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The Cultural Legacy of Social Movements in an Emerging Market Category

Simone Schiller-Merkens

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Abstract

One challenge facing research on categories is to explain their content and the extent to which they gain meaning from cultural material that originates from moral arenas. This article suggests that categories are an outcome of strategic framing activities by which market members draw on prevalent master frames as cultural material to infuse an emerging market with meaning. It depicts the construction of a market category that emerges at the boundary between the economic sphere of a market and the moral sphere of social movements. A qualitative study of the use of movement master frames in categorizing the market for ethical fashion in the United Kingdom indicates the important role of movements' cultural legacy for the categorization of a moral market. It shows that the master frame of the environmental movement prevails in market categorization. Furthermore, we see that market members tend to adopt movement frames in categorization to discuss solutions rather than to talk about problems. Two propositions are drawn from these findings. First, when market making happens at the boundary of several social movements, market members adopt the master frame mainly of the movement whose activism has already led to changes in the political agenda, in social beliefs and practices in society. Second, framing tactics change when movement frames leave the moral sphere of activist mobilization and enter the economic sphere. While talking about problems has been shown to be as important as the provision of solutions in the movement arena, providing solutions becomes more important when movement frames are adopted in the economic arena of a market.

Zusammenfassung

Kategorien sind zentrale Bestandteile der kulturellen Strukturierung von Märkten. Eine der Herausforderungen der Kategorienforschung ist es, die Inhalte von Kategorien zu erklären und herauszufinden, wie stark sie durch moralisch geprägte kulturelle Elemente beeinflusst werden. Das Papier stellt Kategorien als Ergebnis strategischer Rahmungsprozesse *(framing)* vor, wobei Marktakteure einem entstehenden Markt anhand verbreiteter kultureller Deutungsmuster *(master frames)* Bedeutung verleihen. Es beschreibt die Konstruktion einer Marktkategorie, die an der Grenze zwischen der ökonomischen Sphäre eines Marktes und der moralischen Sphäre sozialer Bewegungen entsteht. Die am Beispiel des Marktes für ethische Mode in Großbritannien durchgeführte qualitative Untersuchung stellt heraus, wie wichtig das kulturelle Vermächtnis sozialer Bewegungen für die Kategorisierung eines moralisch geprägten Marktes ist. Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung zeigen einerseits die herausgehobene Bedeutung der Umweltbewegung für die Kategorisierung des Marktes. Sie zeigen andererseits die Tendenz der Marktakteure zu einer eher lösungs- denn problemorientierten Rahmungsaktivität: Die Deutungsrahmen sozialer Bewegungen werden zur Kategorisierung herangezogen, um Lösungsansätze zu diskutieren, weniger jedoch, um die zugrunde liegenden Probleme zu benennen. Aus diesen Ergebnissen werden schließlich zwei Thesen abgeleitet. Erstens: Entstehen neue Märkte an der Grenze zu mehreren sozialen Bewegungen, so übernehmen Marktakteure eher den Deutungsrahmen jener Bewegung, deren Aktivismus die politische Agenda, gesellschaftliche Überzeugungen und Praktiken bereits nachhaltig verändert hat. Zweitens: Die Rahmungstaktiken ändern sich mit dem Wechsel der Bewegungsrahmen von der moralischen Sphäre aktivistischer Mobilisierung in die ökonomische Sphäre. Während zur Mobilisierung von Aktivisten die Problemdiskussion als gleichbedeutend mit der Entwicklung von Lösungsansätzen gewertet wird, gewinnt die Präsentation von Lösungen an Bedeutung, sobald die Bewegungsrahmen in den ökonomischen Bereich eines Marktes übertragen werden.

