Chapter No.2

Consumer Socialisation
2.1 Introduction

The most widely used definition of consumer socialization is the one given by Ward (1974): “It is the process by which young people acquire skills, knowledge and attitude relevant to their functioning in the marketplace”. The process of consumer socialization begins with infants, who accompany their parents to stores, where they are initially exposed to marketing stimuli. Within the first two years, children begin to make requests for desired products. As kids learn to walk, they also tend to make their own selections when they are in stores. By around the age of five, most kids are making purchases with the help of parents and grandparents, and by eight most are making independent purchases and have become full-fledged consumers.

Socialization of children is a function of parental style. Parental style is a “constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and that, taken together, create an emotional climate in which the parent’s behaviours are expressed”. Differences in parental styles account for differences as regards to the way parents attempt to control children’s behaviour through use of emotions, use of authority, etc. at the time of socializing them. Becker (1964) took a dimensional approach in which parental style was assumed to consist of different dimensions that are orthogonal to each other. He suggested that parental discipline behaviour could be reflected by a three-dimensional model to conceptualize family socialization - warmth vs. hostility, restrictiveness vs. permissiveness, and calm detachment vs. anxious emotional involvement. On those dimensions, parents were categorized as Rigid Controlling, Authoritarian, Organized Effective, Overprotective, Democratic, Indulgent, Anxious Neurotic, and Neglecting.

Baumrind (1971) further developed a three-fold typology of parental styles and classified parents as—Authoritarian, Authoritative, and Permissive. These two approaches were merged further by Macey and Martin (1983) so that the parenting classification could be generalized to most families. They defined parental style as a function of two dimensions - ‘responsiveness’ and ‘demandingness.’ The parents were then classified as Indulgent, Authoritative, Authoritarian, and Neglecting. Carlson, Grossbart, and Stuenkel (1992)
showed that parental style provides a theoretical basis for explaining differences among parents regarding how they communicate consumer skills and knowledge to their children.

John (1999) classified consumer socialization stages of children as being the perceptual stage (3-7 years), the analytical stage (7-11 years), and the reflective stage (11-16 years). On the basis of an exhaustive review, she contended that children in the perceptual stage focus on perceptually salient features of products use direct requests and emotional appeals to influence purchases, and possess limited ability to adapt strategy to a person or a situation. They are expedient in making decisions, are egocentric (as validated by Johnson, 1995), and have the emerging ability to adapt to cost-benefit trade-offs. However, children in the analytical stage are more thoughtful, focus on important attribute information to generate an expanded repertoire of strategies (especially non-compensatory ones), and are capable of adapting strategies to tasks. In the reflective stage, children have substantial brand awareness for adult-oriented as well as child-oriented product categories, possess ability to gather information on functional, perceptual, and social aspects, and are capable of adapting strategies to tasks in adult-like manner.

Paxton and John (1995), in their study of age differences in information search behaviour of children, found that older children gather more information for favourable product profiles and less information when the cost-versus-benefit of acquiring information is high. Other studies indicate that younger kids use few dimensions to compare and evaluate brands. They reported that children tend to rely on dominant perceptual features (vs. functional features) of products in gathering information and making choices. They also suggested that children increase the amount of information gathered in response to choice situations that are irreversible, recognize the need to spend more time in gathering information for decisions that are important to their perception, and voice the need to examine more brands before making a choice. As the number of alternatives increases, children restrict their search on more promising alternatives. Young children are apparently unstable about product preferences as they lack or do not utilise an internal frame of reference for comparing products on a consistent basis. The choice process/cue set used by younger children is different and simpler from the categorisation schemes used by older children who use more structured cues to categorise products.
In order to identify the extent to which shopping competence is developed in teenage girls, Mallalieu and Palan (2006) developed a model of adolescent shopping competence in a shopping mall context. They investigated whether teenage girls were competent shoppers or whether they indulged in compulsive shopping behaviours. Shopping competence was defined as a multi-faceted construct composed of effectively utilizing environmental resources, having and using knowledge related to shopping, and possessing the degree of self-confidence and self-control necessary to utilize environmental and individual-based resources fully. The teenage girls described their mothers as being competent shoppers. The results of discussions with teenage girls indicated that they exhibited competence in using environmental and knowledge-based resources ‘partially.’ This implies that if they revealed competency in some aspect of shopping, they came up short in other aspects they themselves perceived as being associated with shopping competence. The girls’ responses also indicated that they were lacking in self-confidence and self-control, and this also moderated the degree to which the teenage girls utilized environmental and individual knowledge resources in achieving positive shopping outcomes.

Moschis and Moore (1979) found that adolescents preferred to consult with their parents and/or rely on information they receive from them. In spite of this, parents are not as instrumental in the child’s decision regarding which product to buy as compared to brand name and reduced prices. The amount of parent-adolescent communication about consumption was not related to the adolescent’s propensity to use price in evaluating the desirability of various products. Palan and Wilkes (1997) asserted that children are also primed to assume a more active role in purchase discussions after years of listening to their parents explain why certain requests can/cannot be honored. It was projected that influence attempts by adolescents are likely to be effective when they match their influence attempts to their parents’ decision making style.

Ekstrom, Tansuhaj, and Foxman (1987) took a reciprocal view of consumer socialization of children and proposed that children contribute to decision outcome through two routes—one by influencing their parents by direct expression of preferences and secondly by communicating new knowledge to the parents and influencing purchases. They proposed that children whose family communication pattern is characterized by a high concept-orientation will influence (socialize) their parents more than children whose family communication pattern is characterized by a high socio-orientation. A child in a single-parent family, higher
socio-economic status, and higher personal resources and in a sex-role egalitarian family will have more influence. A child will have greater influence for product purchase decisions that he/she considers important or for which he/she has high product knowledge. His/her participation in family decision making will tend to increase his/her satisfaction with family purchase decisions.\(^7\)

Inter-generational influences in the formation of consumer attitudes have also been investigated by Moore-Shay and Lutz (1988). Cotte and Wood (2004) also advanced this stream by investigating inter- and intra-generational effects of family on consumer socialization. They noted that parents and elder siblings’ perceived innovativeness has a significant influence on the younger child’s innovativeness. The adult child’s innovativeness was influenced by perceptions of their parent’s innovativeness. Further, the later one is born (in terms of birth order), the more innovative one tends to be.\(^8\)

Besides family, mass media also serve as an important factor in the consumer socialisation of children. Through mass media, children may learn about new brands and products, how to use products and who uses them, realities and beliefs about them, and preferences for them. Nonetheless, as children grow they develop sensitivities towards interpersonal influences, especially peers. The nature of the product affects the level of peer group influence. Public luxuries and private necessities form the ends of the conspicuousness continuum, with public luxuries being subject to significantly more influence than private necessities. In addition to this, there is a tendency for public products of all types, regardless of whether they are luxuries or necessities, to be subject to more reference group influence than private products for all types.\(^9\)

2.2 Stages of Cognitive and Social Development

The period from birth to adolescence contains dramatic developments in cognitive functioning and social maturation. Children develop abilities to go beyond perceptual appearances to think more abstractly about their environment, acquire information processing skills to more readily organize and use what they learn about their environment, and develop a deeper understanding of interpersonal situations, which allows them to see their world through multiple perspectives.
Cognitive and social development during this period provides a backdrop for the growing sophistication children exhibit in understanding and performing in the consumer role. Age-related improvements in cognitive abilities contribute to the development of consumer knowledge and decision-making skills. For example, well-developed cognitive abilities facilitate the process of evaluating products, comparing them against other alternatives, and purchasing the chosen item from a store. Age-related improvements in social development are similarly helpful. Many consumer situations involve interpersonal understanding, from impressions children form about people who use certain products or brands to negotiation sessions with parents in an attempt to influence the purchase of desired items.

Cognitive Development

The most well-known framework for characterizing shifts in basic cognitive abilities is Piaget's theory of cognitive development, which proposes four main stages of cognitive development: sensorimotor (birth to two years), preoperational (two to seven years), concrete operational (seven to eleven years), and formal operational (eleven through adulthood; Ginsburg and Opper 1988). Vast differences exist in the cognitive abilities and resources available to children at these stages, including the preoperational, concrete operational, and formal operational stages of most interest to consumer researchers. The preoperational stage features children who are developing symbolic thought but are still very focused on perceptual properties of stimuli. Preoperational children tend to be "perceptually bound" to the readily observable aspects of their environment, unlike concrete operational children, who do not accept perception as reality but can think about stimuli in their environment in a more thoughtful way. Preoperational children are also characterized by "centration," the tendency to focus on a single dimension. In contrast, the concrete operational child can consider several dimensions of a stimulus at a time and relate the dimensions in a thoughtful and relatively abstract way. Finally, in the formal operational stage, children progress to more adult like thought patterns, capable of even more complex thought about concrete and hypothetical objects and situations.¹⁰

Beyond Piaget's approach, information processing theories of child development provide additional explanatory power for the types of cognitive abilities evidenced by children as they mature. Several formulations of information processing theory exist, but all share a focus on children's developing skills in the areas of acquisition, encoding, organization, and retrieval of information. In the consumer behaviour literature, children have been characterized as

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belonging to one of three segments-strategic processors, cued processors, and limited processors-based on information processing skills they possess. Strategic processors (age 12 and older) use a variety of strategies for storing and retrieving information, such as verbal labelling, rehearsal, and use of retrieval cues to guide memory search. Cued processors, ranging in age from 7 to 11 years, are able to use a similar set of strategies to enhance information storage and retrieval, but typically need to be aided by explicit prompts or cues. Cued processors exhibit production deficiencies, referring to the fact that they have the ability to use processing strategies but do not spontaneously produce these strategies when needed. Finally, most children under the age of seven are limited processors, with processing skills that are not yet fully developed or successfully utilized in learning situations. These children are characterized as having mediational deficiencies, referring to the fact that they often have difficulty using storage and retrieval strategies even when prompted to do so.

