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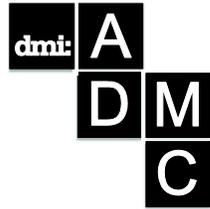
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Design Strategy through a Turnerian Lens

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I argue that in 2004, Mars' 'Kingsize Chocolate Bar' became characterised as a culturally constructed cause of obesity in the UK. Mars reacted by redesigning its large bar. In this discussion, cultural theory developed by the anthropologist Victor Turner provides a lens through which to view Mars' design strategy. Turner argues that when protagonists transit from a 'state' of being to a contrasting state, this movement occurs through culturally prescribed means. I argue that Mars' design strategy helped move its large bar from being associated with the undesirable state of 'danger' to the desirable state of 'safety' and that this transition facilitated the continued survival of the redesigned product. Accordingly, Mars' designers are framed as mediating the transition between Turnerian states. Beyond discussion on chocolate, Turner's cultural theory may be used to construct a model to inform design strategy in a wider sense. Accordingly, this paper supports calls to provide future designers (design students) with more instruction on cultural issues as this may increase the commercial success of their creations in professional practice. This move may create contradictions between commercial and ethical imperatives. In concluding, I argue that exploration of associated ethical dilemmas should accompany the delivery of cultural knowledge.

Keywords: Victor Turner; Design and Ritual Symbolism; Obesity; Design and Cultural Constructs; Design Education; Mars chocolate.

Introduction

Research suggests that the choice to purchase artefacts is often not predicated on their ability to function more effectively than their competitors (Norman, 2004). This may help to explain the commercial success of Phillippe Starck's Juicy Salif lemon squeezer, a product which, through depositing pips in the collected lemon juice, has become famous for its inability to perform optimally (Lloyd & Snelders, 2003). Norman (2004) claims that desirable objects trigger deep-rooted, instinctual emotions which draw us to them. As well as 'biologically prewired' (Norman cited in Schofield, 2004, unpagged) determinants, *cultural factors* play an important part in contributing to why consumers find certain objects to be desirable (Parkins, 2004). This discussion explores important cultural factors which inform design strategy. It also discusses how the use of cultural theory may help facilitate the construction of successful design strategy.

Kopytoff (1986, p. 68) argues that artefacts exist as 'culturally constructed entit[ies]' which are 'endowed with culturally specific meanings'. Evidence of the role culture plays in assigning meaning to objects can be found through a brief discussion on the *Slow Movement* (Parkins, 2004). This movement rejects the fast-paced nature of contemporary life as problematic and inauthentic:

We [...] are often overscheduled, stressed and rushing towards the next task. This rushing is not restricted to our work environment. We rush our food, our family time and even our recreation.
(Slowmovement.com, 2014, unpagged)

The Slow Movement argues for a return to what proponents believe were simpler times, epochs where they argue people were more connected with one another and with the environment around them (Slowmovement.com, 2014). The *slow* lifestyle includes "'mindful'" rather than "mindless"' (Parkins, 2004, p. 364, Original Emphases) practices such as walking or cycling instead of making use of a car, and growing fruit and vegetables instead of resorting to supermarkets (Parkins, 2004). In this context, *fastness* and *slowness* are not neutral or objective terms, they aid in the construction of what Parkins (2004, p. 371) claims is a 'discourse of slowness':

Mindful use of time through 'slow' practices [...] construct 'slow subjects' who invest the everyday with meaning and value as they seek to differentiate themselves from the dominant culture of speed. (Parkins, 2004, p. 371)

It is possible to suggest that artefacts which, in the West, might be termed *slow objects* (for example: slow food and bicycles (Parkins, 2004)) can be categorised as such because of Western individuals' anxieties regarding being, for example, being time-poor and disconnected from nature (Parkins, 2004). Equally, the above objects may not be characterised as *slow objects* in parts of the world which have wholly different economic systems. With Kopytoff's (1986, p. 68) already noted argument that artefacts exist as 'culturally constructed entit[ies]' in mind, it can be suggested that *slow objects* are culturally framed phenomena.

