

# CHAPTER 9

## We decide what's cool



WHEN I WAS 14 YEARS old, I went on a family holiday to Thailand. It was my first experience of Asia. I remember the trip vividly, especially the open-air markets full of bootleg videos and tapes. Accompanied by my mother, I spent days wandering down rows and rows of makeshift shops that were flogging fake everything—Gucci bags, Chanel sunglasses and Benetton luggage. I recall one stall selling fake Lacoste polo shirts, a status item within my friendship group at the time. This stall was also selling the little alligators that appear on the chest of each shirt. They were lying all jumbled up in a cardboard box, like some grossly inhumane zoo. My mother suggested, ‘Why don’t you buy some? Then all your clothes can be Lacoste.’ Like any self-respecting teenager, I dismissed her suggestion as crazy. ‘But no one will know that it’s a fake,’ she urged me. Yes, but I would. I knew that a fake could never radiate the warmth of the genuine, branded item. My teenage heart would not be soothed by a Thai rip-off, no matter how close it was to the real thing. I wouldn’t be seen dead in one of those shirts now. I’ve moved on to other brands more acceptable within my social circle. Nevertheless the power of the logo still works its magic on me and

every kid who grew up wanting them and what they represent. Generation X spent its teen years schooled in the allure of the brand. Generation Y took it in as pre-schoolers.

Generation Y is the first genuine consumer generation, a group who started spending and dictating the spending habits of others at an early age. The Y childhood years saw a rising public concern for the safety of children and a new and intense focus on children's welfare and happiness. As a consequence, Y children spent less time outside involved in unsupervised play and more time inside, semi-supervised by the television whilst stressed parents juggled with the demands of work and home. Manufacturers and their advertisers saw the opportunities opened up by this adult interest in children's wants and desires and the role of TV as babysitter. Through TV they had a captive audience of kiddy consumers whose time-pressured parents were guilty enough and wealthy enough to start giving into their offsprings' newly created demands for the latest toy, video game and snack food.<sup>1</sup> In their study of parental work, guilt and consumption, researchers Barbara Pocock and Jane Clarke looked at how changing patterns of parenting have driven new levels of spending.<sup>2</sup> They found that Boomer parents who worked long hours attempted to make up for their absence by buying more stuff for their Y kids. This 'substitution of stuff for time' or 'contrition through spending' was an early influence on Y attitudes to consumption. Emotions such as love, friendship and forgiveness became linked to consumer behaviours such as shopping and gift giving.

As children, Yers were the prime movers of current, emerging and future consumption trends. These kids were

seen to represent three different markets. First the 'pocket money' or 'weekend job' market, consisting of the direct money Yers spent on things like entertainment, food and clothing. However, this accounted for little when compared to what Howe and Strauss call the 'kidfluence' or 'the backseat consumer' market.<sup>3</sup> Unlike their X older siblings, Yers had their say over the consumer choices of the entire household, from grocery purchases to electrical goods, cars, holidays and houses. Growing up, Y kids influenced more than 70 per cent of their parents' clothing and food purchases.<sup>4</sup> Finally, Y children represented a lucrative long-term and future market. Advertisers believed that if brand loyalty could be secured when the consumer was young and vulnerable, it would be carried through to adulthood.<sup>5</sup> Give them the child until she is seven and they will give you the consumer.

Since childhood, the power of the Y dollar has grown and grown. In fact, one of this generation's defining characteristics to date has been its buying power.<sup>6</sup> Generation Y has been described by Howe and Strauss as 'a consumer behemoth, riding atop a new youth economy of astounding scale and extravagance'.<sup>7</sup> This has created an explosion of market research companies focused, sometimes exclusively, on finding out what teens and young adults think, want and feel. There isn't a company or corporation, big or small, that doesn't want to know what this group values and desires. If they can understand the Y market and communicate effectively with Y consumers, then corporations practically have a licence to print money. Yers are enthusiastic and indefatigable consumers. They learned to shop early and often. Shopping malls, with their heavily branded and familiar

architecture, are the places they work and socialise.<sup>8</sup> Shopping is not a domestic chore for them; it is a hobby, a sport, even a way of life. Their income is mostly disposable. They are spenders rather than savers.<sup>9</sup> They are comfortable with levels of credit card debt that would make their elders blanch.<sup>10</sup> They have lived in a time of unprecedented economic prosperity, where products that were formerly considered luxury items, like designer clothes and electronic goods, are now lifestyle necessities.

