

August 2020

Revisiting the Categorical Imperative: Assessing the Categorization of Taken-for-Granted Products

DaJuan Ferrell
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Follow this and additional works at: <https://dc.uwm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Ferrell, DaJuan, "Revisiting the Categorical Imperative: Assessing the Categorization of Taken-for-Granted Products" (2020). *Theses and Dissertations*. 2495.
<https://dc.uwm.edu/etd/2495>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by UWM Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of UWM Digital Commons. For more information, please contact open-access@uwm.edu.

REVISITING THE CATEGORICAL IMPERATIVE: ASSESSING THE CATEGORIZATION OF
TAKEN-FOR-GRANTED PRODUCTS

by
DaJuan Ferrell

A Dissertation Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology

at
The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
August 2020

ABSTRACT

REVISITING THE CATEGORICAL IMPERATIVE: ASSESSING THE CATEGORIZATION OF TAKEN-FOR-GRANTED PRODUCTS

By

DaJuan Ferrell

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2020

Under the Supervision of Professor Celeste Campos-Castillo, PhD

This dissertation uses two articles to examine the outcomes that occur when the taken-for-granted status of products like ice cream is disrupted. In chapter one, I conduct an overview of the categorical imperative, which asserts that products must possess category typical features to receive rewards, and how taken-for-grantedness mitigates this process. In chapter two, I discuss how products come to be taken-for-granted and how this status can lead to penalties or rewards. In chapter three, I present my first empirical chapter, where I assess the outcomes of two cases involving ice cream products losing their taken-for-granted status. For the first case, I used news articles to assess the outcomes of American branded ice creams entering markets in Asian countries. The findings, in part, reveal that American branded ice creams were rewarded as Asian countries had significantly higher positive emotional tones in their news articles that discussed these products, compared to articles from the US. Second, I used reddit to assess how individuals responded to the FDA recategorizing Breyers' products as frozen dairy desserts. The findings, in part, reveal that scores for reddit posts increase when posts punished Breyers for the recategorization. In chapter four, I detail my second empirical chapter, where I observe the outcomes of individuals paying closer attention to ice cream when craft producers enter an existing market. Using Yelp reviews from the San Francisco Bay Area, I show that increased competition from craft ice cream causes mass producing ice cream shops to experience penalties

(decreases in Yelp ratings and positive emotions directed towards them). With these articles, I show that the ways taken-for-grantedness is disrupted (agentically or through constraint), can inform outcomes.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated in memory to my mother, Deloise Jean Ferrell. Everything I do is in your honor. I am so grateful for the time I was able to spend with you. And I hope the work that I do on this earth makes you proud.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	vi
Chapter I: Introduction.....	1
Chapter II: Background.....	7
Chapter III: Article 1.....	13
Chapter IV: Article 2.....	49
Chapter V: Conclusion	67
Appendix A	84
Appendix B	85
Curriculum vitae.....	86

LIST OF FIGURES

Article #1

Figure 1	25
Figure 2	26
Figure 3	27
Figure 4	36
Figure 5	37
Figure 6	41

Article #2

Figure 1	60
Figure 2	61

LIST OF TABLES

Article #1

Table 1..... 28

Table 2..... 29

Table 3..... 30

Table 4..... 38

Table 5..... 39

Table 6..... 40

Table 7..... 42

Article #2

Table 1..... 62

Table 2..... 62

Table 3..... 63

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation has been a labor of love for me. I want to sincerely thank my advisor and dissertation committee chair, Dr. Celeste Campos-Castillo, for encouraging me to explore topics that I truly care about (e.g., ice cream) and pushing me to cultivate my best work. I cannot thank you enough for your support throughout my graduate career. I want to thank my dissertation committee members Dr. Jennifer Jordan, Dr. Marcus Britton, and Dr. Stanislav Dobrev for the invaluable insight they offered for not only this project, but my graduate career. I would also like to thank all the research assistants that helped me with this project.

Moreover, I want to thank my family and friends for their endless support throughout this process. Without your ears to listen and your hearts to care, I could not have done this. So, I want to give a special mention to Monica Ferrell (sister), Derrick Samuels (brother), Tamela Carr, Jonathan Smith, Rufus Bryant, Shaunee Whatley, Tiara Becoats, Erica Boykins, Lien Nguyen, Molly Ubbesen, Elisabeth Callahan, Derek Post, Stephanie Baran, Michael Miner, Jenna Nitkowski, and Theresa Beaumier. I also want to give a shoutout to my family's next generation of scholars, my nieces and nephew: Shunbershia Samuels, Willie Rowland, Destiny Samuels, Dezmonique Samuels, and Deloise Smith. I appreciate all of you for always being there for me when I need you.

Chapter I: Introduction

Individuals make sense of the world around them by categorizing things such as people, objects, events, and also products (Becker 1982; Bourdieu 1984; Zerubavel 1997; Zuckerman 1999; Durand and Paoletta 2013; Zuckerman 2017). People infer the category to which a product belongs based on its features. For example, when individuals come across tobacco wrapped in white paper, with an orange filter on the end, they use those features to categorize it as a traditional cigarette. The ways individuals categorize products not only offer them a way to organize their world, but also creates the basis by which they make evaluative decisions in consumption contexts, such as deciding to purchase a product or not (Bourdieu 1984; Hsu 2006; Eden 2011; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2016).

The categorical imperative asserts that audience members, such as consumers, are more likely to reward (e.g., purchase) products when they are “pure,” which means the offering exhibits features that align with the typical range of attributes associated with a category (Zuckerman 1999; Hsu 2006; Hsu et al. 2009; Negro and Leung 2013; Zuckerman 2017). Therefore, products considered impure are those that possess a feature that individuals do not typically associate with an offering. For example, consumers may discount a dish that possesses features from Japanese and Italian cuisines, as they may not see it as typical (Kovács and Rebeka Johnson 2014).

Yet, audiences do not always penalize products for being impure. Products can avoid penalties once they reach taken-for-granted status, which is when individuals are less likely to rely on rigid definitions or need explanations of a category to make sense of an offering (Hsu and Grodal 2015). In these instances, individuals are less aware of the features that constitute the category of a taken-for-granted product. This lack of awareness reduces the chance that they will

penalize offerings when they possess a feature that is not typical. Light cigarette producers, for example, leveraged the taken-for-granted status of the product amongst the public to increase its tar and nicotine levels to give it a “fuller flavor” without penalty (Hsu and Grodal 2015). Producers were not penalized despite adding non-typical features to light cigarettes. Thus, this shows that taken-for-grantedness can actually free products from the constraints of their category.

Thus, I propose an assessment of instances when taken-for-grantedness is disrupted to assess the outcomes that occur under this context. Through this project, I will assess how people categorize and evaluate products when their taken-for-granted status is disrupted. I will show when a product’s taken-for-granted status is disrupted and there is increased attention from audience members, offerings will not always be penalized. Rather, whether a taken-for-granted product is rewarded or penalized will vary by context. The findings of this project will improve the predictive fit between theorizing about penalties for categorical purity and empirical reality.

Ice cream products are a fruitful case for advancing the categorical imperative literature because the category is taken-for-granted. The ice cream category has reached taken-for-granted status due to its acceptance from various regulative authorities such as the Food & Drug Administration (FDA), the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), and the International Dairy Food Association (IDFA). Moreover, the duration of the offering in the consumptive experience has also helped it achieve taken-for-granted status (Arbuckle 1986; Marshall, Goff, and Hartel 2003). Hence, I assert this is a category that does not typically require individuals to engage in extensive explanations when discussing or interacting with it, which signals its taken-for-granted status.

Studying the categorization of a taken-for-granted category like ice cream, however, poses a dilemma: *How do you access that which is no longer deliberated?* I examine this process across two articles examining three cases where the taken-for-granted status of ice cream is disrupted. I will also use methods amenable to accessing the deliberation that these cases stoke.

The first article (Chapter III) examines two cases where individuals pay closer attention to products after they forgo their taken-for-granted status. In this article, I show ways audience members evaluate products when they are no longer taken-for-granted, across varying contexts. With the first case, I study American branded ice creams forgoing their taken-for-granted status when they enter international markets in locations in Asian countries. US products from Häagen-Dazs, Ben and Jerry's, Cold Stone Creamery, and Baskin Robbins are taken-for-granted within the established American ice cream industry they help built (Arbuckle 1986; Marshall, Goff, and Hartel 2003). However, once these ice cream products enter Asian markets, audiences may pay closer attention to the features of these products as they are likely not familiar with the offerings. Thus, I assessed 80 news articles from Asian countries, including China, Japan, Thailand, and India, to observe how journalists categorize American branded ice cream products when they enter these markets. I also assessed 160 news articles from the US as a comparison. I chose news articles because it informs how the public gains awareness of societal information (Guo and Moy, 1998; Schönbach, de Waal, and Lauf 2005). Thus, this is a fertile site to assess how journalists discuss American branded ice cream products and compare between the two markets. For this article, I observed penalties by using Linguistic Inquiry Word Count (LIWC) to construct an emotional tone (positive or negative) variable (Oliver, Houchins, Moore, and Wang

2020) to assess how writers discuss American branded ice creams in Asian countries, compared to the US.

The second case involves Breyers forgoing their taken-for-granted status once their ice cream products were recategorized as frozen dairy desserts after failing to meet the FDA's regulatory definition for ice cream (Breyers 2017). In the wake of the disruption to Breyers' taken-for-granted status as ice cream, I assert individuals will pay closer attention to the features associated with the organization's products and penalize Breyers for this recategorization. Thus, I analyzed 1,899 reddit posts that discussed Breyers recategorization to assess if individuals penalized the products. I chose reddit because the platform allows users to post content for other members to engage in conversations (Massanari 2015). Since 62% of reddit users access reddit to get news (Pew 2019), it offers a chance to assess how people evaluate Breyers' products after they learn of the recategorization. For this case, I used the scores of reddit posts to assess whether reddit users support posts that penalize, reward, or offer information regarding Breyers recategorization. Moreover, I used LIWC to develop emotion variables (positive and negative) to assess if these factors interact with the outcomes to impact scores. That is, I wanted to observe whether users' decisions to upvote posts rely, in part, on the emotions present in posts.

The second article (chapter IV) examines the third case in which individuals pay closer attention to ice cream when craft producers enter an existing market. There is growing support and desire to purchase craft products (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000; CUESA 2006; Delind 2011; Bommel and Spicer 2014; Verhaal, Khessina, and Dobrev 2015; Barajas, Boeing, and Wartell 2018). Though ice cream is taken-for-granted, when craft ice cream becomes available, individuals likely become cognizant of the features when categorizing offerings from both mass and craft producers. Individuals may diverge from purchasing mass produced ice cream products

such as those from Häagen-Dazs to find and buy craft offerings. I assert that as craft products enter a market space and become the category ideal, mass producing products will face penalties. Therefore, I analyzed 51,304 Yelp.com reviews of ice cream shops in the San Francisco Bay Area, covering 14 years. I chose the San Francisco Bay Area, which is a region in California, because it consists of several cities including San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland, and San Jose. The region has over 100 mass and craft locations for consumers to purchase ice cream. Moreover, I chose to collect data from Yelp as the platform has been used in the past to study the categorical imperative (Kovacs, Carroll, and Lehan 2013; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2016). For this article, I assessed penalties using Yelp's consumer review ratings (1-5 stars), and LIWC to compute the positive emotions reviewers directed towards mass producing ice cream shops. Thus, these variables would allow me to observe whether mass producers faced penalties through decreases in ratings and positive emotions directed towards them as craft producers increasingly enter the space and become the ideal for the taken-for-granted category.

In summary, this project is analyzing news articles, reddit.com posts, and Yelp.com reviews to address how audience members, such as journalists and consumers, engage in the process of categorizing ice cream products. By assessing these three cases, I will be able to improve the fit between theorizing about penalties for categorical impurity and empirical reality.

The findings of this project will show there is a middle ground that exists between the constraints attributed to the categorical imperative (Zuckerman 1999; Hsu 2006; Hsu et al. 2009; Negro and Leung 2013) and the freedom associated with taken-for-grantedness (Hsu and Grodal 2015). In this middle ground, increased scrutiny to the features of taken-for-granted products does not automatically lead to penalties. The outcomes (reward or punishment) that emerge from

increased scrutiny depends, in part, on whether producers agentially bring attention to their products or if the attention is beyond their control.

Chapter II: Background

Categorizing Taken-for-Granted Products

As discussed in chapter one, products can mitigate penalties once they reach taken-for-granted status (Hsu and Grodal 2015). The ability to take a product for granted occurs, in part, because producers strive to conform to normative and regulative pressures (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Aldrich and Rueff 2006). Producers standardize products they release to align with preexisting and legitimate categories. Hence, they adhere to the imperative to fit within a category by showing that their products possess categorically typical features (Zuckerman 1999). Therefore, fitting in is generally advantageous.

A positive audience response also drives the imperative to fit. As alluded to above, audience members may not reward offerings that do not fit within categories. One example of this happening occurs with products that span categories, which means the product does not fit within “one” category neatly, which makes it difficult for audience members to categorize it (e.g., Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2016). Various studies illuminate the penalties offerings face when they span categories (Hsu 2006; Negro and Leung 2013; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2015). Hsu (2006) found that films that spanned categories, in this case genre, were less appealing to audience members such as consumers. Zuckerman et al. (2003) found actors with diverse resumes (working in different genres of film) were less likely to find work compared to those who did not work across various genres. Goldberg et al. (2016) displayed that some consumers negatively evaluated foods that spanned categories such as Mexican and Cambodian cuisines. Hence, this adherence to the typical conventions of a category is important from the vantage point of the categorical imperative.

Mentally, audience members familiarize themselves with the conventional features of products and encode that information into their schemas, which are cognitive structures that are mental representations of the environment (Cerulo 2010). Once audience members encode this information into their schema, they are better able to categorize and make decisions about things like products in their environments. Consistent with dominant models of cognition (e.g., Kunda and Thagard 1996), a schema for a product category is likely comprised of a network of nodes, where each node represents features. For example, when seeking ice cream to buy, consumers can use the knowledge they have gained to make distinctions between products that they consider as ice cream or frozen yogurt. Thus, individuals are able to differentiate between ice cream and frozen yogurt due to the latter being made with cultured milk. In this example, cultured milk is a feature associated with the schema for frozen yogurt and is therefore likely a node in the cognitive network comprising its schema. In other words, the presence of culture milk activates (e.g., Kunda and Thagard 1996) the frozen yogurt category.

Moreover, individuals cognitively organize their attitudes toward things such as ice cream based on accumulated experiences gained in navigating their environment (Bourdieu 1984; DiMaggio 1997; Vaisey 2009; Cerulo 2010; Jordan 2015). Audience members will come to develop positive or negative perceptions and actions towards certain products based on experiences. This evaluative information also gets encoded within schemas and becomes accessible when the schema is activated (e.g., Kunda and Thagard 1996). Hence, audience members will use their emotions to help them make decisions (Slovic, Finucane, Peters, and MacGregor 2006; Moons and Mackie 2007) towards products like ice cream.

Through chronic and persistent exposure to products, audience members can come to take-for-granted a product's features and their feelings towards an offering. In these instances,

audience members can quickly surmise information regarding a product, including its typical features, and how they feel about it. Audience members' capacity to make fast decisions about offerings such as taken-for-granted products is possible because of automatic cognition, which allows for quick, "natural," and unintentional thinking processes (Vaisey 2009). Hence, audience members develop perceptual bias for particular things (Cerulo 2010). Audience members seek out products categorized as "positive" because they perceive these offerings as a natural alignment with their accumulated experiences (Bourdieu 1984; Vaisey 2009; Jordan 2015). In contrast, audience members avoid and sanction products they deem as negative and unnatural. This means audience members can quickly categorize products like ice cream as either positive and natural or negative and unnatural. Hence, when individuals need to evaluate an offering, they may rely on their emotions to assist in their decision making process (Slovic, Finucane, Peters, and MacGregor 2006; Moons and Mackie 2007). For example, people may quickly categorize ice cream positively based on an accumulation of fond memories of eating the offering. Thus, these products are taken-for-granted and do not require complicated cognition to categorize.

When audience members do not feel a need to question a producer or their products, this mitigates the penalties producers can incur (e.g., organizational death) (Singh, Tucker, and House 1986). Thus, from the vantage point of the producer, there is an advantage to a product reaching taken-for-grantedness as it grants more freedom to add and remove features from their products without incurring penalties. For example, once light cigarettes reached taken-for-granted status, producers were able to change their product's features (increasing tar and nicotine levels) without facing penalties from consumers (Hsu and Grodal 2015).

Yet, there are instances when audience members will not be able to rely on automatic cognition because the taken-for-granted status of a product becomes precarious, and

categorization is more complex (Cerulo 2010). When the taken-for-granted status of products like ice cream is missing, audience members will rely on deliberate cognition to make sense of the features of a category. That is, individuals will need to rely on deliberate cognition, which involves “slow, considered, and measured thoughts,” to pay closer attention to the features of a product to categorize it. For example, when San Franciscans are deciding whether to buy ice cream from Ben and Jerry’s or Bi-Rite Creamery, they may support the latter because they have accumulated experiences that associate offerings from craft producers like Bi-Rite Creamery as the ideal choice for ice cream.

