

Re-enchantment of consumption through craft products: An analysis of the homemade cosmetics context

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Resumo

Existing literature shows consumers' engagement in projects of enchantment. Craft is a specific type of enchantment with indicia of growth in the marketplace, and craft consumption is a possible agent of change or market maintenance. In this research, we ask how do consumers re-enchant consumption through craft and maintain an alternative market? Craft products have gained space in the market in the last 15 years, prompting its use as the context of this research. Using a multimethod approach for over three years, we collected data using netnography and in-depth interviews to understand the context of homemade natural cosmetics products. Through the lens of the institutional logics perspective, this study contributes to the literature of market dynamics and shows the active participation of consumers re-enchanting their consumption apart from the mainstream market. The consumers draw on many institutional logics by making and developing their products in craft production practices or choosing not to use any beauty products. Some consumers prefer to disregard technology and justify their consumption as safer, more reliable, and inclusive. These consumers lead the creation and maintenance of an enchanted market through (1) reflexivity, (2) authenticity, (3) mimesis, and (4) incantation.



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Keywords: enchantment, craft, market dynamics, institutional logics perspective, homemade cosmetics.

Introduction

Regardless of the technique used, the cultural context, or the historical time, human beings seek to keep themselves clean and well presented through grooming and self-decoration (Scott, 2006). The importance of grooming for the human being unfolds in the cosmetics industry and, more specifically, in the grooming practices and consumption of products related to these practices. As part of the beauty history, cosmetics appear as important objects for beautification, ranging from the basic needs of grooming to more complex issues of empowerment, self-esteem, fun, and identity (Peiss, 2011; McCabe, de Waal Malefyt, & Fabri, 2017). The pursuit of beauty, especially through the use of cosmetics, draws the high order cultural context of this research in which consumers that discredit the institutionalization in the marketplace search for ways to re-enchant their consumption through craft. This movement is not an isolated movement, but rather forms a part of a world re-enchantment of consumption, which includes the return to craft, the skepticism in science, tribalism, populism, and religion (Suddaby, Ganzin, & Minkus, 2017). Marketing studies have analyzed this desire for enchanted consumption in different contexts, ranging from spectacular forms of consumption (e.g., Arnould, Price, & Otnes, 1999; Diamond et al., 2009; Kozinets, 2002) to daily activities (e.g., Thompson, 2004; Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007) in which consumers and the marketplace transpose rationalization and technology to engage in projects of enchantment (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995). Hartmann and Östberg (2013) also described the craft mentioned by Suddaby et al. (2017) as “a particularly important element of enchantment, as it stands in opposition to the disenchanting rationalization aspects [efficiency, control through technology, calculability, and predictability] put forth by Ritzer (1996)” (p. 884). Despite bringing craft as a form of enchantment that authenticates production and consumption, there is a lack of understanding about how it can take to the re-enchantment of consumption and which mechanisms are related to it.

Craft consumption describes the way consumers produce the products they want to consume, and their active involvement in changing, or even creating a market (Kjeldgaard, Askegaard, Rasmussen, & Østergaard, 2016; Martin & Schouten, 2014). The way consumers interact in the market and their active approach toward the market can happen in different ways. Some consumers resist and act collectively to transform the ideology and culture of consumerism (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004). Consumers change the structure when they contest the market through rebellious actions, due either to their divergent ideological goals from manufacturers (Giesler, 2008) or by actively responding to corporate cooptation and resisting it in association with producers (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007). These consumers thereby create a countervailing market system, such as in the case of the organic food movement described by Thompson and Coskuner-Balli (2007). Some consumers seek integration with the market (Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013), while others act in harmony with existing market offerings by making products and joining events organized by the mainstream market (Martin & Schouten, 2014), which can lead to entrepreneurial actions that do not necessarily maintain an alternative market.

Following on from the exposure of marketing studies and those aspects that require a greater delineation in the understanding of re-enchantment of consumption and market dynamics, this study attempts to answer the following research question: how do consumers re-enchant consumption through craft and maintain an alternative market? Therefore, the present research examines an emerging phenomenon in which consumers manufacture their products in homemade craft activities. In this context, to prepare their cosmetics, consumers utilize simple ingredients that are not directly associated with the mainstream cosmetics market, such as bicarbonate of sodium, coconut oil, and vinegar—raw natural materials.

To answer the research question and understand the context, we collected data from netnography and in-depth interviews. The data collected over three years totaled more than 700 pages of single-text. We conducted netnography (Kozinets, 2010) to understand the broad context of beauty and the consumers' interaction. We also conducted 22 in-depth interviews (Belk, Fischer, & Kozinets, 2012), each lasting one-hour on average, with consumers and informants from cosmetics companies, ranging from mainstream to organic, to better understand the cosmetics market in general and the consumers' actions. We then iteratively analyzed the transcribed interviews, as well as the field notes and netnography (Belk et al., 2012), going back-and-forth in a series of part-to-whole iterations, following a hermeneutical approach (Thompson, 1997).

