives Central Kenya illicit liquor dens to forests June 28, 2016 Daily Nation

Article 17a: How illicit alcohol is taking heavy toll on the economy, March 15, 2016, Daily Nation.

Article 18a: After the crackdown, illicit brews have bubbled back, January 28, 2016, Daily Nation

Article 19a: Central Kenya leaders to meet Interior CS Nkaissery over return of killer brews, Daily Nation, Feb 7, 2016

Article 20a War against illegal alcohol to be renewed, says President Uhuru, Daily Nation, February 13, 2016

Article 21a: Uhuru urges judiciary not to slow war against illegal alcohol, Feb 13, 2016, The Star

Article 22a: Administrators taking 'protection fee' to sabotage war on illicit alcohol, Feb 24, 2016, Daily Nation

Article 23a: Officers impound chang'aa found hidden near a Meru church, October 6, 2015 Daily Nation.

Article 24a: Chaos and looting in crackdown on alcohol, July 4, 2015, Daily Nation.

Article 25a: How illicit alcohol is taking heavy toll on the economy, March 15, 2016, Daily Nation.

Article 26a: Women upbeat as husbands, reform, September 28, 2015, Daily Nation

Article 27a: Fight against alcohol abuse a national issue July 01, 2015 Daily Nation Article

Article 28a : County sobers up as relentless war on brews makes a change , September 27, 2015

Article 29a: 'Crackdown on illicit brew to cost Kenya Sh50 billion' July 10, 2015, The Standard

Article 30a: Is someone egging on the Kajiado women, , September 15, 2015, Daily Nation

Article 31a: Uhuru move on Nyeri alcoholism good: Nyokabi, July 1, 2015, Daily Nation

Article 32a: Expertise, not politics, will win the war on alcoholism JULY 13, 2015 Daily Nation

Article 33a: Recovering alcoholic can install electricity in homes after rehab, September 28, 2015, Daily Nation

Article 34a: Illicit brews are not going anywhere so let us embrace them, Feb 10, 2016, Standard Digital News

Article 35a: Expert cautions over liquor disposal, July 17, 2015, Daily Nation

Article 36a: Informal markets at heart of Kenya's alcohol-related deaths, July 10, 2015, Daily Nation

Article 37a: Cries from 'Drunk County' where youth crawl to death, July 4, 2015, Daily Nation

Article 38a: Brew dens are now selling tea, porridge , September 6, 2015, Daily Nation

Appendix B

Social media and other Kenyan news sites and blogs

Article 1b :

Facebook page in one of the newspapers (anonymised to protect the person who made the comment)

Article 2b : "(http://showbient.blogspot.co.uk/2015/06/condoms-panties-and-bras-found-in.html).

Appendix C

Coding and field notes

Change Color ▾ | Merge Codes | Split Code | Code Tree | Rename Code | Delete Code(s)

Free Code(s) | Duplicate Code(s) | Create Snapshot | New Code Group | Create Smart Group

New

Edit Comment | Open Network | Open Group Manager

Edit Smart Code

Organize

Word Cloud | Frequencies

Word Cruncher

Report

Output

Manage

Search Code Groups

Search Codes

Code Groups

	Name ▲	Grounded	Density	Groups	Owner	Author	Created
○	adulteration	39	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 1
○	blindness	22	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 1
○	burn	598	0		washi	washi	31/01/2018 2
○	central	160	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 1
○	changaa	3	0		washi	washi	29/01/2018 1
○	chief	326	0		washi	washi	31/01/2018 2
○	consumer	25	0		washi	washi	31/01/2018 2
○	corruption	57	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 1
○	crackdown	266	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 1
○	culture	16	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 1
○	death	304	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	22/02/2017 1
○	destroy	239	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	17/02/2017 1
○	drunk	133	0		washi	washi	18/10/2017 2
○	economic	64	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 1
○	February	32	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	22/02/2017 1
○	fire	80	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	22/02/2017 1
○	genocide	5	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 1
○	governor	282	0		washi	washi	31/01/2018 2
○	harm	39	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 1

Comment:

Free Code(s) | Duplicate Code(s) | Create Snapshot | New Code Group | Create Smart Group

New

Change Color ▾ | Merge Codes | Split Code | Code Tree | Rename Code | Delete Code(s)