This closer attention to the features of the product could contribute to audience members detecting non-typical features. However, detecting incongruence does not have to lead to penalties, as asserted by some categorical imperative literature (Zuckerman 1999; Zuckerman, Kim, Ukanwa and, von Rittmann 2003; Hsu et al. 2009; Negro and Leung 2013; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2016). Several studies document instances where offerings possessing non-typical features were not penalized (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000; Rao et al. 2005; Pontikes 2012; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2016; Zuckerman 2017). Carroll and Swaminathan (2000) displayed how microbreweries were able to deviate from the typical features associated with mass producing beer producers to sustain a space in the market. Pontikes (2012) found that ambiguous organizations found acceptability in occupying multiple categories as this behavior appealed to venture capitalists. Rao et al. (2005) displayed that chefs were able to hybridize cuisine offerings to reduce penalties by audience members. The aforementioned studies show that not all cases of categorical impurity lead to penalties.

This lack of penalty due to what would be considered as impurity in the categorical imperative literature displays an environment that is not static (Zuckerman 2017). It shows that

whether products are penalized or rewarded will differ depending on the context. The farther away the product is from the audience member's expectations in a context the more likely they are to penalize the product. For example, a film that is considered by its filmmakers as a dramedy may be categorized as such by some audience members while simply labeled as either a comedy or drama by others who are unaware of the dramedy category. These differing categorizations will assist in fostering differing valuations of the product. In conjunction with factors such as quality, the closer the perceived categorization is to the audience member's expectations in a particular context the better the valuation will likely be (Durand and Paoletta 2013; Zuckerman 2017). The farther away the product is from the audience member's expectations the more likely they are to penalize the product. Thus, cognitive deliberation may elicit penalties or rewards depending on the context of the situation by which the evaluation occurs.

Hence, in an instance when a product's taken-for-granted status is disrupted it offers a chance to assess and understand the cognitive processes that lead to penalization or reward. Instances such as products' categorization being called into question, offerings entering a relatively new market, and craft products increasingly entering a space all act as occurrences to observe individuals using deliberate cognition to make sense of categorizations that would usually occur effortlessly. In the next two articles, I explore ice cream products that illustrate these three occurrences using amendable data sources.

Overarching Research Questions

(Article #1) RQ1. What are the outcomes of products entering new markets or being recategorized?

(Article #2) RQ2. What outcomes do mass producers experience as craft ice cream products increasingly enter a space?

Chapter III: Article 1

Exploring the Outcomes of Forgoing Taken-for-granted Status

When products move out of the security offered from an established taken-for-granted category, they may be rewarded or penalized. Currently, the literature lacks a study that assesses the varying contexts where audience members must pay closer attention to and evaluate (penalize or reward) products that lose their taken-for-granted status. Thus, I studied two cases whereby products lose their taken-for-granted status to assess the outcomes. First, I assessed what happens when American branded ice cream forgoes their taken-for-granted status to enter markets in Asian countries. To do this, I collected 80 news articles from Asian countries to assess the emotional tone journalists use to write about American branded ice creams as they entered Asian countries. I also collected 160 articles from the US for comparison. I used LIWC to compute the emotional tone (positive or negative) journalists employed in their writings. The findings reveal that the discussion of American branded ice creams in articles from Asian countries were significantly higher in positive emotional tones, compared to the US. Second, I studied the outcome of Breyers' products being recategorized as frozen dairy desserts. To assess this, I scraped 1,899 reddit posts and coded them as punishment, reward, informational, or none regarding the recategorization. Then I used the scores of reddit post to observe community support for the coded posts. The findings reveal that punishing posts increase scores. Moreover, scores increase for punishing posts as the number of negative emotion increases.

Ice cream is a relatively old treat within the American context, as the industry has its beginnings dating back to 1851 (Arbuckle 1986). Since then, ice cream has become a staple in the freezers of Americans, with the industry being worth \$11 billion (International Dairy Food Association 2020). In 2018, the average American consumed 11.8 pounds of ice cream (Statista 2018). Some of the most synonymous brands to the U.S. industry include Häagen-Dazs, Ben and Jerry's, Baskin Robbins, Cold Stone Creamery, and Breyers. With Breyers beginning in 1866, Baskin Robbins launching in 1945, Häagen-Dazs in 1966, Ben and Jerry's in 1978, Cold Stone Creamery in 1988, there is safety in saying that these are likely products that Americans have come to support and consume without great thought due to their duration on the market (Baskin Robbins; Breyers 2020; Ben and Jerry's 2020; Cold Stone Creamery 2020; Häagen-Dazs 2020). Therefore, these products are likely taken-for-granted by audience members, which means they do not require a great deal of thought or the use of rigid definitions to understand them (Hsu and Grodal 2015). With this status, these products have proven their legitimacy in the market and do not require questioning from audience members (Aldrich and Ruef 2006) such as regulatory authorities (the FDA), the media, or consumers.

Thus, an interesting situation emerges when producers such as Häagen-Dazs, Ben and Jerry's, Baskin Robbins, Cold Stone Creamery, and Breyers give up this taken-for-granted status. In these situations, producers forego the security and rewards associated with being in a taken-for-granted category (Aldrich and Ruef 2006). This move from taken-for-grantedness likely pushes audience members to be more thoughtful in their evaluations of the product. Thereby prompting them to engage in deliberate cognition (Vaisey 2009).

There are two cases that offer a way to assess the outcomes that occur when products forgo their taken-for-granted status. The first involves ice cream products entering international

markets. Specifically, when companies like Häagen-Dazs, Ben and Jerry's, Baskin Robbins, and Cold Stone Creamery begin to enter markets in Asian countries they are relatively unknown. Baskin Robbins entered Japan in 1973 (Baskin Robbins n.d.). Häagen-Dazs and Cold Stone Creamery began selling ice cream in Japan in 1984 and 2005, respectively (General Mills 2020; Business Wire 2005). Ben and Jerry's entered Singapore in 2005 (AMA 2017). From these points the brands expanded into other Asian countries such as China, Thailand, and India (Business Wire 2007; Business Standard 2013; Baskin Robbins 2017). The arrival of these American branded ice creams likely requires more deliberate cognition for audience members who may not have a history with these products. The second case involves Breyers' ice cream products being recategorized as frozen dairy desserts (Breyer's 2017). This recategorization occurred because Breyers' products failed to meet the criteria set by the FDA for an offering to be categorized as ice cream.

In each of these cases, producers' products forgo their established and "safe" placements with their taken-for-granted statuses. The risk of forgoing a product's taken-for-granted status is, in part, evident by articles such as a *New York Times* piece that negatively reacts to Breyer's products being recategorized as frozen dairy desserts (New York Times 2013). Alternatively, forgoing taken-for-grantedness could be worth the risk. For example, American brands entering the markets of Asian countries could obtain another resource segment (consumers) (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000) due to recent economic and urban growth (Pingali 2006). Hence, the context in which a product forgoes taken-for-grantedness may inform the outcome.

Therefore, for this paper, I assess the outcomes of these products forgoing their taken-for-granted status. First, I collected 80 news articles from Asian countries in locations including China, Japan, Thailand, India, and Singapore, and I assessed how journalists discussed these

brands upon their arrival into these locations. Specifically, I used LIWC to construct a variable that assessed the emotional tone (positive or negative) journalists used to discuss these products entering these markets. I also collected 180 articles from the US to compare emotional tone. Second, I scraped 1,899 posts from reddit.com to assess how users discussed Breyers after its recategorization. I coded the posts as punishment, reward, informational, or offering no information regarding Breyers recategorization. Then, I assessed the scores of these coded posts to observed, which were valued and supported amongst the reddit community.

The Importance of Categories

The formation of categories offers stability to the daily lives of individuals and markets of products (Rhee, Lo, Kennedy, and Fiss 2016). This is because categories allow audience members to understand the features, the shared meanings associated with offerings in a classification, and how objects such as products are distinct from one another (Durand and Paoletta 2013; Jordan 2015; Hsu and Grodal 2015). For example, people understand the features of apples as being somewhat round, with a thin skin that comes in a variety of colors, pale crisp inside, and typically sweet. These features help inform meanings of apples as offerings that people can consume as dessert (e.g., caramelized apples or an apple pie). Moreover, the features and shared meanings of apples help distinguish them from other things like tomatoes. Hence, categories create boundaries between offerings (Durand and Paoletta 2013). These boundaries are reinforced through audience members interacting with offerings in particular ways based on their categories. For instance, when individuals choose to use apples for pies and preclude tomatoes, they reinforce the boundary between the categories.

Hence, an offerings' categorization will inform whether audience members offer a reward or not (Becker 1982; Zuckerman 1999; Zuckerman, Kim, Ukanwa and, von Rittmann 2003;

Aldrich and Ruef 2006; Hsu 2006; Hsu et al. 2009; Schneiberg and Berk 2010; Negro and Leung 2013; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2016; Ozcan and Gurses 2017; Zuckerman 2017).

Therefore, in the early stages of category formations, producers strive to fit within categories and get audiences' attention (Navis and Glynn 2010; Hsu and Grodal 2015). By fitting within categories, producers can signal that their product aligns with offerings in the classifications and should not be precluded as a choice to be rewarded. Hence, the success or failure of a product depends, in part, on the perceptions of audience members such as consumers, media entities (e.g., journalists), and regulatory authorities' seeing favorable category fits (Durand and Paoletta 2013).

Once a product is accepted into a category, it would be advantageous for producers to keep it there as it reflects that audience members have bestowed the offering with legitimacy (Aldrich and Ruef 2006). This acceptance works in favor of the producers even more when products are taken-for-granted, which means audience members believe they understand and do not need rigid definitions to make sense of the offerings in the classification (Hsu and Grodal 2015). With audience members not feeling a great need to make sense of taken-for-granted categories, they may also be less inclined to pay attention to the features of the products in the category. This is because taken-for-granted categories position audience members to subscribe to the idea that the category is homogenous, which means the offerings in the classification are alike. Audience members could then also miss when offerings fail to meet the criteria of being categorized in a particular category. Such lack of attention gives producers more freedom to add and remove features from their products. Once accepted in the taken-for-granted category, producers know they are a viable option for rewards even when they do not adhere to the conventions of a category, due to the lack of attention to detail from audience members. Hence,

rather than being conceptualized as something negative and constraining (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Negro, Hannan, and Rao 2010; Kovács and Hannan 2010), taken-for-grantedness becomes a positive and something to strive for (Hsu and Grodal 2015). Because it gives producers some predictability regarding how audience members will respond to products. For example, ice cream is a category that has acceptance, understanding, and favor (rewards) for the category based on the classifications' duration and relatively successful trends within the American context (Arbuckle 1986). Thus, it would be ideal to keep products in this category.

However, there are instances when products forgo taken-for-grantedness. In these instances, producers move products from the safety of taken-for-granted-statuses, which can cause audience members to scrutinize offerings and introduce risk. Specifically, this move can de-legitimize products, which can subsequently impact an organization's chances of survival by interfering with its access to material and symbolic rewards (Aldrich and Ruef 2006), in this case audience support and willingness to purchase.

Yet, whether a product is rewarded or penalized in these instances will depend in part on the context. Specifically, it will depend on whether producers agentially disrupt the taken-for-granted status of their products or if it was beyond their control. I assert when producers agentially bring attention to their products, they have positioned their offerings to face scrutiny from audience members, which may afford them favorable outcomes. Whereas when the taken-for-granted status of a product is disrupted in a manner that is beyond the control of producers, their offerings may not be positioned to withstand scrutiny from audience members, which means they may face unfavorable outcomes. I discuss two such instances below.

Study One: American Ice Cream Brands Enter New Markets

The first case involves American ice cream brands entering markets in Asian countries. I assert that this movement causes products to forgo their taken-for-granted status. This occurs, in part, because these countries may have their own histories with the ice cream category, and subsequently have offerings they have accumulated experience with and take-for-granted. For example, India has kulfi, Japan has mochi, Thailand has rolled ice cream (Breaking Asia 2019). Thus, in the consumptive experience, American branded ice creams will be categorically placed next to ice creams that have historically been natural options in Asian countries.

Producers such as Häagen-Dazs, Ben and Jerry's, Baskin Robbins, and Cold Stone Creamery have recently begun to enter markets in various Asian countries (Baskin Robbins n.d.; Business Insider 2005; AMA 2017 General Mills 2020). Since these are mass producers, they are better positioned than a craft company to forgo their products taken-for-granted status within the American market and explore sale opportunities (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000; Aldrich and Ruef 2006). That is, they have resources like money to use to ship offerings, market, and develop storefronts for their offerings in distant locales. Moreover, producers may plan to take advantage of the growing urbanization and increases in citizen's incomes in countries like China (Pingali 2006). This case shows a context when producers agentially give up their products' taken-for-granted status of their own will.

Upon entering markets in Asian countries, there is unpredictability regarding how audience members will evaluate these American branded ice creams. In this instance, I assert that journalists take on a crucial role as they serve as one of the entities that will disseminate information regarding these American ice cream brands to the public. This position makes them akin to critics who have the power to write reviews that denounce the legitimacy and value of a

product. Hence, in this context, journalists are like critics as they are “gatekeepers” as they have the power to influence the perceptions and purchasing decisions of other audience members such as consumers (Hsu 2006). Therefore, news articles act as a source to observe how journalists are categorizing these products in Asian countries.

Study Two: Breyers Faces Recategorization

The second instance involves Breyers. In 2013 an article by the *New York Times* lamented over various Breyer’s products no longer being considered ice cream but rather frozen dairy desserts. Breyers and Unilever, the parent conglomerate, say the recategorization answers a call from consumers who desired tastes associated with products the producer now designates as frozen dairy desserts (Breyer’s 2018). Yet, this response contradicts the consumer grievances found in my preliminary data and appears to be more of a public relation’s spin. The larger reason for this recategorization is due to various Breyer’s ice cream products not meeting the FDA’s standards for ice cream (FDA 2017). More specifically, various Breyer’s products did not satisfy the FDA’s criteria that called for offerings categorized as ice cream to contain no less than 10% milkfat, which is the fat soluble found in milk, and weigh no less than 4.5 pounds to the gallon.

Thus, this case shows an instance when a products’ taken-for-grantedness is disrupted in a manner that is beyond the control of the producer. By their products being recategorized as frozen dairy desserts, Breyers’ products lost their taken-for-granted status and likely invited unwanted scrutiny from entities such as consumers. The recategorization of Breyer’s products demonstrates the power of the FDA as an audience member to regulate the categorization of products (Ozcan and Gurses 2017) and displays how regulations can act as a “shock” in the interplay between market entities (Fligstein and McAdams 2011) such as producers and

consumers. This recategorization potentially alters the dynamic between Breyers and audience members by impacting the way consumers see products. Due to this change, audience members became more cognizant in the categorization of what is and is not ice cream. Thus, reddit.com offers the opportunity to observe the ways audience members categorize Breyers' ice cream products in their discussions after this change in classification.

Hypotheses:

H1: (study 1) News articles in Asian countries will have a decrease in word count when discussing American ice cream brands as years increase, compared to US articles.

H2 (study 1): News articles in Asian countries will have higher positive emotional tones when, compared to US articles.

H3 (study 2): There will be an increase in scores for punishing posts.

H4 (study 2): There will be an increase in scores when posts are punishment oriented and negative emotions increase.

Study 1

Sample

I collected news articles from Asian countries to assess the ways American branded ice creams, such as Häagen-Dazs, Ben and Jerry's, Baskin Robbins, and Cold Stone Creamery, are categorized in relatively new international markets. I used the brands' names as search terms to locate articles. Additionally, I collected news articles from the US for each of these brands to offer a means of comparison. I worked with research assistants (RAs) to collect news articles through LexisNexis, which is a tool that provides access to news information. Though Lexis Nexis is a fruitful source to access news articles from mid and large sized domestic outlets (Weaver and Bimber 2008), researchers have also used the database to access and study news

articles in Asian countries (Barua 2010; Boyle, McLeod, and Armstrong 2012; Shanahan 2013). Thus, LexisNexis acts as a fertile site to collect news articles regarding coverage of American branded ice creams in Asian countries.

As each product entered Asian countries during different periods, specific time parameters were set for each American ice cream product. For example, the parameter for Häagen-Dazs started in 1984 as this is the year that the product entered the Japanese Market (General Mills 2018). Therefore, the timeframes were January 1st 1983 to December 31st 2014 for Haagen Dazs, January 1st 2005 to December 31st 2016 for Ben and Jerry's, January 1st 1973 to December 31st 2012 for Baskin Robbins, and January 1st 2005 to December 31st 2016 for Cold Stone Creamery. The end dates were set to correspond with preliminary assessments of American brands activity in Asian countries (e.g., opening a new shop). Additionally, news articles from the US were collected for each American brand and corresponding timeframe.

RAs were asked to refine searches within the LexisNexis database to newspapers, located in Asian countries, between the specified time frames, and written in English. Since the articles collected in the Asian countries were written in English, there is importance in denoting that these articles are likely targeting "affluent" citizens (e.g., individuals with economic resources and speakers of dual languages) or foreigners. Yet, because these American ice cream brands likely entered Asian countries because of recent economic and urban growth (Pingali 2006), these articles are likely read by the affluent individuals who are meant to consume these products.

For articles in both Asian countries and the US, the RAs were asked to exclude articles that mentioned these American branded ice creams in coupons, sale advertisements, recipes, or company press releases. This exclusion criteria was meant to ensure that we collected articles

that demonstrated active categorization processes of American ice creams. Since pertinent articles began discussing the arrival of American branded ice creams in Asian countries in the early 2000s, the sample focuses on articles from this period upwards to 2016. The news articles came from both national and regional newspapers such as *Hindustan Times*, *The Straits Times* (Singapore), *New Indian Express*, *Korea Times*, and *The Bangkok Post* (Thailand).