This paper reflects on Kopytoff's (1986, p.68) claim that objects are 'culturally constructed entit[ies]' to investigate the design strategy employed by the confectionary company Mars in the UK in the mid-part of the last decade. It should be noted that the Mars brand is discussed here because it is a popular, household name with a long history—the Mars Bar was the first chocolate snack developed by Forrest Mars in 1932 (Mars, 2014). The notion that the Mars Bar is by no means a niche product adds gravitas to the argument to be made in this paper.

In the Spring of 2004, an influential cross-party committee of UK politicians cited foods which were both 'calorie-packed' and sold in 'super-size portions' as contributing to rising obesity rates (Hickman, 2006, unpagged).

Additionally, this committee urged the government to 'publicly name and shame' companies that chose not to act on these findings (see Hickman, 2006, unpagged). At the time, Mars' large chocolate offering (the Kingsize Mars bar) was an example of a product which had both a large portion size and was rich in calories (see Elliott, 2007). The overconsumption of many foods and drinks can of course contribute to a person's weight gain. However, at this time, certain foodstuffs appeared to be singled out in Western society as particularly virulent causes of obesity. Take, for example, foods and drinks produced by McDonalds. The Spring of 2004 saw a huge amount of attention in the press around *Super Size Me*, a film featuring an individual (Morgan Spurlock) consuming nothing but the largest McDonalds meals for a period of one month (Veltman, 2004). This diet is argued to have had deleterious consequences, transforming Spurlock from a:

healthy, energetic young man into a wheezing, lethargic blob with a liver well on its way to becoming pâté. (Veltman, 2004, p. 1266)

Negative attention surrounding portion-sizes and calorific value was also placed on large chocolate bars. The following quote from a leading healthy eating campaigner illustrates this: 'I have always been concerned about super-size confectionery' (Jebb cited in Elliott, 2007, p. 3) Thus, in 2004, the Kingsize Mars Bar belonged to a group of foodstuffs which came to be characterised as *culturally constructed* causes of obesity. This had the potential of polluting the image of this established brand—i.e. it had the potential of placing Mars in a locus of **danger**. This discussion will reflect on the design strategy employed by Mars to counteract this danger. It will then claim that this design strategy helped move Mars' large chocolate snack to a more desirable position of **safety**. The discussion then moves on to introduce relevant cultural theory developed by anthropologist Victor Turner before using Turner's notions as a lens through which to view the transition in the design of Mars' large chocolate offering. This paper then moves on to argue Turner's theories may be useful in informing a wider arena in design strategy before making recommendations for design education. Turner's theories have not been used previously in research in relation to design strategy.

Earlier, it was noted that *slowness* (with respect to the Slow Movement) is a culturally constructed phenomenon and that *slow objects* can be characterised as culturally constructed objects. Similarly, the following discussion will explore culturally constructed elements of obesity as this is important in helping to frame the discourse around Mars' large chocolate snack.

Obesity Framed as a Culturally Constructed Disease

Culturally Constructed Elements in the Description of Disease

The description of illness and disease cannot be completely attributed to the use of supposedly rational and unbiased science. In part, their characterisation is also framed by particular cultural contexts. The role cultures play in constructing knowledge on disease can be

illustrated through the way medical experts in the 19th Century framed hay fever. This illness was perceived to occur:

among the educated and upper echelons of society rather than the working classes, occurring in men more than women. (Waite, 1995, p. 196)

In the 19th Century, educated, high status males were considered to be *more civilised* than other members of society (Waite, 1995). The scientific description of hay fever was therefore far from objective and neutral; indeed the scientists of the era gathered evidence which:

reflected the cultural and ideological views of the time, hay fever was made to fit the model of a 'disease of civilization'. (Waite, 1995, p. 196)

Both society and medical science have progressed a great deal since the 1800s so it may seem appropriate to suggest that the notion of *diseases of civilisation* no longer apply. Waite (1995, p.196) disagrees, arguing the idea that hay fever is a disease of civilisation is 'still being applied [...] over a hundred years later.' Similarly, discourse on obesity clearly demonstrates how cultural and ideological narratives are woven into various discussions on disease.

