

How Doppelgänger Brand Images Influence the Market Creation Process: Longitudinal Insights from the Rise of Botox Cosmetic

Using actor-network theory from sociology, the author explores the creation of new markets as a brand-mediated legitimation process. Findings from an eight-year longitudinal investigation of the Botox Cosmetic brand suggest that the meanings of a new cosmetic self-enhancement technology evolve over the course of contestations between brand images promoted by the innovator and doppelgänger brand images promoted by other stakeholders. Each contestation addresses an enduring contradiction between nature and technology. A four-step brand image revitalization process is offered that can be applied either by managers interested in fostering an innovation's congruence with prevailing social norms and ideals or by other stakeholders (e.g., activists, competitors) interested in undermining its marketing success. The findings integrate previously disparate research streams on branding and market creation and provide managers with the conceptual tools for sustaining a branded innovation's legitimacy over time.

Keywords: branding, doppelgänger brand image, innovation diffusion, actor-network theory, Botox

I went to a doctor who said, "Anjelica, we have this wonderful new thing, it's called Botox." He took a huge needle and plunged it into my third eye. The pain was something inexplicable. I gasped, I writhed and when I came to, I had a headache that lasted four days. A serious one.... I went home to my husband that night—he's a sculptor he has a good eye and he said, "What have you done?" I said, "Nothing," and he said, "No, you've had something done." A little bit later that night we were having dinner in a restaurant and he was telling me some horrible story. I would say, "Oh, that's really ghastly," and I had no expression whatsoever. We got into a terrible fight.

(Anjelica Huston, quoted in *StarPulse* 2006)

Hollywood actress Anjelica Huston's "Botox nightmare" illustrates a doppelgänger brand image: "a family of disparaging images and stories about a brand that are circulated in popular culture by a loosely organized network of consumers, antibrand activists, bloggers, and opinion leaders in the news and entertainment media" (Thompson, Rindfleisch, and Arsel 2006, p. 50). Doppelgänger brand images introduce a competing set of brand meanings that have the potential to influence consumer beliefs and behavior. They can occur in the form of

brand caricatures, humorous parodies, sensationalized media reports, and other unflattering constructions of the brand and its users. Previous marketing research has explored the doppelgänger brand image as a diagnostic tool for understanding, monitoring, and proactively managing the cultural vulnerabilities of a firm's emotional branding efforts—"the consumer-centric, relational, and story-driven approach to forging deep and enduring affective consumer-brand bonds" (Thompson, Rindfleisch, and Arsel 2006, p. 50; see also Atkin 2004; Gobe 2001).

How doppelgänger brand images influence the market creation process has received less attention, however. This represents a glaring oversight, given their potentially harmful effect on the legitimacy of a technological innovation such as a new machine, technique, or medical drug. Botox Cosmetic's status as a legitimate self-enhancement technology, for example, has been routinely undermined by negative technology stories about deadly poison, frozen faces, mutilation, and addiction. Through changes in its brand delivery, however, these technophobic brand meanings (Kozinets 2008) have been neutralized, and the drug has gained acceptance. Negative brand stories about an ineffective, monstrous, unecological, or otherwise harmful technology have also been an issue for a wide variety of brands and industries such as Procter & Gamble's Olestra (food), Pfizer's Viagra (pharma), and Toyota's Prius (automotive). When market creation is a social process of legitimation (Humphreys 2010) and doppelgänger brand images signal an innovation's perceived incongruence with prevailing social norms, values, and institutions, the market creation process may be understood as a chain of brand image bat-

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ties. It may be through a progressive sequence of contestations between the brand images promoted by the innovator and doppelgänger brand images promoted by other stakeholders that concrete exchange structures between producers and consumers are established and a market is created.

To explore this brand-mediated market creation process, I use actor-network theory from sociology. According to sociologists of science Latour (1988) and Callon (1986), the success of anything (e.g., an idea, a practice, a technology) relies on its ability to tie the competing interests of multiple actors together. For example, the success of a scallop conservation project builds on a progressive sequence of negotiations that allows later entities (e.g., a scientific article written by the instigating team of marine biologists) to represent earlier actors and entities such as scallops, fishing professionals, and other marine biologists. To advance their own agendas, however, other actors routinely challenge the team's definitions, thereby disturbing the smooth interplay among the actors in the network. To address such conflicts, the marine biologist team must periodically redefine the interests of implicated actors in ways that address the critics' interests while sustaining the project's success.

Callon and Latour (1981, p. 279) define translation as "all the negotiations, intrigues, calculations, acts of persuasion and violence, thanks to which an actor or force takes on ... authority to speak or act on behalf of another actor or force." Callon (1986) outlines four distinct but frequently overlapping "moments" of translation that focal actors typically go through in the process of recruiting actors and ensuring their faithful alliance: problematization, interessement, enrollment, and mobilization. "Problematization" refers to the act of redefining an actor's problem in such a way that the focal actor and offering become indispensable to that problem's solution. "Interessement" is the group of actions by which the focal actor attempts to stabilize and impose the actor's identity that was redefined during problematization. "Interessement achieves enrollment if successful" (Callon 1986, p. 211). During "enrollment," the focal actor persuades representatives to engage in a concrete alliance. And finally, "mobilization" refers to ensuring that all targeted actors will follow their dedicated representatives.

The goal of this article is to theorize market creation as a brand-mediated legitimation process. The definition of the market creation process I adopt herein conceptually parallels the sociology of actor-network building. I define the market creation process as a progressive sequence of brand image contestations among opposing groups of stakeholders through which their divergent interests are aligned and concrete exchange structures between producers and consumers are established. This theoretical formulation offers a useful mechanism for exploring the legitimation strategies managers can use to combat the doppelgänger images that frequently undermine the perceived authenticity of their emotional branding story and to foster their product's congruence with prevailing norms and institutions.

As a branded innovation for study, I selected Botox Cosmetic—a controversial self-enhancement technology whose image has evolved considerably over time. The pharmaceutical company Allergan received approval for Botox Cosmetic from the Food and Drug Administration in 2002.

Since 2007, Botox has been the most commonly used non-surgical cosmetic enhancement procedure in North America (American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery 2009). One treatment costs approximately \$400 and softens a person's frown lines for up to four months. I analyze Botox Cosmetic on two mutually constituted levels of emotional branding. Next, I conduct a brief analysis of contemporary American technology discourses that normatively structure a wide variety of brands and industries such as cosmetics, pharmaceutical, automotive, food, and entertainment. Then, I explore the evolution of Botox Cosmetic's brand image between 2003 and 2010. In the concluding section, I synthesize the findings from these two analysis modes to form a four-step brand image revitalization process that can be applied either by managers interested in legitimizing a new innovation or by other parties (e.g., antibrand activists, competitors) interested in undermining its success.

Technology Discourse Analysis

From an emotional branding standpoint, "brand image is much more a matter of perceived meaning and cultural mythology than an aggregation of verified evidence" (Thompson, Rindfleisch, and Arsel 2006, p. 55). Before investigating the Botox Cosmetic brand in greater detail, it is necessary to review the mythic context in which it is embedded. Previous studies investigating "the American relationship to technology" (Kozinets 2008, p. 871) consistently diagnose an "ambivalent stance" (Thompson 2004, p. 165) toward technologies such as machines, techniques, and drugs, alternating between technophilic discourses that "present the current technologies as our salvation" and technophobic discourses that "see the emergent technology as our damnation" (Best and Kellner 2001, p. 155). Next, I summarize these opposing technology perspectives. After that, I describe how enduring tensions between them influence the market creation process.