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1 Introduction

One of the key propositions of market sociology is the structuring of markets through socially constructed meanings (Swedberg/Granovetter 1992; Fligstein/Dauter 2007; Fourcade/Healy 2007; Zelizer 2011). The latest research on categories in markets focuses largely on this cultural structuring of markets (Negro/Kocak/Hsu 2010). It is mainly concerned with shared understandings about what constitutes a market, such as the properties making an entity a product of that market or the types of actors involved. Like market sociology in general, research on categories has emphasized the stabilizing role of meaning systems in markets. It suggests that categorization is a mechanism of social order through which the bases for comparison and valuation are socially constructed (Aspers/Beckert, 2011; Beckert 2009; Khaire/Wadhwani 2010; Espeland/Stevens 1998; Zuckerman 1999). However, much less attention has been devoted to the social construction of category systems (Beckert 2010) and in particular to cultural material, such as the values and beliefs that describe the content of a new category. Scholars therefore claim that "there is still much to understand about … the fundamental categorization processes that form the core of markets and industries" (Porac/Thomas/Baden-Fuller 2011: 647).

While studies on category formation exist, they have neglected the collective construction of the category's content. In particular, these studies have focused on the sensemaking process through which market members and the relevant audience come to agree on the attributes of a new product or the identity of a new firm (e.g., Rosa et al. 1999; Porac/Rosa/Saxon 2001; Hannan/Pólos/Carroll 2007; Pólos/Hannan/Carroll 2002). They have also scrutinized the conditions under which a particular category emerges (Lounsbury/Rao 2004; Rao 1998). However, most categorization studies have tended to rely on existing category schemes, such as industry classifications or rating systems. While the balance of attention has been directed towards explaining the processes through which "the shared cognitive models that guide market action develop in the first place" (Negro/Hannan/Rao 2010: 14), scholars have not made these shared cognitive models themselves into subjects of research. The construction of a category's

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content through the "meaning work" of knowledgeable market members has received little attention so far (but see Khaire/Wadwhani 2010; Rosa et al. 1999). But if we do not know what rules, beliefs, and values underlie a category, we cannot know what drives exchange in a market, in other words, what is considered appropriate market conduct or who is considered a legitimate member of the market. The cultural market structure remains opaque. It is therefore important to understand which cultural material market members use to construct the content of an emerging market category.

According to Fligstein (2001), new markets are born out of existing social spheres, such as other markets, and, we can add, at the boundary of non-economic spheres, such as art or health care. I suggest that the values, norms, beliefs, or frames from these fields form the main cultural material for socially constructing a category's content. Understanding the cultural legacy of non-economic social spheres in market categorization becomes especially important in contemporary societies in which we increasingly witness market making at the boundary of non-economic fields, in particular moral spheres such as social movements. Meaning creation in these markets is particularly complex as market members have to balance conflicting logics originating from economic spheres and from moral arenas. The few studies that examine the shaping of a category's content through ongoing meaning construction (Khaire/Wadwhani 2010; Rosa et al. 1999) have not addressed the role of moral values in the categorization of a new market. It remains an open question whether and to what extent members of markets emerging at the boundary of social movements allude to the cultural legacy of this moral sphere in their attempt to categorize the market.

In this article, I attempt to redress that gap in the literature by examining the social construction of a category in a market that emerges at the intersection of an aesthetic market and various social movements. Specifically, the study addresses the questions of whether and how far market members adopt cultural templates originating from the social movement sphere to provide meaning to an emerging market category. The market under study is the market for ethical fashion – fashionable clothing that is designed, sourced, and manufactured with respect for the rights of humans, animals, and the environment. It is an economic arena whose formation is influenced by social and global justice movements, the environmental movement, and the animal rights movement. This boundary-spanning market provides a particularly insightful case for understanding how far morality actually shapes meaning in a new market, hence allowing insights into the "black box of morality in markets" (Fourcade/Healy 2007: 305; see also Aspers 2011).

Analytically, I conceptualize categorization as a strategic framing activity (Fiss/Kennedy 2009; Cornelissen/Werner 2011). Categories emerge out of the collective framing activities of market members who draw on available cultural templates to construct the meaning of the market. I argue that the cultural templates for categorization are provided as master frames – broad interpretive schemes that result from the cultural work of earlier, particularly large movements and of other social groups (Snow/Benford 1992;

Benford/Snow 2000). Master frames for categorization derive from the different social spheres out of which a new market emerges; in the given case, they also come from the movement arena. Hence, movement master frames can be considered as categorization devices whose adoption helps to imbue an emerging moral market with meaning. I use frame analysis to examine the cultural imprint of movements on a market category, thereby focusing on the kinds of movement frames in categorization and market members' framing tactics in constructing the emerging category of ethical fashion.