146 Generation Yers' reasons for consuming are no mystery. They are not unlike the reasons for Xers' or Boomers' consumerism—instant gratification, desire for material possessions, an expression of identity, emotional release or simply the need to replace a worn-out pair of shoes. However, for Generation Y, consumption operates within a different economic context than Boomer consumption, with problematic consequences for their long-term prospects. Because of their age and the rising price of housing, Yers have few assets on which to earn capital gains. Despite this, they spend at the speed of their elders, who hold the bulk of the assets in our society including housing. The result has been a big structural shift in wealth. In his report on the financial status of the different generations, Chris Richardson found that X and Y hold just 22 per cent of the nation's wealth with the remaining 78 per cent 'comfortably tucked into the pockets of those born before 1961'.<sup>11</sup> This is a generation that keeps on spending but doesn't have the wealth (either at the moment or in the near future) to support the habit.

Despite all this, Generation Y shows no signs of slowing down its consumption habits. The drive to spend is partially

fuelled by the fact that for many of them, especially those urban dwellers, the great Australian dream of owning a house and starting a family is a distant, almost unreachable, goal. Saving seems impossible. A mortgage means a harsh depression of lifestyle. Moving to a more affordable area means moving away from all-important friendship networks. And so Generation Y's income goes towards small investments such as clothes, electrical goods, travel, music, entertainment, some of which need updating or replacing every few years. Again this disadvantages Yers in the long term. As Carrie in *Sex and the City* discovered, by the time you reach your mid-30s, you might have a killer wardrobe with a stack of Manolo Blahniks but you will still be renting your one-bedroom apartment. Coupland sketches this scenario with pinpoint accuracy in *Generation X*—Andy, the main character, is an Xer; his brother Tyler is a Generation Y 'Global Teen prince'. Tyler and his friends have:

*... wardrobes full of the finest labels... and they can afford them because like most Global Teen princes and princesses, they all live at home, unable to afford what few ludicrously overpriced apartments exist in the city. So their money all goes on their backs.*<sup>12</sup>

This observation is less a criticism than it seems. Without the huge sums of money required to buy property or the security of a 'job for life', spending on things like 'travel, clothes and technologies seems like a good alternative for both X and Y.<sup>13</sup> However, this desire to have things *now*, regardless of the long-term consequences, is also the result of a certain

attitude, the 'go on, you deserve it' approach to spending that advertisers exploit so cleverly. The question 'I might deserve it but can I afford it?' often doesn't get asked by consumers, especially Y ones.

You can't talk about the rise of Generation Y as a target market and a consumer force without considering the rise of the logo. According to Alissa Quart, author of *Branded*, Yers have 'grown up in the age of the brand', in a 'contemporary luxury economy' where brands like Nike, McDonalds, Disney, Levi's and so on were as familiar to them as the names of their own friends and relatives.<sup>14</sup> Now that Yers are young adults, brand identification is still at an all-time high and shows no sign of dropping.<sup>15</sup> These young adults can't remember a time when logos and brand names weren't tattooed onto every conceivable product, splayed across every public and private surface, popping up when you log into your email, turning the bodies of sports celebrities, movie stars and practically everyone else into walking advertisements. Quart believes that films popular amongst Generation Y like *Legally Blonde* 'celebrate brands in their dialogue' to such an extent that they become like supporting actors.<sup>16</sup> Logos and brand names are now so omnipresent, they form the wallpaper of daily life.