Edit Comment | Open Network | Open Group Manager

Edit Smart Code

Organize

Word Cloud | Frequencies

Word Cruncher

Report

Output

Manage

Search Code Groups

Search Codes

Code Groups

	Name ▲	Grounded	Density	Groups	Owner	Author	Created	N
○	Illicit alco...	0	0		washi	washi	29/01/2018 14:...	
○	illicit brews	977	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	17/02/2017 14:...	
○	july	154	0		washi	washi	14/11/2017 12:...	
○	kajiado	33	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 15:...	
○	kebs	72	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 16:...	
○	law	1423	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 13:...	
○	looting	20	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 14:...	
○	MCA	92	0		washi	washi	31/01/2018 22:...	
○	nacada	320	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 16:...	
○	Nairobi	19	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 15:...	
○	Naivasha	25	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 16:...	
○	november	0	0		washi	washi	14/11/2017 12:...	
○	october	0	0		washi	washi	14/11/2017 12:...	
○	police	628	0		washi	washi	31/01/2018 22:...	
○	second ge...	280	0		washi	washi	29/01/2018 14:...	
○	slum	3	0		mwangiv	mwangiv	24/02/2017 15:...	
○	traders	75	0		washi	washi	31/01/2018 22:...	
○	war	767	0		washi	washi	29/01/2018 14:...	

Comment:

Young men drink beer at the Wangige shopping centre in Kiambu County during a raid against alcoholism organised by Kabete MP Ferdinand Waititu. PHOTO | ERIC WAINAINA | NATION MEDIA GROUP

Police impounding illicit brew in Gikandu village, Murang'a county.

MAJOR THEMES

Death: Harm; Contamination; Adulteration Blindness; Impotence; Social breakdown

Crackdown: Violence; Death; Arson; Destruction; Corruption; Deception; Looting

Legislation/governance: Sacking/interdictions**;** Incompetence**;** negligence

Appendix D

Participant information sheet

I am a PhD student at Lancaster University and I would like to invite you to take part in a research study about illicit alcohol and immorality/harmful practices in illicit alcohol regulation, sale, use and anti-consumption activities.

Please take time to read the following information carefully before you decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the study about?

This study aims to find out the dominant ways in which the media and the public think about and describe illicit alcohol and immorality in illicit alcohol practices for example the names/labels given to illicit alcohol and illicit alcohol sellers, consumers and those who are against the consumption as well as the law makers and the ways in which they are described.

Why have I been invited?

I have approached you because you live in Kiambu county which has been focused on by the media especially the activities of those who are against illicit alcohol sale and consumption. I am interested in understanding how people who live in Kajiado describe illicit alcohol and the people involved in illicit alcohol practices including consumers, those who are against consumption, the law makers and the sellers.

I would be very grateful if you would agree to take part in this study.

What will I be asked to do if I take part?

If you decided to take part, this would involve the following: Being observed when in forums that involve pressing community problems such as illicit alcohol consumption or when interacting with illicit alcohol consumers. Answering interview questions for 60- 90 minutes on descriptions of illicit alcohol and the people involved in illicit alcohol practices including consumers, those who are against consumption, the law makers and the sellers.

 What are the possible benefits from taking part?

Taking part in this study will allow you to share your experience of living in a community that has experienced the negative consequences of illicit alcohol practices. Additionally, If you take part in this study, your insights will contribute to our understanding of illicit alcohol which can be used in designing interventions.

Do I have to take part?
No. It's completely up to you to decide whether or not you take part. Your participation is voluntary.

What if I change my mind?
If you change your mind, you are free to withdraw at any time during your participation in this study. If you want to withdraw, please let me know, and I will extract any data you contributed to the study and destroy it. Data means the information, views, ideas, etc. that you and other participants will have shared with me. However, it is difficult and often impossible to take out data from one specific participant when this has already been anonymised or pooled together with other people's data. Therefore, you can only withdraw up to 4 weeks after taking part in the study

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
It is unlikely that there will be any major disadvantages to taking part. However, if you give me information that indicates that you or other individuals are at risk of harm, I may have to report this risks to my supervisors in the first instance.
The interviews will take 60 – 90 minutes

Will my data be identifiable?

After the interview and observation, only I, the researcher conducting this study and my supervisors will have access to the data you share with me. The only other person who will have access to the data is a professional transcriber who will listen to the recordings and produce a written record of what you and others have said. The transcriber will sign a confidentiality agreement.

I will keep all personal information about you (e.g. your name and other information about you that can identify you) confidential, that is I will not share it with others. I will anonymise any audio recordings and hard copies of any data. This means that I will remove any personal information.

How will my data be stored?

Your data will be stored in encrypted files (that is no-one other than me, the researcher will be able to access them) and on password-protected computers.

I will store hard copies of any data securely in locked cabinets in my office.