The results from analyzing the strategic framing of the market by ethical fashion producers and the media in the United Kingdom in 2009 and 2010 indicate a prevalence of the environmental frame as the dominant movement frame in market categorization and a tendency of market members to frame either in general or in prognostic ways. Based on these findings, I discuss two propositions on the cultural legacy of movements in markets. First, when market making happens at the boundary of several social movements, the master frame of the movement prevails in categorization whose activism has already led to changes in the political agenda, in social beliefs, and practices in society. Second, when movement frames are adopted in the economic arena of markets, market actors tend to discuss solutions (prognostic framing) rather than talk about problematic issues (diagnostic framing). Hence framing tactics seem to change when frames from the movement sphere, in which diagnostic framing is considered to be as important as prognostic framing, become adopted in the economic arena of a market.

2 Theoretical framework

The role of categories in markets

Market making is a social process that involves the construction of relational, institutional, and cultural market structures (Beckert 2009). This study's focus is on the cultural market structure, understood as the meanings, shared beliefs, and values guiding exchange processes in the market. Research on categorization centers upon the construction of meaning by examining the emergence and role of categories in markets and organizations, understood "as socially constructed partitions that divide the social space and the distinct meanings associated with them" (Negro et al. 2010: 4). In general, categories are collectively agreed labels that are used to denote a particular bundle of attributes, properties, qualities, or characteristics. Categories create the cultural boundaries that make a market distinguishable from existing ones.

Research on the *role of categories* in markets shows that they act as "sensemaking and order-creating devices" (Schneiberg/Berk 2010: 257), also referred to as "default mechanisms to make sense of the world" (Lounsbury/Rao 2004). Since they allow "people [to] make sense of incomplete and imperfect market cues" (Rosa et al. 1999: 65), they are

considered crucial to the social order of markets (Khaire/Wadhwani 2010). As Schneiberg and Berk (2010: 256) summarize, "product categories provide market participants with 'cognitive interfaces' for simplifying complex realities, focusing attention, grouping and comparing products and producers, locating themselves in the world, and orienting themselves toward rivals and trading partners." Research further shows that category conformity helps to build a firm's reputation and to legitimize its activities (Bielby/Bielby 1994), whereas nonconformity entails economic losses (Zuckerman 1999, 2000, 2004). Products that are difficult to classify in terms of existing categories are "difficult to evaluate because they lack clear comparability" (Khaire/Wadhwani 2010: 1282). A firm that fails to fit any recognized category is easily overlooked, dismissed, and devalued (Hsu 2006; Negro/Hannan/Rao 2010; Kennedy/Chok/Liu 2012). Thus classification into a certain market category helps consumers and investors to compare products or firms with one another, to perceive their value, and to make an informed choice (Phillips/Zuckerman 2001).

Studies on the *emergence of categories* focus on the process through which market members come to agree on the attributes that become attached to a product or a firm. Product markets become culturally structured and categories form as an outcome of consumers and producers making sense of each other's behaviors (Rosa et al. 1999; Porac et al. 2001). Kennedy (2008) points to the development of categories through shared interpretation of symbolic frameworks by third parties. Still other studies show that categories emerge when relevant audiences recognize similarities among producer groups and collectively agree about the attributes that describe these groups (Hannan/Pólos/Carroll 2007; Pólos/Hannan/Carroll 2002). Studies on category emergence also scrutinize the conditions under which one category wins over a competing one, such as the concentration of power within an industry or audience support from industry media, the state, professions, and other organizations (Rao 1998; Lounsbury/Rao 2004). However, studies on category emergence focus more on the process of social construction than on the unique content of a category that becomes constructed through this process. Little is known about which norms, values, or beliefs market actors adopt to construct a category's content. We lack an understanding of which cultural resources market members perceive as useful to provide meaning to an evolving market.