Dependent Variable

For this study, I used the dependent variables words per sentence, word count, and emotional tone. To develop them, I assessed the news articles using LIWC, which is a textual analysis program that computes cognitive processes (e.g., words per sentence) and emotions found in a text (LIWC 2015). LIWC uses the categories in its dictionary to compute the number of words associated with positive and negative emotions. The categories were developed by a team of eight researchers. They developed categories by collecting every unique word found in English dictionaries, novels, and posts on online platforms such as blogs, Facebook, and Twitter (Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010). They categorized words into particular categories only when they were similarly coded by four of the eight researchers on the team. The validity of these categories were reinforced by the researchers conducting studies whereby they asked participants to write their emotional and cognitive experiences. Words that signaled emotion include happy, hate, and sad.

The dependent variable emotional tone includes both positive and negative emotion dimensions (LIWC 2015; Oliver, Houchins, Moore, and Wang 2020). The algorithm is designed to show that higher scores reveal more positive emotional tones. Numbers below 50 demonstrate negative emotional tones.

Independent Variables

There were two independent variables of interest used for this study. I used a binary variable for whether a news article was from an Asian country or the US. Additionally, I developed a variable for the year of news articles.

Control Variables

I used LIWC to develop several control variables, including clout, present tense, and emotional tone. Clout involves the confidence or expertise used in one's writing. I controlled for this variable because a journalists' confidence or expertise could inform the number of words journalists used to talk about American branded ice creams. Present tense involves individuals using words that are oriented towards the present. I controlled for this variable to account for journalists discussing current activities with American branded ice cream (e.g., opening of a new ice cream shop) could impact word count. I used emotional tone as a control variable (this is in addition to using it as a dependent variable, as mentioned earlier). I accounted for this variable as positive or negative emotions could inform the number of words a journalist uses to write about American branded ice creams. I offer examples of these controls in Appendix A.

Analysis

I analyzed the data using STATA 13. To analyze the data, I used two-tailed independent t-tests. Additionally, I conducted a linear regression. With this linear regression, I included an interaction between the variables Asian countries and year. I did this to assess whether word count decreased for articles discussing American branded ice creams in Asian countries as the years increased. As time progresses and journalists become more familiar with American branded ice creams, they should not need to use as many words to make sense of and discuss these products. That is, the word count for their articles should decrease.

RESULTS

Figure 1

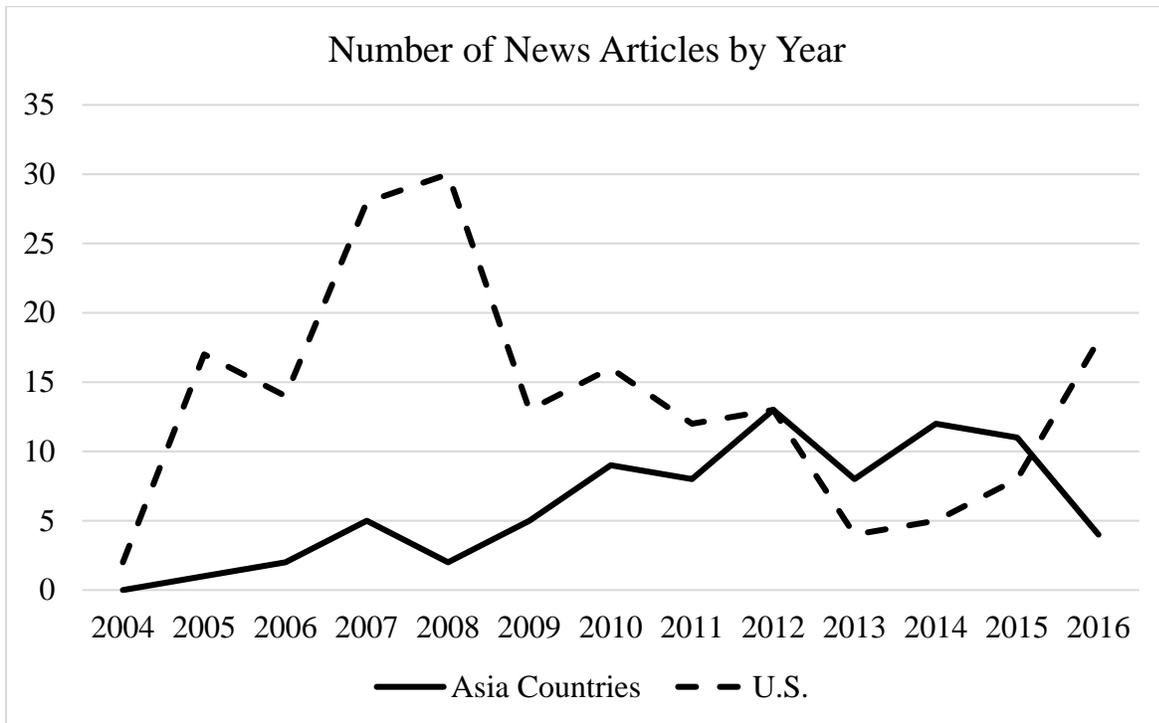


Figure 1 displays the number of articles discussing American branded ice creams by year. Overall, the figure shows that the U.S. wrote more articles discussing American branded ice creams. Around 2012, Asian countries matched the U.S. in terms of the number of articles discussing American branded ice creams. From 2013 to 2015, there were more articles discussing American branded ice creams from Asian countries than the US.

Figure 2

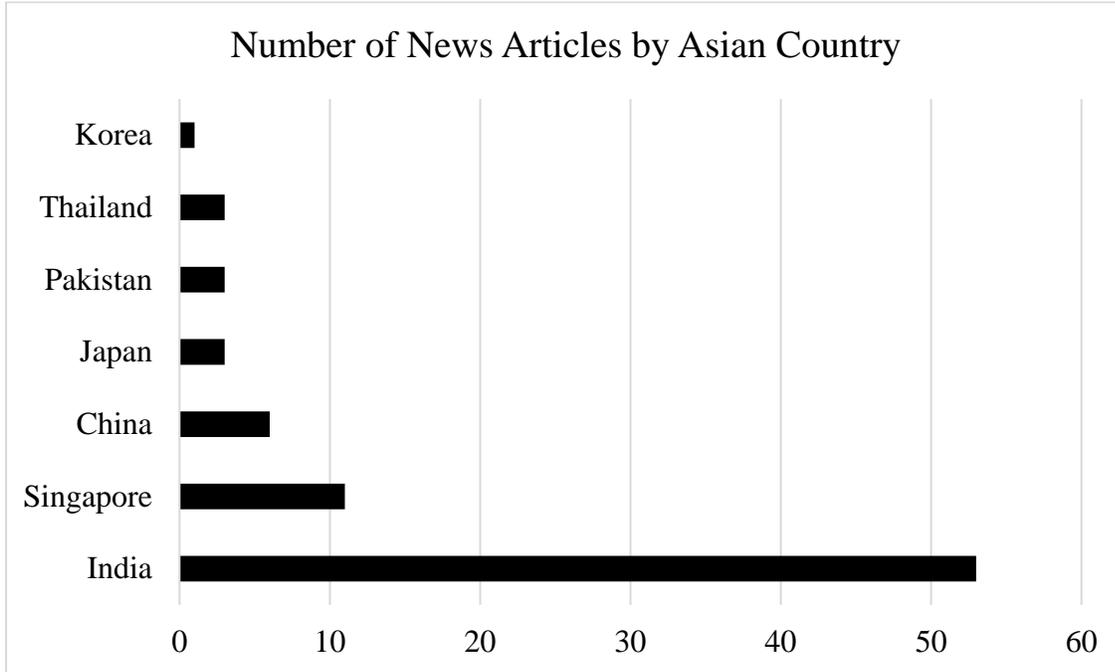


Figure 2 displays the number of news articles by Asian countries. Overall, most news articles discussing American branded ice cream came from India. The second largest number of articles came from Singapore. The smallest amount of articles discussing American branded ice creams came from Korea.

Figure 3

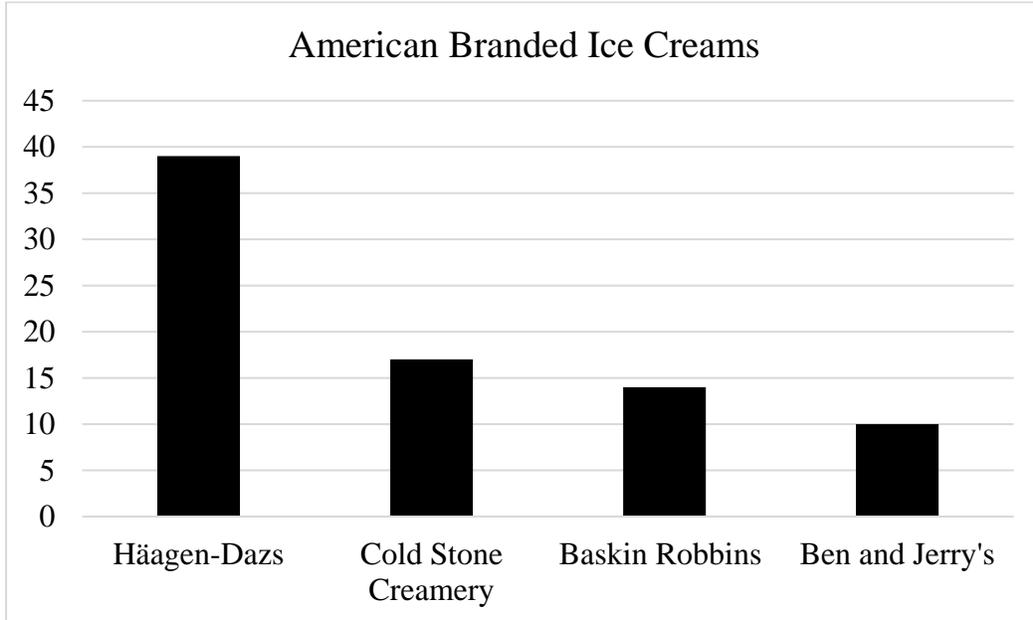


Figure 3 shows the articles discussing American branded ice creams. Overall, most news articles were discussing Häagen-Dazs (39 articles). The second largest number of articles were discussing Cold Stone Creamery (17 articles). The smallest amount of articles were discussing Ben and Jerry's (10 articles).

Table 1

Mean Comparison for Words Per Sentence for Articles on Discussing American Branded Ice Cream

	News articles in Asian Countries	News articles in the US.	Difference	p-value
Words per sentence	25.64 (5.2)	20.93 (5.0)	4.70	0.00
N	80	180		

First, I conducted an independent t-test to establish the deployment of cognitive processing when news articles discussed American branded ice creams. I used words per sentence in this situation because these American brands were new to the Asian countries, which meant journalists may have needed to use more words to make sense of and discuss the product. The mean score of words per sentence for articles from Asian countries was 25.64, while the average score for U.S. articles was 20.93. The difference between means was 4.70.

Below I offer examples of sentences to provide a better sense of the length of sentences in articles in Asian countries and the US. An article from Japan used 40 words to discuss Cold Stone Creamery opening in the area in a sentence stating, “Meanwhile, at Roppongi Hills, an office and shopping complex in Tokyo's Minato Ward, a line of some 20 people has already formed in front of Cold Stone Creamery, the first Japan outlet of the American chain of ice cream parlors. (*The Nikkei Weekly*). A US article used 28 words to address an opening of a Cold Stone Creamery shop, stating “Thanks to the recent addition of a Cold Stone Creamery, patrons of the coffee joint can enjoy customized ice cream treats alongside their usual doughnuts, bagels, and sandwiches” (*Charleston Daily Mail*).

Moving forward, the findings from the t-test displays that news articles discussing American branded ice creams in Asian countries had significantly ($p < 0.05$) more words per sentence ($M = 25.64$ $SD = 5.2$) compared to news articles in the US ($M = 20.93$ $SD = 5.0$).

Table 2

Regression Model for Word Count of News Articles	
Year	13.34
Asian countries	113885.3***
Clout	-4.72*
Tone	-2.25
Focus Present	105.06***
Asian counties x Year	-56.63***
N= 260	

$p < 0.05^*$; $p < 0.001^{***}$

Once I established that journalists in Asian countries needed to use more words per sentence to discuss American branded ice creams, compared to the US, I wanted to assess if they needed to use fewer words overall as time progressed. Table 2 reveals that word count significantly decreases for news articles discussing American branded ice creams in Asian countries as the years increased ($b = -56.63$, $p < 0.01$). This finding lends support to hypothesis 1. Thus, as American branded ice creams' duration in Asian countries increase, journalists likely became more familiar with these offerings and needed fewer words overall to discuss them. With this established, I moved forward to assess emotional tones used in articles discussing American branded ice creams.

Table 3

Independent T-test for Emotional Tone in Articles on Discussing American Branded Ice Cream

	News articles in Asian Countries	News articles in the US.	Difference	p-value
Emotional Tone	63.39 (18.16)	57.50(22.44)	5.88	0.04
N	80	180		

Table 3 depicts the emotional tones used in news articles discussing American branded ice creams in Asian countries, compared to the US. The mean score of emotional tone for articles discussing American branded ice cream from Asian countries was 63.39, while the average score for U.S. articles was 57.50. The difference between means was 5.88.

Below I offer examples of sentences to provide a better sense of the emotional tones used in articles in Asian countries and the US. An article discussing the opening of an Häagen-Dazs in India had an emotional tone score of 90.62 out of 100, stated, “How often do you get to see an Arch Bishop inaugurating an ice cream store, followed by a fashion show? It may seem a little strange to you, but it makes perfect sense, when the ice cream store in question is Haagen-Dazs - an American luxe brand which is a perfect blend of tradition and the contemporary. Just like the contrasting people who heralded its opening. With flavours that range from the classic Vanilla to Belgian Chocolate, Strawberry Cheesecake and the too-good-to be true Dulche de Leche, dessert lovers can be promised a ride to heaven and back via a single measured 90 gram scoop” (*New Indian Express*). An article discussing Häagen-Dazs in the US had an emotional tone score of 84.38 out of 100, stated, “Hagen-Dazs per half-cup serving. And each flavor contains only five all-natural ingredients. What's not to like? Absolutely nothing. In fact, I like the mint flavor so

much that I made it a FeaturedBite on my blog, www.BiteoftheBest.com” (*Deseret Morning News (Salt Lake City)*).

Moving forward, the findings reveal that news articles discussing American branded ice creams in Asian countries had significantly ($p < 0.05$) higher positive emotional tone ($M = 69.39$ $SD = 18.16$) compared to news articles in the US ($M = 57.50$ $SD = 21.44$). This finding provides support for hypothesis 2.

DISCUSSION

Study one was designed to assess how products were categorized after producers agentically relinquished a product’s taken-for-granted status. In this study, I observed how American branded ice creams were evaluated upon entering relatively new markets in Asian countries. To do this, I compared news articles discussing American branded ice creams in Asian countries and the U.S. First, I wanted to establish that journalists in Asian countries would need to think and use more words to make sense of unfamiliar American branded ice creams. That is, these American branded ice creams were not taken-for-granted in these Asian countries. Additionally, as American branded ice creams time in Asian markets increased, journalists should become more familiar with these products and subsequently need to use fewer words to talk about them in their articles. My findings reveal both to be true. News articles in Asian countries used more words per sentence to discuss American branded ice creams, compared to the U.S. However, the word count for articles discussing American branded ice creams in Asian countries decreased as the years increased, compared to the U.S. Hence, I assert American branded ice creams went from being unfamiliar products to offerings moving towards taken-for-grantedness.

Once I established the process above, I looked to assess the emotional tone of news articles discussing American branded ice creams in Asian countries and the U.S. Upon entering Asian countries where these American branded ice creams are relatively new these products could be warmly or coldly received. Thus, I looked at the emotional tone journalists used to write about American branded ice creams in Asian countries, compared to the U.S. My findings reveal that news articles discussing American branded ice creams had higher positive emotional tones in Asian countries, compared to the U.S. Hence, forgoing their products' taken-for-granted status appears to have worked in these producers' favor.

Study 2

Sample

Study two assessed the outcomes that occur when products lose their taken-for-granted status in a manner that is beyond producers' control. Thus, this study assessed how individuals categorize Breyers' ice cream after their products were recategorized as frozen dairy dessert. To do this, data was collected from reddit.com, which is a social media site where users post and discuss societal happenings. With 62% of reddit users accessing reddit to get news (Pew 2019), the platform offers a fruitful site to understand how people categorize Breyer's products after their recategorization.

Since the *New York Times* published its article illuminating Breyer's recategorization during the month of April 2013, I used this as a reference point to orient data collection of reddit posts. Specifically, I collected reddit.com posts one year before and after the *New York Times* published its article. This process allowed me to capture discussions regarding the recategorization of Breyer's products before and after the news article was released. As many

posts came before the *New York Times* article, this shows there was likely a rumbling that helped inform the production of the article. Therefore, I collected posts from April 2012 to April 2014.

I used redditsearch.io to find reddit forms discussing the recategorization of Breyer's products during this timeframe. I located and scraped nine reddit threads that discussed Breyer's recategorization, which contained 1,899 posts, of which 1,788 posts came from one "Today I Learned" thread discussing Breyers' recategorization. There were 1,047 unique users. Each post contained user id, the text of the post, score, date, and time.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable was the scores of posts. Post scores are created by the number of up and down votes assigned by users. Increases in score demonstrate a posts' value and support in the reddit community (Weninger 2014).