Culturally constructed elements related to discussion on Obesity

The UK Public Health Association and Faculty of Public Health (2003, p.1) provide a scientific framework for the description of obesity, describing it as an 'excess of body fat frequently resulting in a significant impairment of health and longevity'. Equally relevant to this paper is the notion that cultural constructions play an important part in how obesity is framed. The ability to accumulate fat is argued to be key to our survival as a species (Cunnane and Crawford, 2003). Accordingly, a body shaped by a layer of fat was viewed by ancient humans to be an ideal one to possess (Eknoyan, 2006). Excessive body fat is a relatively new worry for humans to contend with, as for the vast majority of our history hunger was more of a pressing issue (Eknoyan, 2006). The fact that malnutrition persisted well into the 20th Century in the USA, is attested to in Steinbeck's (1939) masterpiece *The Grapes of Wrath*. Indeed, Herbert Clark Hoover's 1928 presidential campaign promising a *chicken in every pot* helped secure his presidency when much of the USA was undernourished (Eknoyan, 2006). Currently, the situation is very different in the USA. Cheaper food (Pollan, 2003; Akst, 2003) and larger portions (Young and Nestle, 2002)

have contributed to increased incidences of obesity. Issues surrounding increasing body mass are not confined to the USA. According to the World Health Organisation (2011, unpagged) the majority of the world's population now reside in 'countries where overweight and obesity kills more people than underweight.' This situation has fuelled alarmism; Boero (2007, p. 41) argues that in health policy, academic literature and in the journalistic press, writers increasingly frame the prevalence of obesity as an 'epidemic'.

As with the aforementioned example of hay fever, ideological views in society play an important part in how obesity is framed. In the 1950s obesity began to be seen as a 'sign of weakness or moral lassitude' in the USA (Boero, 2007, p. 45). The construction of obesity as a moral issue is still prevalent in the West (Boero, 2007; Inthorn and Boyce, 2010). In the UK, rather than constructing obesity as a health issue, television programs frame it as a moral one (Inthorn and Boyce, 2010). The Leader of The Opposition (currently the Prime Minister) David Cameron's, criticism of obese people underscores the notion that in the UK, obesity is also framed as a moral issue on a national scale:

We talk about people being 'at risk of obesity' instead of talking about people who eat too much and take too little exercise [...] There is a danger of becoming quite literally a de-moralised society, where nobody will tell the truth anymore about what is good and bad, right and wrong. (Cameron cited in Porter, 2008, unpagged)

In this climate it is conceivable that any brand perceived as contributing to obesity could be stigmatised as an agent promoting both unhealthy *and* immoral behaviour amongst consumers. This may potentially damage the reputation of a household brand. The so-called overweight epidemic appears to be affecting the UK very seriously with a quarter of adults currently characterised as being clinically obese (BBC, 2014), that proportion is predicted to rise to over half of the adult population by 2050 (BBC, 2014). Furthermore, Great Britain tops the scales when it comes to rates of childhood obesity in Europe (The Sydney Morning Herald, 2007-A). In the middle of the last decade, a palpable association with obesity threatened to damage the reputation of the household confectionary brand Mars in the UK. The following discussion will reflect on the design strategy employed by Mars to tackle this potential crisis event.

Mars: From Kingsize to Duo

A Perceived Rejection of Gluttony and Selfishness

As noted, in 2004 influential politicians in the UK requested the government to berate manufacturers of large-portioned, high-calorie foods that did not make positive amendments to their produce (Hickman, 2006). In September, 2004 the Food and Drink Federation (FDF)—of which Mars is a member (Food and Drink Federation, no date)—made 7 pledges that, it claimed, would help individuals consume more moderately (The Guardian, 2004; BBC, 2004). These included ‘clearer labelling, reduced fat, sugar and salt levels, the removal of vending machines from schools’ (BBC, 2004, unpagged). The pledge that concerns the argument to be presented here comes in the form of the FDF’s promise that its members would rethink their position on their large chocolate snacks (Guardian, 2004; BBC, 2004). Creating products designed *for sharing* appeared to be intrinsic to the future strategy of FDF members:

If, for example, we mark up a product for sharing, and that is backed by a general understanding that perhaps two products in one day is more than moderate, then we are starting to get somewhere. (Patterson cited in BBC, 2004, unpagged)

At the time, Mars’ large chocolate product came in the form of the *Kingsize Mars Bar*. It weighed 85 grams (3oz) (Elliott, 2007). In 2005 this product was discontinued and, true to FDF’s (Patterson cited in BBC, 2004, unpagged) indication of a rethink, Mars introduced the *Mars Duo*, a product consisting of two chocolate bars placed inside a single wrapper (Elliott, 2007). The Mars Duo was developed as a product for more than one person to consume, the wrapper containing illustrated instructions to help individuals open the packaging in such a way (at the middle rather than at the end of the wrapper) that sharing of the chocolate would be facilitated (Elliott, 2007). The combined weight of the two bars contained within a Mars Duo wrapper *remained the same* as the Kingsize bar which it replaced (Elliott, 2007). Together, these two bars contained *the same* 386 calories as the Kingsize bar (Elliott, 2007).

Arguably, Mars’ decision to create the Mars Duo is linked to how obesity is culturally constructed. The vices of *gluttony* (Prentice and Jebb, 1995; Cafaro, 2005) and *selfishness* (Cafaro, *ibid*) are important notions which contribute to how obesity is framed in society. In the West, both traits are constructed as being unhealthy and immoral practices which harm both the perpetrator and

society at large (Cafaro, *ibid*). In an era where obesity has become a hypersensitive issue, the consumption of a large calorie-laden chocolate snack by a single individual has the potential to be perceived as being both a gluttonous and selfish activity. The act of sharing however is constructed in positive terms as this involves an individual consuming moderately. Indeed, traditionally, 'the virtue opposed to gluttony was temperance or moderate use' (Cafaro, *ibid* p. 143, Original Emphasis).

Reflecting on Mars' Design Strategy

The move from producing Kingsize bars to creating Duo bars necessitated design exercises. The development of chocolate bars is a high profile design activity (Seymourpowell, 2013) and is an example of product design. Also, the development of a new wrapper (including the aforementioned illustrated instructions to facilitate sharing) meant the initiation of graphic and packaging design processes. These design activities are physical embodiments of Mars' brand strategy and are thus of examples of *storytelling* in design (Brown, 2009). In an era when obesity is perceived in scientific terms as unhealthy and is culturally framed as being immoral, it is sensible to suggest that a brand's position may be strengthened by attempting to dissociate itself from terms of references connected with obesity. This claim is strengthened by politicians' calls to publically humiliate companies who choose not to remove themselves from such frames of reference (Hickman, 2006). In creating the Duo, Mars' design strategy revolved around an attempt to remove palpable connections with gluttony and selfishness. Instead, the design strategy attempted to associate Mars' large chocolate snack with the positive traits of moderateness and sharing.

To gain a valuable and unique insight into to Mars' design strategy, this discussion moves on to make use of cultural theory developed by the anthropologist Victor Turner as a lens through which to view it.

Cultural Theory Developed by Victor Turner

The anthropologist Victor Turner was born in 1920 in Glasgow, Scotland (Deflem, 1991). After completing a degree in English Language and Literature, he studied Anthropology at University College London (Deflem, 1991). In 1950, Turner embarked on an ethnographic study of

the Ndembu tribes people in the Mwinilunga district of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) (Deflem, 1991). It was during this time that Turner began investigating the ritual symbolism he believed underpinned human behaviour (Deflem, 1991). Turner's work is viewed as being very influential, for it spearheaded an intellectual turn within the social sciences, establishing new processes and setting research agendas through:

defining or giving fresh currency to terms such as 'social drama', 'cultural performance', 'liminality', 'communitas' and 'reflexivity' (Gonquergood, 1989, p. 84, Original Emphasis)