Market making and social movements

Markets do not start from scratch. They are social arenas that are embedded in broader social spheres, and these spheres in turn provide resources for their existence (e.g., Beckert 2009). Apart from financial resources, institutional resources in the form of regulations, and structural resources such as relationships to and support from elites in adjacent social spheres, markets rest upon the existence of cultural resources. When Fligstein (2001: 78), for instance, asserts that new markets are "born in close proximity to existing markets," he essentially refers to culture, understood as the values, norms,

and beliefs (which he subsumes under the term "conception of control") that market members borrow from nearby markets to provide meaning to their activities. Thus market making depends on the availability of several kinds of resources from nearby social spheres and on members of an emerging market skillfully applying existing cultural resources in their categorization work.

While Fligstein (2001) and recently Fligstein and McAdam (2012) underscore the role of economic spheres for the cultural structuring of a new market, we know little about the cultural imprint of moral spheres on market categories. However, many of the recently developing markets – for example, the wind energy market or the sustainable investment market – gain their meaning from moral values that originally developed in the sphere of social movements. While there is an increasing body of research on movements in markets (King/Pearce 2010; Soule 2009, 2012a, 2012b), most studies refer to movement activism as a disruptive force in existing markets or use the social movement literature to conceptualize market making as a process of collective mobilization (e.g., Fligstein/McAdam 2012). However, we do not know much about the role of movements as providers of cultural material for the cultural structuring of markets, in particular whether moral understandings going back to former movement activism shape the categorization of an emerging market. Only Weber, Heinze, and DeSoucey (2008) provide insights into the adoption of cultural codes originating from a social movement as underlying values that guide exchange in a new market. However, they do not examine the construction of a category, nor do they focus on the role of existing cultural material in market categorization. Furthermore, they examine a market that emerges at the boundary of one movement. However, when markets emerge at the boundaries of various social movements, the cultural material from different movements becomes available for categorization. Then the question arises as to which of the alternative moral templates market members will adopt to create a category's content.

Categories as an outcome of strategic framing

I argue generally that movements indirectly shape the cultural structuring of a market when their master frames become adopted in market categorization. I thereby use frame analysis as both an analytical framework and a method. Frame analysis has been developed by social movement scholars who sought to understand the cultural bases for collective action (Benford/Snow 2000; Snow/Benford 1988). Research on framing processes in social movements focuses on the way social actors produce and maintain collective beliefs that inspire and legitimate activities and mobilize resources. These beliefs are called frames, internally coherent interpretative schemes that render events meaningful, organize experience, guide behavior, and motivate action (Goffman 1974). Among the core functions of frames (Snow 2013), scholars address the following: "like a picture frame, a frame directs our attention to what is relevant; like a window frame, it determines our perspectives while limiting our view of the world; like the frame of

a house, it is an invisible infrastructure that holds together different rooms and gives shape to the edifices of meaning" (Creed, Scully/Austin 2002: 481; see also Gamson 1992).

Because it emphasizes the cultural process of meaning creation, scholars have recently proposed frame analysis as a useful analytical framework for studying market categorization (Fiss/Kennedy 2009; Cornelissen/Werner 2011). Fiss and Kennedy (2009: 7) claim that "frames are used to characterize what it is that's going on in an emerging market." They further underscore the role of existing cultural material for categorization by holding that "many of the frames used by actors to make sense of their particular situations come ready-made and are supplied by society at large" (Fiss/Kennedy 2009: 9). Accordingly, I choose a frame analytical approach to study categorization, and conceive of categories as an outcome of strategic framing. Categories emerge out of ongoing framing activities of market members who make use of the cultural "material that comes from the world" (Goffman 1974: 287) to construct a category's content. The cultural material for categorization includes existing meanings, ideologies, practices, beliefs, values, (Swidler 1986; Sewell 1992; Snow 2013) and also existing master frames. In this study, I focus on master frames, understood as an outcome of earlier, usually large movements that have become the cultural building blocks for various spin-off movements and also for markets (Snow/Benford 1992; Creed/Scully/Austin 2002; Rao/Monin/Durand 2003). As Benford (2013a: 723) puts it, "a master frame's articulations and attributions are sufficiently elastic, flexible and inclusive enough so that any number of other social movements can successfully adopt and deploy it in their campaigns." Large movements usually develop master frames that form cultural templates for subsequent movements, as well as for markets.