Rooted in the Gnostic mythos that has facilitated the "ideological wedding of technology and transcendence" (Thompson 2004, p. 165; see also Noble 1999), technophilic ideology celebrates scientific knowledge and technology as liberating forces that enable humankind to attain its rightful dominion over nature. Technophilic discourses idealize technology as delivering perfection, salvation, productivity gains, and other forms of social and individual betterment. Kozinets (2008) identifies three (frequently overlapping) types of technophilic discourses: the Techtopian, the Techspressive, and the Work Machine. Techtopian discourses, such as those featured in the *Star Trek* television series, portray technology as central to societal progress. Often found in *Wired Magazine*, Techspressive discourses render technology as a key to individualistic pleasure and expression. Finally, Work Machine discourses such as those featured in the *Superman* franchise idealize technology as enabling productivity, efficiency, and success.

Rooted in the Romantic mythos that valorizes authenticity, expression, and the cultivation of imagination and an emotive lifestyle (Campbell 1987; Thompson 2004), technophobic ideology defines nature as the supreme good, thereby profiling technology as destructive and harmful.

Technophobic discourses render scientific knowledge and technology as dangerous and invasive forces that, as in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, provoke nature's revenge and yield monstrous outcomes. Three (frequently overlapping) types of technophobic discourses can be distinguished (Kozinets 2008). Anti-Techtopian discourses, such as those featured in the *Jurassic Park* movies, blame technology for causing societal disasters. Anti-Techspressive discourses, such as those found in the *Matrix* movie trilogy, hold technology responsible for social isolation and dependency. Anti-Work Machine discourses, such as those featured in the film *Metropolis*, associate technology with enslavement, exploitation, and torture.

Technophilic and technophobic ideologies are culturally prominent, but their absolutist flavor also harbors inherent limitations that have prevented either ideology from attaining a clear cultural dominance over the other. Consider the context of aging. A purely technophilic stance privileges anti-aging technology over nature at all costs. To reject one's aging body completely, however, is to take up a highly marginalized position that provokes charges of self-denial. A purely technophobic position, in turn, privileges nature over anti-aging technology at all costs. To reject anti-aging technology completely, however, is to take up a highly marginalized position as well—namely, one that provokes charges of laxity. To assuage this enduring tension between nature and technology, contemporary American culture valorizes mythic narratives that portray an image of harmony between the two forces (Buchanan-Oliver, Cruz, and Schroeder 2010; Thompson 2004). However, it has remained an open question exactly what constitutes the most harmonious arrangement. This dynamic also influences the market creation process for many branded innovations.

For example, contemporary American culture has a strong preference for harmonious arrangements between nature and technology that lean considerably toward the natural (Morgan and Kunkel 2006). This state of affairs is not only manifested through the burgeoning growth of the natural health marketplace (Thompson 2004), the market for non-Western practices of spiritual well-being such as yoga and meditation (Chopra 2000), and the organic foods market (Press and Arnould 2011; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007). It also finds expression through persistent fears of nuclear disasters, cell phone cancer, hormone therapy (Leng 1996), genetic engineering (Elliott 2004), the technologically aided spread of new plagues (Garrett 1995), and global warming (Luedicke, Thompson, and Giesler 2010).

In this contemporary climate, a branded innovation that promises to synthesize nature and technology in radically new ways may almost invariably provoke a doppelgänger brand image that questions the innovation's ability to create harmony between nature and technology and, thus, undermines its identity value. To address this conflict of interests, the brand's owner may develop a new emotional branding story that stresses the brand's ability to resolve the doppelgänger image's spotlighted nature–technology conflict. However, while this new brand image may foster the innovation's congruence with prevailing norms and thus protect consumers' identity investments from the devaluing doppelgänger image (Arsel and Thompson 2011), it may also pro-

voke a new doppelgänger tension. Thus, new doppelgänger images may frequently arise as critics expropriate a branded innovation's inherent nature–technology contradictions. To establish and maintain concrete exchange structures, the brand's owner must periodically redefine the brand's meanings and the interests of its targeted consumers in ways that put new relations between them in place. To analyze this market creation process in greater empirical detail, I next investigate the evolution of Botox Cosmetic's brand image between 2003 and 2010.

Brand Image Analysis

Botox Cosmetic's marketing success has been frequently associated with its enthusiastic adoption by middle-class Baby Boomer women—Botox's largest and fastest-growing consumer segment (Brunk 2009). Thus, one reliable path toward understanding the evolution of Botox's brand image is to analyze these consumers' Botox-related identity narratives over time. Therefore, between July 2003 and December 2010, I conducted in-depth interviews with 32 Botox-using, middle-class Baby Boomer women from Toronto. The participants varied in terms of age (43–64 years, $M = 49$ years), family status (single, married, and divorced; with and without children), education (from college to graduate degrees), and occupation (stay home to service to managerial to academic careers). I used a longitudinal study approach to conduct up to nine interviews per informant ($M = 4$), eliciting their (evolving) Botox stories. The consumer interviews totaled approximately 7 gigabytes of audio material, which were transcribed to 1267 pages of single-spaced text. Interviews were conducted in private homes and, in a select few cases, in coffee shops and over the telephone. Participants were informed that the interview pertained to “a study about Botox consumption” and were assured that their identity would remain confidential.

To contextualize the interview data, I also collected all Allergan's promotional materials about Botox Cosmetic (e.g., consumer- and dermatologist-targeted leaflets, brochures, posters, television spots, print and online ads, and website materials) published between 2003 and 2010, as well as Botox Cosmetic-related newspaper articles, blog entries, YouTube clips, television features, and other cultural materials available through mass media channels and online. These materials totaled approximately 1 terabyte of digital information.

Data collection was finished in December 2010, when additional data were unlikely to alter my interpretations. The move from an isolated brand image to a historical understanding of Botox Cosmetic's brand image involved a threefold application of the hermeneutic analysis approach (Thompson 1997). First, I conducted an intratextual analysis, treating each interview and artifact as a distinct representation of Botox's brand image. Second, I conducted an intertextual analysis to elicit commonalities within clusters of brand images. Here, I sought to unpack the most recurrent technology meanings as expressed across the totality of interviews as well as in Botox's promotional materials and in mass cultural text. Finally, I conducted an intertemporal analysis to link these interpretations to different phases of a