Independent variables

There were two independent variables of interest for this study. First, I developed positive and negative emotions variables by using LIWC to assess the reddit posts. Second, I developed a variable that categorized whether a user's post penalized, rewarded, offered neutral information, or nothing relevant regarding Breyer's recategorization. Posts were coded as penalty if they criticized, refused to buy, or precluded Breyers as a viable choice for ice cream. An example of a punishment post is from user OoogaOoogaYoink, who wrote, "Breyer's used to be good ice cream too. That's a shame. I wasn't aware of this nonsense. I too will never buy it again." Posts were coded as reward if users talked positively about Breyers in the past or present. An example of a reward post is from user russellbeattie who wrote "My Nana would serve us Breyer's vanilla bean when we went to visit her in Maine. My parents for some reason never bought it, so for the longest time I thought it was some special Maine company that made it. So

great.” I coded post as informational if they did not have an explicit stance regarding Breyers but rather tried to educate others. An example of an informational post is shown by user Ziferius’s post which states, “Just on certain flavors. I've seen Frozen Dairy Dessert and Ice Cream on the same freezer shelf -- it's flavor specific.” Posts were coded as none if no information could be gleaned from the post regarding Breyers. An example of a post coded as none comes from user outlaw99775 who wrote, “Its odd to see someone sign posts on reddit. Are you the butterfly Art Shapiro?” I discussed these codes more in the studies codebook located in Appendix B.

I had a research assistant double code 20% of the reddit posts to assess the accuracy of my coding of the posts into the four aforementioned categories. Our inter-rater reliability score is .78, which demonstrates considerable agreement amongst coders (Fleiss, Levin, and Paik 2003).

Control Variables

I controlled for various variables. For the variables past focus, clout, cognitive processing, and anger, I used LIWC. First, past focus captures when individuals are using words that are oriented towards the past. I chose to control for this variable as scores could be impacted by the ways users discuss how Breyers’ products were before the recategorization. Second, clout reflects the level to which people are speaking from a perspective of expertise and confidence. I controlled for this factor as posts could be upvoted based on the user’s perceived expertise and confidence discussing Breyers’ recategorization. Third, cognitive processing, which computes when people are using words that demonstrate thinking. I controlled for this variable as the extent of thought in a post could impact scores. Anger accounts for anger oriented words such as hate or annoyed. I controlled for this variable as anger over Breyers recategorization could impact posts’ scores. For these variables and others used in LIWC, four out of eight researchers had to similarly code words into particular categories. These variables received additional

validity through researchers conducting studies where they asked participants to write their emotional and cognitive experiences (Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010). Words that signaled past focus include ago, did, talked, while cognitive words include think, know, and consider. Clout is computed by the use of social pronouns. For example, higher clout scores use more we-words and social words and fewer I-words (Kacewicz et al. 2013; Xu and Zhang 2018). Additionally, I developed a variable called enthusiasm that accounted for user engagement, which was measured based on a log of the number of posts made by a user across the reddit threads. I controlled for enthusiasm as a user's activity level in the reddit community could inform upvotes.

Analysis

I analyzed the data using linear regressions. Moreover, I included interactions between the outcome variables and the emotion variables. I conducted these interactions to assess whether the presence of emotions (positive or negative) encouraged users to upvote a post.

RESULTS

Figure 4

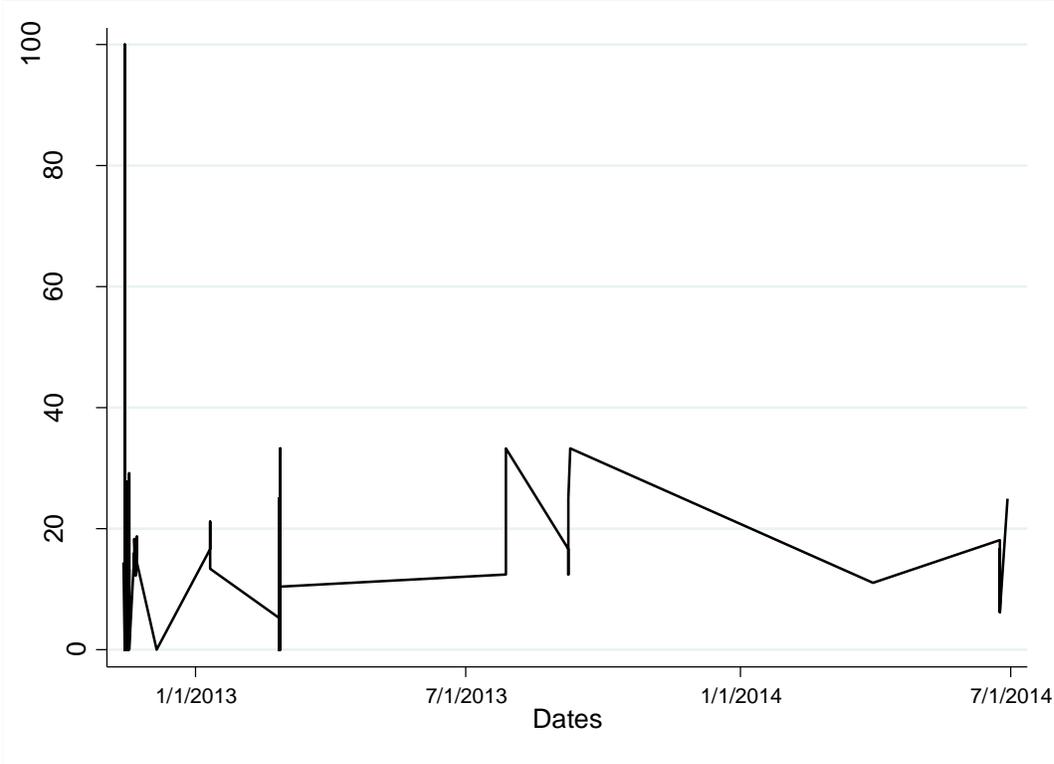


Figure 4 displays the cognitive processing that occurred regarding the recategorization of Breyers’ products across time. The overall trend shows that cognitive processing increased and decreased during the duration of the sampled time frame. Hence, users went through ebbs and flows of thinking about this topic.

Figure 5

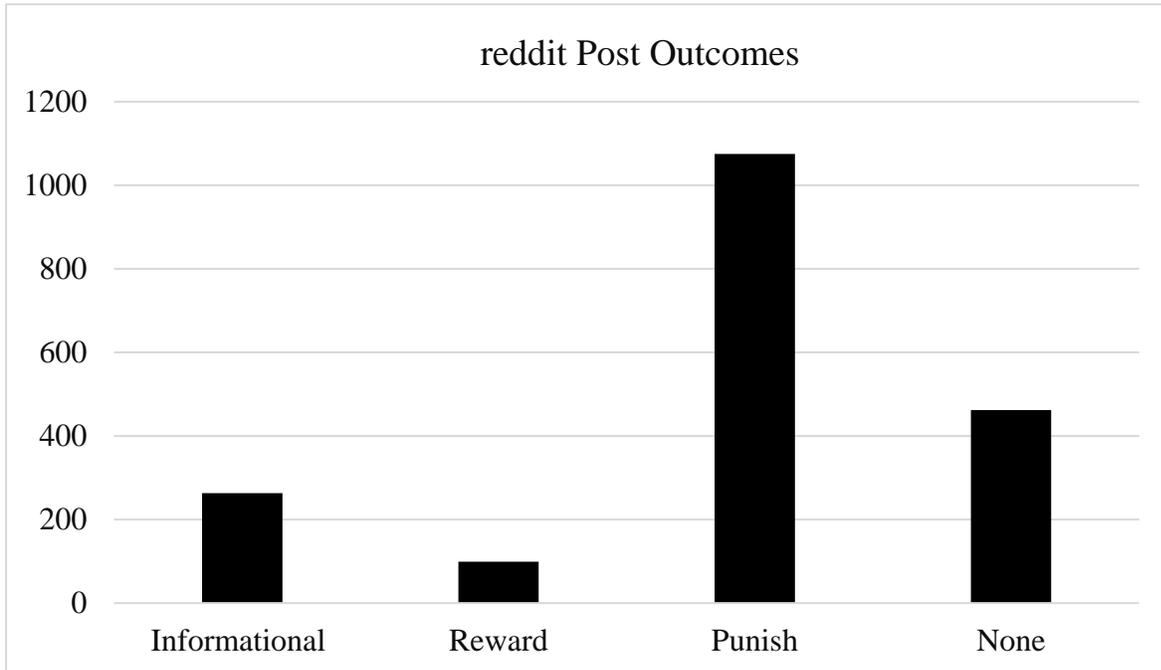


Figure 5 depicts coded outcomes of posts reacting to Breyers' products being recategorized as frozen dairy dessert. Most of the posts punished Breyer's for this recategorization (1075 posts and 56.60% of the sample). The second largest type of post that addressed Breyers recategorization were those that tried to offer information regarding the reclassification (263 posts and 13.84% of the sample). And the smallest grouping were those users that still rewarded Breyers, despite the recategorization (99 posts and 5.21% of the sample).

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Control Variables

		Minimum	Maximum
Clout	44.40 (31.50)	1	99
Present focus	11.24 (8.70)	0	100
Enthusiasm	5.97 (.87)	0	6.95
Cognitive Processing	11.76 (9.48)	0	100
Anger	1.38(4.77)	0	100

Table 4 presents descriptive statistics for the control variables used in the linear regression models. First, the mean of the variable clout is 44.50, with the minimum value being 1 and a maximum value of 99. Second, the mean of present focus is 11.24, with the minimum value being 0 and a maximum value of 100. Third, the enthusiasm variable had a mean of 5.97, with the minimum value being 0 and a maximum value of 6.95. Fourth, the cognitive processing variable had a mean of 11.76, with the minimum value being 0 and a maximum value of 100. The variable anger had a mean of 1.38, with the minimum value being 0 and a maximum value of 100.

Table 5

Regression Model for Scores of reddit Posts regarding Breyer's

Focus past	.033
Clout	.009
Enthusiasm	.595
Cognitive Processing	-.003
Outcomes	
Informational	3.89
Reward	2.65
Punishment	5.71*
None	---
N= 1,899	

*p<0.05

Table 5 predicts reddit post scores. The table reveals that punishing posts significantly increase scores (b= 5.71, p<0.05). This offers support for hypothesis 3 for study 2.

Table 6

Regression Model for Scores of reddit Posts regarding Breyers' Recategorization

Focus past	.037
Clout	.007
Enthusiasm	.570
Cognitive Processing	.003
Outcomes	
Informational	4.44
Reward	3.78
Punishment	4.16
None	---
Negative emotions	.286
Outcomes x negative emotions	
Informational x negative emotions	-.577
Reward x negative emotions	-.431
Punishment x negative emotions	.627*
Anger	-.717
N= 1,899	

*p<0.05

Table 6 shows that scores increase for punishing posts as the number of negative emotion words increase (b=.627, p<0.05). This provides support for hypothesis 4 for study 2.

Figure 6

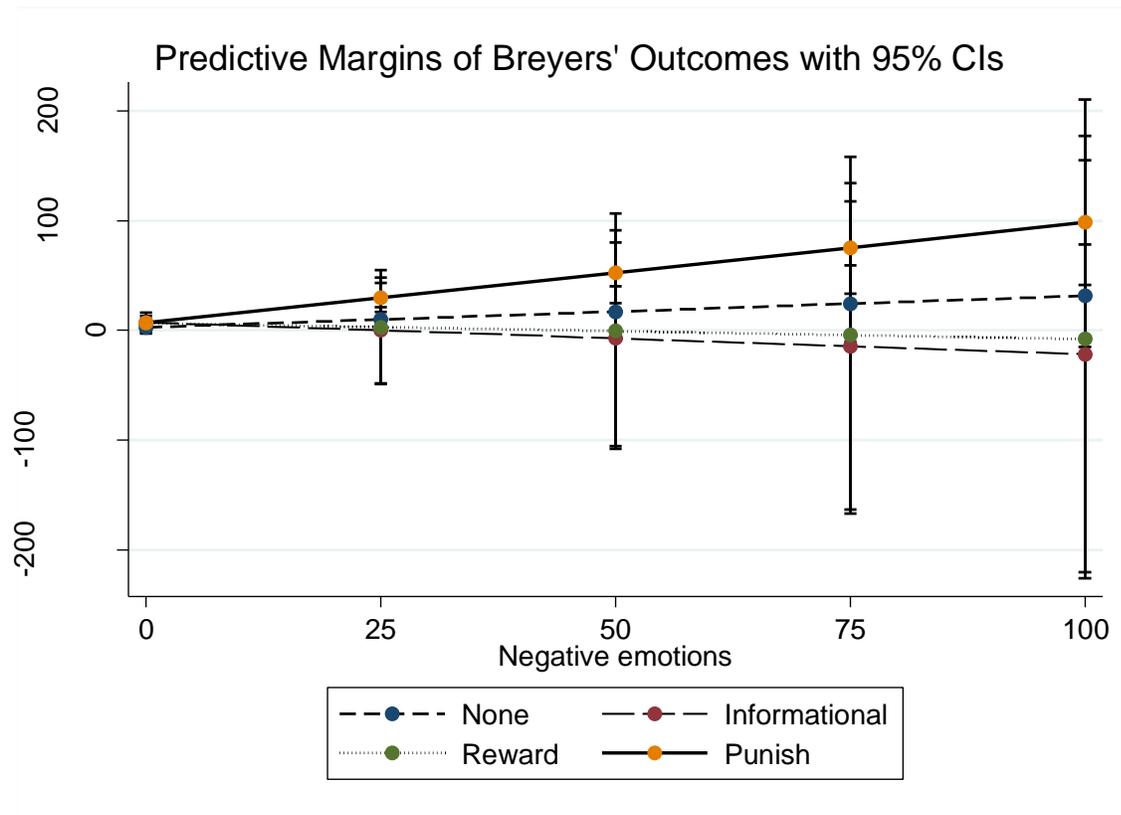


Figure 6 uses margins plot to offer a visualization for the interaction between the various outcomes and negative emotions. The figure shows that scores for punishing posts increase as negative emotions increase.

Table 7

Regression Model for Scores of reddit Posts regarding Breyers' Recategorization

Focus past	.033
Clout	.008
Enthusiasm	.579
Cognitive processing	.001
Outcomes	
Informational	4.73
Reward	6.49
Punishment	4.55
None	---
Negative emotions	.283
Outcomes x negative emotions	
Informational x negative emotions	-.597
Reward x negative emotions	-.496
Punishment x negative emotions	.617*
Positive emotions	-.027
Outcomes x Positive emotions	
Informational x positive emotions	-.142
Reward x positive emotions	-.475
Punish x positive emotions	-.086
Anger	-.714
N= 1,899	

*p<0.05

Additionally, I wanted to assess whether both positive and negative emotions increased posts' score. Hence, in table 7, I added positive emotions and interacted it with the outcome variables, along with the negative emotions and outcomes interaction previously assessed. The findings show scores only significantly increase for punishing posts as the number of negative emotion words increase (b=.617, p<0.05).

DISCUSSION

For study two I set out to observe how individuals responded to Breyers' products being recategorized as frozen dairy desserts after failing to meet the FDA's criteria for a product to be categorized as ice cream. With their products' taken-for-granted status being relinquished upon their move to the frozen dairy dessert category, Breyers positioned their products to be scrutinized and potentially rewarded or penalized. Hence, I scraped and coded 1,899 reddit post as either punishing, rewarding, informational, or offering nothing regarding Breyers recategorization.

I used the scores of reddit posts to assess if the reddit community supported the coded posts. My findings revealed that scores increased for posts that punished Breyers. Next, I wanted to assess if the emotions present in posts interacted with the coded posts to impact scores. This was done to observe whether users used the emotions (positive or negative) present in posts to decide whether to upvote a post. My findings reveal that scores increase for punishing posts when there is an increase in negative emotions. Hence, users likely believed that the negative emotions in punishing posts offered information that resonated with them and pushed them to upvote those types of posts. Overall, the findings of the study reveal that forgoing their taken-for-granted status led Breyers to face penalties from audience members.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Categories offer ways for individuals to order the world around them (Becker 1982; Bourdieu 1984; Zerubavel 1997) and make evaluative decisions (Becker 1982; Zuckerman 1999; Zuckerman, Kim, Ukanwa and, von Rittmann 2003; Aldrich and Ruef 2006; Hsu 2006; Hsu et al. 2009; Schneiberg and Berk 2010; Durand and Paolella 2013; Negro and Leung 2013; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2016; Ozcan and Gurses 2017; Zuckerman 2017). Thus, the categorical imperative literature denotes that products must adhere to the features of a category if they are to be rewarded by audience members. Categorical adherence becomes advantageous when products are classified in a taken-for-granted category where audiences believe they have enough understanding and do not need to deliberate on the offerings (Hsu and Grodal 2015).

This type of categorization is advantageous because rather than constraining the features that are acceptable in a category, the taken-for-granted status mitigates these constraints and offers producers more leeway. Hence, if a producer's products are in a taken-for-granted category, they know the offering is accepted by audience members, which will better position them to have leeway with offerings' features and access rewards. Thus, it would be advantageous for producers to keep their products in taken-for-granted categories. However, there are instances when products lose their taken-for-granted status. In these situations, producers forgo the taken-for-granted status their products previously held. By doing this, products leave the security of the category to face more scrutiny from audience members and be rewarded or punished. In this project, I add to the literature by studying such instances to assess how audience members evaluate products that forgo their taken-for-granted status, across contexts. Specifically, when producers agentically forgo their products' taken-for-granted status and or are forced to do so.