When market creation happens at the boundary of social movements, movement master frames become available as cultural templates to construct the emerging market's meaning. Market members then "consume what is culturally given and produce transmutations of it" (Johnston/Klandermans 1995: 5). In this study, I focus on the social construction of a category's content and aim at understanding which of existing movement frames market members perceive as useful for categorizing the emerging market. I further seek to understand the extent to which market members apply these frames in categorization. I therefore consider whether market members only generally evoke movement frames, or whether they use them more thoroughly by pursuing particular framing tasks or tactics (Benford/Snow 2000; Snow/Benford 1988; Snow et al. 1986). Social movement scholars differentiate non-articulate or general framing from articulate framing (Cress/Snow 2000), where the latter refers to attending to the three core framing tasks of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. While diagnostic framing "entails a diagnosis of some event or aspect of life as troublesome and in need of change, and the attribution of blame for the problem, [p]rognostic framing involves the articulation of a solution to the problem" (Snow/Vliegenthart/Corrigall-Brown 2007: 387). Motivational framing refers to directly addressing activists to engage

in ameliorative collective action.[1] Social movement literature shows that the more articulate a movement is in its framing, the more effective it will be in achieving its aims, such as mobilizing large masses of people or changing the political agenda (Snow/Benford 1988; Cress/Snow 2000). While there is no research on framing tasks in markets (Soule 2012b), we may expect the same processes to be at work in the economic arena of markets. Although market members do not mobilize potential activists, they have to attract consumers and therefore also apply certain "discursive strategies for mobilizing participation" (Creed/Scully/Austin 2002: 481). To mobilize consumers towards shopping morally and to work towards changing critical practices in conventional markets, members of moral markets emerging at the boundary of social movements have to talk about the problems of conventional market practices and about potential solutions. It is therefore likely that they pursue the core framing tactics of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing when adopting movement frames to categorize the market.

3 Data and methods

Research context

The socially constructed and complex nature of the phenomenon to be studied as well as our lack of knowledge about it suggests a qualitative case study research design (Yin 2003). The setting for this study is the market for ethical fashion in the United Kingdom. In general, ethical fashion refers to fashionable clothing and shoes that are designed, sourced, and manufactured in socially and environmentally sustainable ways. One of the founding directors of the Ethical Fashion Forum, the first professional association in the emerging market, defines ethical fashion as follows:

> When we talk about ethical fashion we are taking into consideration fashion which is socially and environmentally conscious. Social issues may include topics of gender, transparency, fair pay, trade unions and good governance. Environmental issues may include carbon miles, pesticides used in farming, natural and synthetic dying methods, how we dispose of clothing and its effect on the environment, water usage during production and post production of a garment. (Elizabeth Laskar, co-founder and director of the Ethical Fashion Forum)[2]

1 "Simply put, the former [diagnostic and prognostic framing] fosters or facilitates agreement whereas the latter [motivational framing] fosters action, moving people from the balcony to the barricades" (Benford/Snow 2000: 615).

2 http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/i/interview-elizabeth-laskar-founder-director-of-ethical-fashion-forum/

The market develops at the intersection between an aesthetic market, the fashion industry, and the moral sphere of various social movements. Its formation is a "moral as well as an economic project" (Weber/Heinze/DeSoucey 2008: 563) with which market members fundamentally challenge conventional practices in the fashion industry and collectively aim to build an alternative market.[3]

The ethical fashion market has become known to a larger audience through fairs, the largest of which includes the Estethica in the UK, held twice a year during London Fashion Week. While the proportion of ethical fashion in the overall fashion market is still small – it is estimated to constitute 0.4 per cent of the UK fashion market (McAspurn 2009) – many important market actors expect ethical fashion to become a larger issue over the coming years. Market research institutes such as GfK (Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung, Germany's largest market research institute) see the increasing attention society is paying to sustainability and conscious consumption as fuelling all kinds of consumption markets, including fashion clothing. The research institute TNS Worldpanel reported in 2008 that 72 percent of British consumers think that ethical production of the clothes they buy is important, up from 59 percent in 2007. Other members of the conventional fashion market seem to share this outlook:

> I do not think the eco/organic/fair trade movement is a trend. I think it is the beginning of a major shift in consciousness in the fashion business.
> (Julie Gilhart, Fashion Director and Senior Vice President of Barneys New York)[4]

The market research company Mintel estimated in 2009 that the UK market for ethical clothing is worth £175 million, four times as much as five years previously. The latest Ethical Consumerism Report of the Co-operative Bank also provides data reflecting the increasing importance of ethical consumption in general, and of ethical clothing in particular:

> Expenditure on green goods and services has grown by 18 per cent over the last two years, despite the economic downturn. Overall, the ethical market in the UK was worth £43.2 billion in 2009 compared to £36.5 billion two years earlier, against the background of one per cent growth in overall household expenditure over this period … Ethical personal products, including clothing and cosmetics, were the fastest growing sector, increasing by 29 per cent over two years to

3 What are the boundaries of this market? While some global brands and high-street retailers offer organic cotton lines, they are usually not considered part of the ethical fashion market and are therefore not included in this study. The reason is that they do not share the collective identity of ethical fashion producers, which builds on respecting both environmental and social dimensions. Producers of ethical fashion fundamentally challenge conventional practices in the fashion industry. Many of them see themselves as activists for building a sustainable future for fashion, one in which both poverty and environmental damage in supply chains should be reduced. Given this shared activist identity and market members' aim to construct alternative market structures, the ethical fashion market can be differentiated from the conventional fashion market (see Aspers 2010 for a differentiation of fashion markets according to producers' collective identity).

4 http://www.ethicalfashionforum.com/fact-cards/1-times-a-changing

Table 1 Ethical consumerism in the UK (in £)

	Ethical clothing sales	Charity shop sales	Buying for re-use – clothing	Clothing boycotts
2007	103	210	360	338
2008	184	299	402	384
2009	177	340	387	399

Source: The Co-operative Bank, Ethical Consumerism Report (2010: 4).

> reach £1.8 billion … This report clearly shows that growth in ethical consumerism continues to outstrip the market as a whole … Consumer commitment to ethical products has remained strong through the downturn.
> (Ethical Consumerism Report 2010, The Co-operative Bank, p. 2)

Apart from its growing economic importance, the British ethical fashion market is well suited to serve as a "theoretical sample" (Eisenhardt/Graebner 2007), for two reasons. First, like other consumption markets that are also infused with movement-driven moral values (for example, the organic food market or the wind energy market), different social movements such as the environmental movement, the social justice movement or the animal rights movement are directly or indirectly involved in its formation (Schiller-Merkens 2010; Balsiger 2012). Due to this diversity in the cultural connections between the economic sphere and the movement sphere, it is an exemplary case for scrutinizing the role of different moral templates in the cultural construction of a market. Second, the ethical fashion market is an attempt by fashion designers to combine cultural material from an aesthetic market, fashion, with cultural material from the moral sphere of social movements. The following statement by a designer reflects the effort behind it:

> It's not more expensive to create beautiful, ethically correct clothing, it's just a lot more of a hassle … You have to make social and corporate responsibility darn sexy to get people to play the game. (Peter Ingwersen, founder of the label Noir)[5]

Those breaking such new ground need to explain themselves, both to conventional designers and to consumers. Hence the cultural process of constructing meaning is particularly important in the making of this market. We can therefore expect rich empirical material allowing us to obtain insights into the categorization of a new market at the boundary of the movement sphere.