Branded culture is a powerful driver of consumerism amongst Generation Y. Quart writes that teens and young adults now 'need' luxury products—that new lipstick, sports shoe, DVD or handbag—rather than simply want them.<sup>17</sup> And in so many ways branded culture is the force that determines what is a necessity rather than a luxury. Lawrence, a 22-year-old law student and part-time IT worker, doesn't

consider himself to be particularly brand conscious. Nevertheless he wants an iPod. 'I just need one' he told me, in the way a pregnant woman says 'I need a toilet', with a palpable sense of desperation.

At the same time as the distinctions between luxury and necessity break down, the associations between brand names, celebrity and glamour within Y culture are reinforced. In *No Logo*, Naomi Klein argues that in the branded world, celebrities can become brands and at the same time brands can become stars in their own right.<sup>18</sup> Magazines like *Cleo* and *Cosmopolitan* have movie, music and TV stars on their covers and inside tell you exactly what products will give you Sarah Jessica Parker's sexy evening look. In this way, consumerism and celebrity worship are intertwined. If Meg, a fashionable arts student, sees a particular brand-name dress or lipstick on her favourite actress, then naturally she wants to buy it. In this way, a famous face reinforces the aura of the product. The celebrity associated with both the face and the product is enhanced. Girl-culture critic Susan Hopkins states that marketers 'aim to build a relationship between girls and their celebrity heroes, a relationship which might then be channelled towards increased consumption'.<sup>19</sup>

The links between identity, desire and consumption have been well-analysed by writers like Alissa Quart and Naomi Klein. These authors have illustrated the complex ways in which brands define those who consume them. I shop therefore I am. Very simply, when a Y consumer fronts up with his Billabong shirt at the cash register, he is unconsciously asking himself two questions: 'Who am I? Who do I want to be?'<sup>20</sup> For someone like Maddy, wearing clothing

from Esprit or Sportsgirl is all about aspiring to be something more than just a single mum living with her parents. Maddy says 'When you go out in brand-name clothes, it makes you feel good. You are not just a single mother—you are a single girl as well.' This attitude to brand names demonstrates Catharine Lumby's belief that 'We don't just buy stuff—we buy the idea of stuff.'<sup>21</sup> Clive Hamilton argues that 'We all live with high levels of denial about the connection between our buying habits and the social statements they make.'<sup>22</sup> Not so for Generation Y. They have little trouble acknowledging that what they buy says something about who they are and who they want to be.

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Despite their recognition of the strong connections between consumption and identity, Gen-Yers challenge the idea that they are wholly captive to branded culture. Many of them are irritated by commentary that characterises them as easily sucked in by advertising. Critics of commercialisation disagree. All they see is an army of consumer youth-zombies, manipulated by corporations and their media into buying lots of stuff they don't need. So there is a tug of war at the centre of public discussions about branded culture and Y consumers. Are they slaves to the logo, or creative and media-savvy consumers kicking arse in the marketplace? Are they players or are they pawns?

The reality is that Y consumers are both—both players and pawns in a cultural, social and economic environment where the connections between identity, desire and friendship are much more complex than older generations believe them to be. Yers are undeniably brand conscious. They are conformist in their consumption habits. They are influenced



(although often unconsciously) by a desire to fit into the tastes and trends of their friendship group. With some purchasing choices, they gravitate towards the brands of their childhood. But they are also notoriously fickle and difficult to market to. They practice low-level forms of brand resistance and worry about the effects of rampant consumerism on our society. Yet they still believe that a branded item is better quality and more reliable than its no-name equivalent.

One of the emerging truisms about Generation Y is that Yers are conscious of brands but not loyal to them. They are known for having short attention spans and don't give a second thought to abandoning one brand name for another. Australian market researcher, David Chalke, describes Y as a 'promiscuous bunch' of consumers who 'lack brand loyalty and are prepared to try anything new'.<sup>23</sup> American research has found that Yers are 'more likely than other consumers to buy a product on the spur of the moment and change brands if the mood strikes'. Only one in five young Americans shop for a particular brand, compared with one in three fellow consumers who shop for specific brands at age 60.<sup>24</sup> It is clear that whilst Yers like 19-year-old Laura admit to being brand conscious, they are loath to describe themselves as brand loyal. She says 'I don't like people who stick to the same things or are too loyal to a brand.'