The search for "greener" solutions in cosmetics has grown in the last 15 years (Euromonitor International, 2005; Euromonitor International, 2012; Mintel, 2019) and the craft products have gained space in this market (ABIHPEC, 2019; Mintel, 2018). Records of consumers' worries about beauty and the production of homemade beauty products date back to the 1600s and 1700s (Peiss, 2011), or even before—archeological evidence of cosmetics' usage goes back over hundred thousand years (Power, 2010). Recent studies have shown how changes in lifestyle are bringing back ancient practices of making homemade cosmetics (ABIHPEC, 2019; Allied Market Research, 2016; Cosmetic Innovation, 2018; Euromonitor International, 2014; Peiss, 2011), which may signal a market change.

Using the institutional logics perspective (Ocasio, Thornton, & Lounsbury, 2017) as a theoretical lens, this research shows consumers strategically combining elements from different institutional logics to suit their purposes (Cloutier & Langley, 2013), consuming craft products. In an attempt to re-enchant consumption (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995; Suddaby et al., 2017), consumers prefer to disregard and question the institutionally dominant discourse of power (Thompson, 2004) and justify their consumption as safer, more reliable, and inclusive. To achieve benefits similar to those of the beauty industry, they make and develop their products in homemade activities, or by not using cosmetics. Through craft, consumers re-enchant their consumption of cosmetics, associating their craft activities and products with pleasurable moments, autonomy, and reliance, maintaining an emergent market driven by them.

The consumers want to remain beautiful, but they consider that what the market offers affects the environment and uses ingredients and substances that are threatening, or they simply do not trust the conventional brands and mainstream cosmetics companies' speeches. Craft consumption is the method the consumers use to maintain and achieve beauty, with the purpose of taking care of their skin and hair. The re-enchantment of consumption happens through the constructs of reflexivity, authenticity, mimesis, and incantation (Suddaby et al., 2017). Thus, consumers move away from market embeddedness, developing what they believe is the new market in a reflective way by questioning the mainstream beauty market. The consumption is authenticated through constructing knowledge and defining the market in their claim to uniqueness. Through craft consumption, these consumers materialize their products and practices in a mimetic action (Suddaby et al., 2017), based on traditional beauty practices. The moral dimension of this market creation comes through incantation.

This research makes two main contributions to the study of market change dynamics. The first contribution relates to the pursuit of beauty, which makes the consumers discredit the institutionalization in the marketplace and interact in this dynamic cultural context to re-enchant the consumption. Craft can be considered a form of enchantment (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995), and Hartmann and Östberg (2013) show how it can authenticate a brand; however, this study goes further to show how consumers associate craft to the re-enchantment of consumption through authenticity, reflexivity, mimesis, and incantation. Another contribution relates to literature on how the agentic involvement of the consumer establishes a dialogue

with the mainstream market (Dolbec & Fischer, 2015; Giesler, 2008; Martin & Schouten, 2014; Sandikci & Ger, 2010; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013), to maintain an alternative market.

Consumers and Craft Consumption in the market

This research study conducts an analysis through the lens of institutional theory, more specifically based on the concept of the institutional logics perspective (Thornton et al., 2012). Friedland and Alford (1991) introduced understanding society as an interinstitutional system, in which individual and organizational behavior co-exist. Institutional theory and the understanding of institutional logics have since evolved, having been increasingly applied to various areas of management, including marketing. Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) introduced the concept of institutional logics to consumer research literature because institutional logics enable researchers “to more fully understand consumers as actors who draw on these logics in efforts to change markets” (p. 1,236).

Suddaby et al. (2017) argued that some of the rationalized and disenchanting concepts form the basis of neo-institutional organization theory. One example is the notion of isomorphism or organizational homogeneity due to the structuration processes of organizational fields (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). According to the authors, “ultimately, neo-institutional theory reinforces the Weberian narrative of the inevitability of formal rationality through science and technology, on the one hand, and professionally bureaucratic modes of organizing, on the other” (Suddaby et al., 2017, p. 286). The disenchanting world conceptualized by Max Weber is presented as the loss of myth and magic to the humanized notion of efficiency and control. Some studies about institutional change show the replacement of traditional logics to rationalized ones, bringing this idea of rationality with a progressive view of the changes (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005; Rao et al., 2003; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Suddaby et al. (2017) explored the argument that it is the incantation and mimesis of rationality that makes the cultural ideas appear legitimate, not only or not always the opposite. In this sense, Suddaby et al. (2017) challenge the concepts of legitimacy, embeddedness, isomorphism, and diffusion, questioning the necessity to re-enchant the institutions. Instead of what they call the “rationalized and disenchanting” constructs (p. 294), they suggested four alternatives to counterbalance the neo-institutional theory: authenticity, reflexivity, mimesis, and incantation.