Turner (1970) argues that occurrences in society can be described in relation to what he terms **states**. Turnerian states are characterised by the existence of a "relatively fixed or stable condition" (ibid, p. 93) in a wide variety of culturally prescribed phenomena. For example, a state pertains to 'constancies [such] as legal status, profession, office or calling, rank or degree' (ibid, p. 93). Turner also uses the term *state* to describe an individual's position in the journey through life. In this case, a state is:

the condition of a person as determined by his culturally recognized degree of maturation as when one speaks of 'the married or single state' or the 'state of infancy'. (Ibid, p.93, Original Emphasis)

On a broader note, the term *state* also signifies the temporal physical or psychological health of a person, a group and even a nation:

A man may thus be in a state of good or bad health; a society in a state of war or peace or a state of famine or plenty. (Ibid, p. 94)

For Turner, when a protagonist moves from being associated with one state to another related state, this journey occurs via a set of culturally prescribed rituals (Turner, ibid). For Turner (ibid), such journeys are to be found in all societies. The move from an initial state to a subsequent one carries with it a duty to perform in a certain culturally prescribed manner, for when in the new state a protagonist has:

rights and obligations of a clearly defined and "structural" type, and is expected to behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards. (Turner, ibid, p. 94)

Though immersed in Ndembu cultural performances whilst advancing his hypotheses, it is possible to see how Turner's theories resonate with expectations placed upon protagonists closer to home. For example, once a person moves from a state of being *single* to one of being *married* he or she is legally forbidden from marrying anyone else.

One reason for individuals to attempt a transition from one state to another state is when they are gripped by a life crisis (see Turner, *ibid*). Amongst the Ndembu tribes-people, critical life states are represented by colours. The colour white is consistent with the following:

Goodness; health; purity; lacking bad luck; having power; to be without death; to be without tears; authority; life; bringing forth young. (see Turner, *ibid*, p. 69)

Consequently, the colour white signifies positive aspects of life amongst members of this tribe (Turner, *ibid*). The colour black is associated with the following positions:

Badness; evil; lacking luck; being in suffering; misfortune; having disease; witchcraft or sorcery; death. (see Turner, *ibid*, p. 71)

Accordingly, the colour black represents—on the whole—negative points of life amongst the Ndembu (Turner, *ibid*). A contrast exists between phenomena attributed to the colour white and those which are signified by black; indeed Turner (1970, p. 74) argues the Ndembu perceive, in the majority of incidences, these colours 'as the supreme antitheses in their scheme of reality'. It is important to note that the Ndembu have not chosen these colours in an arbitrary fashion. These colours have a culturally constructed significance for they are associated with "rivers" which 'flow "from Nzambi", the High God' of the Ndembu people (Turner, 1970, p. 107, Original Emphases).

Turner (*ibid*) argues that both across the world and throughout history, humans have employed culturally constructed colours to symbolise contrasting aspects of their existence. The Swazi of south-eastern Africa are an example of a People whose rituals revolve around the use of pigments (see Turner, *ibid*). In the *Incwala* period in the Swazi calendar the king is ritualistically stripped of his power. Upon the performance of a series of culturally constructed rituals, the king re-

emerges as a powerful figure. The following excerpt illustrates the Swazi's use of colour in this process:

symbolic acts are preformed which exemplify the 'darkness' and 'waxing and waning' moon themes, for example the slaughtering of a black ox, the painting of the queen mother with a black mixture.....both the [king and his mother] are in eclipse until the paint is washed off finally with doctored water, and the ritual subject comes once again into 'lightness and normality'. (Turner, ibid, p.109)

Thus, in both Ndumbu and Swazi cultures, colours with culturally constructed meanings are used to symbolise Turnerian states of being and to facilitate the transition between these states.

It is important to recall Turner's (1970) argument that his states and the journeys between them exist in all societies and that both human and non-human protagonists exist in these states and are party to these transitions. In this discussion, Mars' large chocolate bar is viewed as a protagonist in Turner's (ibid) terms. In the following section, Turner's (ibid) discussion around *states* is used as a lens through which to view the design strategy employed by Mars in the mid-part of the last decade. At this time, as has been described, Mars large chocolate snack belonged to a group of foodstuffs which can be characterised as *culturally constructed* causes of obesity. This paper will argue that Mars' design strategy helped move its large chocolate product from a Turnerian state of *danger*, to one of relative *safety*.