What is at the root of this lack of loyalty? Social researchers like Hugh Mackay believe that brand disloyalty is part and parcel of this generation's 'pragmatic and faddish' attitude to everything (except, of course, to friendship).<sup>25</sup> According to Mackay 'If they're not expecting to stick to one partner, one job, or one course of study, why would they

expect to stick to one brand?<sup>26</sup> As an extension of this, their disloyalty to branded commodities is a form of disloyalty to the corporations that produce them. Generation Y sees big corporations as untrustworthy and undependable. Why would you invest your loyalty in a big corporate organisation when it won't return the favour?

Y's generally fickle consumer persona is also tied to its belief in its own power as consumer. Yers truly believe that they decide what succeeds in the marketplace. They dismiss arguments that it is corporations and advertisers that control their habits and tastes. Rather, they are the ones who decide what is popular and cool (and this is always changing, just to keep everyone on their toes).<sup>27</sup> This confidence of Yers in their own consumer autonomy is connected to their confidence as media consumers. Growing up, Yers were used to being treated like a 'target market'. Before they could read and write, they were the focus of high-velocity marketing techniques and advertising.<sup>28</sup> This upbringing has produced a youth market that is extremely media-savvy and derisive of those marketers who insult their intelligence with gimmicks and cheap tricks.<sup>29</sup> Yers exhibit great disdain for advertising that uses patronising images and language and that tries to sell them 'cool' in obvious ways. They are cynical and untrusting of advertising and marketing promises. Daniel, for example, sums up the view of his Y peers in the following terms:

*It is trendy to argue that young people consume via brand names and just consume what's cool. It must always be remembered that we don't get told what's cool. We decide*

*what's cool. We make our own choices. We are not dopes. We don't just buy something because we are told to buy it.*

Like Daniel, a healthy percentage of Generation Y expresses and practises low forms of resistance to branded culture. The average 19-year-old believes that whilst brands were important in high school, they aren't really important anymore. Now they only buy stuff they like, stuff that's good quality. They aren't going to be fooled by advertising into buying something just because it has a logo stitched on it. Lawrence is less into brands now than when he was a teenager. He says 'I very rarely dress in brands now. I find them ugly and tacky.' Yers reject obvious forms of brand chasing. Martin doesn't like 'big labels on the outside of things' (although he loves his Versace jeans). In addition to this aversion to crass forms of logo display, Yers believe that our society's obsession with consumption and material possessions is ultimately destructive. Patrick is 'very cynical about our empty consumer culture'. He says 'The amount of cash wasted on the vain and the superficial in our society concerns me deeply.' In their work, researchers Pocock and Clarke found that 'young people share a well-developed critique of materialism'.<sup>30</sup>

But these low level and subtle forms of brand resistance and concerns about materialism exist in tension with a general, and usually stronger, desire for branded items. And there is plenty of evidence that in relation to particular acts of consumption, Yers have carried through childhood loyalties into adulthood. The brands they grew up with as children evoke feelings of comfort and familiarity, like chicken soup

for the consumer soul. For example, when shopping in the supermarket, Jackie doesn't check prices or go for the cheapest option. Instead, she opts for the brands she grew up with because they seem more reliable. Whilst Kerry doesn't care much about brands when it comes to clothing or shoes, she still prefers food and grocery items from 'the good old brands' that remind her of home. Sarah doesn't trust 'the whole "No Frills" thing'. She says 'I tend to go with the brands I know.' The dishwashing liquid mum always used can sate a Y consumer's powerful need for family warmth—especially when she is renting a sparsely furnished studio apartment. It is amazing how artfully the brands have managed to associate quality and reliability with a logo. An ad with a cool guy wearing a Rip Curl shirt isn't going to make Daniel go out and buy that product. But if it came down to a choice between a recognised brand and one he didn't know, he'd go with a brand name because 'it's reputable and you know it's going to last'. Yers say they aren't stuck on a brand but do want products that are 'nice', 'well-designed', 'good quality', 'long-lasting' and 'reliable'. But ultimately all these qualities equate in their mind with products that are branded.