The cognitive orientations described by these stages provide a basis for explaining the emergence of a variety of socialization outcomes, which will become evident as our study unfolds. To illustrate, consider for a moment the evidence about children's growing abilities to understand advertising as a persuasive medium distinct from television programming. As it was describe, younger children (preschoolers) distinguish commercials from programming on the basis of perceptual features (e.g., ads are shorter) instead of motive and intent (e.g., ads are intended to sell products). This result fits nicely with the notion of perceptual boundness in preoperational children. By the time children reach eight years of age (concrete operational stage), they possess quite a bit of knowledge about advertising's persuasive intent and bias. Yet, this knowledge is not necessarily accessed and used in evaluating advertising messages. Information processing views provide a ready explanation for this finding in terms of children's abilities at this age to retrieve and use information. Although 8–11-yearolds (cued processors) have a good deal of knowledge about advertising, their ability to retrieve and use this knowledge is still developing.

Social Development

The area of social development includes a wide variety of topics, such as moral development, altruism and pro-social development, impression formation, and social perspective taking. In terms of explaining aspects of consumer socialization, we consider social perspective taking and impression formation to be the most directly relevant for our consideration. Social perspective taking, involving the ability to see perspectives beyond one's own, is strongly
related to purchase influence and negotiation skills, for example. Impression formation, involving the ability to make social comparisons, is strongly related to understanding the social aspects of products and consumption.

Developments in social perspective taking are addressed by Selman (1980), who provides a particularly apt description of how children's abilities to understand different perspectives progress through a series of stages. In the preschool and kindergarten years, the egocentric stage (ages 3–6), children are unaware of any perspective other than their own. As they enter the next phase, the social informational role taking stage (ages 6–8), children become aware that others may have different opinions or motives, but believe that this is due to having different information rather than a different perspective on the situation. Thus, children in this stage do not exhibit the ability to actually think from another person's perspective. This ability surfaces in the self-reflective role taking stage (ages 8–10) as children not only understand that others may have different opinions or motives, even if they have the same information, but can actually consider another person's viewpoint. However, the ability to simultaneously consider another person's viewpoint at the same time as one's own does not emerge until the fourth stage of mutual role taking (ages 10–12). This is a most important juncture as much social interaction, such as persuasion and negotiation, requires dual consideration of both parties' perspectives. The final stage, social and conventional system role taking (ages 12–15 and older), features an additional development, the ability to understand another person's perspective as it relates to the social group to which he (other person) belongs or the social system in which he (other person) operates.

Impression formation undergoes a similar transformation as children learn to make social comparisons on a more sophisticated level. Barenboim (1981) provides a cogent description of the developmental sequence that takes place from 6 to 12 years of age. Before the age of six, children describe other people in concrete or absolute terms, often mentioning physical appearances (e.g., “Nathaniel is tall”) or overt behaviours (e.g., “Elizabeth likes to play softball”). However, these descriptions do not incorporate comparisons with other people. In Barenboim's first stage, the behavioural comparisons phase (ages 6–8), children do incorporate comparisons as a basis of their impressions, but the comparisons continue to be based on concrete attributes or behaviours (e.g., “Matthew runs faster than Joey”). In the second stage, which Barenboim calls the psychological constructs phase (ages 8–10), impressions are based on psychological or abstract attributes (e.g., “Christopher is friendly”),
but do not include comparisons to others. Comparisons based on psychological or abstract attributes do not emerge until the psychological comparisons phase (11 or 12 years of age and older), which features more adult-like impressions of people (e.g., “Sara is more outgoing than Angela”).

2.3 Stages of Consumer Socialisation

Consumer socialization occurs in the context of dramatic cognitive and social developments, which are often viewed as taking place in a series of stages as children mature throughout childhood. We propose that consumer socialization also be viewed as a developmental process that proceeds through a series of stages as children mature into adult consumers. Integrating the stage theories of cognitive and social development reviewed earlier, a clear picture emerges of the changes that take place as children become socialized into their roles as consumers. These changes occur as children move through three stages of consumer socialization—which we have named the perceptual stage, the analytical stage, and the reflective stage. (See Table 2.1)

These stages are characterized along a number of dimensions that capture important shifts in knowledge development, decision-making skills, and purchase influence strategies. In terms of knowledge development, the movement from the perceptual to the reflective stage is marked by shifts from concrete to abstract representations, from perceptual to underlying features of objects and events, from simple to more complex representations with multiple dimensions and contingencies, and from an egocentric to a socially aware perspective. Changes in decision-making and influence strategies are characterized by similar dimensions, moving from an expedient to strategic orientation, from an emphasis on perceptually salient features to more relevant underlying features, from a limited repertoire to a more complete repertoire of strategies capable of handling multiple attributes, and from limited to more fully developed abilities to adapt strategies to tasks and situations.

Each stage is described in more detail below. The perceptual stage derives its name from the overwhelming emphasis that children in this stage place on perceptual as opposed to abstract or symbolic thought. The analytical stage is named for the vast improvements we see at this stage in children’s abilities to approach matters in more detailed and analytical ways. Finally,
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The reflective stage derives its name from the emphasis that children in this stage place on understanding the complex social contexts and meanings related to consumption.

Table 2.1

Consumer Socialization Stages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Perceptual stage, 3–7 years</th>
<th>Analytical stage, 7–11 years</th>
<th>Reflective stage, 11–16 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge structures:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>Concrete</td>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>Abstract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>Perceptual features</td>
<td>Functional/underlying features</td>
<td>Functional/underlying features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complexity</td>
<td>Unidimensional Simple</td>
<td>Two or more dimensions Contingent (&quot;if-then&quot;)</td>
<td>Multidimensional Contingent (&quot;if-then&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspective</td>
<td>Egocentric (own perspective)</td>
<td>Dual perspectives (own + others)</td>
<td>Dual perspectives in social context</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Decision-making and influence strategies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Expedient</th>
<th>Thoughtful</th>
<th>Strategic</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>Perceptual features</td>
<td>Functional/underlying features</td>
<td>Functional/underlying features</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complexity</td>
<td>Single attributes Limited Repertoire of strategies</td>
<td>Two or more attributes Expanded repertoire of strategies</td>
<td>Multiple attributes Complete repertoire of strategies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaptivity</td>
<td>Emerging Egocentric</td>
<td>Moderate Dual Perspective</td>
<td>Dual Perspective in social context</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Deborah Roedder John (1999)

Perceptual Stage

The perceptual stage (ages 3–7) is characterized by a general orientation toward the immediate and readily observable perceptual features of the marketplace. Piaget’s notion of “perceptual boundness” describes these children well, as does his idea of “centration” on single dimensions of objects and events. Children’s consumer knowledge is characterized by perceptual features and distinctions, often based on a single dimension or attribute, and represented in terms of concrete details from their own observations. These children exhibit familiarity with concepts in the marketplace, such as brands or retail stores, but rarely understand them beyond a surface level. Due to constraints in encoding and organizing information, individual objects or experiences are rarely integrated into more generalized knowledge structures with multiple dimensions, perspectives, and contingencies (e.g., if-then rules).
Many of these same characteristics hold true for consumer decision-making skills and influence strategies at the perceptual stage. The orientation here can best be described as simple, expedient, and egocentric. Decisions are often made on the basis of very limited information, usually a single perceptual dimension. For example, children in this stage can be expected to make choices based on a single, perceptually salient attribute such as size. This type of strategy is rarely modified or adapted based on different choice tasks or situations. Limited adaptivity is also a feature of children's influence strategies. Children approach these situations with an egocentric perspective, unable to take into account the other person's perspective in modifying the strategy used to influence or negotiate for desired items. Although they may be aware that parents or friends have other views, children at this age have difficulty thinking about their own perspective and that of another person simultaneously.

**Analytical Stage**

Enormous changes take place, both cognitively and socially, as children move into the analytical stage (ages 7–11). This period contains some of the most important developments in terms of consumer knowledge and skills. The shift from perceptual thought to more symbolic thought noted by Piaget, along with dramatic increases in information processing abilities, results in a more sophisticated understanding of the marketplace, a more complex set of knowledge about concepts such as advertising and brands, and a new perspective that goes beyond their own feelings and motives. Concepts such as product categories or prices are thought of in terms of functional or underlying dimensions, products and brands are analyzed and discriminated on the basis of more than one dimension or attribute, and generalizations are drawn from one's experiences. Reasoning proceeds at a more abstract level, setting the stage for knowledge structures that include information about abstract concepts such as advertiser's motives as well as the notion of contingencies (e.g., sweetness is an appealing attribute for candy but not soup).