Re-enchanting constructs are related, as exposed by Suddaby et al. (2017), to the return to craft, the resilience of the family, and the persistence of aesthetics, the skepticism of science, the return of fundamentalist religion, and an increasingly tribal populism. Negative and positive aspects connected to the necessity of enchantment and “arationality” to the existence of disenchantment and rationality. Suddaby et al. (2017) “challenge the teleological assumption of progress that is implicit in neo-institutionalism – i.e., that humanity is engaged in a civilizing project of rationality that will, ultimately, erase the influence of myth, magic, and mystery in social and organizational life” (p. 286). The authors argue that enchantment still exists in the world but that it “has been systematically ignored because it is inconsistent with rationalized discourses of progress” (Suddaby et al., 2017, p. 287). The arguments brought by Suddaby et al. (2017) corroborate the view that rationalization fosters the disenchantment and loss of myth, magic, and mystery that lead to a consumption that recovers these aspects in consumer culture.

Existing literature talks about consumers’ search for enchanted forms of consumption (e.g., Arnould et al., 1999; Brown, Kozinets, & Sherry Jr., 2003; Firat & Venkatesh, 1995; Kozinets, 2002; Thompson, 2004; Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007). According to Firat and Venkatesh (1995), the postmodern consumer has more ways to interact with and act in the market, since they want to emancipate themselves from the market’s constraints that limit

their human freedom. In their study, Firat and Venkatesh (1995) show the micro emancipatory position assumed by consumers in a fragmented postmodern world and discuss how the “creative activity at home has been supplanted by products bought in the market” (p. 246). This substitution brought rationalization to everyday life carrying the intense search for enchantment in consumers’ lives (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995; Hartmann & Östberg, 2013).

Enchantment is a central theme in marketing management research, addressed in studies such as Thompson and Coskuner-Balli (2007) in the community supported agriculture context, and ethical consumerism based on ideological discourses, romantic idealizations, and unconventional marketplace practices and relationships. Sometimes this consumption is related to the spectacular experiences in which a combination of elements makes consumers experience magical transformations (Arnould et al., 1999). Kozinets (2002) described the attempt by consumers to re-enchant their consumption in a temporary event, “escaping” the “rationalized, efficiency-driven consumption”:

At Burning Man, discourse and practice relating art and self-expression to a vast variety of forms of consumption and production can be understood as attempts to temporarily re-enchant a social world dominated by rationalized, efficiency-driven consumption by encouraging the temporary reemergence of an animistic culture where things regain their magical meaningfulness. (p. 32)

In another study about enchantment, in a research about natural health, a context with many similarities to the context studied here, Thompson (2004) developed a construct of marketplace mythology based on the natural health marketplace’s mythical enchantment. The author discussed that modernism has disenchanting life through science and technology, an idea also discussed by Firat and Venkatesh (1995). Therefore, in the natural health marketplace, the consumers’ disenchantment brought out the magical and mythical aspects of consumption, but in a highly commodified way.

Whether in more spectacular activities (Arnould et al., 1999; Kozinets, 2004), or in more mundane but already commoditized activities (Thompson, 2004; Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007), the literature addresses different forms of enchantment in consumption. But how this enchantment occurs in simple, daily activities still requires further study. Hartmann and Östberg (2013) elucidated that, although the studies about enchantment support the idea of the increasing desire for enchanted consumption, they still leave a limited understanding of how enchantment relates to mechanisms of authentication.

According to Firat and Venkatesh (1995), a fragmented market guides the autonomy of each product and its autonomous use, leading consumers to start producing what they want to consume (Kjeldgaard et al., 2016; Martin & Schouten, 2014; Moisio, Arnould, & Price, 2004). Hartmann and Östberg (2013) provided evidence of the relation between craft and enchantment showing how consumers authenticate a brand through an enchanted discourse based on the notion of the craft producer, and focusing on how craft is a specific type of enchantment.

The studies on consumers who produce what they consume tend to relate mostly to the construction of the consumer’s identity (Moisio et al., 2004; Press & Arnould, 2011; Troye & Supphellen, 2012), but it is also related to creativity (Dahl & Moreau, 2007), domestic masculinity (Moisio et al., 2013), culture (Campbell, 2005), the role of the consumer and value making (Humphreys & Grayson, 2008; Schau, Gilly, & Wolfinbarger, 2009), and the creation of personalized products or some specific market characteristics (Moisio et al., 2013; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010).

Homemade contexts comprise productive consumers who are engaged in transforming

ingredients and information into products, brands, and new marketplaces. In another example, consumers started modifying and producing dirt bikes, thereby creating the minimoto market, “characterized by adults buying, modifying, riding and/or racing minibikes designed and manufactured for children” (Martin & Schouten, 2014, p. 856). Craft consumption refers to the way consumers examined in this literature produced the products they wanted to consume. As the consumers’ active involvement can affect, change, or create a market, the literature about market dynamics better explain the connection between consumers and market dynamics through craft.