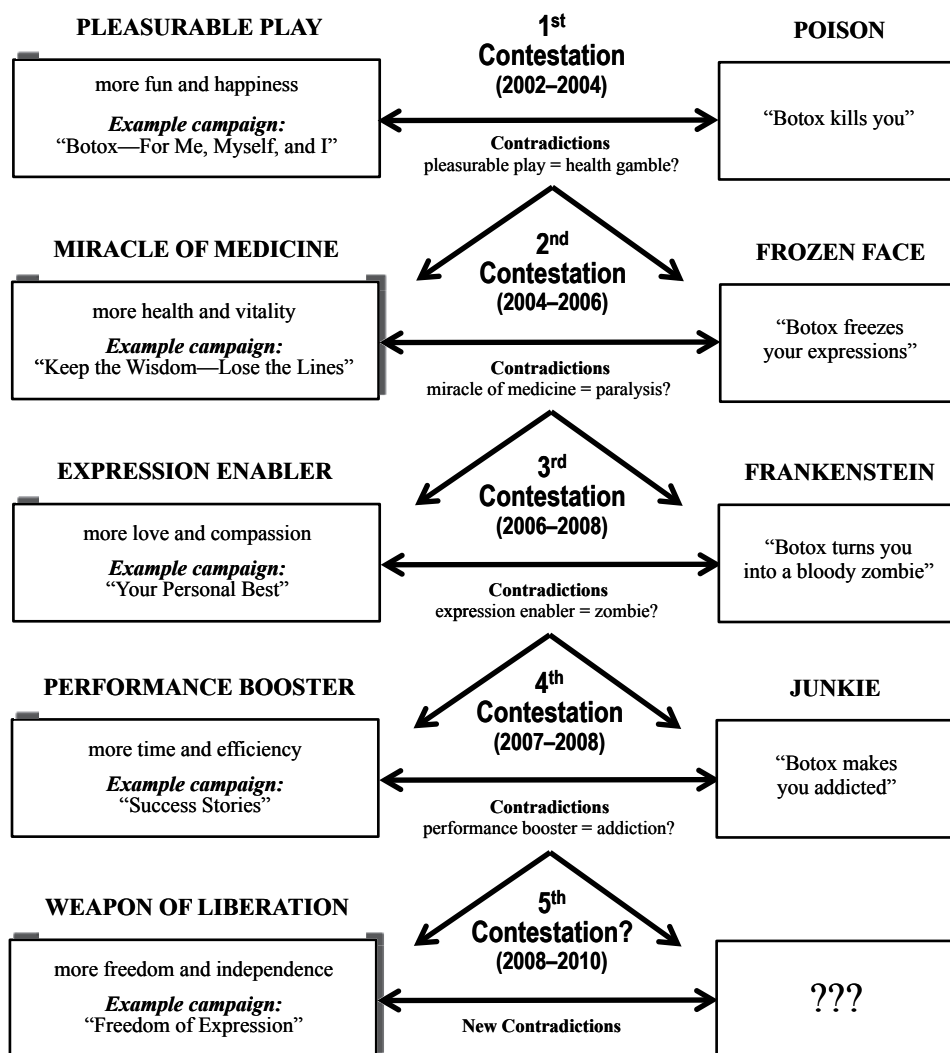
historical process (Giesler 2008). To ensure the trustworthiness of my findings, I sought member checks from all informants throughout all three stages of data analysis (Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry 1989).

Culminating from this hermeneutic analysis, Figure 1 represents the evolution of Botox Cosmetic’s brand image between 2003 and 2010 in terms of four (historically overlapping) brand image contestations. Each contestation pits one emotional branding story that Allergan propagated and my interviewed Botox consumers employed to legitimize their Botox Cosmetic use against the ensuing doppelgänger brand image reaction (“poison,” “frozen face,” “Frankenstein,” and “junkie”). Allergan’s attempt to combat Botox’s devaluing meanings through a new emotional branding story that portrays an image of harmony between nature and technology produced follow-up contradictions, which in turn provoked the emergence of the next doppelgänger brand image. Next, I use historical inferences and interview excerpts from Botox consumers to elaborate on each brand image contestation outlined in the figure.

First Brand Image Contestation (2002–2004): Pleasurable Play Versus Poison

Following Kozinets (2008, p. 871), “articulations of youth, cool, creativity, and fashion form the heart of the Techspressive ideology.” These values provided the basis for Botox Cosmetic’s emotional branding story circa 2003. Introductory campaign materials problematized Botox as indispensable to the pursuit of a happier and more fulfilled self. To valorize the new emotional branding message relative to competing problematizations, Allergan-sponsored media articles quoted “cutting-edge psychological research” linking Botox Cosmetic consumption to happiness (Gorgan 2009). Representative of this initial Techspressive brand image, Appendix A presents a Botox Cosmetic advertisement in which personal happiness and fulfillment are the primary motifs. In the black-and-white ad, Botox’s Techspressive brand image is brought to life through the face of a wrinkle-free woman with a somewhat effusive smile, suggesting that Botox Cosmetic is an exclusive and cutting-edge wellness therapy that revitalizes the self in a manner

FIGURE 1
The Evolution of Botox Cosmetic’s Brand Image (2003–2010)



similar to yoga or meditation. The idea that Botox Cosmetic is truly about the self is signified through the ad's tagline: "Pour moi, moi et moi" ("For Me, Myself, and I"). Consider next how my interviewed Botox consumers performatively enacted the ad's Techspressive brand message:

I had my first Botox injection in January 2003. Yeah, that's right, in the middle of the winter. And it really cheered me up.... What is it all about? Well, it's about feeling good, looking great. That's what it comes down to, I would say. It's so much fun! A bit like ... a really decadent treat. It's like a shopping spree or a day at the spa. Only better as it lasts so much longer! You do it and then go home all relaxed and see the effects and you go, like, "Yeah, it's gone. It's amazing. I love it! ... It's also a bit about experimenting with your looks. [The dermatologist and I] tried different things last time and it does produce different results. I like that! Like painting.

Echoing Allergan's "Pleasurable Play" image, Betty (46, architect, 3 injections, July 2003) profiles her own Botox consumption as a "decadent treat" and as a form of creative self-expression ("like painting"). Early meanings of Botox Cosmetic as an indulgent pleasure were also reinforced through "Botox parties"—an emergent Botox consumption ritual taking place either in upper-class living rooms or in the practices (or homes) of exclusive Botox dermatologists. Botox parties had emerged after early Botox consumers and physicians had combined consultation events with elements of entertainment (e.g., "champagne, chocolate truffles and brie"; Zimmerman 2002, p. 1) and an opportunity to get an actual Botox injection. As such, they not only inspired Botox's brand community but also evangelized newcomers (Schau, Muniz, and Arnould 2009). Consider Heidi (46, 7 injections, December 2003):

These parties are so much fun! We drink wine and I usually have some food and we eat. It's fun! We laugh a lot. And, of course, Dr. Smith [alias] is here. He's doing the shots.... It's become extremely popular. I did my first party about a year ago and we were three or four girls from the neighborhood. This is the fourth one I've organized but I know of at least three other women who do them regularly.

However, Botox's emotional branding story not only drew an increasing number of consumers to the brand; it also provoked a significant cultural backlash. For some, Botox's pleasurable play was nothing more than a dangerous gamble with poison. Two mutually reinforcing types of anti-Botox stories fueled this doppelgänger image. First were bacteriological dramas. Colored by the events of September 11 and a heightened sense of national vulnerability, horror stories emerged about how Botox's key ingredient, botulinum toxin type A (and, by extension, Botox Cosmetic), was the most poisonous substance known (Erbguth 2004); how the military had previously tested it as a biological warfare agent; how Islamic terrorists could draw bacteria stems from Botox-producing factories in the United States; and how (therefore) early Botox consumers' indulgent beauty adventures would threaten homeland security.

Second was a new genre of disparaging features about Botox parties in the news and entertainment media, often peppered with medical expert commentary as well as wit-

ness reports from (more or less authentic) "Botox victims" (YouTube (2008)). In these dramatic reports, Botox consumers were not rendered positively as an exclusive community of early adopters who engaged in an innovative form of self-enhancement but instead were painted disparagingly as a bunch of naive dupes—bored and simple upper-class socialites who were frequently paying for their irresponsible health gambles with a visit to the emergency room (Creager 2002). At the same time, Botox parties were not presented as pleasurable upper-class consumption events where elegant ladies and charismatic dermatologists gathered to engage in cutting-edge rejuvenation but instead as chaotic and booze-ridden gatherings where numerous safety and hygiene rules were broken and naive socialites were being injected by greedy, underqualified, or sometimes even fake doctors.