The ability to analyze stimuli on multiple dimensions and the acknowledgment of contingencies brings about vast changes in children's consumer decision-making skills and strategies. Now, children exhibit more thoughtfulness in their choices, considering more than just a single perceptually salient attribute and employing a decision strategy that seems to make sense given the task environment. As a result, children are more flexible in the approach they bring to making decisions, allowing them to be more adaptive and responsive.
These tendencies also emerge in the way children try to influence and negotiate for desired items. The approach is more adaptive, based on their new-found ability to think from the perspective of a parent or friend and adapt their influence strategy accordingly.

Reflective Stage
The reflective stage (ages 11–16) is characterized by further development in several dimensions of cognitive and social development. Knowledge about marketplace concepts such as branding and pricing becomes even more nuanced and more complex as children develop more sophisticated information processing and social skills. Many of these changes are more a matter of degree than kind. More distinct is the shift in orientation to a more reflective way of thinking and reasoning, as children move into adolescence and become more focused on the social meanings and underpinnings of the consumer marketplace. A heightened awareness of other people’s perspectives, along with a need to shape their own entity and conform to group expectations, results in more attention to the social aspects of being a consumer, making choices, and consuming brands. Consumer decisions are made in a more adaptive manner, depending on the situation and task. In a similar fashion, attempts to influence parents and friends reflect more social awareness as adolescents become more strategic, favouring strategies that they think will be better received than a simple direct approach.

2.4 Major Areas (Outcomes) of Consumer Socialisation:
2.4.1 Advertising and Persuasion Knowledge
Early interest in the area of consumer socialization was ignited, in large part, by questions about children’s knowledge and understanding of advertising. Beginning in the early 1970s, arguments emerged that advertising to children was inherently unfair, based on theories developed by child psychologists and exploratory research conducted by consumer researchers that revealed young children to have little understanding of the persuasive intent of advertising, viewing it as informative, truthful, and entertaining. A rancorous public policy debate ensued, culminating in a 1978 Federal Trade Commission proposal to ban television advertising to young children under the age of eight. Although this proposal was ultimately defeated, concern over what children know about advertising and whether advertisers have an unfair advantage in persuading children continues to this day.15
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Here, researcher studies what is known about children's knowledge and understanding of advertising. So, the major steps or building blocks of advertising knowledge, such as the ability to distinguish commercials from programs and the ability to understand advertising's persuasive intent. These steps are discussed in the order in which they emerge in the developmental sequence from preschool to adolescence.

2.4.1.a Distinguishing Commercials from Programs

As children move into the preschool years, they learn to identify television commercials and distinguish them from other forms of programming. By the age of five, almost all children have acquired the ability to pick out commercials from regular television programming (Blosser and Roberts 1985; Butter et al. 1981; Levin, Petros, and Petrella 1982; Palmer and McDowell 1979; Stephens and Stutts 1982; Stutts, Vance, and Hadleson 1981). Even three- and four year olds have been shown to discriminate commercials above chance levels (Butter et al. 1981; Levin et al. 1982).

A study by Eliot Butter and his colleagues illustrates findings in this area. Preschool children were shown videotapes of the Captain Kangaroo program, edited to include four 30-second commercials between program segments. Separators were placed between the commercial and program segments, consisting, for example, of a voice saying that "the Captain will return after this message." While viewing the tape, children were instructed to tell the experimenter "when a commercial comes on." Children were also asked at approximately 10–15 seconds into each program segment, "Is this part of the Captain Kangaroo show?" In addition to these direct assessments, children were also asked open-ended questions such as "Why do they put commercials on television?" and "What is the difference between a commercial and the Captain Kangaroo show?"16

Using this methodology, Butter et al. (1981) found that 70 percent of the four-year-olds and 90 percent of the five-year-olds identified all four commercials. Older children identified significantly more commercials, yet even four-year-olds were able to distinguish commercials from programs at an above-chance level. However, the ability to identify commercials did not necessarily translate into an understanding of the true difference between commercials and programs (i.e., entertainment vs. selling intent). For example, 90 percent of the younger children could not explain the difference between commercials and programs, even though discriminating the two was relatively easy. Other studies have
reported similar findings, noting that children of this age and slightly older usually describe the difference between commercials and programs using simple perceptual cues, such as "commercials are short." Thus, as Butter et al. 1981, p. 82) conclude, "young children may know they are watching something different than a program but do not know that the intent of what they are watching is to invite purchase of a product or service."

2.4.1.b Understanding Advertising Intent

An understanding of advertising intent usually emerges by the time most children are seven to eight years old. Prior to this, young children tend to view advertising as entertainment (e.g., "commercials are funny") or as a form of unbiased information (e.g., "commercials tell you about things you can buy"). Around the age of 7 or 8, children begin to see the persuasive intent of commercials, coming to terms with the fact that advertisers are "trying to get people to buy something."18

These developmental patterns are well documented by Robertson and Rossiter (1974) in one of the earliest and most influential studies on the topic. First-, third-, and fifth-grade boys were interviewed and asked a series of open-ended questions to assess whether they recognized the assistive (informational) intent and persuasive (selling) intent of advertising. For example, children were asked questions such as "Why are commercials shown on television?" and "What do commercials try to get you to do?" The findings reveal age differences in persuasive intent but not assistive intent. Attributions of assistive intent remained constant across the three grade levels, with about half of the children mentioning the information function of advertising. Attributions of persuasive intent, however, increased dramatically from 52.7 percent of first graders (6 -7-year-olds) to 87.1 percent of third graders (8 -9-year-olds) to 99 percent of fifth graders (10 -11-year-olds). These age trends parallel our description of children in the perceptual and analytical stages of consumer socialization. First graders, who are still in the perceptual stage, view the purpose of advertising from their own perspective as something that is informative or entertaining. Third and fifth graders, who are in the analytical stage, are now capable of viewing advertising from their own perspective (assistive intent) as well as from the advertiser's perspective (persuasive intent).19

Similar age trends have been reported in much subsequent research, though additional factors have been identified that may moderate the specific age at which a child understands...
persuasive intent. Family environment, for example, plays a role. Children from black families exhibit lower levels of understanding of advertising’s persuasive intent. Higher levels of understanding can be facilitated by parents with higher educational levels and by parents who take a strong consumer education role with their children. Common to both types of families is a greater degree of parent-child interaction about advertising, though the interaction must have an educational component to be effective. In addition to background factors, features of the methodology used to measure children's understanding of persuasive intent have also come under scrutiny. Researchers have questioned whether measures of children's knowledge, using open-ended questions requiring abstract thinking and verbalization, result in an overly pessimistic view of what young children know about advertising intent. Employing nonverbal measures of advertising intent, Donohue, Henke, and Donohue (1980) reported high levels of understanding of commercial intent among 2–6-year-olds. In this study, children were shown a television commercial for Fruit Loops cereal featuring an animated character called Toucan Sam. After viewing the ad, children were shown two pictures and asked to indicate which picture best indicated “What Toucan Sam wants you to do.” The correct picture was one of a mother and child in a supermarket cereal aisle, with the child sitting in a pushcart seat and the mother standing with a box of Fruit Loops in her hand, ready to put it into the cart. The incorrect picture showed a child watching television. Children in the study selected the right picture 80 percent of the time, with even the youngest children (2–3-year-olds) selecting the right picture at above-chance levels (75 percent).

2.4.1.c Recognizing Bias and Deception in Advertising

By the time children reach their eighth birthday, they not only understand advertising’s persuasive intent but also recognize the existence of bias and deception in advertising. Children aged eight and older no longer believe that “commercials always tell the truth”, though children from black and lower-income families are less discerning. Beliefs about the truthfulness of advertising become even more negative as children move into adolescence. For example, (Ward et al. (1977) report that the percentage of kindergartners, third graders, and sixth graders believing that advertising never or only sometimes tells the truth increases from 50 percent to 88 percent to 97 percent, respectively. These percentage changes parallel those reported for understanding of persuasive intent for first, third, and fifth graders, illustrating once again the shifts that take place as children make the transition from the perceptual stage to the analytical stage.
Along with these more negative views comes a better understanding of why commercials are sometimes untruthful and how one can distinguish truthful from untruthful ads. For example, Ward et al. (1977) report that kindergartners often state no reason for why commercials lie (e.g., "They just lie") whereas older children (third and sixth graders) connect lying to persuasive intent (e.g., "They want to sell products to make money, so they have to make the product look better than it is"). The ability to detect specific instances of bias and deception also increases with age.

Bever et al. (1975) report that most of the 7–10-year-olds in their study could not detect misleading advertising and admitted to their difficulties: "[Advertisers] can fake well", they said, and 'you don’t really know what’s true until you have tried the product'" (p. 114). Eleven- to 12-year-olds were more discriminating, using nuances of voice, manner, and language to detect misleading advertising. These children used clues such as "overstatements and the way they [the actors] talk," "when they use visual tricks or fake things," and when the commercial "goes on and on in too much detail" (p. 119). Clearly, developments in perspective taking that occur as children enter adolescence and the reflective stage facilitate the ability to associate such nuances in advertising executions with deception or exaggeration.

The ability to recognize bias and deception in ads, coupled with an understanding of advertising's persuasive intent, results in less trust and less liking of commercials overall. Robertson and Rossiter (1974) found, for example, that the percentage of children liking all ads decreased dramatically from 68.5 percent for first graders to 55.9 percent for third graders to 25.3 percent for fifth graders. Similar studies have replicated this general pattern, noting downward trends in liking or overall attitudes toward advertising in children from the early elementary school grades to high school.