In addition to these nostalgic forms of brand loyalty and assumptions about quality, there is a strong tendency amongst Y consumers to conform to the spending habits of their friendship group. Because Y consumers are so cynical about advertising and corporations, they are difficult to market to. And so corporations and their advertisers attempt to harness the most important element of Y culture in marketing to this cohort—friendship. Whilst Yers' brand

loyalties are brittle, their loyalty to their friends is strong. Word of mouth and personal recommendations from friends are highly influential, and so they are likely to follow trends rather than just brands. Trends seem to be driven in part by the choices of those around them, rather than being forced on Yers from above by corporate message makers. The difficulty for marketers is that these trends come and go in often unpredictable ways, created as they are out of a dynamic interaction between social, cultural and economic forces.<sup>31</sup>

Recognising friendship as a driving factor in youth consumption has encouraged marketers to develop new technologies such as peer-to-peer marketing and viral advertising.<sup>32</sup> This, combined with marketing via the Internet, email and text, has created a new advertising culture that combines Y devotion to friendship and love of technology. And so, despite the fact that advertisers know that Y consumers aren't easily fooled into buying stuff, they also know that these same consumers want desperately to belong. Marketers know that it's the fear of not belonging that drives the youth market. As Chris Watt comments in his report on youth and cool, fitting in is 'by far one of the most pressing issues confronting [Gen-Yers] in daily life'.<sup>33</sup> As Pocock and Clarke found, the cost of being different, of not belonging or keeping up with the consumer habits of your peers, is high. You risk social and professional alienation and personal unhappiness. In an uncertain and difficult world, Yers are deciding to fit in rather than stand out. And buying into consumer culture is one way of fitting in.

Against this backdrop of Y consumer conformism, there exists a dedicated albeit small group of Y resisters who

practise a new politics of anti-consumerism and anti-corporatism. These resisters have reacted badly to the excessive marketing they have been subjected to since early childhood. Vince Mitchell, Professor of Marketing at the Cass Business School in London, argues that these young people 'show high levels of marketing cynicism, are uninterested in shopping and fashion and practise forms of marketing resistance'.<sup>34</sup> In their Australian-based work, Pocock and Clarke found a significant minority of young people held 'anti-market and anti-fashion attitudes' and 'pursue less fashionable forms of consumption' as a result.<sup>35</sup> As political actors, these young people are willing to exercise their consumer power to make a point, boycotting certain products for ethical reasons.<sup>36</sup> Claire is clearly in the anti-brand minority of Generation Y. In many ways she is an atypical Y girl. She is closer to her mother than her friends, a late bloomer sexually and intensely focused on her humanities degree. She describes herself as 'consciously not brand conscious', recognising that a conscious effort has to be made to resist the pull of branded culture. She sees her peers who walk around with logos visibly displayed on their clothes as 'free billboards for corporations'. If a label is visible on an outfit she is wearing, she will cut it off.

Young people like Claire demonstrate Alissa Quart's belief that Yers 'have not taken the merchandising of their minds, bodies and subjectivities lightly' and are 'willing to fight back'.<sup>37</sup> Some of these resisters have decided to fight back in a more collective and public fashion. They have joined together to create a political movement of culture-jammers and anti-brand activists, who create media space and art that

turns the power of the logo against the companies that create and sustain them. *Adbusters* magazine features faux-ads that pierce the corporate veil to reveal the truth about the products being flogged: a drooping bottle of Absolut with the byline 'Absolut Impotence', Calvin Klein style ads with a man peeping into his jocks and a young girl bent over a toilet.<sup>38</sup> The culture-jam movement is connected to the broader anti-globalisation and anti-corporatisation movements, who organise Reclaim the Street events and protests around WTO meetings and other global economic leader forums. These movements, owned and operated by the young, are indicative of a Y politics that has both a global and a local dimension, with a dominant focus on economic inequality and injustice. These resisters illustrate the power of branded culture even more clearly than the packs of label-hungry teens and 20-somethings I encounter trawling through my local shopping mall on the weekend. Generation Y protesters and culture-jammers, as well as individuals like Claire, are reacting to what they perceive to be the more insidious forces that threaten to utterly colonise their world and their future. The intensity with which they state their opinions and pursue their goals is further evidence of the power of consumerism and the dominance of branded culture within the Y world.