According to Martin and Schouten (2014), a market is a “heterogeneous arrangement of actors” (p. 865) that organize the conception, production, and circulation of goods. According to the authors it is the involvement and active participation and relation of different actors that led to the formation of markets. Emergent markets can stabilize and turn into mature markets since “individual actors, such as costumers, sponsors, and brands, come and go, and relationships shift and change, but the assemblage persists with a life, an identity, and a logic of its own” (Martin & Schouten, 2014, p. 865). We took this definition of market to better understand the market system dynamics and the involvement of craft consumers because of the active actor’s participation in constructing a market taking into account the materiality and the importance of each actor in this construction. Adding to involvement of different actors, the way they relate to each other takes into account the market as a set of institutions and its logics embedded in an organizational field (Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013).

Research methods and data collection

We collected data from netnography and in-depth interviews. The netnography (Kozinets, 2010) gave us clues to understand the broad context of beauty and for the identification of the potential Facebook groups for data gathering selected by the main discussion theme, by the volume of discussions about it, and by indication of the consumers met during the participant observation. The initial research was conducted on Facebook pages in groups that discuss beauty, in specialized blogs, and on YouTube pages via posted videos and respective comments. We followed Instagram pages and Facebook groups of people and companies involved in natural beauty. This monitoring guided us to magazine articles, and specialized websites, and interviews published by bloggers and specialists. While following the groups, the first author took notes of her involvement in the netnography. This monitoring added up to 537 pages of single-space text.

We held several open-ended informal and non-recorded conversations with consumers, doctors, pharmacists, and entrepreneurs, and conversations in situ, with written and audio-recorded field notes. The first author also conducted fifteen in-depth interviews (Belk et al., 2012) with twelve interviewees chosen from the author’s contact in workshops and online groups, based on their engagement on the communities, or from interpersonal networks, and subsequent snowball sampling. Besides interviews with consumers, we also interviewed people from the market, including one pharmacist who was contacted to better understand the cosmetics and their effects over human bodies, and six executives from cosmetic companies. The formal in-depth interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Table 1 summarizes the collected data and the methods used.

Table 1 – Summary of the methods used in the research.

Methods	Netnography	Interviews
Purpose	Understand the broad context.	Better understand the consumers.
Places and Characteristics	Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, blogs (News and posts)	Formal and informal. Homes, workplaces, Skype
Collected data	337 (groups, comments, mainly) + 106	22 interviews.

Methods	Netnography	Interviews
	(Instagram, mainly) + 204 pages (news mainly)	(59:35 min. average with consumers and 36:25 min. with marketers)

Source: Research data.

We analyzed all the data collected taking a hermeneutical approach (Thompson, 1997). We focused on the raw data in a bottom-up process to identify patterns that could be identified and compared to the literature a pattern inducing method, according to Reay and Jones (2016). We analyzed the description and texts from Instagram posts with the netnography data. Although the focus of the data collected from Instagram was not the images per se, we described all the Instagram pictures and videos in detail to analyze the text later, since description is considered the starting point of visual analysis (Schroeder & Borgerson, 1998) and the main analysis related to the written text rather than the pictures (Rose, 2016).

We transcribed and organized all the collected data; even the raw field notes into files legible to any reader (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The raw notes were put into brackets to differentiate the data collected from the reflections and comments we made about the collected data. The exercise of analysis was made in stages, in a constant learning process through the research. At first, we used word processors to organize the data and codify it, putting all the data in a single document. We then organized the material into separate files, related to each type of research (i.e., interviews and netnography on Facebook and YouTube, netnography on Instagram, and newspapers and magazines' reports). We printed all these files and did a second round of analysis, coding the printed material. The first and second rounds of analysis were first-level coding to summarize segments of data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). We then made a pattern code list with its explanations and an example quotation to make it clear for other researchers to interact and crosscheck the data. The last analysis process was made using Dedoose[®] software.

The first list of codes had 83 different classifications. We organized the codes into general domains (Miles & Huberman, 1994): activities focusing on craft and DIY, and meanings that do not fit the rational, observing the main aspects that lead to enchantment. Following Miles and Huberman's (1994) guide of analysis, we reanalyzed this list, reducing it to clusters and the clusters of codes into pattern codes. The generalizations about each cluster took to propositions and the theory. While coding the data, we wrote memos about our reflections and remarks that came up during the analysis. Memos were important to put pieces of different data together and construct the concepts (Miles & Huberman, 1994). To ensure the reliability of the analysis process, the second author, who had knowledge of the context and the main theoretical topics, analyzed the data together, part of each type of main data to crosscheck the analysis. The degree of agreement in the codes was high and all differences were discussed. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), case analysis meetings are helpful for developing coherent constructs and guiding the analysis.