As these devaluing brand meanings became more widespread, Allergan's "Pleasurable Play" image was beginning to lose its value as an authenticating narrative for Baby Boomer women's identity projects. Against the backdrop of Allergan's Techspressive brand mythology, early Botox consumers appeared to be innovating pioneers: creative, playful, and self-confident. Against the emerging poison backdrop, however, they seemed extremely foolish. Systematically, Botox's doppelgänger image unraveled the harmonious balance between nature and technology struck in Allergan's "Pleasurable Play" mythology as a perfidious marketing ploy designed to mask its real identity as a deadly poison. Botox parties—formerly a potent brand community ritual—became "a cause for frowning" (Benedetto 2002, p. 129).

Second Brand Image Contestation (2004–2006): Miracle of Medicine Versus Frozen Face

Around 2004, Allergan responded to this growing conflict of interests by replacing Botox's original Techspressive brand rhetoric with a new Techtopian myth highlighting "technology as a supreme good central to the enhancement of communities and societies" (Kozinets 2008, p. 869). The turning point was the "Keep the Wisdom—Lose the Lines" health education campaign, which systematically shifted Botox Cosmetic away from the realm of hedonic pleasure into the domain of health. To establish the idea that Botox is not a dangerous poison but a "Miracle of Medicine," Allergan circulated an array of promotional materials. Fact sheets about "glabellar lines" (the anatomical term for frown lines; see Appendix B), patient information packages about the Botox Cosmetic treatment process, before-and-after comparison charts, anatomical illustrations, and detailed explanations of potential side effects not only portrayed Botox Cosmetic as a serious prescription medicine. These marketing efforts also framed the Botox consumer as a modern-day patient benefiting from the newest medical knowledge and scientific progress.

To fill this new brand image with life, Allergan enlisted Hollywood actress Virginia Madsen as a Botox ambassador. Madsen emphasized that Botox was not a deadly poison, as critics had suggested, but an extensively tested medical prescription drug. And much like typical medical patients who

receive Botox for their muscle spasms or migraines, she had only adopted the treatment after having all of her critical questions answered. A good example of how Botox consumers began to follow Madsen's example to protect their identity investments is the formerly interviewed Betty (46, architect, 6 injections, December 2005). Like Madsen, she cultivates a patient identity to leave no doubt that she is a responsible decision maker who knows the importance of "doing your own research":

Because [Botox] is still relatively new, most people just don't know enough about it. They just don't know what to make of it. And so they make up their own bizarre theory. Most of them think that Botox is some kind of weird poison that creeps through your body. And, next thing you know, you're dead. That's why there is no way around doing your own research. You need to find out for yourself. So here is the official version. There are muscles under your skin. The muscles are moving all the time. And given the usual wear and tear, you know, after a while the skin gets wrinkly due to the underlying muscle activity. And that's where Botox comes in. Botox erases the wrinkles by blocking the nerve signals that tell your muscles to contract.

In 2003, Betty described herself as a pleasure seeker and Botox as a "decadent treat." In 2005, she presented herself as a knowledge seeker and Botox as a serious prescription drug that follows a statistically replicable cause-effect relationship. Note how she uses this new identity to dismantle the poison image as a "bizarre theory." From a scientific rather than superstitious perspective, nature and technology exist in perfect harmony. A similar rhetorical move was used to address the Botox party specter. By instructing doctors to shun Botox parties, Allergan deviated from its earlier standpoint that "the company isn't in a position to dictate how a physician runs his or her practice" (Zimmerman 2002, p. 1). At the same time, Botox ambassador Madsen stressed how she was "turned off by Botox parties" and by "people [who] have lost sight" of the fact that Botox is a "prescription medicine" (Silverman 2007). Similarly, the consumers I interviewed readily deconstructed questions about Botox parties as unfair attempts to reduce their carefully prepared actions to a reckless health gamble. Consider, in this context, what Magda (46, secretary, 3 injections, January 2005) had to say:

Would I ever go to a Botox party? Are you kidding me? [Interviewer: Is that so unrealistic?] Oh yeah, and it's very dangerous and irresponsible.... But that's exactly the problem, you see. I get that party question all the time. Oh, so you're going to Botox parties? They seem to think that doing Botox is some kind of party game. As if I'm some kind of crazy old woman compromising my health as I yell, "Yee-haw!" But did you ever get a root canal or a colonoscopy at home, like in your private living room? [Interviewer: No, I didn't.] Exactly, because it makes no sense, right? It makes no sense because, when you're a responsible person, safety always comes first.

As these consumer quotations illustrate, Botox's positive medicine image neutralized the devaluing poison meanings and thus sustained the brand's identity value. However, Allergan's medico-scientific rhetoric had also provoked a new doppelgänger brand image. Thompson,

Rindfleisch, and Arsel (2006, p. 60) argue that doppelgänger brand images have "an underground phase" that offers important clues on what brand image challenges might lie ahead. As early as 2003, Hollywood director Martin Scorsese had complained that Botox makes it almost impossible to find actresses who can use their faces to express a range of human emotions (Hill 2003). The more widespread Botox's rational science image became (Zarandi 2004), the more this negative rendering seemed justified. Few celebrities embodied the new doppelgänger brand image more than Australian actress Nicole Kidman (Psychotic State 2007). Critical journalists and bloggers casted the alleged Botox user as the protagonist of a Dorian Gray-style cautionary tale, in which Botox had transformed an authentic star who had it all but who could not get enough into an egocentric and emotionally incapacitated ice princess.

Once again, Botox's mythic brand image was beginning to lose its identity value. The "frozen face" image unmasked the harmonious balance between nature and technology drawn by the "Miracle of Medicine" rhetoric as a perfidious marketing ploy designed to conceal its real identity as an emotionless and sterile drug (Current 2008). From this perspective, the science-inspired narratives of Betty, Magda, and other Botox users around 2005 sounded extremely emotionless and selfish. The promotional materials portraying Botox in the light of medico-scientific progress—formerly a powerful vehicle to combat the devaluing poison image and recruit new users—intensified the brand image crisis.

Third Brand Image Contestation (2006–2008): Expression Enabler Versus Frankenstein

Around 2006, Allergan shifted emotional branding gears yet again. Botox's "Miracle of Medicine" image had rendered the anti-aging technology "as a supreme good central to the enhancement of communities and societies" (Kozinets 2008, p. 869), but the rational scientific undertone of this strategy had also provoked critical voices rejecting Botox as a dehumanizing technology. To address this conflict of interest, Allergan devised a new Work Machine image, highlighting Botox as a powerful means to cultivate a warm and kindhearted self.