I will keep data that can identify you separately from non-personal information (e.g. your views on a specific topic).

In accordance with University guidelines, I will keep the data securely for a minimum of ten years.

How will we use the information you have shared with us and what will happen to the results of the research study?

I will use the data you have shared with only in the following ways:
I will use it for academic purposes only. This will include my PhD thesis and other publications, for example journal articles. I may also present the results of my study at academic conferences or practitioner conferences or inform policy-makers about my study.

When writing up the findings from this study, I would like to reproduce some of the views and ideas you shared with me. When doing so, I will only use anonymised quotes (e.g. from our interview with you), so that although I will use your exact words, you cannot be identified in our publications.

If anything you tell me in the interview suggests that you or somebody else might be at risk of harm, I will be obliged to share this information with my supervisor. If possible I will inform you of this breach of confidentiality.

This study is funded by Lancaster University Management School. The funder expects me to make my data available for future research and use by other researchers. We will only share anonymised data in this way and will exclude all personal data from archiving. We intend to share our data via thesis,academic publications and academic and practitioner conferences
Who has reviewed the project?

This study has been reviewed and approved by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Lancaster Management School's Research Ethics Committee.

What if I have a question or concern?
If you have any queries or if you are unhappy with anything that happens concerning your participation in the study, please contact myself or my supervisors on the contact details below

- Virginia Mwangi, mobile phone number: +254722317177/+447784147316; email address: v.mwangi@lancaster.ac.uk; Mail address: Po Box 17767, Nairobi, 00100 or Lancaster University Management School, Lancaster, Lancashire, LA1 4YX; United Kingdom
- Dr. Hayley Cocker , Tel: +44 (0)1524 510988
  email address: H.cocker@lancaster.ac.uk, Mail address:,Lancaster University Management School Lancaster, Lancashire , LA1 4YX; United Kingdom

- Prof Maria Piacentini, Tel: +44 (0)1524 510686
  email address: m.piacentini@lancaster.ac.uk ,Mail address: Lancaster University Management School Lancaster, Lancashire , LA1 4YX; United Kingdom

If you have any concerns or complaints that you wish to discuss with a person who is not directly involved in the research, you can also contact:
- Prof Margaret Hogg, Tel:+ 44 (0) 1524 510767
  email address: m.hogg@lancaster.ac.uk;Mail address: Lancaster University Management School Lancaster, Lancashire , LA1 4YX; United Kingdom

Sources of support
Toll free numbers
NACADA
Helpline number 1192 free of charge 24 hours a day every day for counselling, support and referrals.

Thank you for considering your participation in this project

CONSENT FORM

Project Title: A study about Illicit alcohol and immorality/harmful behaviour in illicit alcohol regulation, sale, use and anti-consumption activities

Name of Researcher: Virginia Mwangi

Email: v.mwangi@lancaster.ac.uk

Please tick each box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily ☐

1. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time during my participation in this study and within 4 weeks after I take part in the study, without giving any reason. If I withdraw within 4 weeks of taking part in the study my data will be removed ☐

2. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, academic articles, publications
    or presentations by the researcher/s, but my personal information will not be included, and I will not be ☐

    identifiable.

3. I understand that my name/my organisation's name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentation
    without my consent. ☐

4. I understand that any interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed, and that data will
     be protected on encrypted devices and kept secure. ☐

5. I understand that data will be kept according to University guidelines for a minimum of 10 years after the
    end of the study. ☐

6. I agree to take part in the above study.
    ☐

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

Signature of Researcher /person taking the consent_____ Date _____ Day/month/year

One copy of this form will be given to the participant and the original kept in the files of the researcher at Lancaster University

Appendix E

Field notes sample

Stopping alcohol in some areas is pointless because neighbouring counties are selling alcohol.

Meeting started with a prayer - spiritual prayer. Citing that even Jesus turned water into wine. 5% interest loans for stock.

The crackdown was severe in some areas but those disregard our meetings (waruku) so they should not complain if there is a crackdown. (Ruku clubs were closed down but we pushed for opening of clubs in Ruku).

members contribute but don't care

man) 9 man ||mavuvun", 12 man

Wajare get a license.

crackdown iko na ubaguzi one without a licence was arrested and many don't have so why that one.

03/08/2017

0718374 357

Clubs to be reduced

5 in wangige , 3 in kamutin

What will we eat.

They have started a chama with monetary contribution to increase commitment to the chama.

Some distributors have gone out of business.

Don't be afraid of the regulation.

politics & alcohol
he is a dictator.
Alcohol haitaisha because the leaders are the brewers.

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