Findings

In the context studied in this research, consumers re-enchant their consumption by doing things themselves in homemade activities and provoking the emergence of an alternative market through craft consumption. Consumers draw on different institutional logics to justify their consumption rooted in four constructs (based on Suddaby et al., 2017) that drive shifts in logics and help sustain their coexistence: (1) reflexivity, (2) authenticity, (3) mimesis, and (4) incantation. Through the counterbalanced re-enchanted actions, consumers deal with the complexities of a plural logics market through their agentic participation. Figure 1 synthesizes this market created from the redemption of ancient grooming practices and the

rejection of the institutionalized forms and practices used to achieve beauty.

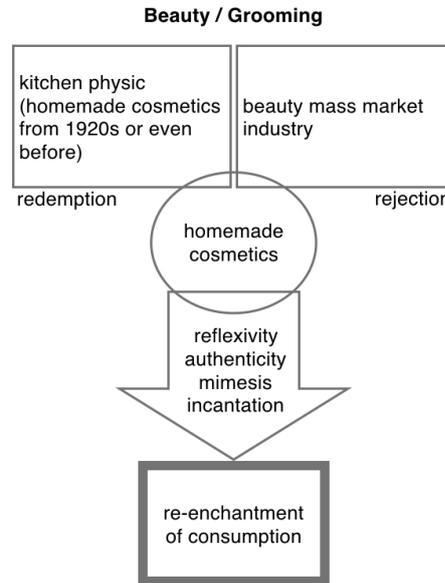


Figure 1 – Re-enchancement of consumption. Created based on research data.

The use of homemade cosmetics dates back to before the mass industrialization in the 1920s (Black, 2004); people have maintained this knowledge and used it to create a new market that rejects the current mass market. In their pursuit of beauty, consumers rescue these ancient grooming practices, often referred to as the kitchen physics (see the upper left square of Figure 1), and they have developed a new form of consumption to maintain an alternative market. The re-enchancement of their consumption and the maintenance of the market happen through the four constructs (represented by the arrow in Figure 1)—reflexivity, authenticity, mimesis, and incantation, which have materialized in the homemade activities and the craft production of cosmetics.

During the three years of research, we have witnessed the growth of workshops, brands, fairs, and events related to homemade craft products; we have also noticed divergences between the consumers’ discourses and criticism about the craft cosmetics and ingredients in alternative beauty websites and social media, and even in the mass media. In addition, research reports show an expanding trend in natural or green beauty (Euromonitor International, 2018; Mintel, 2018), noticed by the mainstream market and the big corporations. In this excerpt from an interview with an executive from the traditional cosmetic market, it is possible to see the mainstream view about the new forms of consumption:

So I think that the model of consuming fashion and consuming beauty has completely changed in the last 10 years driven by social media, so the power to dictate what works, and what does not work has gone out of the hands of big corporations, fashion magazines, celebrities, to the hand of the common consumers, okay, and then this new model of consumption both beauty and fashion, has exploded in the last 10 years, millions of brands, mini brands, born on social networks, then brands that were born of influencers, were born of concepts behind the influencer, so it is a brand that is born based on a Gothic positioning, a non-test in animals positioning, a brand that is born conceptually created based on the use of wine, or from, no wine, from grapes, or the object of the wineries behind, then in those last 10, maybe a little more, 12 years, people began to consume beauty in a different way that made the small brands explode, and this has made major retailers rethink their position. In recent years they had to reinvent themselves and also interact to small brands that were emerging socially. (Interview with Emily on June 06, 2018)

Sometimes consumers use the same practices of the dominant market as a way out of established market logic. Other times, they use a “marketplace mythology to contest a socially and institutionally dominant discourse of power” (Thompson, 2004, p. 171). In this sense, we use the construct of reflexivity that “offers the possibility of re-enchanting institutional theory by articulating a role for the uniquely human capacity for creative insight and self-awareness” (Suddaby et al., 2017, p. 292). Individuals’ critical reflection draws on multiple institutional logics to instigate or resist institutional pressures. However, through non-consumption of commercialized beauty products, it is possible to change and re-enchant their consumption, keeping the grooming above the cosmetics market.

The reflexivity appears in the data as shown in the following excerpt: “So I asked myself: are we using dozens of toxic chemicals every day, why isn’t anyone talking about it?” (Post on Facebook group “Lookaholic”, on August 31, 2016); additionally, in a magazine (post on August 19, 2017): “Parabens, sulfates, petroleum derivatives, talc, synthetic fragrances, silicones and formalin releasers are some of the ingredients found in beauty products. They can cause allergies, interfere with our hormones and facilitate the onset of tumors, which can result in cancer.” The consumers have a discussion, in reflexive actions, through the “uniquely human capacity for creative insight and self-awareness” (Suddaby et al., 2017, p. 292) to better understand and create their consensus about the mass-market constraints and opportunities, since they are aware of this social structure. Consumers maintain self-awareness despite knowing they are subject to normative pressures of the institutions (Suddaby et al., 2017); therefore, they question established structures (Thompson, 2004) while creating new ones.