Turner's theories as a lens through which to view Mars' Design Strategy

To recap, In the West, the hypersensitivity over the issue of obesity is fuelled by the idea that it is framed in terms of 'morality, risk, and science' (Boero, 2007, p. 42). Cultural constructions around obesity are intrinsically linked to negativity surrounding the traits of gluttony and selfishness. It is possible to argue that the cultural framing of these traits may have contributed to politicians' calls to 'name and shame' (see Hickman, 2006, unpagged) companies perceived as acting as contributors to the 'epidemic' Boero (2007, p. 41) of obesity. Conceivably, a brand labelled with association with obesity can be argued to be in a state (in Turner's (ibid) terms) of *danger*. A brand's association with the culturally constructed concepts of moderation and

sharing however may mean that it is positioned in a state of relative **safety**.

It may be commercially advantageous for a brand to attempt a transition from a state of Danger to one of Safety. Here, it is argued that, via undertaking the design strategies described in the previous section, Mars' designers attempted to put the chocolate snack through just such a transformation in state. The diagram below illustrates this transition:

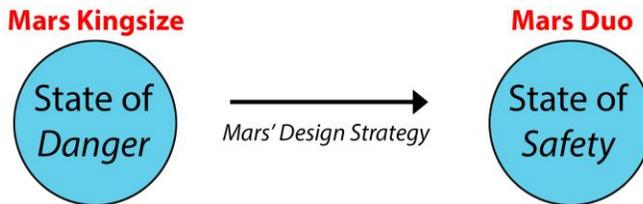


Fig. 1: Mars' Design Strategy Through a Turnerian Lens.

It is important to recall that the weight and calorific value of the two bars contained within a Mars Duo wrapper is *the same* as that of the single Kingsize Mars bar (Elliott, 2007). Through such a frame of reference it could be argued that there is *no difference* between the Duo and the Kingsize bar it replaced. Indeed healthy eating campaigners have argued the introduction of the Duo to be a cynical move on the part of Mars (see Elliott, 2007). However, through a lens provided by the anthropologist Victor Turner (1970) it is possible to argue that the act of undertaking a change of state has been important in enabling Mars to continue to manufacture a large chocolate product. It is important to recall Turner's argument that a change in state carries with it a duty to perform in a certain culturally prescribed manner, for when in the new state a protagonist has:

rights and obligations of a clearly defined and "structural" type, and is expected to behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards. (Turner, ibid, p. 94)

It may well be that, when viewed through a Turnerian lens, the Mars Duo is meeting its obligations for in Mars' recent pledge to discontinue all chocolate items containing over 250 calories by 2014, the

Duo was spared the cull because it is purportedly ‘designed to be shared’ (Reilly, 2012, unpagged).

Viewing Mars’ design decisions through a Turnerian lens may impact on how the designers intrinsic to this strategy are to be perceived and helps reframe the role of designers who were integral to executing this strategy. In successfully delivering examples of product and graphic design, these designers have successfully narrated the story of Mars’ move from a Turnerian state of Danger to one of relative Safety. In this way, Mars’ designers can be viewed as *intermediaries*, negotiating the physical transition between undesirable and more desirable Turnerian states of being.

Possible Wider Implications for Design Strategy and Design Education

The argument made in this discussion is of value to design educators as it provides a novel method of framing Mars’ design strategy. It is however possible that Turner’s theories can be used as a lens through which to frame discourse on design strategy beyond the world of chocolate products. It may be possible to perceive a brand (Brand X) that wishes to perform more successfully in a marketplace (or indeed successfully negotiate a move into a new marketplace) as existing in a certain Turnerian state (State A). It would be possible then, via conducting research activities, to conclude that in order to more become commercially successful, an attempt should be made to position Brand X in a more desirable Turnerian state (State B). In this case, the design strategy would necessitate methods of implementing the transition between states through the creation of, for example, relevant products and services. If Turner’s lens is applicable in a wider sense in design practice, then (as with the Mars case study) designers (in general) can be argued to take on the role of *intermediaries* between current and more desirable states of being. The diagram below illustrates the role of design for ‘Brand X’:



Fig. 2: Design Strategy through a Turnerian lens

Research suggests that a role of mediation is one that designers may be accustomed to performing. Designers are argued to ‘play a pivotal role in articulating production with consumption by attempting to associate goods and services with particular cultural meanings’ (du Gay, P., Hall, S. Janes, L. Mackay, H. and Negus, K (1997, p. 5). Consequently, designers play an important role in presenting ‘these values to prospective buyers’. As such, designers are termed ‘cultural intermediaries’ (du Gay et al, 1997, p. 62). Moreover, in a similar argument to the one illustrated in *Fig. 2*, Buchanan (2001, p. 14) suggests a product can be framed as a:

...negotiation of the intent of the designer and manufacturer and the expectations of communities of use. The product is, in essence, a mediating middle between two complex interests, and the processes of new product development are explicitly the negotiation between those interests.

The use of Turnerian states builds on the above arguments by enabling the construction of a framework which provides context and meaning surrounding the articulation of *less desirable* traits associated with product(s) and/or service(s) produced by ‘Brand X’. Similarly, this framework also provides context and meaning surrounding the articulation of *more desirable* traits ‘Brand X’ may wish to associate its product(s) and/or service(s) with. Consequently, the use of Turnerian states provides a model which may facilitate both the construction and implementation of specific design strategy which is focused on effectively narrating Brand X’s transition from the *less desirable* to the *more desirable* locus to consumers. If Turner’s theories are of value in a wider field of design then in order to make optimal use of them, it follows that designers should be equipped with cultural knowledge to help them:

- 1) Effectively frame culturally constructed issues
- 2) Successfully negotiate a brand’s transition from, for example, its current Turnerian state to a more desirable one.

The potential use of Turner’s states may have implications on the subject matter forming the diet in design degrees. It can be argued that

the purpose of design education is to provide a passport for entry to the community of professional practice (Tovey, 2012). In aiding designers prepare for their professional role as 'cultural intermediaries' (du Gay et al, 1997, p. 62), this discussion supports calls for more emphasis on instruction on cultural knowledge to be included in the design curriculum (Ghassan and Bohemia, 2011; Bohemia and Ghassan, 2012; Bohemia 2012).

Conclusion

This paper has claimed that in 2004, the Kingsize Mars Bar became characterised as a culturally constructed cause of obesity in the UK. It has also argued that this situation represented a crisis event for this brand of chocolate. Cultural theory developed by the anthropologist Victor Turner has been used as a lens through which to view the design strategy employed by Mars in confronting this crisis event. This paper has suggested that Mars' design strategy was important in moving this brand's large chocolate product from a Turnerian state of *danger* to one of relative *safety*. In developing this argument, this research has claimed that the role of Mars' designers can be viewed as one of effective mediation between less desirable and more desirable Turnerian states.

Beyond the world of chocolate products, this paper has claimed that Turner's cultural theory can be used to inform design strategy in a wider sense. Turner's theories may enable the construction of a framework which provides context and meaning surrounding the articulation of *less desirable* traits associated with a brand's product(s) and/or service(s). Similarly, this framework also provides context and meaning surrounding the articulation of *more desirable* traits a brand may wish to associate its product(s) and/or service(s) with. Consequently, the use of Turnerian states provides a model which may facilitate both the construction and implementation of specific design strategy which focusses on effectively narrating a brand's transition from the *less desirable* to the *more desirable* locus to consumers. Accordingly, this discussion supports research which suggests that designers can be framed as 'cultural intermediaries' (du Gay et al, 1997, p. 62) and literature which argues for further provision of instruction in cultural knowledge within design education.

The potential inclusion of Turner's theories and the further inclusion of cultural knowledge in design educational practices may however create contradictions between the commercial and ethical imperatives of design. This paper proposes a process of equipping students with cultural knowledge should

be accompanied by exploration of associated ethical dilemmas, primarily around the issues of sustainability, corporate responsibility and global citizenship (Ghassan, 2014). Finally, this paper calls for more research into the application of the influential anthropologist Victor Turner's cultural theory in both design practice and design education.

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