It is easy to diagnose Yers' investment in consumption as evidence of their superficiality. But, in fact, their attitudes to consumerism are complex, a knot of contradictions. They are brand conscious but not brand loyal. They believe in their own power as consumers and as the adjudicators of cool. Yet they are heavily influenced by the consumer habits of their

friends and family and the endorsement of celebrities. Yers don't like obvious forms of label chasing or naked attempts by advertisers to manipulate them into buying the latest, supposedly must-have product. Yet they believe brands symbolise something important. Brands reflect a sense of security and reliability but also excitement and glamour. Brands shape your identity and can help you project a new identity. Yers believe the brand you wear says something about who you are and who you want to be.

Yers are deeply implicated in the culture of consumption and the brand but, paradoxically, they are also deeply disturbed by the extent to which both dominate their culture.

158 Some worry about the empty, wasteful and superficial nature of corporatism and consumerism and have formed a political movement to combat it. Yet despite all the complications and contradictions in Y attitudes to consumption and branded culture, there is an overwhelming and undiminished desire amongst this group to spend and to spend on branded items. Yers know that their status as voters or workers, homeowners or parents amounts to little when compared with their power as consumers. In the absence of any increased political or social power for this generation, it will continue to see the sphere of consumption as a place to develop personal identity, connect with friends, make choices, influence others and dictate terms.



- 34 *ibid.*, p. 162.
- 35 *ibid.*, p. 151.
- 36 Catharine Lumby, *Gotcha: Life in a Tabloid World*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1999, p. 18.
- 37 Wolf, *The Beauty Myth*, p. 247
- 38 *ibid.*, p. 258.
- 39 See <[www.monash-hospital.com.au](http://www.monash-hospital.com.au)>.
- 40 *Dimensions*, ABC, Male Body Image.
- 41 See <[www.monash-hospital.com.au](http://www.monash-hospital.com.au)>.
- 42 Carlyon, 'The price of perfection'.
- 43 Quart, *Branded*, p. 115.
- 44 Wolf, *The Beauty Myth*, p. 252.
- 45 Personal email to the author.
- 46 Diana Bagnall, 'The girl power myth', *The Bulletin*, 2002, vol. 120, no. 30.
- 47 Quart, *Branded*, p. 173.
- 48 Lumby, *Gotcha*, p. 125.

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- 1 Later, the Internet became another important media vehicle for selling to children. In the late 1990s the director of Saatchi & Saatchi Interactive stated that 'There is probably no other product or service that we can think of that is like the Internet in terms of capturing kids' interest.' Sharon Beder, 'Marketing to Children: A Community View', 'Caring for Children in the Media Age', papers from a national conference, edited by John Squires and Tracy Newlands, New College Institute for Values Research, Sydney, 1998, p. 4.
- 2 Barbara Pocock and Jane Clarke, 'Can't Buy Me Love? Young Australians' views on parental work, time, guilt and their own consumption', The Australia Institute, Discussion Paper no. 61, February 2004.
- 3 Neil Howe and William Strauss, *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation*, Vintage, New York, 2000, p. 269.
- 4 Beder, 'Marketing to Children', p. 1.
- 5 *ibid.*, p. 2.