Family environment, peers, and television exposure also contribute to the development of skeptical attitudes toward advertising. For young children, critical attitudes seem to be furthered by parental control over television viewing and less television viewing in general. By the teenage years, skepticism toward advertising seems to be related more to the development of independent thinking and access to alternative information sources. For example, Mangleburg and Bristol (1998) report higher levels of advertising skepticism
among high school students that have alternative sources of information (friends) and come from families that foster critical thinking (concept-oriented families), despite self-reports of heavier television viewing. Less skepticism was observed among students conforming to peer group norms, consistent with a pattern of less independent and critical thinking.

2.4.1.d Using Cognitive Defenses against Advertising

The evidence just reviewed points to a dramatic shift in how children see advertising as they move from the preschool years to early adolescence. The preschooler who believes that commercials are entertaining and informative turns into a skeptical adolescent who knows that commercials are meant to persuade and believes them to be untruthful in general. The knowledge and skepticism about advertising that is typical of children 8 years of age or older is often viewed as a cognitive defense against advertising. Armed with knowledge about advertising's persuasive intent and skepticism about the truthfulness of advertising claims, children of this age and above are often viewed as having the abilities to respond to advertising in a mature and informed manner. Younger children (under 8 years) without these cognitive defenses are seen as an at-risk population for being easily misled by advertising.

Although this scenario seems straightforward, evidence regarding the extent to which children's general attitudes and beliefs about advertising function as cognitive defenses against advertising is quite mixed. Early survey research was successful in finding moderate links between children's knowledge of advertising's persuasive intent and their desire for advertised products and children's negative attitudes toward advertising and their desire for advertised products. More recent experimental research, however, finds that children's cognitive defenses have little or no effect on evaluations and preferences for advertised products. For example, Christenson (1982) found that an educational segment on commercials was successful in increasing the awareness of advertising's persuasive intent and decreasing the perceived truthfulness of advertising, yet had little effect on younger (first-second graders) or older (fifth–sixth graders) children's evaluations of a subsequently advertised product.

Several possibilities exist to explain why children's developing knowledge about advertising does not necessarily translate into more discerning responses to advertising. Perhaps the most obvious reason is that general knowledge and beliefs about advertising cannot be expected to dampen a child's enthusiasm for an enticing snack or toy. Clearly, adults with the same or
higher level of cognitive defenses often want and purchase advertised products, even products with advertised claims that are just too good to be true. As Robertson and Rossiter (1974, p. 19) note: "Children’s ability to recognize persuasive intent in commercials should not be taken as implying immunity to all commercials; clearly, individual commercials may be highly persuasive for children, just as for adults."

The most important, and interesting, findings relate to the number of counterarguments children raised after viewing each commercial. Over 70 percent of the counterarguments occurred in the high knowledge-cue present condition, in which children had been shown educational films and had received a cue encouraging them to access this knowledge prior to commercial viewing. Students in the high knowledge-cue absent condition generated advertising counterarguments for one commercial, which used techniques very similar to those critiqued in the educational films, but failed overall to use what they had learned about advertising at the time of commercial viewing. Children in the low knowledge condition failed to generate advertising counterarguments for any of the commercials, regardless of whether a cue for advertising knowledge was present or absent. These results support the idea that access to advertising knowledge is a bottleneck preventing children from using what they know as a cognitive defense against advertising. Equally important, however, the findings suggest that general advertising knowledge and beliefs are not sufficient defenses. As Brucks et al. (1988, pp. 480–481) conclude, “Children (at least 9 to 10-year-olds) need more than just a skeptical or critical attitude toward advertising. They also need a more detailed knowledge about the nature of advertising and how it works.”

2.4.1.e Knowledge of Advertising Tactics and Appeals

What do children of different ages know about specific advertising tactics and appeals? Surprisingly, we have very few answers to this question, probably because most researchers have focused on advertising knowledge and beliefs possessed by children during their elementary school years (ages 5–11). Advertising knowledge of a more specific form, involving an understanding of what tactics and appeals are used by advertisers and why they are used, emerges much later in the developmental sequence as children approach early adolescence. This developmental path is consistent with our characterization of children in the reflective stage, who possess substantial perspective-taking skills that allow them to reason about different perspectives (advertiser and viewer) across different contexts or situations.
An illustration of this developmental juncture is provided by Moore-Shay and Lutz (1997) in their research involving in-depth interviews with second graders (ages 7–8) and fifth graders (ages 10–11). These researchers found that younger children related to advertisements primarily as a conduit of product information, evaluating specific commercials based upon their liking of the advertised product. In contrast, older children viewed advertisements in a more analytical nature, often focusing on creative content and execution, as illustrated in this commentary by a fifth-grade boy: “They show the shape of the cereal a lot of times. When they show the box a lot of times, they show the name a lot of times. Make sure you remember it. Or sometimes they have a song, and it’s like when you get songs in your head and you can’t get them out” (p. 35).

Knowledge of this nature continues to develop during adolescence, as documented by Boush et al. (1994). Sixth through eighth graders were asked a series of questions about what advertisers are trying to accomplish when they use particular tactics, such as humour, celebrity endorsers, and product comparisons. Students were asked to rate eight possible effects (e.g., “grab your attention” and “help you learn about the product”) for each tactic, responding to the question, “When TV ads [insert tactic], how hard is the advertiser trying to [insert list of effects]?” Ratings for each effect were obtained on a scale from “not trying hard at all” to “trying very hard.” These ratings were compared to those from an adult sample to derive an overall knowledge score. In addition, skepticism toward advertising was assessed by a series of questions relating to understanding of advertising intent and beliefs about the truthfulness of ad claims.

The results indicate that knowledge about specific advertising techniques increases during the period from sixth to eighth grade, consistent with what we would expect for young consumers moving into the reflective stage (ages 11–16). Interestingly, skepticism about advertising was high among all students and did not vary across grades. Boush and his colleagues conclude (p. 172): “The current results suggest that negative or mistrustful predispositions toward advertising are well established as early as grade 6. This pattern of development, where skeptical attitudes precede more sophisticated knowledge structures, suggests that adolescent schemer schemas about advertisers’ persuasive attempts start with general attitudes and then are filled in with more specific beliefs.”
2.4.2 Transaction Knowledge

Advertising plays an early role in the consumer socialization of children, but so do other consumer experiences such as shopping. For most children, their exposure to the marketplace comes as soon as they can be accommodated as a passenger in a shopping cart at the grocery store. From this vantage point, infants and toddlers are exposed to a variety of stimuli and experiences, including aisles of products, shoppers reading labels and making decisions, and the exchange of money and goods at the checkout counter. These experiences, aided by developing cognitive abilities that allow them to interpret and organize their experiences, result in an understanding of marketplace transactions. Children learn about the places where transactions take place (stores), the objects of transactions (products and brands), the procedures for enacting transactions (shopping scripts), and the value obtained in exchanging money for products (shopping skills and pricing). This set of knowledge and skills, which we refer to here as transaction knowledge, is explored in detail below.

2.4.2.a Product and Brand Knowledge

To children, products and brands are probably the most salient aspects of the marketplace. Products and brands are advertised on television, displayed in stores, and found all around one’s home. Even before they are able to read, children as young as two or three years of age can recognize familiar packages in the store and familiar characters on products such as toys and clothing.\(^31\) By preschool, children begin to recall brand names from seeing them advertised on television or featured on product packages, especially if the brand names are associated with salient visual cues such as colours, pictures, or cartoon characters.\(^32\) By kindergarten and first grade, children begin to read and spell brand names, which opens up even more opportunities for children to add to their knowledge base. By the time children reach middle childhood, they can name multiple brands in most child-oriented product categories such as cereal, snacks, and toys. As they mature, several trends in children’s brand awareness are evident. First, as suggested above, children’s awareness and recall of brand names increases with age, from early to middle childhood and from middle childhood through adolescence.\(^33\)

These developments in brand awareness foster a greater understanding of brands and product categories. Children begin to discern similarities and differences among brands, learning the structural aspects of how brands are positioned within a product category. Children also learn about product categories themselves, developing a greater understanding of how product
types are grouped together and distinguished from one another. This refers to the type of knowledge about product categories and brands as structural knowledge. Young consumers also begin to understand the symbolic meaning and status accorded to certain types of products and brand names. This refers to the type of knowledge as symbolic knowledge. Both types of knowledge development are reviewed below.

**Structural Knowledge**

Between early and middle childhood, children learn a great deal about the underlying structure of product categories. Although children learn to group or categorize items at a very early age, they shift from highly visible perceptual cues to more important underlying cues as a basis for categorizing and judging similarity among objects as they grow older. By third or fourth grade, children are learning to group objects according to attributes that suggest taxonomic relationships (e.g., belts and socks share the same attribute of being items of clothing), attributes that indicate the relationship of categories to one another (e.g., fruit juices and soft drinks differ on the attribute of naturalness), and attributes inherent to the core concept of categories (e.g., taste, more than colour, is central to the category of soft drinks). These are termed underlying, deep structure, or even functional attributes because they convey the true meaning of a category or the function a category might serve. Prior to the use of attributes such as these, young children typically rely on perceptual attributes that are visually dominant, such as shape, size, or colour.

These findings are consistent with our characterization of children in the perceptual and analytical stages of consumer socialization. The focus on perceptual categorization cues exhibited by 4–5-year-olds is a vivid illustration of the orientation of children in the perceptual stage. Similarly, the shift to functional or underlying categorization cues around 9–10 years of age is consistent with the movement toward symbolic thinking that characterizes children in the analytical stage.