Consider Allergan's effort to emotionally position Botox as a means to unleash one's "Personal Best." In this campaign, Botox ambassadors Virginia Madsen and five-time Olympic gold medalist and "perfect ten"—scoring legendary gymnast Nadia Comaneci embodied the research finding that "Botox Cosmetic enables a more compassionate self." Unlike the emotionless Nicole Kidman, these women were generous humanitarians. Like Comaneci, who was "deeply involved with the International Special Olympics and Muscular Dystrophy Association in an effort to help special needs children achieve their own, unique personal bests" (see Appendix C), their priorities had "shifted from competition to service." And because being a "perfect ten" is all about uninhibited expressions of love and benevolence, it was important that these women's "stubborn 11s" (the campaign's new term for wrinkles)

would no longer “freeze” their expressions of kindness. Consider next how my interviewed Botox consumers adopted Madsen and Comaneci’s performance of the new “Expression Enabler” image. Unlike selfish people who neglect their communal responsibilities by keeping their wrinkles, these women were like musicians who would always insist on a perfectly tuned instrument to optimize the artist’s emotional delivery to an audience in need:

Veronica (51, flight attendant, 12 injections, January 2007): For me, Botox is a career investment.... Have you ever noticed that flight attendants are always smiling when there’s turbulence and they’re in their seats? That’s the rule, you know. We’re trained to give our best no matter how rough it gets. It’s psychological, a form of emotional communication to make everyone feel safe.... So we have a saying at [name of airline], namely, that we’re the face of [the airline] and that’s central to the service we provide. That’s why Botox is so popular in our industry.

Julia (46, speech therapist, 4 injections, June 2007): If Botox was really all about paralyzing your face I would certainly not be using it. [Interviewer: How so?] Julia: Because expressions are an essential component to what I’m doing for a living. They matter greatly in my work. Because my face should support what I say and what I mean. This is very important in communication generally and even more so in the therapeutic context when your job is to help cure a child’s language problems.... That’s why Botox makes sense. I use it because I want full control over my expressive apparatus.

Jill (48, boutique owner, 7 injections, August 2007): I really don’t want these souvenirs [from her previous divorce = wrinkles and frown lines] to ruin my customers’ experience.... No one wants to buy a dress from someone who looks tired. You need to empathize in order to provide a great [customer/shopping] experience! You need to empathize. Just imagine coming out of the change room and seeing a worried face. That makes for a frustrating shopping experience, don’t you think?

For these women, people who disparage Botox Cosmetic and/or even accept their facial wrinkles were the real problem because they did not give their professional and personal best. They were cold-hearted and immoral people because they allowed their wrinkles to make them look grumpy and frustrated to others, thus making the world a colder place. Even worse, their laxity could provoke communicative misunderstandings with catastrophic results. Veronica convincingly suggests that an ill-tempered look may negatively affect the social climate and even the safety onboard an aircraft. Likewise, Julia claims that her furrowed face slowed the therapeutic progress of her speech-impaired children. And Jill leaves no doubt that compassionate emotional expression is a key to cultivating a satisfying customer experience. In sharp contrast to the “frozen face” image, these women suggest Botox Cosmetic is not a cold and dehumanizing medicine but rather an enabler of authentic expression.

As Botox’s positive “Expression Enabler” meanings became more widespread, they gradually displaced the disparaging “frozen face” image, thus sustaining Botox Cosmetic’s legitimacy. Almost simultaneously, however, Aller-

gan’s emotional branding activities provoked a new set of disparaging brand images and meanings. Around 2007, the news and entertainment media began circulating a specific variation of the popular revenge-of-nature trope (Thompson 2004): Frankenstein stories warning that the pursuit of a more expressive self through Botox inevitably creates monstrosity. Although the new *doppelgänger* image was considerably less dramatic than the previous two, it still featured threatening critics such as former Fleetwood Mac singer and songwriter Stevie Nicks. In May 2007, she appeared on the prime-time television program *Entertainment Tonight* to talk about how Botox Cosmetic had made her concert tour a living nightmare (*Entertainment Tonight* 2007):

So he just, you know, like, one little shot here, one here, and one here [points to her forehead]. When I woke up the next morning, my entire face had fallen down to around my nose, and I had totally triangle eyebrows [dramatic music picks up]. And I looked a little bit like, you know, Sister of Satan. And I was hysterical. And so, of course, then I cried for ten days. And every day I’d walk into the hotel, we were on the road, and looking into that mirror that’s always in the bathroom, and I’d go, like, “Who is that?” And I’d pull my eye up and go, “Oh, there she is.” And I just think people should not do this.

For the third time, Botox’s emotional branding story was beginning to lose its identity value. The Frankenstein image unmasked the harmonious balance between nature and technology struck by Botox’s “Expression Enabler” myth as a deceitful marketing scheme devised to cover Botox’s real identity as a dangerous zombie drug. From this perspective, Veronica, Julia, Jill, and other Botox consumers’ heroic narratives about selfless humanity through technology had a decidedly blood-curdling flavor. Formerly a powerful means to combat the frozen face image and to recruit new consumers, Comaneci’s personal letter and other campaign materials stressing compassionate expression eroded Botox’s positive meanings.

Fourth Brand Image Contestation (2007–2008): Performance Booster Versus Junkie

In 2007 there was yet another turning point in Botox’s brand delivery. The “Expression Enabler” image had contributed to Botox’s market creation, but this Work Machine antidote had also provoked perceptions that the anti-aging drug produces monstrous outcomes. To combat these disparaging brand images and meanings, Allergan’s managers reinterpreted the Work Machine ideology that “articulates meanings of industriousness, efficiency, and personal empowerment onto technology, elevating it into an engine of national, global, industrial, corporate, and individual worker wealth and success” (Kozinets 2008, p. 870).

A key promotional weapon in the battle against Botox’s Frankenstein image was the “Success Stories” campaign that systematically rendered Botox Cosmetic indispensable to the pursuit of personal efficiency and productivity. For example, Allergan added a video section to the Botox Cosmetic website that profiled “mother of two and critical care nurse Angela” (http://www.botoxcosmetic.com/success_stories_video.aspx). When “Angela” was asked if, after her Botox treatment, she was “able to get right back to your

busy life,” she responded: “Absolutely. I went right back into being a busy mom. So right after the treatment the office checked me out, I had some discharge instructions, and then I went about my business taking care of the kids, picking them up from school, dropping them off at practice, so right back to work. Right back to work.” Consider next how three Botox user informants—Julia (47, speech therapist, 7 injections, March 2009), Luna (41, housewife, 6 injections, December 2009), and Donna (48, housewife, 6 injections, July 2008)—variously drew on the “Performance Booster” image to protect their identity investments between 2008 and 2009:

So [a woman] walks up to me [at a party] and goes like, “Oh, your skin, you have such nice skin.” ... And then she’s like, “How?” And I say Botox. And she goes like, “When?” And I’m like, “Yesterday during my son’s hockey practice.” And she’s like, “Oh my God!”

Botox days are, well, they are like any other day, except for a small detour to the doctor. The entire job usually takes, well, it takes no more than twenty minutes maybe. I’d say it doesn’t add much to my schedule. Fifteen minutes. It’s only just a few pricks, and off you go. I usually stop by in the morning, after doing the groceries, and then I pick the kids up from school. It’s quite comfortable that way.

My favorite story is when I got my Botox while [my husband] and the kids were waiting in the car... We were on our way to the airport [for my sister’s wedding]. So the kids were joking around and complaining.... And I thought to myself, wait I’ll prove you all wrong. I totally knew that it wouldn’t take very long. And so I rushed in, did it, rushed out. It must have been, I don’t know, certainly no more than fifteen minutes. And you should have seen the look on their faces. That was fun!