I studied two cases of such instances. First, I collected 80 articles from Asian countries and 160 articles from the U.S. With the articles, I looked to observe what happened when U.S.

producers forgo their products' taken-for-granted status to enter markets in Asian countries. In this case, products move from being simply ice cream within the US context to American branded ice cream upon entering Asian countries. For this project, I assessed the emotional tone journalists used to write about American branded ice cream as they entered Asian countries. I compared this to how news articles in the US discussed these American brands. Before looking at emotional tone, I assessed whether the American branded ice cream tasked journalists in Asian countries to use more cognitive processes to discuss the products as these offerings lacked a history in these areas. I used words per sentence as a way to observe this and found news articles in Asian countries used significantly more words per sentence to discuss American branded ice creams, compared to the US. I then used word count to establish that as time progressed, journalists became more familiar with American branded ice creams and needed fewer words to talk about them. Next, I studied the emotional tone news articles used to discuss American branded ice creams. The findings revealed that articles in Asian countries had significantly higher positive emotional tones when discussing American branded ice creams, compared to the US. This finding depicts a warm reception of American ice cream brands in Asian countries, which aligns with trends that shows that ice cream consumption is increasing in Asian countries like India and China (Breaking Asia 2019). Thus, this shows that products can be rewarded when even when they possess features that may not be typical, which goes against the notions associated with the categorical imperative.

In the second case, I assessed how individuals responded to Breyers' ice cream being recategorized as frozen dairy dessert after failing to meet the FDA's criteria for products to be categorized as ice cream (Breyers 2017). Thus, I scraped 1,899 posts from reddit.com and coded them as punishment, reward, informational, or none regarding the recategorization of Breyers'

products. Then I used reddit posts' score to assess the extent the community supported the different types of coded posts. I found that scores increased when a post was punishing of Breyers, which shows that posts that penalized Breyers for its products being recategorized were supported and valued by the reddit community. Next, I looked to see how emotions impacted posts scores and the coded posts. I found that scores increased when posts were punishing and the number of negative emotions increased. This finding reinforces that negative emotions help us make decisions (Slovic, Finucane, Peters, and MacGregor 2006; Moons and Mackie 2007). That is, when people are reading the message of a post regarding Breyers' recategorization, they are looking to posts that best connect with how they feel. When punishing posts offer more details of the negative emotions a person feels punishing Breyer's there is a better chance for a post to resonate with other users and for them to upvote it. So, when punishing posts offer more negative emotions, they offer more information for users to connect with and like.

I reinforce that certain types of emotions help individuals make decisions because scores did not increase for punishing posts when there were increases in positive emotions. This is likely because positive emotions are associated with minimal cognitive processing (Moons and Mackie 2007). Hence, posts that were using positive emotions were likely treating Breyer's products as taken-for-granted, which meant their positive emotions did not offer information that helped or resonated with users. Moreover, if users are looking to punishing posts to make sense of Breyer's product's recategorization, they are looking for congruence between the cues of the message (Yang and Li 2016). That is, they are likely looking to and valuing post where the message of the posts and the emotions are congruent. Thus, if users are looking to punishing posts, they are likely expecting posts that penalize Breyers and use negative emotions to do so.

In both these cases, there is increased scrutiny on products from audience members. This increased attention could lead individuals to spot non-typical features which would cause them to penalize the offerings, according to the categorical imperative (Zuckerman 1999; Hsu 2006; Hsu et al. 2009; Negro and Leung 2013; Zuckerman 2017). Yet, the findings of this study show that increased scrutiny of products does not always lead to penalties. Rather, outcomes vary across contexts. When producers agentially brought attention to their American branded ice creams by entering markets in Asian countries, they were rewarded. When attention was bought to Breyers' products when they were recategorized as frozen dairy dessert after failing to meet the FDA's criteria for ice cream, they were penalized. Thus, context under which taken-for-granted statuses are disrupted can inform whether a product is rewarded or penalized.

Moving forward, readers should be aware of the limitations of this project. This project sheds light on the outcomes of products that lose their taken-for-granted status categories across varying contexts, but not how these rewards and penalties are transmitted to other audience members. That is, additional research is needed to show how citizens in Asian countries reacted or used the positive tones in news articles discussing American branded ice creams to make evaluative decisions regarding these products. Though I assert it likely helped rather than hindered as sales are high in Asian countries (Breaking Asia 2019). Moreover, this project does not show the extent to which the punishment delivered on online social media sites like reddit impacts whether people continue to support Breyers. There is likely a breakdown in the spread of punishment, or information regarding Breyers' products being recategorized did not effectively disseminate, as Breyers made \$503 million in 2017 (Statista 2017).

Despite these limitations, this project still sheds light on ways outcomes differ when products lose their taken-for-granted status. It shows that in some contexts, when audience

members pay attention to these formerly taken-for-granted products, they may reward them, such as with the American brands entering markets in Asian countries or penalize them, such as when Breyers' products were recategorized. These outcomes are likely informed by whether producers relinquished their products' taken-for-granted status willingly or are forced to do so.

Future research could investigate how producers respond to regulative authorities calling into question and shifting a products' category. That is, how producers respond during instances where taken-for-grantedness is disrupted in a manner that is beyond the control of producers. For example, research could look at how e-cigarette producers and shops respond to the FDA's decision to categorize the product as a tobacco offering, alongside traditional cigarettes (FDA 2016). Though this recategorization is beyond the control of entities in the e-cigarette industry, it would be advantageous for them to respond (counter) to this reclassification as the market is, in part, positioned to oppose traditional cigarettes (Sussman et al. 2014; Lee, Ok, and Kim 2015). Another instance involves the meat industry working with lawmakers to bar plant or lab-based products from being categorized by producers as beef, imitation, or meat (*New York Times* 2019). Though plant and lab-based products position themselves as alternatives to meat, they likely benefit from positioning their offerings as distinct but categorically akin to traditional meat (e.g., plant-based beef). Hence, in each of these instances, producers will need to respond in a manner that allows them to procure rewards and mitigate penalties from audience members, under a context whereby individuals are paying more attention to their products' features.

Chapter IV: Article 2

Employing Computational Methods to Assess How Craft Organizations Impact Sentiments toward Mass Producing Firms

Mass producing organizations may not receive support as craft firms enter markets and individuals begin to perceive them as the ideal option for taken-for-granted products such as ice cream. Currently, the literature lacks a longitudinal study that assesses the degree to which mass produced products are penalized as craft offerings enter markets and are perceived as the ideal option. Thus, I used computational tools to analyze 51,304 Yelp reviews from 240 ice cream shops in the San Francisco Bay Area, covering 14 years. I assert that as more craft ice cream shops congregate in the area, the features associated with their products (e.g., small batches) become the typical features associated with ice cream. As a result, there will be negative sentiments toward mass produced ice cream shops, which will lead them to face greater penalties. I assessed penalties using two variables. First, I used the Yelp consumer value ratings (1-5 stars) for the ice cream shops in the sample. Second, I used LIWC to compute the positive emotions reviewers directed toward ice cream shops. The findings of this study reveal that an increase in the number of craft ice cream shops reviewed in a year decreases both the consumer value rating and positive emotions directed towards mass producing ice cream shops.

Many Breyer's products are now considered frozen dairy desserts rather than ice cream due to these offerings lacking features that the FDA requires ice cream products possess (e.g., at least 10% milkfat) (Breyers 2017). Yet, despite their products losing their classification as ice cream, Breyer's largely avoided penalties from the public, which is, in part, evident by the company making 503 million dollars in 2017, more than ice cream producers like Haagen Dazs and Ben and Jerry's (Statista 2017). This positive outcome goes against the categorical imperative literature which asserts that products face a greater likelihood of acceptance and a lower likelihood of penalties when they meet the idea of being "pure" among audience members, meaning they exhibit features that align with the typical range of attributes audience members associate with a category (Zuckerman 1999; Hsu 2006; Hsu et al. 2009; Negro and Leung 2013; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2015). For example, Yelp reviewers that preferred dishes to have typical features gave lower ratings to restaurants selling food with non-typical attributes (Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2015). Therefore, according to the categorical imperative, Breyer's should have faced penalties (e.g., low sales) due to their products possessing non-typical features associated with the ice cream category.

However, individuals do not always penalize products for possessing non-typical features. If a product reaches taken-for-granted status, audience members are less likely to rely on rigid definitions or need explanations of a category to make sense of offerings (Hsu and Grodal 2015). Since audience members are less aware of the features that constitute the category of a taken-for-granted product, they are also less likely to penalize offerings that do not adhere to typical category features. I assert ice cream has reached taken-for-granted status due to its duration in the consumptive experience. For this reason, audience members are likely less aware of the features associated with the category of ice cream and the attributes that constitute it.

Thus, Breyer's escaped penalty from the public due to ice cream's taken-for-granted status. This situation with Breyer's provokes an interesting question: *When do people pay attention to the features of a taken-for-granted product like ice cream?*

One instance that inspires greater deliberation regarding a product's features is choosing to buy craft rather than mass produced products. Craft products are offerings produced with high quality ingredients in small batches, whereas mass producers manufacture products on a large scale (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000; Verhaal, Khessina, and Dobrev 2015). The emergence of the craft product market has sparked an anti-mass-producing sentiment amongst consumers who prefer specialty products of high quality produced at smaller scales. For example, consumers began to turn away from beers produced by mass producing breweries in favor of products from microbreweries because they perceived these craft companies as committed to making small batches of high quality innovative products. Moreover, unlike mass produced products, craft offerings are likely tied to local communities (Bommel and Spicer 2011; Barajas, Boeing, and Wartell 2018). Thus, supporting craft products allows people to believe they are adhering to the call of local food movements, which encourages consumers to eat within their local area to bolster local economies and support communities (Delind 2011). Individuals may diverge from purchasing mass produced ice cream products such as those from Haagen Dazs to find and buy craft offerings tied to the local area.

Though ice cream is taken-for-granted, when craft ice cream becomes available, audience members likely become cognizant of features when categorizing offerings from both mass and craft producers. I assert that mass producing organizations will likely face greater penalties as craft offerings increase in presence and become the category ideal. Therefore, the increase of craft products in a space can bring attention to the features of the taken-for-granted category of

ice cream in a manner that is beyond the control and potentially to the detriment of mass producers. Currently, the literature lacks a longitudinal analysis that reveals the degree to which mass producing ice cream shops face penalties as craft offerings enter the space and become a category's ideal. To fill this gap, I used computational methods to analyze 51,304 Yelp.com reviews of ice cream shops, covering a 14 year period, in the San Francisco Bay Area. For this project, I assessed penalties through the consumer review ratings (1-5 stars), and used LIWC to compute the positive emotions reviewers directed towards mass producing ice cream shops.

The Imperative to “Fit”

The categorization process within markets involves an interplay between producers and audience members (Zuckerman 1999; Rao and Durand 2005; Navis and Glynn 2010). When producers develop and sell various products, they must present the products in a manner that facilitates proper or desired categorization to secure resources from the environment such as consumers' material and symbolic support (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Zuckerman 1999; Aldrich and Ruef 2006; Navis and Glynn 2010; Durand and Paoletta 2013; Ozcan and Gurses 2017). Products like food offerings have meanings that individuals assign to them (Jordan 2015). Based on these meanings, audience members can form “meaningful consensus” about the features associated with products within categories (Durand and Paoletta 2013).

Audience members use products' features to group together offerings that share desired and similar attributes while eliminating those that do not possess certain common characteristics of a forming or formed category. Conventionally, products that “cleanly” adhere to an ideal category attain material (e.g., money) and symbolic rewards (e.g., reviews) (Zuckerman 1999; Hsu 2006; Hsu et al. 2009; Negro and Leung 2013). Products possessing non-typical features are “impure” and increase their chances of facing penalties. For example, products that span

categories, which means they possess features that impede their ability to cleanly fit within one category (e.g., Korean tacos), increase their chances of facing penalties due to audience members having difficulty categorizing them (e.g. Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2016). Hence, consumers may penalize products such as those from Ben and Jerry's as these offerings may be perceived as spanning categories as both a dessert and political product (i.e., supporting social movements like Black Lives Matter) rather than being purely dessert. Thus, the categorical imperative is the "imperative" to fit within an ideal category or risk not attaining material or symbolic rewards.

Audience members develop expectations for products, in part, because of the actions of producers. To exist and succeed in the market, producers need to attain legitimacy, which is when an organization has acceptance by the environment (Aldrich and Ruef 2006). Hence, to fit within the environment, producers need to present products in a manner that conforms to what is on the market, meets guidelines from regulators (e.g., FDA), and aligns with normative standards (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Therefore, producers attempt to present products with features that audiences have come to expect of a particular category (Delmestri and Greenwood 2016). This is vital as those products seen as dissimilar to category ideals are penalized whereby audience members overlook and discount them (Zuckerman, 1999; Hsu 2006). However, as discussed above, products can possess features that make them dissimilar to category ideals and mitigate their chances of facing penalties if they have reached taken-for-granted status amongst audience members.

Thinking About Taken-for-Granted Products

If a product gains legitimacy and can endure in a market, it can reach taken-for-granted status which reduces the need for individuals to rely on rigid definitions or explanations to make

sense of an offering (Hsu and Grodal 2015). That is, individuals accumulate experiences interacting with and making sense of products (Bourdieu 1984; DiMaggio 1997; Vaisey 2009; Cerulo 2010; Jordan 2015). Based on these experiences audience members can engage in automatic cognition, which allows for quick, “natural,” and unintentional thinking processes (Vaisey 2009), when they interact with taken-for-granted offerings. This means audience members can quickly categorize products as either positive and natural or negative and unnatural. Thus, when individuals interact with products that do not typically require complex analysis (Schutz 1967; Hsu and Grodal 2015), such as ice cream, they are likely able to employ automatic cognition (Cerulo 2010). For example, if a person is looking for ice cream, they may automatically select a Breyer’s product because they assume the offering is ice cream rather than a frozen dairy dessert.

The capacity to employ automatic cognitions during interactions with a product is, in some ways, advantageous for individuals as it alleviates the need for individuals to expend time and energy paying attention to an offerings’ features to make sense of it. Yet, these automatic cognitive processes are also advantageous for producers who want to incorporate non-typical features of a category in their taken-for-granted products. For example, light cigarette producers leveraged the taken-for-granted status of the product amongst the public to increase its tar and nicotine levels to give it a “fuller flavor” without penalty (Hsu and Grodal 2015).

Yet, when the taken-for-granted status of a product is disrupted, individuals will not be able to rely on automatic cognition to make sense of it (Cerulo 2010). In these instances, individuals will need to employ deliberate cognition which involves “slow, considered, and measured thoughts.” When individuals employ deliberate cognition they place more thought into the product and paid closer attention to its features. This closer scrutiny placed on products

increases the opportunity for audience members to observe features that they perceive as non-typical to the ideal category. As discussed earlier, ice cream is arguably a taken-for-granted category based on its sustained placement in the American experience (Arbuckle 1986; Marshall, Goff, and Hartel 2003; International Dairy Foods Association 2015). With American ice cream being around since 1851 (Arbuckle 1986), individuals can take-for-granted what the product is and the features that constitute it. When the taken-for-granted status of products like ice cream is disrupted, audience members will rely on deliberate cognition to make sense of the features of the category. One instance that exemplifies this process is when individuals attempt to be conscious consumers and buy craft rather than mass produced products.

Buying Craft Products

There is a growing movement for consumers to support craft products as evident by the rise of microbreweries (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000; Verhaal, Khessina, and Dobrev 2015). Consumers are placing greater value on purchasing food and drinks from producers who are more interested in the craft of producing high quality small batches of offerings (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000; CUESA 2006) rather than maximizing profits through mass production. Hence, consumers are experiencing more negative sentiments toward mass produced products due to the emergence of the craft market. This has led people to seek out craft products at places like farmer's markets (CUESA 2006). Moreover, supporting craft products allows people to feel like they are helping their local communities and economies (Delind 2011; Bommel and Spicer 2014). Thus, this current climate sees craft producers such as ice cream makers in a prime position to capitalize on this movement and attract consumers to their products. Though scale allows mass produced products to reach more consumers and thus attain more resources (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000), this attribute also causes them to be undesirable to individuals

seeking products that are crafted in small batches and tied to local economies and communities. This means that as craft products enter a market, mass produced offerings will be less likely to attain material and symbolic rewards because they become categorized as occupying an oppositional category (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000; Kovács, Carroll, and Lehman 2013; Verhaal, Khessina, and Dobrev 2015).

Craft producers can pay attention to more niche needs of consumers such as preferences for small craft productions, local ties, and regional flavors not associated with mass produced brands. Therefore, consumers may not favor mass produced products due to their desire to buy craft offerings. If an individual is looking to buy craft ice cream products, mass produced ice cream offerings will be penalized in that they will be overlooked due to consumers perceiving them as dissimilar to their ideal category. Therefore, individuals will penalize mass produced products by ignoring, negatively evaluating, not expressing positive emotions, or refusing to buy these offerings, relative to craft products. Hence, the emergence of craft products bring attention to the taken-for-granted category of ice cream in a manner that is beyond the control and potentially to the detriment of mass producers. Thus, to assess, whether mass producers are penalized by the presence of craft offerings, I used computational methods to analyze 51,304 Yelp reviews. With these reviews, I use consumer value ratings and positive emotions to assess the degree to which mass producing shops are penalized as the number of craft shops reviewed in a year increases.