**Symbolic Knowledge**

Middle to late childhood is also a time of greater understanding of the symbolic meanings and status accorded to certain types of products and brand names. During this time, children develop a preference for particular brands, even when the physical compositions of the products are quite similar in nature. For example, children begin to express a preference for familiar branded items over generic offerings in the preschool years, with preference for
branded items escalating even further as children enter and move through elementary school. By the time they reach early adolescence, children are expressing strong preferences for some brand names over others, based on a relatively sophisticated understanding of their brand concepts and images. Nowhere is children's increasing understanding of the social significance of goods more in evidence than in studies of consumption symbolism conducted by Belk and his colleagues. Thus, sometime between preschool and second grade, children begin to make inferences about people based on the products they use.

Inferences about people based on the brands they use also develop during childhood, albeit somewhat later than for the general types of products described above. A lag of this sort seems reasonable based on the fact that inferences about product types are often based on salient perceptual cues (e.g., small vs. large car), which are easily noticed by younger children in the perceptual stage, whereas inferences about brand names are based on more abstract conceptual notions about what is popular, new, more costly, or exclusive. Thus, by sixth grade, children have developed a very keen sense of the social meaning and prestige associated with certain types of products and brand names. Further, these items not only confer status to their owners, but also begin to symbolize group identity and a sense of belonging to certain groups. Product categories such as clothing are particularly notable in this regard, as reported by Jamison (1996) in a study with sixth graders. A quote from an 11-year-old boy sums it up well: "I wear what I wear because it is in style - it also makes me feel real cool. Some of the kinds of clothes I like are Nike, Guess, Levi’s and Reebok. When I wear my clothes it makes me feel real cool. I also blend in with all the other people at school and everywhere else I go" (p. 23). These developments in symbolic knowledge are consistent with our stage framework for consumer socialization. Beginning in the analytical stage (ages 7–11), the seeds are sown by children's increasing abilities to think abstractly and reason about perspectives other than their own. By the time children reach the reflective stage (ages 11–16), they possess a more sophisticated approach to impression formation based on social comparisons of factors such as personality, social standing, and possessions. Perspective-taking skills also now incorporate group norms or points of view, consistent with findings of consumption symbolism related to group identity at this age.
2.4.2.b Shopping Knowledge and Skills

Early work in this area focused on children's knowledge of money as a medium of exchange. Research in this vein identified early childhood as a period of rapid development in abilities to understand where money comes from and its role in marketplace transactions, to identify specific coin and bill values, and to carry out transactions with money involving simple addition and subtraction. Significant jumps in knowledge were reported between preschool and first or second grade, with most second graders having acquired many of the basic concepts for understanding the exchange of money for goods and services. Yet, a complete set of shopping knowledge and skills goes beyond understanding money and its role in the exchange process. One must understand shopping procedures and scripts, learn how to compare prices and quantities, understand pricing as a mechanism for relaying value, and become aware of the retail establishments where most shopping activity takes place. Below, we summarize existing research on each of these topics.

Retail Store Knowledge

Children are frequent visitors to retail stores at a young age. Convenience stores, discount stores, and supermarkets are the favourites of younger children (5–9 years), while specialty stores, such as toy or sporting good stores, are favourites with older children (10–12 years). By the time a child reaches middle childhood, s/he is visiting and making purchases in an average of 5.2 stores per week, or over 270 shopping visits per year. These shopping experiences, coupled with developments in cognitive and social reasoning, lead to an understanding of retail institutions. In one of the few and earliest studies on this topic, McNeal (1964) reports interesting developments between the ages of 5 and 9 years of age. At age 5, children see stores as a source for snacks and sweets, but are unsure of why stores exist except to fulfill their own needs for these products. By the time children reach the age of 7, shopping is seen as “necessary and exciting.” At age 9, hopping is seen as a “necessary part of life,” accompanied by a much greater understanding that retail stores are owned by people to sell goods at a profit. Thus, there is a considerable shift in understanding the purpose of retail establishments from the preschool years (an egocentric view of stores as fulfilling my wants) to the early elementary school years (a dual view of stores as profit centres that fulfill consumer wants). This shift is consistent with the view of the transition from the perceptual stage, where children have an egocentric perspective, to the analytical stage, where children have the ability to reason from another person’s perspective, such as retailers who have a profit motive.
Chapter 2

Consumer Socialisation

Shopping Scripts

Understanding the sequence of events involved in shopping is clearly one of the most important aspects of transaction knowledge. As noted earlier, children acquire a vast amount of experience as an observer or participant in the shopping process at very early ages. But exposure to the shopping process does not necessarily result in an understanding of the basic sequence of events involved in shopping until children reach the preschool or kindergarten years. An illustration of this point is provided by Karsten (1996) in a study conducted with children in kindergarten through fourth grade who were asked to participate in a shopping game. Each child was shown a small toy with a price tag on it (e.g., a toy dinosaur for 17 cents) and told that they had been given money (e.g., a quarter) by their mother to buy the item at the store. A store area was set up nearby with a small cash register, containing visible amounts of coins and bills. Children were asked to show the interviewer/cashier how they would buy the toy in the store. Although the results reveal age differences in terms of understanding the need for change and calculating change amounts, the basic shopping script was enacted by even the youngest children in the study. As Karsten concludes (p. 109): “Even the youngest subjects in the study understood that one selected their item, checked their money, decided what to purchase and placed it on the cashier’s counter, waited for the cashier to check and record the price and perhaps offer change—they even reminded the interviewer to hand them a pretend receipt.”

Shopping scripts undergo further development as children accumulate more experience and acquire the cognitive abilities needed to transform individual shopping experiences into more abstract and complex scripts. In order to study how scripts develop with experience, children in each of three age groups (4–5 years, 6–7 years, 9–10 years) were read different stories about a boy or girl exchanging or returning a faulty product to a store. The amount of experience was varied by the number of stories read, resulting in low (one story), medium (three stories), or high (five stories) levels of experience about product exchanges and returns. When young children are exposed to slightly different variations of a script enactment, additional problems with discerning the event structure of the script and organizing the individual events into a whole may surface. Children’s script knowledge was assessed using several response formats, which varied in terms of how much contextual support and how many retrieval cues were provided. Children in the perceptual stage (3–7 years) understand the basic shopping script, which consists of a concrete set of events that unfold in a stable order. What develops as children move into the analytical stage (7–11
years) is an ability to transform concrete details into more abstract events and to formulate contingent events that may or may not happen in any particular shopping experience. These developments can be traced to the enhanced information-processing skills that children in the analytical stage come to possess.

**Shopping Skills**

The term “shopping skills” refers to wide array of abilities used for comparing product value prior to purchase. Although one might expect to see a considerable amount of research in this area, the only existing study is reported by Turner and Brandt (1978). Preschool (age 4) and elementary school (ages 10–11) children were given several shopping tasks, one involving a comparison of product packages and quantity and one involving a comparison of product prices and quantity. For the first, children were shown two packages containing the same product, with one containing many individually wrapped pieces of candy and the other containing the same candy in one large size. The child was asked to compare the two packages and determine which contained more of the product. The correct answer was identified by looking at net weight on the packages. For the second task, children were shown three different sizes and shapes of packages containing the same product and asked to determine which one would give the most product for the money. The correct answer was determined by comparing unit prices per package. Responses to both tasks revealed that older children were more accurate in their comparisons as were children who were given more opportunities at home to manage money and participate in consumer decision making with other members of the family.

**Pricing Knowledge**

Despite the fact that children have substantial shopping skills by middle childhood, they pay relatively little attention to prices as an aspect of the marketplace. By the time children are 8 or 9 years old, they know that products have prices, know where to look for price information, and know that there are price variations among products and stores. Despite this, very few children know the prices for frequently purchased items, and very few ask about price when listing the type of information they would want to know about a new product prior to purchase. Other cues, such as brand names, are far more salient and important to children. For example, in McNeal’s (1992) study, in which children from the second, third, and fourth grades were asked to draw pictures about shopping, about 40 percent of the
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drawings pictured products with brand names, whereas only 10 percent of the drawings showed actual price information (e.g., $3.99).

Perhaps part of the reason children pay little attention to pricing is that they have relatively undeveloped notions about how prices reflect the valuation of goods and services. Adults, for example, see prices as a reflection of the utility or function of the item to the consumer, the costs of inputs incurred by the manufacturer to make the item, and the relative scarcity of the item in the marketplace. Not until early adolescence do children perceive this full range of connections between price and value, with younger children viewing price simply in terms of concrete physical features of products. These age differences provide a vivid illustration of children’s reasoning skills at different stages of consumer socialization. Children in the perceptual stage (ages 3–7) focus on perceptual features, but without abstract reasoning that connects these features to prices. Although children in the analytical stage (ages 7–11) also mentioned perceptual features, they related these features to functional reasons why the product should cost more. Adolescents in the reflective stage (ages 11–16) also considered the preferences of potential buyers, which reflect an enhanced understanding of other people’s perspectives and opinions.

2.4.3 Decision Making Skills and Abilities
Children assume the role of consumer decision makers at a young age. Children as young as 2 years of age are commonly allowed to select treats at the grocery store, express desires for fast food, and indicate preferences for toys on visits to Santa. As they grow older, children develop more sophisticated decision-making skills and abilities. They become more aware of different information sources, seek out information about important functional aspects of products, utilize more attribute information in evaluating products, and adapt their decision strategies to the nature of the choice environment they face. These developments are viewed in more detail below.