- 6 Jim DeRogatis, 2001, 'What's up with Generation Y?', *Salon*, <www.salon.com> [23 March 2004].
- 7 Howe and Strauss, *Millennials Rising*, p. 265.
- 8 Mandy Thomas, 'Hanging out in Westfield Parramatta' in *Ingenious: Emerging Youth Cultures in Urban Australia*, Melissa Butcher and Mandy Thomas (eds), Pluto, Sydney, 2003, p. 102.
- 9 Chris Richardson, 'The generation gap', *Business Review Weekly*, 16–22 September 2004.
- 10 Some 93 per cent of 21-year-old Americans have a credit card, up from 60 per cent just five years ago. The average 21-year-old is carrying almost \$3000 in credit card debt, with 10 per cent with balances exceeding \$7000. Michael J Weiss, 'To Be About To Be' *American Demographics*, 1 September 2003. A survey by the NSW Office of Fair Trading found that rising mobile phone and credit card bills have resulted in Australians aged between 18 and 24 carrying an average debt of almost \$6000 (excluding HECS debt). Kirsty Needham, 'Cut credit cards call', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 November 2003.
- 11 Richardson, 'The generation gap'.
- 12 Douglas Coupland, *Generation X, Tales for an Accelerated Culture*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1991, p. 106.
- 13 Kate Crawford, 'A generations scolded for not taking options that aren't there', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 May 2004.
- 14 Alissa Quart, *Branded: the buying and selling of teenagers*, Arrow, London, 2003, p. xxiv.
- 15 Rick Hicks and Kathy Hicks, *Boomers, Xers and Other Strangers: Understanding the Generational Differences that Divide Us*, Tyndale, Illinois, 1999, p. 271.
- 16 Quart, *Branded*, p. 117.
- 17 *ibid.*, p. 46.
- 18 Naomi Klein, *No Logo*, Flamingo, London, 2001, p. 57.
- 19 Susan Hopkins, *Girl Heroes: the new force in popular culture*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 2002, p. 4.
- 20 Clive Hamilton, *Growth Fetish*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2003, p. 82.
- 21 Catharine Lumby, *Bad Girls: Media, sex and feminism in the 90s*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1997, p. 79.
- 22 Hamilton, *Growth Fetish*, p. 96.

- 23 Quoted in Julian Lee, 'Adulterents just want to sate the wonderlust', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 March 2004.
- 24 Michael J. Weiss, 'To Be, About To Be'.
- 25 Hugh Mackay, *The Mackay Report: Leaving School*, Report no. 98, March 2000, p. 28.
- 26 *ibid.* p. 8.
- 27 The tendency for 'cool' to always shift and change has helped foster the anti-cool forms of cool such as 'geek chic'. See Judith Ireland, 'Geek Chic', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 February 2005.
- 28 Vince Mitchell, <www.umist.ac.uk>.
- 29 Chris Watt, 'Cool's not cool when marketing to youth', [www.bandt.com.au](http://www.bandt.com.au), 11 July 2002.
- 30 Pocock and Clarke, 'Can't Buy Me Love', p. xi.
- 31 And the second greatest influence must be the family, given the nostalgic loyalty to childhood brands.
- 32 On peer-to-peer marketing see Quart, *Branded*, pp. 48–59. Peer-to-peer (or viral, buzz or word-of-mouth marketing, whatever variation or term used) is a marketing technique that creates or facilitates personal communication as a vehicle for product endorsement. Peer-to-peer employs influential agents to recommend products to friends, colleagues and acquaintances as a form of authentic advertising and promotion.
- 33 Watt, 'Cool's not cool'.
- 34 See <www.cass.city.ac.uk>.
- 35 Pocock and Clarke, 'Can't Buy Me Love', p. xi.
- 36 Vromen, 'People try to put us down', p. 86. Youth boycotts of sportswear companies that use third-world sweat shops are a prime example of this. See generally Klein, *No Logo*.
- 37 Quart, *Branded*, p. 288.
- 38 See <www.adbusters.com>.

## Chapter 10

- 1 Sarah Price and Matthew Benns, 'Hillsong's True Believers', *Sun Herald*, 7 November 2004.
- 2 See [www.hillsong.com](http://www.hillsong.com).