Similar to Botox Cosmetic’s virtual ambassador “Angela,” these and many other informants used Botox’s “Performance Booster” image around 2008 as an opportunity to cultivate a sense of personal efficiency and productivity. On the identity level of emotional branding, Botox’s Work Machine–inspired rhetoric invited Baby Boomer women to use the brand as a powerful symbolic means to assuage some of the tensions and contradictions created by the “juggling” lifestyle. Thompson (1996, p. 388) introduces this term to describe an experience shared by many women of the Baby Boomer generation who must find ways to cobble together a tenuous compromise from “a demanding juxtaposition of competing life goals, responsibilities, and emotional orientations.” On the cultural level of emotional branding, each of these Work Machine–inspired success stories served to supersede Botox’s devaluing Frankenstein meanings. From a Work Machine perspective, these disparaging images and meanings were the inventions of a decidedly inflexible and old-fashioned mind. As a consequence of Allergan’s emotional branding adjustments, the Frankenstein image gradually disappeared. At the same time, Botox Cosmetic could attract an even wider following.

However, Allergan’s high-performance focus again provoked a new genre of anti-Botox images and meanings. Critics leveraged a salient technology contradiction between

performance and dependency (Kozinets 2008, p. 871) to create the “junkie” image. Again, scientific experts played an important role in its creation. Already in 2006, two British psychologists had argued that “while Botox may erase wrinkles and restore youthful good looks, it may just be an addiction-inducing substance” (MedIndia 2006). However, this addiction trope remained tangential until the “Performance Booster” image became more widespread. Now the news and entertainment media circulated a new type of Botox tale: the redeemed Botox junkie (Medical Staff Writers 2009). The plotline was a variation of the classic addiction drama: Weakened by low self-esteem or a devastating personal tragedy (e.g., lack of movie roles, loss or illness of a loved one, breakup with partner), the protagonist cannot withstand the temptation of Botox Cosmetic. The downward spiral of addiction is set in motion. However, through a fortunate turn of events (e.g., the protagonist finds God, a new partner), Botox is shunned and the disaster is avoided in the last minute.

After surviving three brand image contestations, Botox was the most popular enhancement solution in North America (American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery 2008). Now the new “junkie” image was threatening this marketing success by making Botox seem like beauty heroin. The stories of Julia and Luna and especially Donna’s tale about getting a Botox injection on the way to the airport were raising suspicions that these women were addicts. Formerly a powerful means for combating the “Frankenstein” image and for drawing new customers to the brand, Botox Cosmetic’s “Performance Booster” image was rapidly losing its identity value. Once again, adjustments to Botox’s emotional branding story became necessary.

2008–2010: Botox Cosmetic as a Weapon of Liberation

Such an interest-realignment became visible when Allergan launched the “Freedom of Expression” awareness campaign during the 2008 U.S. presidential election. Using the non-partisan political advocacy group League of Women Voters (www.lwv.org) as a legitimizing partner, the campaign rendered Botox Cosmetic indispensable to the pursuit of freedom and independence. Consider how Botox ambassador Madsen summarized the brand’s new message (Barth 2008): “We are so blessed. We are fortunate in this country to be able to express ourselves the way we do as women.” However, because a woman’s freedom of expression—be it that of expressing one’s political views or consuming Botox—is always under siege, it must be constantly reclaimed: “You have to keep working at it all the time—empowering yourself.”

This new Techspressive rhetoric combated the “junkie” trope by disparaging Botox critics as traditionalists who dismiss the drug’s importance in creating a more liberated society and self. In this sense, Botox’s “Weapon of Liberation” image aligns with a sensibility Scott (2005) describes as third-wave feminism, which emphasizes more playful and aesthetically and technologically flexible conceptualizations of liberated femininity. By mythically placing Botox Cosmetic in the hall of fame of feminist (technologi-

cal) innovations such as voting, makeup, hair dye, and birth control, its regular use would not be a sign of dependency but a righteous act of liberation in an uphill struggle against the shackles of male oppression. Next, consider how some of my informants (including the previously quoted high-performer Donna) drew from Botox’s liberating branding story to legitimize their Botox consumption circa 2009:

Julia (49, speech therapist, 14 injections, March 2010): As a feminist, I envision a society that is about choice and tolerance, one that celebrates people’s bodies rather than policing them.... When I hear someone call a strong and independent woman a Botox junkie, that to me is an expression of fear. When I hear that I just hear someone, usually a male perspective who is afraid of successful and independent women. But it’s rather telling, you know. It’s another way of saying that women should stay away from technology. It persuades them that an empowering technology is in fact like heroin or cocaine. It means that, after all, we’re in fact in the presence of a truly powerful woman. Botox is not just a beauty treatment. It’s about reclaiming power.

Donna (49, housewife, 10 injections, November 2009): For many [Botox-using women], like for myself, Botox is a way to express my independence. It’s a way to exercise authority over my own body rather than follow outdated images about older women with wrinkles and white hair. So that makes Botox a huge accomplishment. That’s what the backlash shows. It’s something not to be taken for granted.

For these Botox consumers, Botox critics are nothing more than fearful hypocrites—too narrow-minded to recognize a technological milestone in women’s liberation. As a result of these branding adjustments, junkie stories had largely disappeared from the media by 2010, and Botox’s global unit sales had exceeded the 4 million mark. And yet there remains a brand characterized by recurring controversy and debate. In April 2011, for example, the Food and Drug Administration issued a new warning stating that “patients receiving a botulinum toxin injection for any reason—cosmetic or medical—should be told to seek immediate care if they suffer symptoms of botulism, including: diffi-

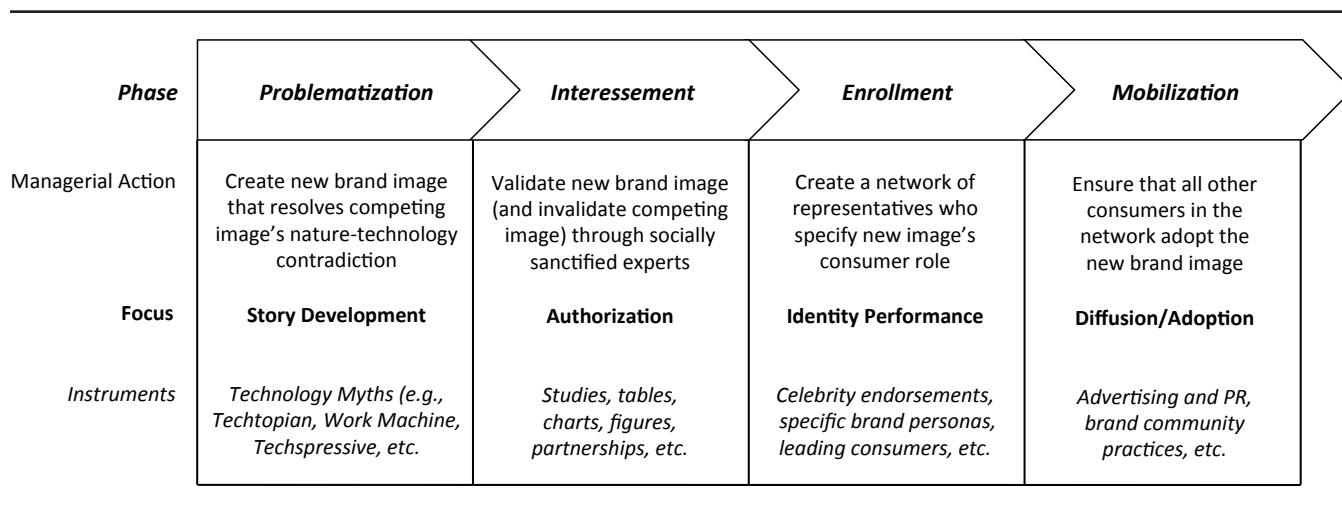
culty swallowing or breathing, slurred speech, muscle weakness, or difficulty holding up their head.” (Drugs.com 2011). In May 2011, a “Botox mom” provoked a national scandal when claiming to have administered Botox on her eight-year old pageant daughter (*Good Morning America* 2011). Likewise, in August 2011, a group of British actresses announced an “anti-Botox campaign” (*The Independent* 2011). These and other conflicts of interest foreshadow potential new shifts to Botox’s brand delivery.