2.4.3.a Information Search

Awareness and Use of Information Sources
As children grow older, they develop a greater awareness of different information sources and deploy these sources in a more flexible manner depending on need. Much of the developing awareness of information sources takes place during early and middle childhood. To illustrate, Ward et al. (1977) asked kindergartners, third graders, and sixth graders where
they could find out about three kinds of new products: toys, snack foods, and clothing. The average number of information sources increased with age, from a low of 3.66 sources for kindergartners to a high of 6.68 for sixth graders. Kindergartners relied most on in-store experiences, whereas third and sixth graders added mass media advertising and interpersonal sources to their lists. During the adolescent years, further developments take place in the use and preference for information sources. Older adolescents seek out more sources of information as a prelude to purchasing. More importantly, adolescents develop preferences for specific information sources, favoring peers and friends over parents and mass media as they mature.40

However, adolescents also become more flexible in using different sources, favouring peers and friends for some types of products and parents for others. Friends were relied on most for products where peer acceptance is an important consideration (e.g., sunglasses), whereas parents were a favoured source for products with a higher perceived risk in terms of price and performance (e.g., hair dryer). In addition, parents were more influential at the information-gathering stage than at the product evaluation stage. Mass media appears to play a relatively small role as an information source, perhaps either because adolescents have learned to be skeptical of advertising or because adolescents watch less television than their younger counterparts.41

**Type of Information Sought**

As children mature, they learn to rely on different types of information. Perhaps the most important development is a change from reliance on perceptual product attributes to a more detailed consideration of functional and product performance attributes. This trend is illustrated nicely by Ward et al. (1977) in their study with kindergartners, third graders, and sixth graders. Children were asked the following question: “Suppose you wanted to buy a new television set. What would you want to know about it?” Children of all ages inquired about perceptual attributes (e.g., colour vs. black-and-white), though mentions of this sort were lower among sixth graders. With increasing age, however, mentions of performance attributes (e.g., easy to operate), functional attributes (e.g., quality), and price became more common.

Similar findings have been reported with adolescents. In the Moschis and Moore (1979) study described earlier, middle and high school students were asked to indicate which of the
following types of information could tell them the best product to buy: "one that is on sale," 
"one that is advertised a lot," "one with a well-known brand name," "one that my parents 
like," or "one sold by a well-known store." Certain types of information were more valued 
than others, with adolescents favouring products on sale and with a well-known brand name. 
The focus on price and brand name (as a surrogate for functional attributes) is consistent 
across product categories, as is the limited value placed on signals such as high levels of 
advertising or placement in a well-known store.

Adapting to Search Costs and Benefits

One of the hallmarks of a mature decision maker is the ability to adjust one's information 
search to the costs and benefits of gathering information. More information is gathered in 
situations where the benefits of doing so are greater; less information is gathered in situations 
where the costs of doing so are greater. Mature decision makers consider the trade-off 
between cost and benefits as they consider collecting more information about a product 
category, seeking more information about different brands in a product category, and making 
more visits to different retail outlets. Children learn to adjust their information search efforts 
in line with cost and benefit considerations as they grow older. Many of the basic 
mechanisms develop during the period from preschool to the early elementary school years. 
Early in this developmental period, children show an ability to adjust their information search 
efforts to at least one of the two cues.

The next step, adjusting information search in line with both costs and benefits, emerges in 
the early elementary school years. An illustration of this development is provided in a study 
by Gregan-Paxton and John (1995). Four- to 7-year-olds were asked to play a game called 
"house of prizes." The game involved making a choice between two cardboard boxes 
decorated to look like houses, with a prize hidden behind each of four windows of the house. 
Children were allowed to search windows to uncover the prizes prior to making a choice, 
with differing costs and benefits of doing so. In the low benefit condition, all four windows 
within a house contained the same prize; in the high benefit condition, every window in each 
house had a different prize. In the low cost condition, children could uncover as many prizes 
as they wished prior to making a choice, with the only cost of doing so being minimal effort 
and additional time in making a choice; in the high cost condition, children were given 
several pieces of candy prior to the start of the game and had to give up one piece of candy

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Older children modified their search behaviour more in line with appropriate cost-benefit trade-offs than did the 4–5-year-olds. The 6–7-year-olds gathered the least information in the condition with the least favourable cost-benefit profile (high cost, low benefit) and the most information in the condition with the most favourable cost-benefit profile (low cost, high benefit). Younger children were less discerning, gathering the most information for one of the conditions warranting a very modest degree of search (low cost, low benefit) and much less information for one of the conditions warranting the most extensive information search (low cost, high benefit). Young children in the perceptual stage (ages 3–7) tend to gather information from a small number of sources, focus on a small amount of information that is often perceptual in nature, and are just beginning to adapt their search strategy to the task at hand. Children in the analytical (ages 7–11) and reflective (ages 11–16) stages cast a wider net in searching for information, making use of additional information and information sources when needed. They approach the search process in a more strategic way, going beyond simple perceptual features of products as well as adapting their search strategies and sources to the situation they face.

2.4.3.b Product Evaluation and Comparison
Children become more informed consumers with age, using the information they have gathered to evaluate and compare product offerings. With increasing age, children focus more on important and relevant attribute information, use more attributes and dimensions in forming preferences, more carefully consider these preferences in making choices, and are more successful in comparing brands on dimensions such as price and quality. Several of these developments are described in more detail below.

Use of Attribute Information
The most consistent finding here is that younger children use fewer attributes or dimensions in forming preferences and comparing products. Researchers have demonstrated an increase in the use of attributes and dimensions as children move from preschool to early elementary school and from early elementary school to middle school and late adolescence.
Use of Relevant Attribute Information

The ability to focus on relevant attribute information also emerges as children move through the early elementary school years. Kindergarten children are often attracted to perceptually salient information, which may or may not be relevant. The ability to ignore irrelevant information, in favour of more relevant or important information, progresses as children move from kindergarten into the early elementary school grades and onward through early adolescence.

Kindergartners focused their comparisons on the total amount of candy ingredients shown on the card, regardless of the attribute preferences of their friend. Over two-thirds of these children simply selected the candy with the most ingredients. In contrast, almost two-thirds of the third graders used the attribute importance information, comparing the different candies on the basis of at least one relevant ingredient. These data are consistent with our characterization of younger children in the perceptual stage (ages 3-7), where perceptual features are dominant in reasoning and information processing capabilities limit the amount of information that can be processed. As children move into the analytical stage (ages 7-11), one sees a shift in thinking from a perceptual to a more abstract (functional) orientation and the adoption of a more thoughtful evaluation process that results in a focus on relevant information and a broader consideration of more than one attribute.

2.4.3.c Decision Making Strategies

Emergence of Decision-Making Strategies

Important developments in the emergence of decision-making strategies occur as children acquire the ability to selectively attend to and process more information prior to choice. Because many decision strategies require attention to multiple attributes, accompanied by a focus on the most important or relevant ones, these types of abilities must be in place before children can implement a number of compensatory and non-compensatory strategies. The study by Wartella and her colleagues (1979) described earlier provides an interesting glimpse into this area of development. Recall that children were asked to make hypothetical choices among candies that varied in terms of the number of different ingredients (e.g., chocolate, raisins). Attribute importance information was supplied by describing the ingredient preferences of a friend who would receive the chosen candy as a gift. Given the particular set of choice alternatives and attribute (ingredient) preferences, the researchers were able to discern whether or not children were using a number of different strategies: best single
attribute (choice based only on the amount of the single most important ingredient contained in the candy), variety of attributes (choice based on the number of different ingredients contained in the candy), lexicographic strategy (choice based on the amount of the most important ingredient and, in the case of a tie, on the amount of the second most important ingredient), and a weighted adding strategy (choice based on the sum of the products of the important weights and amount of all ingredients contained in each candy).44

The favourite strategy of kindergartners was to choose the option with the most ingredients, regardless of importance weights, consistent with what we would expect for children in the perceptual stage (ages 3–7). Third graders used a variety of strategies, split between the single best attribute, variety of attributes, and lexicographic strategies. The weighted adding strategy, which is compensatory in nature, was used by only a small percentage of the older children. These trends, especially the use of the single best attribute and lexicographic strategies by older children, signal the emergence of non-compensatory strategies in children by the time they reach middle childhood. Indeed, in subsequent studies described below, the use of non-compensatory strategies appears quite ingrained by the time children reach early adolescence.45

Adaptive Use of Decision-Making Strategies

With age, children not only develop a repertoire of decision strategies, but also learn how to use this repertoire in a flexible and effective manner. Perhaps the most important development is the ability to adapt strategies to the demands of the decision environment. Evidence to this effect is provided by research that examines how children respond to increasingly complex decision environments that are characterized by more choice alternatives and more information per choice alternative.