In relation to the dichotomy industrial x craft, yes! We must take the same care, system, and recommendations, of course! In my view, the difference between these two universes lies in the fact that, in the craft, the producer knows all stages of the process. At least I see my work this way. From the formulation to the service and guidance of who will use, the producer monitors everything closely. It is a way of supporting small initiatives of people who really live the day-to-day of that choice for a natural product. (Comments on Facebook group “Organic and Natural Cosmetics”, on July 28, 2016)

Health, environment, and social issues are important elements of the equation of reflexivity, highlighting the superiority of this form of consumption compared to the commercialized cosmetics from the mainstream market (cf. Thompson, 2004). In the excerpts above, they talk about their feelings regarding the cosmetics industry in terms of an “adversarial and alienating system” (Thompson, 2004, p. 171) that they are aware of but chose to interact in a different way, using craft cosmetics.

In this parallel structure, without government regulations or standard institutional support, consumers authenticate their practices and products. Authenticity is used here as a construct that refers to an organization’s or individual’s requirement to “remain true to an internalized ideal, identity or historically defined template of what is real, honest, true or essential about an organization, a product or a practice” (Suddaby et al., 2017, p. 291). Suddaby and his colleagues (2017) mentioned that, different from legitimacy that changes over time, since the social construction varies, authenticity remains true to internalized ideals and resistant to pressures of external social norms and values. These internal values mobilized by the actors through the multiple logics in this context are the ones that are shared to spread and maintain the emergent market of natural beauty cosmetics. Hartmann and Östberg (2013) added how enchantment is conducive to the construction of authenticity and how marketplace actors can re-authenticate rationalized production through enchanting craft consumption.

Cloutier and Langley (2013) argued that struggles over conflicting institutional logics are in fact struggles over legitimacy in which actors discuss what they think should be legitimate or not. However, in institutionally complex fields, it is not necessarily a binary decision about whether something is legitimate or not; the actors can combine different institutional logics and draw on them to construct a new form of legitimation that makes sense into internalized ideals; that is, the authentication of discourses, practices, and products. In this context, the craft offers the infrastructure the consumers need to construct their ideas and formulate their conclusions about the products, formulas, ingredients, and information related to skin and body care, thus authenticating the market. The rejection of the commercial cosmetics associated with the construction of an internalized ideal makes the authentication a constant dynamic, found especially in the netnographic data. In this example, a member of a Facebook group asks for solutions and group support, constructing and authenticating the knowledge inside the group, even challenging formal technical information:

Girls, I have some basic doubts about some treatments. I went to the dermatologist this week with the main objective of having skincare orientation to remove some superficial spots and even out the skin. (...) she prescribed a very basic treatment, which consisted of a sunscreen for the face, a whitening cream to use in the morning and at night, a soap for the face, and a sunscreen for the whole body. She also prescribed four peeling sessions. I did not prepare for the consultation, and I ended up with some issues, and I did not remember to ask whether the manufacturers of the cosmetics prescribed were tested on animals. I got home and searched for it. With the exception of sunscreen lotion for the face, the other cosmetics were tested on animals. (Facebook post on the group “Organic and Natural Cosmetics,” on April 4, 2017)

In the Facebook group “Beauty of Beauty, Homemade Beauty,” one of the girls mentioned the experimental characteristic of the process, connecting the non-consumption and craft logics. When fielding queries about an ingredient in the deodorant, Camila, who taught the product during a workshop, suggests new formulations and tests: “If it works for you with nothing, just with the baking soda, go ahead. It’s wonderful to experiment!” (Netnography on August 1, 2016). The experimentation is part of the symbolic construction of reality and is the type of practice that builds the consumer identity in the craft and non-consumption logics. Consumers’ focus here is on the craft and the engagement in creative acts of self-expression to avoid the homogenizing effect of mass consumption (Campbell, 2005).

Homemade craft cosmetic is the way consumers have found to mimetically reproduce the beauty market through the practices and routines perceived to be successful at achieving beautiful skin and hair. The way these consumers have found to create a market without having to deal with the mainstream cosmetics market and avoid its cooptation is mainly through products, the material manifestation. Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) stated that a key principle of the institutional logics perspective is the material and symbolic aspects of each institution present in society. Cloutier and Langley (2013) brought up the lack of empirical studies examining specifically “the objects and technologies through which logics might become instantiated” (Cloutier & Langley, 2013, p. 364). We use the term mimetically because the consumers tend to mirror the mainstream market in their search for effective results of grooming and beauty. Suddaby et al. (2017) contrasted the constructs of isomorphism and mimesis, mentioning that both aim at producing copies, but in mimesis, the original and copy become integrated into a new reality, and the copy becomes more powerful than the original.