Hypotheses:

H1: The Yelp consumer value ratings of mass producing ice cream shops will decrease as the number of craft shops reviewed within a year increases.

H2: There will be a decrease in positive emotions towards mass producing ice cream shops as the number of craft shops reviewed within a year increases.

METHODS

Sample

This study sought to assess the degree to which mass producers faced penalties as the number of craft producers increased in a space. Thus, data was collected from ice cream shops in the San Francisco Bay Area, which is a region in California that consists of several cities including San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland, and San Jose. During the summer of 2018, I began scraping Yelp reviews, beginning with those written in 2004, as this is the year that Yelp launched. I concluded data collection during the summer of 2018. Each review contained information regarding an ice cream shop such as its 1-5 star rating, review text, the date of the review, and reviewers' identification number.

I classified reviews as being craft or mass production. Specifically, I defined mass produced products as offerings made by ice cream shops on a large scale and not connected to the local community and economy (Delind 2011). Craft products were those offerings made by ice cream shops in small batches and connected to the local community and economy. Ice cream shops were only included in the sample if they were classified as selling “ice cream & frozen yogurt” on Yelp. Therefore, products categorized as gelato, frozen yogurt, novelty products (e.g., ice cream doughnuts or rolled ice cream), or soft serve ice cream were excluded. Moreover, the sample excluded companies whose focal sales were not ice cream, which ensured that this project tapped into reviews of ice cream rather than other offerings such as breakfast food or clothing. This resulted in reviews being scraped from 74 craft producers and 166 mass producers.

In total there were 51,304 reviews which consisted of 43,754 reviews from craft ice cream shops and 7,550 reviews from mass producing ice cream shops.

Independent Variables

There were two independent variables of interest. First, I used a binary variable for whether an ice cream shop was a mass or craft producer. Next, I constructed a variable that measured the number of craft ice cream shops reviewed in a year.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables included consumer value ratings, cognitive processing, and positive emotions. The consumer value ratings variable measured the 1-5 star rating a reviewer assigned an ice cream shop. For the cognitive processing and positive emotions variables, I assessed the 51,304 reviews using LIWC which is a textual analysis program that computes cognitive activity and emotions present in text files (LIWC 2015). The LIWC program used the categories present in its dictionary to calculate the number of words associated with cognitive activity and positive oriented terms found in each review. These categories were constructed by eight researchers who collected every unique word found in English dictionaries, novels, and posts on online platforms such as blogs, Facebook, and Twitter (Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010). Words were categorized into a particular category only if they were coded similarly by four of the eight coders. Additionally, they refined the categories in the LIWC dictionary by conducting multiple studies whereby they asked individuals to write about their experiences with things like their emotional and cognitive states.

Control Variables

I controlled for several variables. First, I controlled for price which was categorized as either inexpensive or moderate to pricey. Second, I accounted for the number of categories

associated with ice cream shops, which was classified as 1 category or 2 to 3 categories. Third, I controlled for whether the shop was family owned. Fourth, I used the word count for each review. Fifth, I accounted for reviewer engagement (labeled as enthusiasm) on Yelp.com which was measured based on a log of the number of reviews made by an individual starting in 2004.

Analysis

After describing the data, I analyzed the data using random-effects linear regression models. I included fixed effects for the variables year and zip code in each model. Finally, I included interactions between the variables mass producer and the number of craft ice cream shops reviewed in a year.

RESULTS

Figure 1

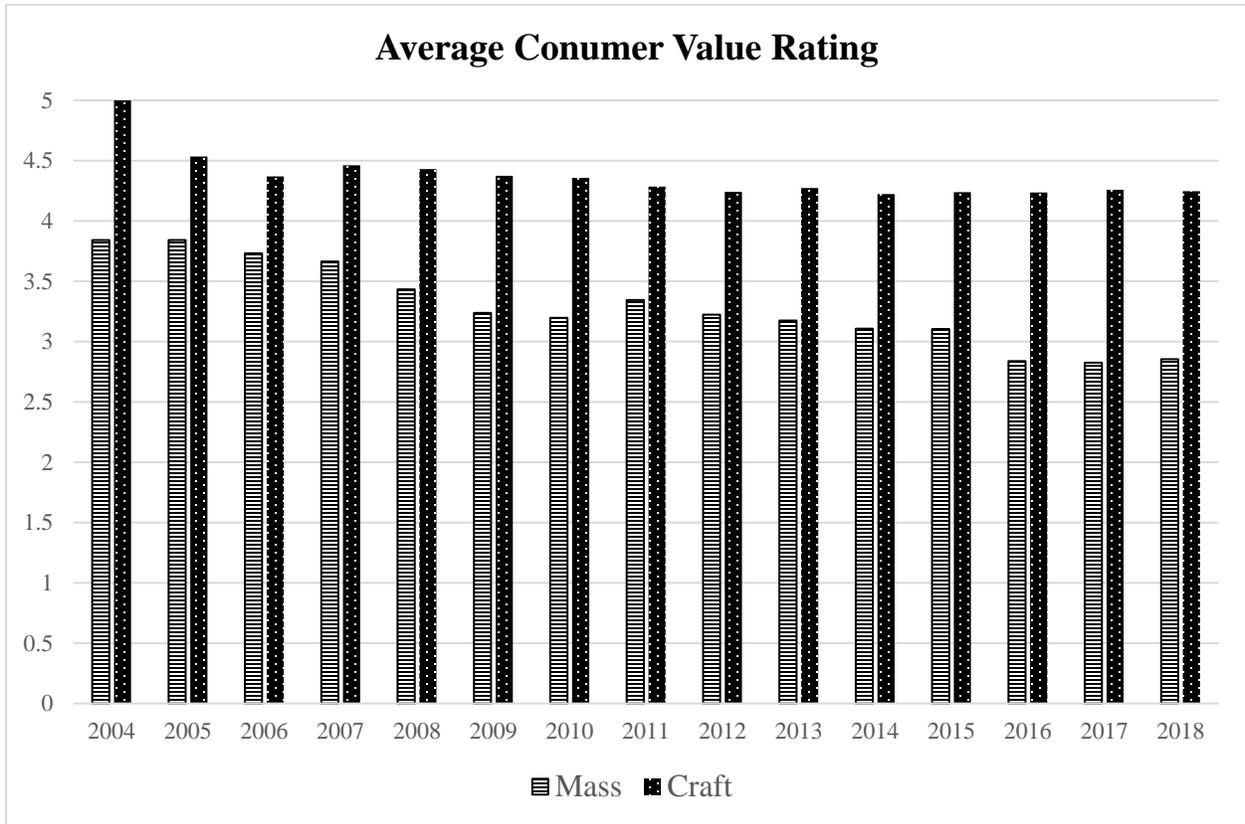


Figure 1 presents the descriptive statistics for mass and craft producing ice cream shops' average consumer value ratings by year on Yelp. During the early 2000s, mass producing ice cream shops had consumer value ratings above 3.5. However, their consumer value ratings dipped below 3.0 to 2.84 in 2016 and remained in this range for the years sampled. Craft producing ice cream shops began the early 2000s with consumer value ratings above 4.5. Though their consumer value ratings did decrease throughout the years of data collection, they never dipped below 4.0.

Figure 2

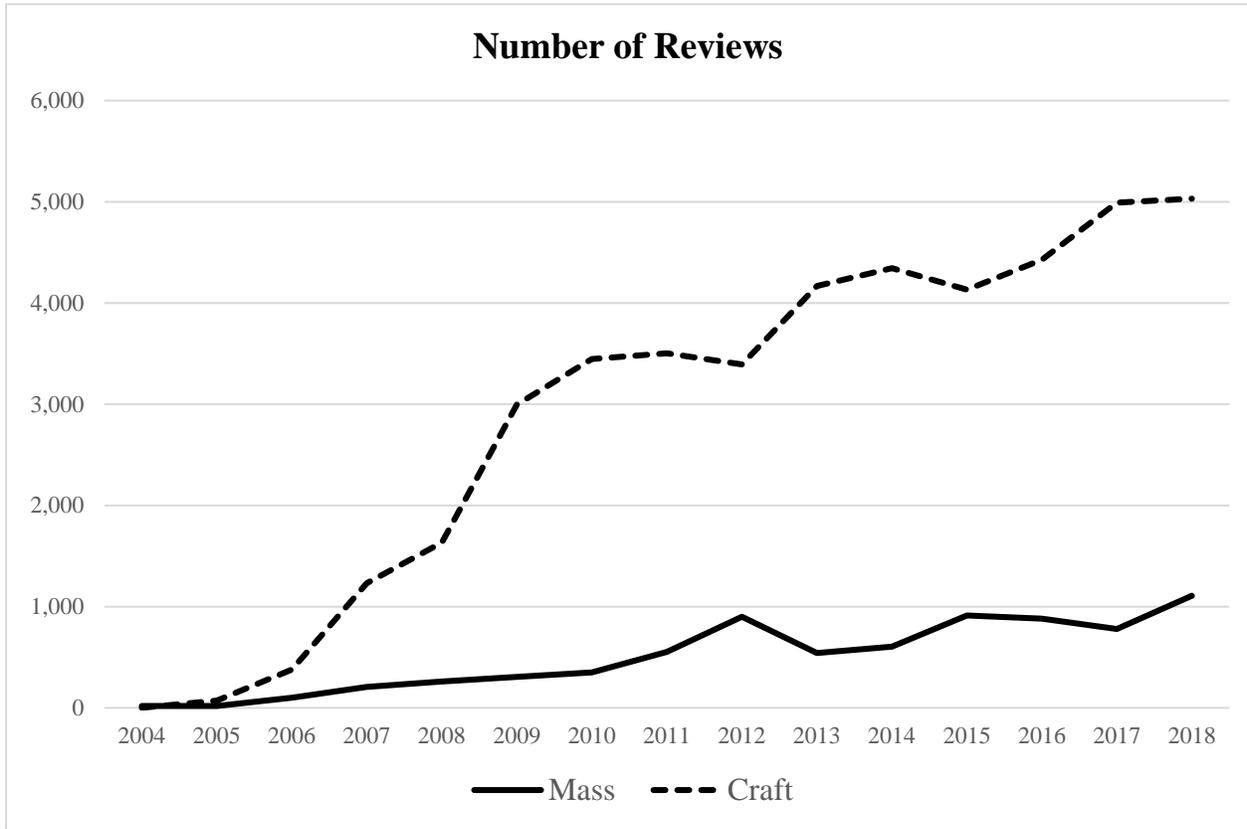


Figure 2 displays the number of reviews craft and mass producing ice cream shops received each year on Yelp. Overall, the trend reveals craft producing ice cream shops received more reviews each year. Craft producing ice cream shops had a consistent increase in reviews with their numbers reaching above 4,000 in 2013 and remaining in that range for the duration of data collection. Whereas, mass producing ice cream shops reviews typically remained below 1,000 (a part from 2018).

Table 1

Longitudinal Models for Cognitive Processing of Ice Cream Shops in the San Francisco Bay Area

Moderate to pricey	.152
2 to 3 categories	-.380***
Family owned	-.661***
Word count	.004***
Enthusiasm	-.002
Mass Producer	-.693***
Year fixed effects	Yes
Zip code fixed effects	Yes
N= 51,304	

p<0.05*; p<0.01**; p<0.001***

First, I conducted an analysis that would establish the use of automatic cognition using the cognitive processing variable. Table 1 reveals that there is a decrease in cognitive processing for ice cream shops that are categorized in 2 to 3 categories (b= -.380, p<0.001) and family owned (b= -.661, p<0.001). Increases in word count significantly increase cognitive processing (b=.004, p<0.001). Finally, there is a significant decrease in cognitive processing for mass producing ice cream shops (b=.693, p<0.0011), which implies the use of automatic cognition.

Table 2

Longitudinal Models for the Consumer Value Ratings of Ice Cream Shops in the San Francisco Bay Area

Moderate to pricey	-.231
2 to 3 categories	.228
Family owned	.449**
Word count	-.001***
Enthusiasm	-.014*
Mass Producer	.860***
Number craft producers by year	-.011
Mass producers x number of craft producers by year	-.025***
N= 51,304	

p<0.05*; p<0.01**; p<0.001***

Table 2 displays that there is an increase in consumer value ratings for family owned ice cream shops, compared to those that were not ($b=-.449$, $p<.01$). An increase in word count ($b=-.001$, $p<.000$) and reviewer enthusiasm ($b= -.014$, $p<.05$) decreases consumer value rating. The consumer value ratings for a shop increases if an organization is a mass producer ($b=.860$, $p<.000$). However, the model also reveals that consumer value ratings for mass producers decrease as the number of craft producers reviewed in a year increases ($b=-.25$, $p<.000$). This finding provides support for hypothesis 1.

Table 3

Longitudinal Models for Positive Emotions towards Ice Cream Shops in the San Francisco Bay Area

Moderate to pricey	-.117
2 to 3 categories	.274
Family owned	.335
Word count	-.014***
Enthusiasm	-.148***
Mass producer	1.55**
Number craft producers by year	-.069
Mass producers x number of craft producers by year	-.044***
N= 51,304	
p<0.05*; p<0.01**; p<0.001***	

Table 3 reveals that increases in word count ($b=-.014$, $p<.000$) and reviewer enthusiasm ($b=-.148$, $p<.000$) decreases positive emotions. There is a significant increase in positive emotions for shops that are mass producers ($b=1.55$, $p<.01$). Yet, there is also a decrease in positive emotions for mass producers as the number of craft producers reviewed in a year increases ($b=-.044$, $p<.000$), which supports hypothesis

DISCUSSION

The categorical imperative literature asserts that for products to receive material and symbolic rewards, they must possess category typical features (Zuckerman 1999; Hsu 2006; Hsu et al. 2009; Negro and Leung 2013; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2015). Therefore, products that possess non-typical features will face penalties (e.g., not supported or purchased), according to the categorical imperative literature. However, not every product that possesses non-typical features will be penalized.

If a product reaches taken-for-granted status, it can bypass penalties (Hsu and Grodal 2015). This occurs because once a product reaches taken-for-granted status, audience members no longer need to rely on rigid definitions or explanations to make sense of it. Consequently, due to audience members being more familiar with a product, they become less aware of the features that are associated with its category. Hence, interacting with taken-for-granted products allows individuals to engage in automatic cognition whereby they engage in quick thinking processes (Cerulo 2010). I asserted ice cream was a taken-for-granted product due to its duration in the consumptive experience. When individuals go to buy ice cream, they may buy a Breyer's frozen dessert product due to them quickly assuming the offering is ice cream. Hence, a product's taken-for-granted status is advantageous as it allows producers to use non-typical features in their offerings. Yet, this raises questions about when individuals would pay more attention to the features of a taken-for-granted product. One instance that causes individuals to engage in deliberate cognition and actively think about taken-for-granted products, like ice cream, is when they are attempting to buy or support craft versus mass produced products. This occurs because consumers are growing to support craft products and take on an anti-mass producing sentiment

(Carroll and Swaminathan 2000; CUESA 2006; Cope 2014; Verhaal, Khessina, and Dobrev 2015).

Thus, I scraped 51,304 Yelp reviews of ice cream shops in the San Francisco Bay Area to assess the degree to which the presence of craft offerings penalized mass producers. I assess penalties in two ways. First, I assessed penalties by using Yelp's consumer value ratings (1-5 stars) for the ice cream shops. Then, I used LIWC to compute the positive emotions reviewers directed toward ice cream shops.

My findings displayed cognitive processing decreased for mass producing ice cream shops, which establishes automatic cognition. This implies reviewers may be relying on automatic cognitions when they review mass producing ice cream shops because they and their products are taken-for-granted. This may explain why the findings revealed that there was a significant increase in the consumer value ratings and positive emotions directed towards mass producing ice creams shops. Moving forward, the findings displayed a significant decrease in the consumer value ratings and positive emotions directed towards mass producing ice cream shops as the number of craft producers reviewed in a year increased, which supported my hypotheses. These findings show that mass producers can prosper without the growing presence of craft organizations, which aligns with the literature (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000). However, as craft producers increasingly enter the market of a taken-for-granted product, like ice cream, and become the ideal for the offerings' category, a negative sentiment appears to emerge toward mass produced offerings, which results in them experiencing penalties.

The emergence of craft offerings likely invites unwanted scrutiny from audience members to mass produced products. With craft ice cream products becoming the ideal for the category, mass producers encounter situations whereby audience members may observe and

perceive that the features of their offerings are non-typical for the category. According to the categorical imperative literature, this lack of adherence contributes to penalties (Zuckerman 1999; Hsu 2006; Hsu et al. 2009; Negro and Leung 2013; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2015). Thus, in this context, that is beyond the control of mass producers, the features of their products fail to align with that of the craft offerings emerging and becoming the ideal for the category (e.g., small batch), which contributes to mass producers incurring penalties.

As readers review the findings, they should be cognizant of this project's limitations. Though this project displays the penalties that mass producers face as craft organizations congregate in a space and become the ideal for a taken-for-granted product category such as ice cream, it does not show how people categorize these offerings. Since this project is quantitatively focused, it does not address the categorization process, which would reveal the features that allow craft products to become the ideal for taken-for-granted product categories. Thus, future research should employ qualitative methods to shed light on the categorization of mass and craft produced products.

Even with this limitation, this project fills a gap in the literature by offering a longitudinal study that assesses the degree to which mass produced products are penalized as craft offerings congregate in a space and become the ideal for categories. By displaying that mass producers experience decreases in consumer value ratings and positive emotions directed towards them as the number of craft producers reviewed in a year increases, this project adds to the literature that displays the growing power of craft offerings, relative to mass products (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000; CUESA 2006; Cope 2014; Verhaal, Khessina, and Dobrev 2015). Practically, this project reveals that if a product is taken-for-granted (e.g., coffee), organizations can better position these offerings for success by presenting them as craft offerings.