Mature decision makers adapt to more complex environments in several ways. As the number of alternatives and attributes increases, they restrict their search to a smaller proportion of the total information available, focus their search on more promising alternatives, and switch from using highly demanding compensatory choice strategies to less cognitively demanding non-compensatory ones. Similar abilities to adapt develop in children as they move from middle childhood to early adolescence, being consistently exhibited by the time children reach 11 or 12 years of age. Children’s abilities undergo further refinement as they move into late adolescence, using a wider array of simplifying strategies in a more systematic manner.46
Age differences were apparent in the way children adapted to increasingly complex information boards. With increasing age, children were more efficient in gathering information prior to choice, searching less exhaustively and accessing a smaller proportion of available information as complexity increased. Related to this was the fact that older children (fifth and eighth graders) exhibited search patterns indicative of a greater use of non-compensatory strategies, eliminating some alternatives quickly and moving onto more promising ones. In particular, these children appeared to be using conjunctive decision rules, consistent with Klayman's (1985) findings. In contrast, younger children (second graders) responded to increasing complexity by making smaller adjustments in their search strategies without using a consistent simplifying strategy such as the conjunctive rule.

What accounts for these age differences? Although a full accounting is not yet available, there is evidence that two important skills contribute to children's growing abilities as adaptive decision makers. First, Davidson (1991) notes that selective attention is an important component of many simplifying decision rules, as children must learn to focus their attention on more relevant information and ignore information about poor alternatives in the process of making a choice. Second, Gregan-Paxton and John (1997) suggest sensitivity to the costs of processing large amounts of information as an important component of adaptive decision making. In complex decision environments, children need to recognize that exhaustive decision-making strategies are very costly in terms of time and effort and that simplifying strategies yield a more effective balance of effort and accuracy. Young children pay less attention to these costs and, therefore, have less incentive to change their strategies, aside from a few minor adjustments that are relatively ineffective.

Both of these mechanisms relate to cognitive abilities and are consistent with our characterization of young children in the perceptual stage (ages 3–7). Older children in the analytical stage (ages 7–11) exhibit a more thoughtful and adaptive approach to decision making. However, the stage descriptions also suggest that social development may play a role, specifically the emergence of more mature perspective-taking skills. Children in the analytical stage begin to see their environment from multiple perspectives, understanding that a stimulus or situation can be viewed in different ways. This way of thinking may carry over to the decision-making realm, as children become more accustomed to seeing more than one perspective or way of doing things, leading the way for adaptivity to occur.
2.4.4 Purchase Influence and Negotiation Strategies

Children exert substantial influence on family purchases in several ways. Purchase requests are the most overt of all influence attempts, with children asking for a wide array of products such as toys, candy, clothing, sporting goods, and other products for their own use. Over time, children influence purchases for many of these items in a more passive way due to the fact that parents know what their children like and make purchases accordingly. But the extent of influence does not stop with frequently purchased consumer package goods, toys, and athletic equipment. Children also exert some degree of influence in family decision making regarding items such as cars, vacations, computers, and home furnishings. In this role, they might initiate the purchase, collect information about alternatives, suggest retail outlets, and have a say in the final decision.

The extent to which children influence purchases within the family depends on several factors. Older children exert more influence than younger children, a pattern that holds true across a wide age range from kindergarten to high school. Children have the most influence over purchases of child-relevant items (e.g., cereal, toys, clothes), a moderate degree of influence for family activities (e.g., vacations, restaurants), and the least influence for purchases of consumer durables and expensive items. In these later categories, children's influence is greatest in the early stages of family decision making (e.g., problem recognition, information search) and declines as final decisions are made. And, finally, children tend to exert more influence in higher income families, larger families, and families with a less restrictive, less authoritarian, and more concept-oriented communication style.

These trends clearly point to purchase influence as an important part of children's developing role as a consumer. More interesting, from a socialization perspective, is the fact that children learn ways to become successful as influence agents through the use of increasingly sophisticated influence and negotiation strategies. Toddlers and preschool children exert their influence in a very direct way, often pointing to products and occasionally grabbing them off store shelves for deposit inside their parent's shopping cart. As children become more verbal in their requests, they ask for products by name, sometimes begging, screaming, and whining to get what they want. For frequently purchased items, such as snack food and cereal, children are often able to exert their influence simply by asking, due to parents who become more accepting of children's preferences for such items and more comfortable with the idea of occasionally yielding to those preferences.
Bargaining, compromise, and persuasion enter the picture as children make their way through elementary school. Instead of simple requests for products, which parents then accept or reject, interactions between parents and children of this age feature more mutual discussion and compromise. Discussion of this sort is made possible by the fact that children are developing greater abilities to see situations from more than their own point of view, eventually being able to see multiple viewpoints, such as theirs as well as their parents', simultaneously. This dual perspective is characteristic of older children in the analytical stage (ages 7–11) of consumer socialization. Children are also primed to assume a more active role in purchase discussions after years of listening to their parents describe why certain requests can or cannot be honoured, in effect learning to reason, persuade, and negotiate for what they want. Finally, it is also the case that extended discussions become more necessary as children shift purchase requests from inexpensive items such as candy and cereal to more expensive items, including sporting goods, clothes, and electronic goods.31

2.4.5 Consumption motives and Values
Consumer socialization involves more than the acquisition of knowledge and skills related to the consumer role. It also includes the learning and adoption of motives and values pertaining to consumption activities. Though a variety of motives and values might be transmitted, the focus of consumer researchers has been on undesirable outcomes of the socialization process, including orientations toward conspicuous consumption, materialism, and non-rational impulse-oriented consumption.

2.4.5.a Materialism
One of the most enduring concerns about consumer socialization is that our culture encourages children to focus on material goods as a means of achieving personal happiness, success, and self-fulfilment. Concerns of this nature have escalated as evidence has become available pointing to a heightened level of materialism among children. Direct expenditures and purchase influence for children 4–12 years of age have virtually doubled in the last 10 years, as have marketing efforts to this age group. Media reports of assaults and thefts of items such as Nike athletic shoes and Starter athletic jackets have provided vivid portrayals of materialism among youth. The longitudinal studies of materialistic values have shown a dramatic shift in focus toward materialistic life goals among high school seniors from the early 1970s through the 1980s.52
Understanding when and how such materialistic values form has been the central focus of consumer socialization research. Research suggests that children clearly value the possession of material goods from a very young age, sometimes favouring them above all else. A case in point is provided by Goldberg and Gorn (1978) in a study with 4–5-year-old boys. Children were divided into three groups. The first two groups saw an ad for a new toy ("Ruckus Raisers"), with the first group seeing the ad twice in one showing and the second group seeing the ad once each day for two days. A third group did not see any advertising for the new toy and served as a control group. After viewing the ad, children were given a choice between two hypothetical playmates: one described as "very nice" that did not own the new toy and one described as "not so nice" but owning the new toy. About a third of the control group selected the boy with the new toy, but 43–65 percent of the group seeing the ad for the new toy selected this playmate. Children were also asked to choose between two hypothetical play situations: playing alone with the new toy or playing in a sandbox with friends (without the toy). Again, about a third of the control group selected the new toy; but in both the experimental groups, a majority of children selected the play situation with the new toy.

Exposure to communication outside the family is also influential. In particular, materialism is higher in children who more frequently communicate with peers and are more susceptible to their influence. Exposure to television advertising and programming has a similar effect, with higher levels of materialism reported for adolescents who watch more television and watch television for social utility reasons to learn about lifestyles and behaviours associated with consumer goods. The causal direction remains unclear, however, as exposure to peers and television might encourage materialism or materialism might encourage a search for information about valued goods from sources such as peers and television advertising. Whatever the case, correlations between the amount of television viewing and materialism become insignificant in the long run when prior levels of materialism are partialled out. Correlations between television viewing and materialism are also insignificant in the long run for families with high levels of communication about consumer matters.

In contrast to these findings, the search for demographic and socioeconomic influences on materialism has been less fruitful. Age, socioeconomic status, and birth order, among others, have been included as factors in several studies but have produced mixed results. Perhaps the only consistent findings are with regard to gender, with males reporting higher levels of materialism than females.
2.4.5.b Social and Economic Consumption Motives

Another facet of consumer socialization is the learning and subsequent adoption of motives for evaluating and selecting goods and services. In research to date, two contrasting motives for consumption have been examined: social motivations and economic motivations. Social motivations for consumption emphasize conspicuous consumption and social expression (e.g., peer approval), whereas economic motivations for consumption focus on functional and economic features of products (e.g., prices and guarantees). On a normative level, social motivations are often viewed as undesirable, with economic motivations typically viewed as more desirable socialization outcomes.

The findings regarding social consumption motives are virtually identical to those for materialism reviewed above. Stronger social motivations for consumption are positively associated with socio-oriented family communication, higher levels of peer communication about consumption, greater exposure to television, and social utility reasons for watching television advertisements. Social consumption motives are also reported to be higher in male than in female adolescents.

Economic motives for consumption are influenced by many of the same factors, albeit in an opposite direction. Stronger economic motivations are negatively associated with socio-oriented family communication, greater exposure to television, and social utility reasons for watching television advertisements. In contrast, economic motivations are encouraged by more frequent family communication about consumption matters as well as increasing age and maturity.