The consumers thus build their opinion based on craft and tradition logics, taking family and ancient grooming practices as the providers of identity. Sometimes the cosmetic products are simplified to the level of ingredients that concentrate all the power of care and

healing: “One can potentiate the benefits using anti-inflammatory and antibacterial ingredients, such as coconut oil or clove oil” (*O Estado de São Paulo* newspaper, on June 4, 2018) and “For those who want to venture into the production of their own cosmetics, Alana points out three essential ingredients: ‘Coconut oil, baking soda and vinegar solve life’.” (*O Estado de São Paulo* newspaper, on June 4, 2018). Another example of the power of ingredients is in the coconut oil that appeared frequently throughout this research, even as a thread in long discussions when the media signals its harmful effects or when it appears as a solution to all the beauty care treatments:

At the beginning of the history of our site-manifesto “the *Naturalissima*,” one of the first posts was the “x-ray of coconut oil”—this wonder in the form of oil that *pachamama* [referring to nature] gives us in abundance, but it is up to us to use it responsibly and to recognize or know good brands and formulas. And let’s not be naive enough to believe everything the big industry finances—from scientific articles to reports (ah, I’m a journalist, okay?! I felt the necessity to retake the theme—taking advantage of the team, right?). (Posted on the Instagram “*anaturalissima*” on April 4, 2017)

The ingredients are an important part of the construction of this mimetic market, as part of the materialization of the products, and the incantation of their consumption. It is mainly in the ingredients that consumers find the solution that better fits in the beauty solution they aim to achieve. In this study, to understand an emergent market based on traditions and knowledge from past generations that are used by consumers to take care of their skin and hair, we show the incantation or “power of rhetoric to magically subvert the rationality of markets” (Suddaby et al., 2017, p. 293). The moral dimension is a possible powerful motivation for why individuals change or endorse an institutional logic. “Things are judged to be legitimate or not on the basis of their conformity to these elements (normative, regulative, and cognitive [Scott, 2005]), and not on the basis of their being ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ in a moral sense” (Cloutier & Langley, 2013, p. 363). The consumers use ideological and mythological resources (Ulver-Sneistrup, Askegaard, & Kristensen, 2011), such as tradition, and concerns about health and the environment, which they associate with pleasurable moments to legitimate their practice.

In a post on a blog titled: “The New Generation of Guardians of Natural Beauty,” the author, one of the informants that also organizes workshops about how to make homemade cosmetics, talks about tradition and the incantation present in craft cosmetics and the changes in the beauty market that lead to a new way of consuming beauty:

Since the first cosmetics were produced, much has changed in the fantastic world of beauty. In addition to its aesthetic standard, technology has created almost miraculous formulas and procedures with instant results, and deviated the spotlight to millennial recipes. (...) We are rescuing habits and knowledge of traditional people, such as the use of medicinal herbs, and increasingly, with the Internet, people are able to access information and find out how to do it the right way. In addition it is possible to understand the harms that some chemical ingredients cause to health and nature. (Blog “*The Naturalissima*,” on March 3, 2016).

In their paper about the re-enchantment of institutions, Suddaby et al. (2017) questioned where are the successful efforts that subvert science and challenge capitalism. For them, “there is equally impressive evidence of a countervailing narrative of re-enchantment in the world” (Suddaby et al., 2017, p. 285). This research is an empirical effort to prove the enchantment and re-enchantment of consumption. The consumers studied here are actively developing and maintaining an alternative market through re-enchanted actions.

Discussion

This research examined how consumers re-enchant beauty consumption and it aimed to reveal how consumers do so through craft consumption, leading to changes and therefore creating and maintaining a market based on the logics of kitchen physics. Consumers construct a market rooted in (1) reflexivity, (2) authenticity, (3) mimesis, and (4) incantation to re-enchant their consumption and maintain their beauty separately from the mainstream market.

The pursuit of beauty, challenged by a rationalized cosmetics market, makes consumers carry the burden of finding enchantment in their beauty consumption. This movement is not isolated, but forms part of the re-enchantment of consumption mentioned by Suddaby et al. (2017)—the skepticism in science, and the return to craft, tribalism, populism, and religion—and the forms of re-enchantment studied in marketing research (e.g., Hartmann & Östberg, 2013; Kozinets, 2002; Thompson, 2004; Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007) in which consumers living in a rationalized world search for enchantment in their lives (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995). As rationality leads to the loss of the magical, mysterious, mystical, unexpected moments, it increases the search for enchantment (Ritzer, 2005) because even “rationality and disenchantment cannot exist in the absence of magic, mystery and enchantment” (Suddaby et al., 2017, p. 285).