Data

The data that allow insights into market categorization through framing are made up of texts. I drew upon three different types of sources: (1) producer websites, (2) media accounts, and (3) complementary data, including documents from the field, as well

5 http://www.ethicalfashionforum.com/fact-cards/1-times-a-changing

as field notes from ethnographic fieldwork. The first set of texts seeks to capture the role of movement master frames in categorization at the level of producers who are crucial market members in the cultural processes of meaning creation and classification (Aspers/Beckert 2011; White 1981, 2008; Kennedy 2008). I chose the producers based on their participation in a high-status event: all of them exhibited at the largest British ethical fashion fair, Estethica, which is held twice a year during London Fashion Week. This first set of texts comprises the content of the websites of clothing, shoes and accessories designers who exhibited at the fairs in February 2009 and in September 2010. This dataset of 62 websites (49,489 words) allows insights into categorization by producers who are considered elite by virtue of having been chosen to present at a high-status event. Given the visibility of these fairs and their role as field-constituting events in the development of a market (Khaire/Wadhwani 2010; Lampel/Meyer 2008; Skov 2006), these producers can be regarded as key players in the categorization of the market.[6]

The second set of texts seeks to capture the cultural legacy of movement frames in categorizing ethical fashion at the level of the media. This text collection is based on the assumption that categories are collective constructions whose meaning not only is created among producers but socially constructed among a broader audience (Fligstein/Dauter 2007; Negro et al. 2010). As Khaire and Wadhwani (2010: 1283) put it, "a new category becomes stable only when relevant audiences collectively recognize the meanings." Scholars emphasize the critical role of the media in this process (Kennedy 2005, 2008; Lounsbury/Rao 2004; Anand/Peterson 2000; Rosa et al. 1999), who "simultaneously acts as a stage and a key player" (Meyer/Höllerer 2010: 1245).[7] "Media coverage helps audiences sort out the meaning of emerging market categories by facilitating a virtual dialogue about product similarities and differences" (Kennedy 2008: 272). Negro et al. (2010: 14) therefore assume that the "collective understanding of product categories is shaped by the news that reporters select." We can add that it is not only the selection of the news but also the framing of the texts through which journalists contribute to category construction. Using the LexisNexis database, I therefore extracted all media articles that appeared in the British national media and contained the word "ethical fashion" or any of its related forms, such as "sustainable fashion," "green fashion," "eco fashion," or "organic fashion" between February 2009 and September 2010. This data collection resulted in a dataset of 73 full-text articles on ethical fashion in British national newspapers (198 pages).

6 See Table A3 in the Appendix for a list of producers in the sample.

7 Members of the ethical fashion market also underscore its important role: "The media are already taking a role. This increased sensitivity towards ethical practices within the fashion industry is in large part due to media reportage and the exposé of child labour issues and unfair working practices within supply chains, such as those revealed by the BBC's Blood, Sweat and T-Shirts documentary series" (McAspurn 2009: 34).

The third set of texts comes both from various secondary sources (book publications by ethical fashion activists; reports on the market published by social movement organizations, by London College of Fashion's Centre for Sustainable Fashion, and the Ethical Fashion Forum) and my ongoing fieldwork, which includes informal talks with retailers, designers, and consumers of ethical fashion as well as notes I took during a two-day international conference on ethical fashion with more than 100 key actors from the emerging market (Beyond Fashion Summit, 21–22 October 2011, Berlin, Germany). My records of the conference include notes taken during the speakers' presentations and unstructured interviews with field members, such as ethical fashion designers, retailers, researchers, activists, and journalists. This dataset has a supplementary function in that it helped me to be able to derive more accurate interpretations of the findings from frame analysis (Johnston 2002).

Frame analysis

Besides offering a theoretical framework to conceptualize categorization, frame analysis is also a useful method for investigating category construction. In particular, it allows insights into the questions this study poses, such as whether and which movement master frames form part of market categorization, and whether and what kinds of framing tactics market members pursue when drawing on movement frames in categorization. Interestingly, despite the remarkable number of scholarly works using frame analysis, methods for conducting frame analysis remain relatively unrefined and diverse (Benford/Snow 2000). For this reason, I subsequently provide more details about the analytical process.