2.5 Factors Influencing Consumer Socialisation (other than Age)

The stage view of consumer socialization focuses on age as the primary factor driving the transition from one stage to the next. Considering the vast amount of research detailing the cognitive and social development that occurs with advancing age, as well as the dominant focus on age in the consumer socialization literature, there can be little argument that age is an important factor in the socialization of children into the consumer role. However, there can also be little argument that other factors play an important role as well. Chief among them is the social environment in which children learn to become consumers, including family, peers, culture, and mass media. Most researchers acknowledge that these types of factors contribute to a child's socialization, and a number of studies include one or more of these factors.
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Perhaps part of the problem is due to the accessibility of theories for understanding the role of social environment in child development. Theories certainly do exist, but are less accessible than those documenting age as a driver in cognitive and social development. Piaget, for example, included social influences as one of four major factors in cognitive development in his earlier writings, stressing the role that social interactions with peers and others had on transitions between stages. Vygotsky, a Soviet psychologist, represents an even stronger position, arguing that learning takes place only in the midst of social interaction with others within a culture. These theoretical views, as well as newer research on contextual views of cognitive development, could provide a basis for understanding several important aspects of the social environment in which consumer socialization takes place. The Social Environment which includes family, peers, culture, and mass media influence children to become consumer are as follows.\(^55\)

2.5.1 Family

Family influences on consumer socialization seem to proceed more through subtle social interaction than purposive educational efforts by parents. Parents appear to have few educational goals in mind and make limited attempts to teach consumer skills. Given the more subtle nature of family influences, researchers have turned their attention to general patterns of family communication as a way to understand how the family influences the development of consumer knowledge, skills, and values. Most influential has been the typology of family communication patterns—including laissez-faire, protective, pluralistic, and consensual families—studied extensively by Moschis and his colleagues. A similar typology of parental socialization types—including authoritarian, rigid controlling, organized effective, indulgent, and neglecting parents—has been identified by Carlson and his colleagues and has just begun to be incorporated into empirical research.\(^56\)

Although these typologies have provided a useful overview of the family, it would also be useful to examine the family unit at a more disaggregate level. As we have seen, it is rare for consumer researchers to break down the family communication variable into more discrete units, such as father-son or father-daughter communication. There is every reason to believe that these individual relationships have as much, if not more, influence on consumer socialization than general family characteristics. Recent demographic trends toward one-parent families make this need to disaggregate family relationships even more important.
Additionally, there is a need to examine sibling relationships as an important context for consumer socialization. Although variables such as the number of siblings or birth order have been included in a few studies to date, significant findings have yet to emerge. Again, there is a need to look at these relationships at a more detailed level, perhaps incorporating the age differences and genders of siblings and the extent of their interaction. It may be that siblings that are far apart in age or of a different gender have little influence, or that siblings exert influence in some areas of socialization but not others. For example, it is unlikely that a 9-year-old child with an older sibling will exhibit any different understanding of advertising intent than a 9-year-old child without an older sibling. But, it seems highly likely that the presence of an older sibling would accelerate the 9-year-old’s knowledge of popular brand names, understanding of consumption symbolism, and maybe even materialistic attitudes.

Efforts of this nature are important for at least two reasons. First, the role of the family in socialization across a variety of domains suggests that it is more important in the area of consumer socialization than the evidence to date would suggest. Much of the existing research on family communication structure focuses on adolescents, and one would expect the family influence to be even greater with younger children. Second, the limited evidence to date suggests that the family serves as an important buffer against undesirable media influences. For example, in the Moschis and Moore (1982) study of materialism, television exposure was positively related to materialistic values except in those families with strong communication patterns. Much of the criticism of advertising and marketing to children might be informed by a better understanding of how these influences operate and are mediated by the family environment.

2.5.2 Peers

Although it seems clear that peers are an important socializing influence, increasing with age as parental influence wanes, a surprisingly small amount of research exists on the topic. Most of the studies that include peer relationships have been conducted with adolescents by Moschis and his colleagues. One of the main findings has been that peer influence operates most strongly in situations with weak family communication, socio-oriented family communication patterns, and unstable family environments.

Both Piaget and Vygotsky, whose theories were mentioned earlier, place major emphasis on interaction with peers as an important facilitator of learning and socialization. In the
consumer context, one can imagine that many aspects of socialization, including an understanding of consumption symbolism and materialism, arise from peer interaction. For example, in one of the few studies of peer group influence, Bachmann and her colleagues found that such influence affects some types of products (public luxuries) but not others (private necessities), implicating a peer driven influence on children’s understanding of consumption symbolism. In further research, Achenreiner (1997) found that susceptibility to peer group influence was positively related to materialistic attitudes. Research along these lines could be furthered by breaking down peer relationships into factors such as frequency of interaction or age and gender parity.57

2.5.3 Culture
A small body of literature is beginning to emerge on consumer socialization in other cultures and countries, such as China (McNeal and Yeh 1990; McNeal and Ji 1998; Williams and Veeck 1998), India (Dholakia 1984; Misra 1990), Mexico (Keillor, Parker, and Schaefer 1996), and New Zealand (McNeal, Viswanathan, and Yeh 1993). Findings from these studies have been historically descriptive in nature, but are evolving into more general pictures of socialization as the number of studies steadily increases. Many of these studies concentrate on data from only one country, but cross-cultural research is also emerging and becoming more important.58

Clearly, cross-cultural research affords an opportunity to better understand differences between cultures as they relate to the influence of certain factors, such as family structure or peer relationships, in the socialization process. For example, the influence of family structure might be investigated by comparing children from urban cities in China, where parents are allowed to have only one child, with children from countries without such restrictions or children from rural China, where the one-child policy in not as strictly enforced. Also interesting would be a comparison of only children from China, often referred to as “little emperors” due to the doting attention received from parents, with only children from other countries such as the United States.59

2.5.4 Mass Media and Marketing
No environmental factor has received more attention than advertising. The evidence to date provides strong support for the influence of television advertising on children’s product preferences and choices. Less unequivocal are the findings pertaining to the cumulative
effects of advertising on children's consumption behaviour, although the data support at least some modest role for advertising in children's perceptions and usage of products such as cigarettes, alcohol, and heavily sugared non nutritious foods. Advertising fosters favourable perceptions of cigarette smoking and contributes (along with factors such as peer and family smoking behaviour) to the initiation and use of cigarettes. Advertising has also been linked to demand for alcoholic beverages, as well as to preferences and beliefs about heavily sugared foods.60

Despite the obvious importance of advertising as a socialization force, much could be learned by examining other aspects of mass media and marketing. In the realm of mass media, efforts to understand the influence of television program content, in addition to television advertising would be welcome. Television programming portrays messages about the way products are used, the types of people who use them, and the social context of consumption. More attention could be devoted to these subtle messages that television delivers and their effects on young consumers. In the same vein, movies deserve more attention. Movie studios and executives have, in fact, come under much recent criticism regarding cigarette smoking portrayed in many popular movies aimed at teenage audiences.

Beyond mass media, socialization research should be broadened to include other aspects of marketing programs and promotions. Free t-shirts and backpacks offered by cigarette companies as part of their loyalty programs are but one example of marketing programs that support advertising efforts and carry their own potential for influencing consumption.61 Beach parties and contests sponsored by alcoholic beverage manufacturers are additional examples of such promotional efforts. Added to these potential influences are the products themselves, as product development efforts and launches in categories such as alcohol and tobacco would attest. For example, the introduction and success of wine coolers, with a sweeter taste that masks the bitter undertones of alcohol, has been argued as an important gateway for teenage consumption of alcoholic beverages. Similar critiques could be leveled at new product entries such as flavored alcoholic drink mixes, flavored chewing tobacco, and light beer. The extent to which these types of products socialize adolescents into consumption of adult oriented products has received little empirical scrutiny to date.61
2.6 A Conceptual Model of Consumer Socialisation

The main elements of the conceptual model of consumer socialisation are classified into Antecedent variables, Socialisation processes and Outcomes. Figure 2.1 is an outline of the general conceptual model of consumer socialisation.62

**Figure 2.1**

Conceptual Model of Consumer Socialisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antecedents</th>
<th>Socialisation Processes</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Structural Variables</td>
<td>- Agent - Leader Relationships: • Modeling • Reinforcement • Social Interaction</td>
<td>Learning Properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age or Life Cycle Position</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Alvin C. Burns, and Peter L. Gillett (1987)

**Antecedent Variables**

Social structural variables and age or life cycle position are antecedent variables. They may affect acquisition of consumer learning properties (outcome) both directly and indirectly through their impact on the socialisation processes. The social structural variables examined in this research are social class and sex, which are used in the way of control variables whose effects are held constant in the analysis.63 The specific lifetime span examined is adolescence, because this period appears to be crucial for socialisation in general and consumer socialisation in particular; age consequently is used to index the person's maturation during adolescence.
Socialisation Processes

The socialisation process incorporates both the socialisation agent and the type of learning actually operating. The impact of four consumer socialisation agents—parents, mass media, school, and peers is investigated. These agents were selected because they are relevant to consumer socialisation issues, and because previous research suggests they may play a significant role in consumer socialisation. Agent-learner interactions are examined without specific reference to the type of learning taking place (e.g., modeling and reinforcement) because a cross-sectional design is not suitable for studying the processes themselves. Cross-sectional studies can be used to study the extent of agent-learner interactions.64

Outcomes

The learning of consumer behaviour appears to involve the acquisition of a wide variety of properties (cognitions and behaviours) which are often referred to as "consumer skills". Such skills may vary according to the nature of the consumer behaviour involved. Consumer behaviour includes, for example, activities related to purchasing and consuming. Purchase behaviour, in turn, includes activities related to a hierarchy of consumer decisions: spending/saving decisions, assortment decisions, product and brand decisions. Thus, specific consumer learning properties (e.g., attitudes, skills, knowledge) can relate to various aspects of consumer behaviour.
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