Discussion

From a conventional theoretical branding (Keller 2003) or innovation diffusion perspective (Bass 1969), Botox Cosmetic’s marketing success is largely a function of its core benefits (e.g., more effective than makeup, cheaper and less painful than plastic surgery). However, such a perspective offers little concrete advice on how innovators can combat the doppelgänger brand images that arise in the course of the diffusion of an innovation. In this article, I analyze how shifts in emotional brand delivery helped sustain Botox’s legitimacy in a network of diverse and often competing interests. This actor-network approach demonstrates how brand-mediated conflicts over nature–technology relationships influenced Botox’s marketing success over time. It further demonstrates that Botox is not beyond dispute and that new doppelgänger images may arise as scientists, journalists, celebrities, and other stakeholders discover new nature–technology contradictions in Botox’s emotional brand delivery. Together, the findings reveal that the image of a technological innovation evolves in the course of brand image contestations among opposing groups of stakeholders through which their divergent interests are aligned and the overall network of consumer–brand bonds is transformed.

How can managers influence this process? From the observed brand-mediated cultural legitimation struggles surrounding the Botox Cosmetic brand, we can derive a four-step brand image revitalization process that conceptually parallels Callon’s (1986) idea of sociological translation (Figure 2). The brand image revitalization process can

FIGURE 2
Four-Step Brand Image Revitalization Process



be applied either by brand managers interested in stimulating an innovation's marketing success or by other stakeholders (e.g., antibrand activists, competitors) interested in actively undermining it.

Problematization: Developing a New Brand Image

A particular brand image becomes durable when consumers consider it a required resource for constructing their identities in desired ways—that is, when brand consumption (or brand avoidance) is perceived as an “obligatory passage point” (Callon 1986, p. 203) for assuaging a salient identity dilemma created by a particular nature–technology contradiction (Holt 2004). The first step in the process of combating an undesired *doppelgänger* brand image and shaping an innovation's meanings in relation to one's competitive or ideological goals is problematization, the act of defining either brand use (or avoidance) as indispensable to the resolution of a nature–technology conflict left off by the competing brand image.

Problematization can be conceptualized as a twofold process of strategically leveraging Western society's ambiguous stance toward technology (e.g., Kozinets 2008; Thompson 2004). First, brand managers must screen the culturally competing brand image for an underlying contradiction between nature and technology. Second, they must develop a new mythic storyline that renders their respective goal (either brand use or brand avoidance) indispensable to restoring harmony between these forces. For example, by reinterpreting Botox Cosmetic's “Pleasurable Play” image and the resulting Botox party phenomenon as a serious health gamble (nature–technology contradiction), Botox critics could render Botox avoidance indispensable to the pursuit of a healthy body and self (harmony between nature and technology). In contrast, by reinterpreting wrinkles as a disease (nature–technology contradiction), Allergan's management team could redefine Botox Cosmetic as a “miracle of medicine” indispensable to the pursuit of a healthy body and self (harmony between nature and technology).

Interessement: Validating the New Brand Image

Problematization is a powerful technique for culling a new resonant brand image from a competing innovation image's inherent nature–technology contradictions, but the result is not yet strong enough to represent consumers, because they are still tentatively implicated in the competing image. Managers must also emphasize their desired image of the brand and its consumers over the competing formulation. “Interessement is the group of actions by which an entity attempts to impose and stabilize the identity of the other actors it defines through its problematization” (Callon 1986, p. 23). Interessement (*inter-esse* = Latin for “coming in between”) is an attempt to interrupt all potential competing associations and to render the proposed alliances valid.

To validate their new ideological brand image, innovators should foster alliances with socially sanctified expert authorities (e.g., medical scientists, political advocacy groups). For example, the League of Women Voters helped foster perceptions that Botox really is a “Weapon of Liberation” and not an addiction-inducing substance. Conversely,

Hollywood director Martin Scorsese's critical stance buttressed the idea that Botox really is an expression-disabling face freezer. In another technology brand image crisis, Apple recently mobilized the laws of physics and its antenna-engineering laboratory to invalidate “Antennagate”—an array of sensationalized criticisms questioning the antenna performance of the iPhone 4. Through a series of easily replicable experiments, Apple buttressed the idea that “gripping any mobile phone will result in some attenuation of its antenna performance, with certain places being worse than others depending on the placement of the antennas” (Chen 2010).

Enrollment: Enacting the New Brand Image

The previous two steps of sociological brand image revitalization help enhance a new technology image's validity and trustworthiness while declassing the competing brand image as an irrational or otherwise erroneous rendering. However, its asserted identity value will remain somewhat abstract unless demonstrated through concrete consumer performance. Enrollment exemplifies Deighton's (1992) foundational argument that markets are theatrical “stages” on which market “actors” present themselves and their actions in such a manner as to fashion desired “impressions” before an “audience.”

The recruitment of brand ambassadors—authentic representatives of the targeted consumer segment who performatively enact the identity value of either using or avoiding the brand—is key in this image revitalization phase (McCracken 1988). Consider, in this context, Allergan's multiyear collaboration with actress Virginia Madsen and athlete Nadia Comaneci. Allergan's brand managers persuaded and instructed these Baby Boomer heroines to describe their own Botox consumption in ways that would gradually devitalize the implicit or explicit anti-Botox performance of emotionless Nicole Kidman or mutilated Stevie Nicks. While celebrities are predestined for spearheading a new emotional branding initiative, their complex and evolving biographies can also produce a significant backlash. For example, imagine a scenario in which Madsen switches sides and becomes an anti-Botox advocate. At the cost of forfeiting some authenticity, brand managers can also animate a new emotional branding story through virtual advertising personas such as “mother of two and critical care nurse Angela.”

Mobilization: Circulating the New Brand Image

The previous three steps of the brand image revitalization process describe how a new innovation brand image is developed (problematization), expert-approved (interessement), and performatively enacted (enrollment). However, the new image will have little cultural influence (and the competing brand image will continue to dominate) unless stakeholders foster its rapid diffusion. During mobilization, the final step of brand image revitalization, the managerial task is to ensure that consumers actually embrace the new brand image and reinforce its message through their own brand use (or avoidance). The more consumers adopt a

given innovation brand image, the more culturally dominant it will become in time.