Chapter V: Conclusion

This project sought to demonstrate the various outcomes that occur once a product's taken-for-granted status is disrupted. In these instances, audience members moved from employing automatic cognitions to slower deliberate thinking as they had to pay attention to the features of the offerings so they could make evaluative decisions (Vaisey 2009). I aimed to show the gradience of outcomes that occur across contexts. That is, I wanted to show that products are not always penalized by audience members when they pay attention to categories. The categorical imperative literature asserts offerings need to adhere to category typical features if producers want their offerings to receive rewards (Zuckerman 1999; Zuckerman, Kim, Ukanwa and, von Rittmann 2003; Hsu et al. 2009; Negro and Leung 2013; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2015). Thus, from this perspective, more scrutiny could lead audience members to see that offerings do not possess typical category features, which could cause them to penalize the offerings such is the case with category spanners (Hsu 2006; Negro and Leung 2013; Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovacs 2016).

One way products escape audience members' scrutiny, and subsequent penalties is for offerings to reach taken-for-granted status (Hsu and Grodal 2015). When a product reaches taken-for-granted status, audience members' confidence in their knowledge of the offerings in the category contributes to them actually becoming less mindful of the features that are typical of the category. This lack of awareness allows producers to have freedom in the ways they add or subtract features from their products. Hence, taken-for-grantedness can be positive (Hsu and Grodal 2015) rather than constraining (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Negro, Hannan, and Rao 2010; Kovács and Hannan 2010). However, when attention returns to taken-for-granted categories, it does not have to lead to penalties. As my project shows, when audience members

pay attention to taken-for-granted categories, they may reward or punish them. Context informs the outcomes that occur when audience members categorize and evaluate products associated with taken-for-granted categories. In two articles, I displayed the differences in outcomes, using the taken-for-granted category ice cream.

The Studies

In article one, I investigated what happened when products disrupted their taken-for-granted status. To do this, I looked at the two cases where producers relinquished their products taken-for-granted status.

In the first case, I studied what happened when American branded ice creams entered markets in Asian countries. In this instance, American branded ice creams moved from the US, where they are taken-for-granted to markets in Asian countries where audience members are likely less familiar with the offerings. In this case, I collected 80 articles from Asian countries and 160 articles from the US as a means of comparison. With these articles, I worked to assess whether American branded ice cream was rewarded or punished upon entering Asian markets. First, I assessed if there was a difference in the cognitive processing needed to discuss these American branded ice creams in articles from Asian countries compared to the US. To do this, I used LIWC to construct the variable words per sentence as journalists may have needed to use more words to make sense of and describe these brands. My findings support this notion, as articles in Asian countries used significantly more words per sentence to discuss American branded ice creams, compared to those in the US. After this, I wanted to establish that as American branded ice creams remained in Asian countries, journalists would become familiar with the brands and need to use fewer words overall to discuss these offerings. Thus, I used LIWC to construct the variable word count. My findings reveal that word counts decreased for

articles in Asian countries discussing American branded ice cream as years increased, compared to the US. Hence, American branded ice cream required less thought and words to discuss as years progressed and journalists became familiar with these offerings. Next, I assessed the emotional tone used in articles discussing the American branded ice creams in Asian countries, and compared it to articles in the U.S. My findings revealed that articles in Asian countries have significantly higher positive emotional tones discussing American branded ice creams, compared to those in the U.S.

In the second case, I assessed the recategorization of products. For this case, I observed Breyers lose their taken-for-granted status after their products were recategorized as frozen dairy desserts (Breyers 2017). Thus, I scraped 1,899 reddit posts that addressed Breyers' products' recategorization. Once I scraped the posts, I coded them as either one of four outcomes: reward, punishment, informational, or none regarding Breyers' products being recategorized. I then assessed how these coded posts impacted reddit post scores. I found scores significantly increased for posts that were punishing of Breyers' recategorization. Hence, punishing posts were valued by the reddit community. Next, I looked to see how emotions (positive and negative) interact with the outcome to predict scores. I found that scores significantly increased for punishing posts when negative emotions increased. Thus, the negative emotions in punishing posts likely offered information that resonated with users and pushed them to upvote those types of posts.

In article two, producers are not forgoing their status, but rather ideals of a taken-for-granted category (ice cream) are changing due to the increasing emergence of products. In this case, mass producing ice cream must contend with craft ice cream products increasingly entering the space. As support of craft products increases (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000; CUESA 2006;

Delind 2011; Bommel and Spicer 2014; Verhaal, Khessina, and Dobrev 2015; Barajas, Boeing, and Wartell 2018), mass producers face a reality where these products could become the ideal for the taken-for-granted category ice cream. I scraped 51,304 reviews from Yelp.com of shops in the San Francisco Bay area to assess if mass producing ice creams were penalized as the number of craft products increased by year. These reviews covered a 14 year period. First, I used LIWC to assess the Yelp reviews to develop a cognitive processing variable to establish that mass producing ice cream did not push audience members to think about ice cream. My findings support this, as cognitive processing decreased for mass producing ice cream shops. Next, using Yelp's 1-5 star review ratings and LIWC's positive emotion variable, I assessed the penalties mass producing ice cream shops experienced as the number of craft products increased by year. I found that ratings and positive emotions decreased for mass producing ice cream shops as the number of craft offerings increased by year. Thus, this lends credence to craft offerings becoming the ideal type for the taken-for-granted ice cream category.

Each of these articles looked at instances when taken-for-grantedness was disrupted. At times it was advantageous for taken-for-grantedness to be disrupted, as with the case of American branded ice creams entering markets in Asian countries. However, in other instances disruption was a disadvantage to producers, as the case with Breyers' products being recategorized as frozen dairy desserts and mass producing ice cream shops in San Francisco having to compete with a growing craft ice cream segment. The thread that weaves these outcomes together is context. That is, the way taken-for-grantedness is disrupted informs whether producers face penalties or rewards.

If producers agentically disrupt the taken-for-granted status of their product, they are likely doing so because they expect their offerings can withstand scrutiny from audience

members, which better positions them to receive rewards. For instance, when American branded ice creams entered markets in Asian countries, producers willingly placed their offerings under the scrutiny of audience members (journalists) and they received a positive reception doing so. When producers are not in control of taken-for-grantedness being disrupted, their products may not be ready to withstand the scrutiny of audience members, which could contribute to them experiencing penalties. This occurred with Breyers and mass producers in San Francisco, as taken-for-grantedness was disrupted by Breyers' products being recategorized a frozen dairy desserts by the FDA and craft products increasingly entering the market space. These producers did not invite attention to their products, but when it came, their products did not adhere to categorical ideals (Zuckerman 1999) of the ice cream category.

Context can also inform the outcomes that occur for other products when their taken-for-grantedness is disrupted amongst constituents. For instance, when regulative authorities decide to recategorize e-cigarettes as tobacco products alongside traditional cigarettes (FDA 2016) or prohibit plant and lab-based producers from labeling their offerings as meat or imitation (*New York Times* 2019), they put producers in contexts whereby audience members may pay more attention to the features of these offerings. In the instance of e-cigarettes, if they are categorized alongside traditional cigarettes, people may begin to question how distinct these products are from one another. This is problematic because e-cigarette industry positions these products as tools for people to reduce their smoking of traditional cigarettes (Sussman et al. 2014; Lee, Ok, and Kim 2015). In the case of plant and lab-based producers, losing the distinction of meat, imitation, or beef for the products could serve as problematic for consumers who may purchase these offerings because they are akin to the traditional meat. Thus, in these contexts where taken-for-grantedness is disrupted in a manner that is beyond the control of producers, they may face

unwanted scrutiny audience members. Based on my findings, such unwanted attention could be problematic for producers.

Limitations

These articles have various limitations. For the first article, the limitation is that it does not reveal the long-term outcomes of these rewards and punishments. With this project, I demonstrate that American brands are rewarded with positive tones in Asian countries, and Breyers is penalized for its recategorization, but the extent of these outcomes are not explored. Media platforms can impact organizational performance, as Yelp reviews can affect the revenue of businesses (Luca 2016). For the second article, though I show that mass producers are penalized as craft offerings enter a space, I do not reveal the features that consumers pay attention to and value in those products from craft producers. One feature that could be helping craft products is the fact that they are made in small batches, which may signal an artisanal attribute that may not be afforded to those offerings that are mass produced (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000).

Common Contribution Across the Articles

Yet, even with those limitations, this project offers a way to see the gradience of outcomes that occur when audience members pay attention to taken-for-granted categories. Attention from audience members does not destine products to be penalized by individuals, but rather the outcomes vary across context. This work bridges literature that depicts the constraints of the categorical imperative (Zuckerman 1999; Hsu 2006; Hsu et al. 2009; Negro and Leung 2013) and the freedom attributed to taken-for-grantedness (Hsu and Grodal 2015) to show a middle ground where penalty and rewards are contextual. That is, when producers agentially bring attention to the features of their products by forgoing their taken-for-grantedness, they may

fair better because they likely want the scrutiny and have positioned offerings to receive favorable outcomes. Whereas, when products in taken-for-granted categories receive attention from audience members in contexts that are beyond the control of producers such as an FDA regulation or the emergence of another product in the category, they may fair worse because their offerings would likely not do well under scrutiny.

The Future

Based on the work I have done with this project I believe future research should work on investigating the features that audience members are paying attention to in these instances when taken-for-granted statuses are disrupted. Some features likely invite or block rewards and penalties in contexts when audience members pay attention to products in taken-for-granted categories. Computational or qualitative methods may be best suited for unveiling these factors in the categorization process. These methods could be applied to assess the aforementioned e-cigarette and plant and lab-based meat instances discussed above.

REFERENCES

- Aldrich, Howard and Martin Ruef. 2006. *Organizations Evolving*. Los Angeles: Stanford University Press.
- American Marketing Association. 2017. "How Ben & Jerry's Took Both Its Ice Cream and Mission Global." Retrieved July 3, 2020 (<https://www.ama.org/marketing-news/how-ben-jerrys-took-both-its-ice-cream-and-mission-global/>).
- Arbuckle, Wendell S. 1986. *Ice Cream*. Westport, CN: Avi Publishing.
- Baskin Robbins. 2017. "Celebrating 20,000 Dunkin' Donuts and Baskin-Robbins Restaurants Worldwide." Retrieved July 2, 2020 (<https://news.baskinrobbins.com/news/celebrating-20-000-dunkin-donuts-and-baskin-robbins-restaurants-worldwide>).
- Baskin Robbins. 2020. "History." Retrieved July 2, 2020 (https://news.baskinrobbins.com/internal_redirect/cms.ipressroom.com.s3.amazonaws.com/286/files/20186/Baskin-Robbins%20History%20Fact%20Sheet.pdf).
- Baskin Robbins. n.d. "Baskin-Robbins Brand Milestones." Retrieved July 3, 2020 (https://news.baskinrobbins.com/internal_redirect/cms.ipressroom.com.s3.amazonaws.com/286/files/201610/Baskin-Robbins%20Brand%20Milestones_11%203%2016.pdf).
- Barajas, Jesus M., Geoff Boeing, and Julie Wartell. 2017. "Neighborhood Change, One Pint at a Time: The Impact of Local Characteristics on Craft Breweries." *Untapped: Exploring the cultural dimensions of craft beer*: 155-176.
- Barua, Maan. 2010. "Whose Issue? Representations of Human-Elephant Conflict in Indian and International Media." *Science Communication* 32(1):55-75.

Boyle, Michael P., Douglas M. McLeod, and Cory L. Armstrong. 2012. "Adherence to the Protest Paradigm: The Influence of Protest Goals and Tactics on News Coverage in US and International Newspapers." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 17(2):127–144.

Breaking Asia. 2019. "The Evolution of Ice Cream in Asia." Retrieved July 6, 2020 (<https://www.breakingasia.com/japan/the-evolution-of-ice-cream-in-asia/>)

Becker, Howard S. 1982. *Art Worlds*. Berkley:University of California Press.

Ben and Jerry's. 2020. "About Us." Retrieved July 2, 2020 ([https://www.benjerry.com/about us](https://www.benjerry.com/about-us)).

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2013. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Routledge.

Breyers. 2017. "Frequently Asked Questions." Retrieved January 6, 2018. (<http://www.breyers.com/home/about>).

Business Standard. 2013. "Haagen-Dazs May Scoop up More Indian Cities." Retrieved June 3, 2020. (https://www.business-standard.com/article/companies/haagen-dazs-may-scoop-up-more-indian-cities-110022300097_1.html).

Business Wire. 2005. "Cold Stone Creamery Debuts in Japan; First Store in Asia Signals Future Growth." Retrieved January 3, 2018. ([https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20051117005969/en/Cold-Stone-Creamery Debuts-Japan-Store-Asia](https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20051117005969/en/Cold-Stone-Creamery-Debuts-Japan-Store-Asia)).

Business Wire. 2007. "Cold Stone Creamery Pays Homage to the Origins of Ice Cream with Stores in Mainland China and Taiwan." Retrieved June 3, 2020.

- (<https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20051117005969/en/Cold-Stone-Creamery-Debuts-Japan-Store-Asia>).
- Carroll, Glenn R. and Anand Swaminathan. 2000. "Why the Microbrewery Movement? Organizational Dynamics of Resource Partitioning in the US Brewing Industry." *American Journal of Sociology* 106(3):715–762.
- Cerulo, Karen A. 2010. "Mining the Intersections of Cognitive Sociology and Neuroscience." *Poetics* 38(2):115–132.
- Cold Stone Creamery. 2020. "The Cold Stone Story." Retrieved July 2, 2020 (<https://www.coldstonecreamery.com/getinthemix/ourstory/index.html>).
- CUESA. 2006. "Artisanal Defined" Retrieved December 29, 2019. (<https://cuesa.org/article/artisanal-defined>)
- Delind, Laura B. 2015. "Where Have All the Houses (among Other Things) Gone? Some Critical Reflections on Urban Agriculture." *Renewable Agriculture and Food Systems* 30(1):3–7.
- Delmestri, Giuseppe and Royston Greenwood. 2016. "How Cinderella Became a Queen: Theorizing Radical Status Change." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 61(4):507–550.
- DiMaggio, Paul and Walter W. Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Collective Rationality and Institutional Isomorphism in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48(2):147–160.
- DiMaggio, Paul. 1997. "Culture and Cognition." *Annual Review of Sociology* 23(1):263–287.
- Durand, Rodolphe and Lionel Paoletta. 2013. "Category Stretching: Reorienting Research on Categories in Strategy, Entrepreneurship, and Organization Theory." *Journal of Management Studies* 50(6):1100–1123.

- Eden, Sally. 2011. "Food Labels as Boundary Objects: How Consumers Make Sense of Organic and Functional Foods." *Public Understanding of Science* 20(2):179–194.
- Fligstein, Neil, and Doug McAdam. 2011. "Toward a General Theory of Strategic Action Fields." *Sociological Theory* 29(1): 1-26.
- Food and Drug Administration. 2016. "FDA's Deeming Regulations for E-Cigarettes, Cigars, and All Other Tobacco Products." Retrieved July 1, 2016 (<https://www.fda.gov/tobaccoproducts/labeling/rulesregulationsguidance/ucm394909.htm>).
- Federal Drug and Administration. 2017. "Code of Federal Regulations Title 21." Retrieved January 10, 2018 (<https://www.accessdata.fda.gov/scripts/cdrh/cfdocs/cfcfr/cfrsearch.cfm?fr=135.110>).
- General Mills. 2018. "A Wife's Love of Ice Cream Brought Häagen-Dazs to Japan." Retrieved February 1, 2018. (<https://blog.generalmills.com/2015/08/a-wifes-love-of-ice-cream-brought-haagen-dazs-to-japan/>).
- Goldberg, Amir, Michael T. Hannan, and Balázs Kovács. 2016. "What Does It Mean to Span Cultural Boundaries? Variety and Atypicality in Cultural Consumption." *American Sociological Review* 81(2):215–241.
- Guo, Zhongshi and Patricia Moy. 1998. "Medium or Message? Predicting Dimensions of Political Sophistication." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 10(1):25–50.
- Häagen-Dazs. 2020. "Our History." Retrieved July 2, 2020 (<https://www.haagendazs.us/about/>)
- Hsu, Greta. 2006. "Evaluative Schemas and the Attention of Critics in the US film Industry." *Industrial and Corporate Change* 15(3): 467-496.
- Hsu, Greta. 2006. "Jacks of All Trades and Masters of None: Audiences' Reactions to Spanning Genres in Feature Film Production." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 51(3):420–450.