The re-enchantment of beauty consumption comes from the involvement in this macro context and consumers’ understanding of the cosmetics market. The process involves the creation of a market from the rejection of the institutionalized forms, products, and practices used to achieve beauty and from the redemption of ancient grooming practices and products. In their constant search for beauty, consumers rescue the kitchen physics logics from the primary grooming knowledge used. People maintained and recreated this knowledge through millenniums, even after the growth of the mass cosmetics industry. The re-enchantment of consumption and the creation of the market materialize in products, practices, and small businesses based on homemade cosmetics or alternative organic, vegan, and “natural” cosmetics industries.

This research shows how consumers’ craft consumption acts as a trigger for creating and changing a market with its own logics. The consumers affect the market with their homemade activities based on what they learn from the Internet and through experimenting with their bodies, materializing the objects and technology through craft consumption. The evolution and changes in institutional logics provoke an emergence of a market through consumers that innovate by combining existing materials based on their prior knowledge (see Thornton et al., 2012), answering the second research question—how craft consumers relate to the market and how craft act as a trigger for re-enchanting consumption. They authenticate their actions in their claim to be real and unique. They evolve from craft consumption to develop a craft consumer behavior, combining characteristics and incorporating high levels of innovation, design, knowledge, skills, and time required by the productive consumption (Wolf & McQuitty, 2011). Reversing the logic of the cosmetics market, in which “kitchen physics” became a mass-market industry (Peiss, 2011, p. 4), the consumers now creates a market based on the logic of kitchen physics.

Through their critical reflection, consumers understand the social pressures that surround them, but maintain a creative capacity and self-awareness, not to be immersed in the social structure. These consumers keep away from the mainstream market; thus considering the Internet a tool of resistance. This research discusses a market dynamic in which consumers seek new opportunities and new approaches to skin and hair care. Therefore, as many cyclical movements in the beauty market history indicate (Black, 2004; Peiss, 2011), it is again a creation and destruction of products and practices in a constant movement. However, a radical change can only come from using absolutely nothing and not just talking

about it. While this phenomenon is increasing in Brazil, it is already much bigger around the world (e.g., Mintel, 2018; Sorvino, 2018). During the research, we observed the growth of industries using the re-enchantment of consumption based on craft through reflexivity, authenticity, mimesis, and incantation.

According to Firat and Venkatesh (1995), “the consumer finds his/her liberatory potential in subverting the market rather than being seduced by it” (p. 251). The re-enchanting beauty consumption relates to and goes beyond this statement, with the enchantment of the process of building the craft producer, which requires the skills, competence, judgment, and connection with knowledge that passes from generation to generation. The context studied here adds to Hartmann and Östberg’s (2013) enchantment of consumption to create a market going beyond the authentication of a brand (see also Brown et al., 2003) and through the mechanisms of authenticity, reflexivity, mimesis, and incantation, thus re-enchanting the beauty consumption. These re-enchanting constructs (Suddaby et al., 2017) are alternatives used to counterbalance the rationalized constructs of institutional theory, which connects the theoretical lens of this research with the re-enchantment of consumption (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995). This connection corroborates the argument of Hartmann and Östberg (2013) about the relation between enchantment and authenticity. To better understand the complexity of the market with multiple institutional logics, the constructs that reflect the re-enchanting constructs of reflexivity, mimesis, and incantation help the delineation of this research.

This study identifies how consumers use craft consumption (Campbell, 2005) to make and develop homemade products. This authentication is attained by mobilizing a variety of logics that permeate society and culture (Kjeldgaard et al., 2016). Different from Edmunds and Turner’s (2005) claim, the consumers use knowledge from past generations not to bring about change but rather to reinforce the credibility of their products and gain authenticity in their practices. Thus, this study extends the observations of Dolbec and Fischer (2015) in a context of consumers by using old market logics that are not engaged in the market itself, but are from other markets, such as cooking and DIY, to reconstruct new logics for their beauty consumption. The consumers develop new skills, knowledge, judgments, and passion to express themselves; they apply the essence of the craft consumption (Campbell, 2005; Sennet, 2008) through a process of incantation that does not conform to norms and values in the organizational field. And extending the consumption-driven market emergence from Martin and Schouten (2014), the craft consumers not only create but maintain an alternative market through enchantment.

One future path for this research is the blending of two different orienting strategies mentioned here and addressed by Thornton et al. (2012): the institutional logics perspective and the orders-of-worth from Boltanski and Thévenot (2006). Doing so will help us to establish how logics are created and changed and understand other conditions related to their evolution. We wrote a paper about productive consumption affecting the market dynamics (Morais, Brito, & Quintão, 2019) that can also be further developed. It is also possible to analyze the data using the practice theory approach and to ascertain how it relates to the institutional logics perspective to better understand the bridges between the micro and macro levels of analysis.

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