Advertising and public relations initiatives that promote the new brand image (e.g., television or magazine reports, interviews, Comaneci's letter) may be a good starting point. More elaborate tactics include social networking, impression management, and other co-creative brand community practices outlined in Schau, Muniz, and Arnould (2009). For example, Botox parties offered an effective vehicle to perpetuate the "Pleasurable Play" image. These branding steps should neutralize a competing technology brand image and sustain the innovation's legitimacy until opposing groups of brand stakeholders expropriate a new nature-technology contradiction. As Thompson, Rindfleisch, and Arsel (2006, p. 62) note, "the emotional-branding conundrum keeps changing, and accordingly, emotional-branding strategies must be periodically revised and transformed." The emotional branding strategies and tactics described herein can be equally applied by managers interested in combating a doppelgänger brand image and by other parties (e.g., competitors, antibrand activists) interested in creating one.

Conclusion and Further Research

The primary goal of this article is to theorize market creation as a brand-mediated legitimation process. By bringing sociological actor-network theory (Callon 1986; Latour 1988) to bear on an eight-year longitudinal investigation of Botox Cosmetic, I have generated four important insights: (1) The meanings of a branded technological innovation evolve in the course of contestations between the images promoted by the innovator and doppelgänger brand images promoted by other stakeholders, (2) doppelgänger brand images arise as critics expropriate an emotional branding story's inherent contradictions between nature and technol-

ogy, (3) managers can combat a doppelgänger brand image (and thus foster the innovation's legitimation) by tailoring their emotional branding delivery to the exigencies of sociological translation, and (4) the emotional branding strategies and tactics described here can be equally applied by managers interested in combating a doppelgänger brand image and by other parties (e.g., competitors, antibrand activists) interested fostering brand avoidance.

By exploring the relationship between brand-mediated cultural conflicts and the legitimation of new product or practice and by documenting the role of salient technology discourses in structuring these legitimation dynamics, these findings inform and expand Humphreys' (2010) seminal discussion of market creation as a social process of legitimation. Because the current study investigates how a doppelgänger brand image arises and is combated over the life of a technology brand, the findings also move beyond Thompson, Rindfleisch, and Arsel's (2006) seminal discussion of the doppelgänger image as a diagnostic tool for understanding, monitoring, and proactively managing an emotional branding story's cultural vulnerabilities.

Importantly, however, the present formulation is limited to theorizing the influence of emotional branding activities on the market creation success of a new technology such as a new machine, a medical drug, or a scientific technique. While the technology discourses analyzed herein structure a wide variety of innovating brands and industries such as cosmetics, automotive, food, pharmaceutical, and entertainment, further research (both longitudinal and cross-sectional) should investigate a broader spectrum of innovations, consumers, and mythic contexts. This will introduce a richer understanding of the relationship between market creation and branding and demonstrate the robustness of my findings and theoretical propositions.

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APPENDIX A
Botox Cosmetic Billboard Ad Circa 2003



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APPENDIX B

Allergan’s Glabellar Lines Fact Sheet Circa 2005

Background

GLABELLAR LINES

What are glabellar lines?

Glabellar lines (the vertical lines between the eyebrows) appear when a person frowns and activates the two major muscles that control movement between the eyebrows, the corrugator and procerus muscles.

What causes glabellar lines?

Glabellar lines are formed by repeated contraction of the muscles between the eyebrows. Over time, the skin becomes less elastic so repeated frowning may cause visible, deep wrinkles between the eyebrows, even when the face is at rest. Frown lines between the eyebrows, which often look like the number ‘11’, can have a negative effect on one’s overall facial appearance by creating a sad, angry, or tired impression.

How are glabellar lines treated?

BOTOX[®] Cosmetic (onabotulinumtoxinA), approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in 2002, is a prescription medicine that is injected into muscles and used to improve the look of moderate to severe frown lines between the eyebrows (glabellar lines) in adults younger than 65 years of age for a short period of time (temporary). The treatment involves small doses of BOTOX[®] Cosmetic administered via tiny injections directly into the underlying muscles that cause frown lines between the eyebrows to form. Specialists who commonly treat patients for glabellar lines using BOTOX[®] Cosmetic are generally dermatologists, plastic surgeons or other aesthetic-specialty physicians.

Derived from the bacterium *Clostridium botulinum*, BOTOX[®] Cosmetic therapy works to temporarily reduce the muscle activity that causes frown lines between the eyebrows by blocking nerve impulses that trigger wrinkle-causing muscle contractions, creating a softer appearance. The treatment delivers visible results with minimal discomfort. Results can be seen within a few days and the effect can last up to four months.

Indication

BOTOX[®] Cosmetic is a prescription medicine that is injected into muscles and used to improve the look of moderate to severe frown lines between the eyebrows (glabellar lines) in adults younger than 65 years of age for a short period of time (temporary).

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

BOTOX[®] Cosmetic may cause serious side effects that can be life threatening. Call your doctor or get medical help right away if you have any of these problems after treatment with BOTOX[®] Cosmetic:

- **Problems swallowing, speaking, or breathing. These problems can happen hours to weeks after an injection of BOTOX[®] Cosmetic** usually because the muscles that you use to breathe and swallow can become weak after the injection. Death can happen as a complication if you have severe problems with swallowing or breathing after treatment with BOTOX[®] Cosmetic.
- **Swallowing problems may last for several months.** People who already have swallowing or breathing problems before receiving BOTOX[®] Cosmetic have the highest risk of getting these problems.
- **Spread of toxin effects.** In some cases, the effect of botulinum toxin may affect areas of the body away from the injection site and cause symptoms of a serious condition called botulism. The symptoms of botulism include: loss of strength and muscle weakness all over the body, double vision, blurred vision and drooping eyelids, hoarseness or change or loss of voice (dysphonia), trouble saying words clearly (dysarthria), loss of bladder control, trouble breathing, trouble swallowing.

Please see next page for additional Important Safety Information.

APPENDIX C
**Comaneci's Letter from the "Your Personal Best"
Campaign Circa 2007**



The *Your Personal Best* campaign is all about giving yourself permission to focus on the things that help you feel your best in all aspects of your life.

Dear Friends,

As a young athlete, I learned that you can't sit back and wait for your personal best to happen – you have to make it happen. While I maintain the ideals that brought me Olympic success, my priorities have shifted from competition to service. Today, I am deeply involved with the International Special Olympics and Muscular Dystrophy Association in an effort to help special needs children achieve their own, unique personal bests.



More than 30 years after scoring a perfect "10" at the 1976 Summer Olympics in Montreal – the first-ever awarded in Olympic gymnastics history – winning means something different to me today. It means being free to express my inner and outer self through meaningful work, family and friends. And for me personally, it's meant taking the time to look as good on the outside as I feel on the inside.

That's why I've joined the Your Personal Best campaign. It's all about giving yourself permission to focus on the things that help you feel your best in all aspects of your life whether that be through volunteer work, eating right or exercising. For some of us, that may mean speaking with a physician about aesthetic treatments, like BOTOX[®] Cosmetic (Botulinum Toxin Type A).

I'm 46, and when I started to consider BOTOX[®] Cosmetic it wasn't because I had an issue with my age – in fact, I felt healthier and stronger than ever! But when I looked into the mirror, I started seeing lines and wrinkles, like the '11s' between my brows. I'm not competing anymore, but I still have the same drive to look and feel my best. So I decided to do something about it.

I talked to my doctor about BOTOX[®] Cosmetic. I learned it actually relaxes the muscles that cause that stubborn '11' and make me look stressed and tired, even when I'm not. Now when I see my reflection, I see me, only without the '11.'

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Nadia Comaneci".

Nadia Comaneci

NOTE: --- Downloaded from <http://www.ybbevents.com> on June 29, 2009