- Hsu, Greta, Michael T. Hannan, and Özgecan Koçak. 2009. "Multiple Category Memberships in Markets: An Integrative Theory and Two Empirical Tests." *American Sociological Review* 74(1):150–169.
- Hsu, Greta and Stine Grodal. 2015. "Category Taken-for-Grantedness as a Strategic Opportunity: The Case of Light Cigarettes, 1964 to 1993." *American Sociological Review* 80(1):28–62.
- International Dairy Foods Association. 2015. "Ice Cream Sales & Trends." Retrieved Marched 29, 2015 (<https://www.idfa.org/news-views/media-kits/ice-cream/ice-cream-sales-trends>).
- Jordan, Jennifer A. 2015. *Edible Memory: The Lure of Heirloom Tomatoes and Other Forgotten Foods*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kacewicz, Ewa. 2013. "Language as a Marker of CEO Transition and Company Performance." (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX.
- Kovács, Balázs, and Michael T. Hannan. 2010. "The Consequences of Category Spanning Depend on Contrast." *Research in the Sociology of Organizations* 31: 175-201.
- Kovács, Balázs, Glenn R. Carroll, and David W. Lehman. 2013. "Authenticity and Consumer Value Ratings: Empirical Tests from the Restaurant Domain." *Organization Science* 25(2):458–478.
- Kovács, Balázs, and Rebeka Johnson. 2014. "Contrasting Alternative Explanations for the Consequences of Category Spanning: A Study of Restaurant Reviews and Menus in San Francisco." *Strategic Organization* 12(1): 7-37.
- Kunda, Ziva and Paul Thagard. 1996. "Forming Impressions from Stereotypes, Traits, and Behaviors: A Parallel-Constraint-Satisfaction Theory." *Psychological Review* 103(2):284.

- Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count. 2015. "How it Works." Retrieved June 20, 2020
(<https://liwc.wpengine.com/how-it-works/>)
- Lee, Youn Ok, and Annice E. Kim. 2015. "Vape shops' and 'E-Cigarette Lounges' Open Across the USA to Promote ENDS." *Tobacco Control* 24(4): 410-412
- Marshall, Robert T., H. Douglas Goff, and Richard W. Hartel. 2003. *Ice Cream*. New York: Kluwer Academic.
- Massanari, Adrienne L. 2015. "Participatory Culture, Community, and Play." New York: Peter Lang.
- Moons, Wesley G., and Diane M. Mackie. 2007. "Thinking Straight While Seeing Red: The Influence of Anger on Information Processing." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 33(5): 706-720.
- Navis, Chad and Mary A. Glynn. 2010. "How New Market Categories Emerge: Temporal Dynamics of Legitimacy, Identity, and Entrepreneurship in Satellite Radio, 1990–2005." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 55(3):439–471.
- Negro, Giacomo and Ming D. Leung. 2013. "Actual' and Perceptual Effects of Category Spanning." *Organization Science* 24(3):684–696.
- New York Times. 2013. "Ice Cream's Identity Crisis." Retrieved February 15, 2018
(<https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/17/dining/remembering-when-breyers-ice-cream-was-you-know-ice-cream.html>).
- New York Times. 2019. "Fake Meat War." Retrieved July 7, 2020
(<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/25/style/plant-based-meat-law.html>).
- Oliver, Kevin M., Jennifer K. Houchins, Robert L. Moore, and Chuang Wang. 2020. "Informing Makerspace Outcomes Through a Linguistic Analysis of Written and Video-Recorded

- Project Assessments.” *International Journal of Science and Mathematics Education*: 1
22.
- Ozcan, Pinar and Kerem Gurses. 2017. “Playing Cat and Mouse: Contests over Regulatory
Categorization of Dietary Supplements in the US.” *Academy of Management Journal*.
- Pew Research Center. 2019. “Share of U.S. adults using social media, including Facebook, is
mostly unchanged since 2018.” Retrieved July 5, 2020 ([https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-
tank/2019/04/10/share-of-u-s-adults-using-social-media-including-facebook-is-mostly-
unchanged-since-2018/](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/04/10/share-of-u-s-adults-using-social-media-including-facebook-is-mostly-unchanged-since-2018/))
- Pfeffer, Jeffrey and Gerald R. Salancik. 2003. *The External Control of Organizations: A
Resource Dependence Perspective*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Pingali, Prabhu. 2006. “Westernization of Asian Diets and the Transformation of Food Systems:
Implications for Research and Policy.” *Food Policy* 32(3):281–298.
- Pontikes, Elizabeth G. 2012. “Two Sides of the Same Coin: How Ambiguous Classification
Affects Multiple Audiences’ Evaluations.” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 57(1):81–118.
- Rao, Hayagreeva, Philippe Monin, and Rodolphe Durand. 2005. “Border Crossing: Bricolage
and the Erosion of Categorical Boundaries in French Gastronomy.” *American
Sociological Review* 70(6):968–991.
- Rhee, Eunice, Jade Lo, Mark Kennedy, and Peer Fiss. 2016. “Things That Last? Category
Creation, Imprinting, and Durability.” *Academy of Management*:1.
- Shanahan, Mike. 2016. “Media Perceptions and Portrayals of Pastoralists in Kenya, India and
China.” International Institute for Environment and Development Report.
- Singh, Jitendra V., David J. Tucker, and Robert J. House. 1986. “Organizational Legitimacy and
the Liability of Newness.” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 31:171-193

- Schneiberg, Marc, and Gerald Berk. 2010. "From Categorical Imperative to Learning by Categories: Cost Accounting and New Categorical Practices in American Manufacturing, 1900–1930. In *Categories in Markets: Origins and Evolution.*" *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*.
- Schoenbach, Klaus, Ester De Waal, and Edmund Lauf. 2005. "Research Note: Online and Print Newspapers: Their Impact on the Extent of the Perceived Public Agenda." *European Journal of Communication* 20(2):245–258.
- Schutz, Alfred. 1967. *The Phenomenology of the Social World*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Slovic, Paul, Melissa L. Finucane, Ellen Peters, and Donald G. MacGregor. 2006. "The Affect Heuristic." *European Journal of Operational Research* 177(3): 1333-1352.
- Statista. 2017. "The Leading Ice Cream Brands of the United States in 2019, Based on Sales." Retrieved December 29, 2019. (<https://www.statista.com/statistics/190426/top-ice-cream-brands-in-the-united-states/>).
- Sussman, Steve, Robert Garcia, Tess Boley Cruz, Lourdes Baezconde-Garbanati, Mary Ann Pentz, and Jennifer B. Unger. 2014. "Consumers' Perceptions of Vape Shops in Southern California: An Analysis of Online Yelp Reviews." *Tobacco Induced Diseases* 12(1) 22.
- Tausczik, Yla R., and James W. Pennebaker. 2010. "The Psychological Meaning of Words: LIWC and Computerized Text analysis Methods." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 29(1): 24-54.
- Vaisey, Stephen. 2014. "Is Interviewing Compatible with the Dual-Process Model of Culture?." *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 2(1): 150-158.

- Van Bommel, Koen, and André Spicer. 2011. "Hail the Snail: Hegemonic Struggles in the Slow Food Movement." *Organization studies* 32(12): 1717-1744.
- Verhaal, J.Cameron, Olga M. Khessina, and Stanislav D. Dobrev. 2015. "Oppositional Product Names, Organizational Identities, and Product Appeal." *Organization Science* 26(5):1466–1484.
- Weaver, David A. and Bruce Bimber. 2008. "Finding News Stories: A Comparison of Searches Using LexisNexis and Google News." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 85(3):515–530.
- Weninger, Tim. 2014. "An Exploration of Submissions and Discussions in Social News: Mining Collective Intelligence of Reddit." *Social Network Analysis and Mining* 4(1): 173.
- Xu, Weiai Wayne, and Congcong Zhang. 2018. "Sentiment, Richness, Authority, and Relevance Model of Information Sharing During Social Crises—The Case of# MH370 Tweets." *Computers in Human Behavior* 89: 199-206.
- Yang, Fan, and Cong Li. 2016. "The Color of Gender Stereotyping: The Congruity Effect of Topic, Color, and Gender on Health Messages' Persuasiveness in Cyberspace." *Computers in Human Behavior* 64: 299-307.
- Zerubavel, Eviatar. 1997. "Social Mindscapes: An Introduction to Cognitive Sociology." Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Zuckerman, Ezra W. 1999. "The Categorical Imperative: Securities Analysts and the Illegitimacy Discount." *American Journal of Sociology* 104(5):1398–1438.
- Zuckerman, Ezra W., Tai-Young Kim, Kalinda Ukanwa, and James Von Rittmann. 2003. "Robust Identities or Nonentities? Typecasting in the Feature-Film Labor Market." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(5):1018–1074.

Zuckerman, Ezra W. 2017. "The Categorical Imperative Revisited: Implications of Categorization as a Theoretical Tool." Pp. 31–68 in *From Categories to Categorization*:

Appendix A

Codes	Definition and Examples	
Variable	Low	High
Clout	<p>[Discussing Baskin Robbins] But when this reporter tried to order a banana split, the staff said it was also unavailable, but no reason was also given.</p> <p>The menu also featured various desserts, such as parfaits, banana split and ice cream fondue, as well as hot and cold drinks like cappuccino blast and hot chocolate. Running out of options, this reporter chose the brownie & ice cream combination, which was fortunately available but it took 10 minutes before being served. - <i>Korea Times</i> (49.23)</p>	<p>Our local KHSL evening newscast shared the information that in honor of legalized same-sex marriage in New Jersey, Ben and Jerry's is making an ice cream called, "Hubby, Hubby" which is very "cute-sy," but blatantly sexist in completely discounting "Wifey, Wifey" or are men the only ones who count in same-sex marriage? - <i>Chico Enterprise-Record</i> (88.53)</p>
Present tense	<p>Baskin-Robbins offered a trademark 31 flavors - three more than its motel chain rival Howard Johnson. Customers faced a blizzard of choices. There was Jamoca Almond, Chocolate Mint, Yankee Doodle Strudel for the bicentennial, and Flip Wilson's favorite, Here Comes the Fudge.- <i>New York Sun</i> (2.3)</p>	<p>The Indian operations, which nearly folded up in 2000, are now 18 years old. Graviss Foods Pvt. Ltd, the master licensee for Baskin-Robbins in India, says it is now a Rs60 crore business, growing at 25%. - <i>Mint India</i> (8.91)</p>
Emotional tone	<p>Granted, the ingredients in Breyers frozen dairy desserts do not include plutonium, or motor oil, or Kraft Singles American Pasteurized Prepared Cheese Product...But something more than ice cream is melting away. This is what I brood about, late at night, as I apply basic ice cream to my psychic wounds. - <i>New York Times</i> (17.92)</p>	<p>Indulge in exotic sweets on French Dessert Fridays by Haagen Dazs, where you can try the exquisite dessert ice-creams, imported from the country. The menu includes signature dishes like French Fondue, Macroon Melts, Love Through Heart Of Sauce Creation, the Eiffel Tower Creation and Louvre Museum Pyramid - <i>Hindustan Times</i> (97.19)</p>

Appendix B

Codes	Definition and Examples
Punishment	Punishment involves 1) users user talking negatively about Breyer ("I wondered why it tasted like crap!") 2) the user precluding or not discussing Breyer's as a viable choice for ice cream ("I never buy Breyers, its Blue Bell all day for me." 3) the user saying they aren't going or do not buy Breyer's ("I stopped buying Breyers.") 4) users recommending other ice cream products without mention of Breyer's at all ("Go get Jeni's ice cream today. It is so good.")
Reward	Reward involves users are talking positively about Breyer's in the past or present ("My family used to love buying Breyer's for special occasions.")
None	None involves users discuss a matter that does not relate to Breyer's or ice cream products at all ("I don't eat pizza from cardboard boxes").

CURRICULUM VITAE
DaJuan Todd Ferrell

770 Bolton Hall
Department of Sociology
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Milwaukee, WI 53201

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

Higher Education

2020 (expected) Ph.D., Sociology, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee
2014 M.A., Sociology, Middle Tennessee State University
2012 B.S., Sociology and Psychology, Jacksonville State University

TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

Social Psychology, Sociology of Organizations, Medical Sociology, Health Policy, New Media, Information and Communication Technology, Sociology of Culture, Sociology of Education, Sex and Gender, Race and Ethnicity, Research Methods

SCHOLARSHIP

Peer-reviewed

2018 Ferrell, DaJuan. "Understanding the Impact of Gender in the Decision-Making Process to Undergo Certain Surgeries Compared to Uncertain Surgeries." *Research in the Sociology of Health Care*. 36: 133-150.

2017 Ferrell, DaJuan. "Film Review: Future Food." *Teaching Sociology*. 45(2): 201-203.

Encyclopedia Entries

In-Press Eller, Jackie and DaJuan Ferrell. "Emotion Work." *Blackwell Publishing Encyclopedia of Sociology Second Edition*.

2017 Campos-Castillo, Celeste and DaJuan Ferrell. "Ethnicity and Digital Divides." *The SAGE Encyclopedia of the Internet, vol. 3*.

2015 Eller, Jackie and DaJuan Ferrell. "Emotion Work." *Blackwell Publishing Encyclopedia of Sociology*.

2013 Eller, Jackie, Andrea Eller, and DaJuan Ferrell. "Fear." *Blackwell Publishing Encyclopedia of Sociology*.

Revise and Resubmit

Ferrell, DaJuan. "Understanding Emotion Management as a Mechanism for Boundary Work" *Symbolic Interaction*

Manuscripts in Progress

Ferrell, DaJuan, Celeste Campos-Castillo, Linnea Laestadius. "Vape Shops Fighting the FDA: Authenticity as a Resource for Specialist Organizations to Defend Against Regulatory Categorization"

Ferrell, DaJuan. "Evaluating the Effectiveness of the Hot Seat Activity: An Experiment in Teaching Hook-up Culture"

Ferrell, DaJuan. "Revisiting the Categorical Imperative: A Qualitative Analysis on the Categorization of Ice Cream Products"

Presentations

2019 Ferrell, DaJuan, Celeste Campos-Castillo, and Linnea Laestadius. "Exploring the Ways Vape Shops Use Organizational Identity to Respond to the FDA's Regulatory Categorization" Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting. New York, New York.

2018 Ferrell, DaJuan. "Understanding the Impact of Gender in the Decision-Making Process to Undergo Certain Surgeries Compared to Uncertain Surgeries." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

2017 Ferrell, DaJuan. "Evaluating the Effectiveness of the Hot Seat Activity: An Experiment in Teaching Hook-up Culture." Paper presented at the Midwest Sociological Society Annual Meeting. Milwaukee, WI.

2016 Ferrell, DaJuan. "Navigating the Academic Terrain: Understanding How Graduate Assistants Manage Emotions and Boundaries." Paper presented at the Midwest Sociological Society Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL.

2015 Ferrell, DaJuan. "Putting on a Professional Face: Understanding the Emotion Management Experiences of Graduate Assistants." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL.

2012 Ferrell, DaJuan. "Utilizing Marxism to Understand Residential Segregation's Part in Race and Class Conflict." Paper presented at the Tennessee Undergraduate Social Science Symposium. Murfreesboro, TN.

2011 Ferrell, DaJuan. "Correlating Guilt and Shame with Self-Reported Impulsivity." Paper presented at the Arts and Science Research Symposium. Jacksonville, AL.

2011 Deshotels, Tina H., Erek Smith, and DaJuan Ferrell. "Doing Dominant Hair: How Hair Constructs Gender, Race, and Class Privilege." Paper presented at the Mid-South Sociological Association Annual Meeting. Little Rock, AR.

RESEARCH GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND RECOGNITION

2019 - 2020 Northwestern Mutual Data Science Institute (NMDSI) Scholarship
2019 - 2020 UWM Graduate Student Excellence Fellowship (GSEF) Award
2018 - 2019 Advanced Opportunity Program Fellowship (University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee)
2016 Alpha Kappa Delta Teaching and Learning Fellowship
2015 - 2017 Advanced Opportunity Program Fellowship (University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee)
2015 Midwest Sociological Society Annual Meeting Student Travel Award
2015 Graduate Student Travel Award (University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee)
2012 Chancellor's Graduate Student Award (University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee)

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2019 - Present Lecturer - Sociology Department at the University of Wisconsin- Milwaukee
Social Psychology
History of Sociological Theory

2019 Graduate Teaching Assistant – Lubar School of Business at the University of Wisconsin- Milwaukee
Management Analysis

2017 - 2018 Lecturer - Sociology Department at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Social Psychology

2014 - 2015 Graduate Teaching Assistant - Sociology Department at the University of Wisconsin- Milwaukee
Introduction to Sociology – Discussion Sections

2013 - 2014 Graduate Teaching Assistant - Sociology Department at Middle Tennessee State University
Introduction to Sociology
Sociology of Deviance
Senior Seminar

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2011 - 2012 Research Assistant - Social Behavior Lab at Jacksonville State University

2011 Research Intern - Alcohol Research Training Summer School (ARTSS) Program at the University of Missouri – Columbia

OTHER EXPERIENCE

2010 - 2012 Sociology Tutor - Academic Center of Excellence at Jacksonville State University

2007 - 2010 Math Tutor - Veterans Upward Bound at Gadsden State Community

SERVICE

2019 - 2020 Committee Member, Graduate Student Advisory Committee for the American Sociological Association Section on Social Psychology

2018 Interviewee, Interview a Scholar Program (University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee)

2018 President, American Sociological Association Annual Meeting (Philadelphia, PA)
“The Politics of Health”

2017 Discussant, for the Midwest Sociological Society Annual Meeting
“Self and Place in Media and Information Technology”

2017 Judge, Undergraduate Research Symposium (University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee)

2016 Invited Keynote Speaker for the Alpha Kappa Delta Induction Ceremony (University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee)

2016 Graduate Student Representative for the Graduate School Open House (University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee)

2015 Graduate Student Representative for the All Majors Fair (University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee)

2013 Session Organizer for the Mid-South Sociological Association Annual Meeting
“Gender and Deviance: Managing Violence and Aggression”

Moderator and Discussant for the Mid-South Sociological Association Annual Meeting
“Negotiating the Emotions of Graduate School”