The approach to frame analysis in this study is broadly inspired by the approaches described by Fiss and Hirsch (2005) and Cress and Snow (2000). It starts from the assumption that frames, including master frames, are invoked by words (Fillmore 1975, 1982). They manifest themselves by the presence of certain keywords. Frame analysis thus includes searching texts for the occurrence of keywords. It further assumes that these keywords cluster to denote the presence of a certain higher-order frame, in this study a certain master frame. Reading through the documents, I began coding sentences that entailed keywords that indicated the presence of master frames originating from those movements that I knew are involved in the creation of the ethical fashion market, namely the environmental movement, the social justice movement, and the animal rights movement.[8] However, throughout the reading, other keywords appeared that indicated the existence of further master frames, both from the movement arena and beyond: a global justice frame, a health frame, a business frame, and a frame associ-

8 Sentences form the smallest syntactically closed unit in naturally occurring language and are considered the most meaningful unit of analysis in computerized content analysis (Fiss/Hirsch 2005; Weber 2005).

ated with the slow movement. I coded both the keywords and the sentences associated with a particular movement, and with the non-moral social spheres of business and health. This first analytical step was intended to study the first research question (movement frames in market categorization), and resulted in sentences allocated to particular movement frames and in lists of movement-specific keywords. The keyword lists then served to re-check whether all sentences that entailed framing cues (keywords) to master frames were included in the coding process.

The second analytical step aimed to find particular framing tactics in market members' use of movement frames to categorize ethical fashion. I reconsidered the sentences in which each movement master frame appeared and coded any evidence for non-articulate or general framing, and for diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing as forms of articulate framing (Benford/Snow 2000; Snow/Benford 1988; Snow et al. 1986). Thus, on a sentence-by-sentence basis, I looked into whether a certain movement frame was applied either generally by simply evoking a certain keyword, or in diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational ways. The latter entailed identifying whether market members use movement frames to denominate problems of the conventional fashion industry and to discuss their causes (diagnostic framing), to construct solutions for these problems (prognostic framing) or to address consumers directly to encourage a change in their consumption habits (motivational framing). I generally followed Cress and Snow's (2000) approach toward differentiating between articulate and non-articulate framing. An example of general, non-articulate framing would be: an ethical fashion producer simply mentions the importance of "being green," thus evoking the environmental frame by using only a keyword ("green") but without talking about any problems, or offering any attribution of who and what is to blame, or discussing any solutions, or directly addressing the reader. If, on the other hand, producers or journalists highlight a specific issue, such as poverty and the abuse of workers' rights, with specific reasons, such as "trading patterns where intermediaries made all the profits," that calls for specific solutions, such as "work[ing] with our producers [directly] on a long-term basis," this would be an example of articulate framing, and the sentences would be coded as illustrating diagnostic and prognostic framings.

All coding and analyzing in this study were computer-assisted by the qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti, which also supported the analysis of frequency distributions pursued to assess the relative frequency of different movement frames and framing tactics in the categorization of the new market.

4 Findings

Movement master frames in market categorization

Market members use various kinds of master frames to describe ethical fashion on their websites and to imbue their activities with meaning, among them both market-related frames and frames belonging to non-economic social spheres.[9] In the following, I provide insights into each of these master frames and, following Gamson's (1992) advice, do so by integrating authentic voices from the sample. I thereby focus on excerpts from the producers' accounts and present findings from media analysis only when they differ from the use of movement frames by producers.

Regarding market-related frames, producers use a *business frame* when they refer, for instance, to their professional background in business, their studies of business or management, their entrepreneurial spirit, their profit-seeking ambitions and the realized profits, or talk about their supply chain, in other words, the sourcing and production process, the retailers, and distribution channels:

> Eloise Grey wants a business model that is ultimately profit-making so that the business is sustainable. (Eloise Grey)

> The emphasis needs to be one using the business economy to make a profit for sustainable ventures. (Stewart/Brown)

These quotations already reveal that the business frame does not always stand alone. Rather, market members use it in relation to a movement master frame, such as the environmental frame, the social justice frame, and the animal rights frame. Many of the instances in which the business frame becomes adopted together with movement frames reflect the producers' responses towards a perceived conflict between the economic sphere of the market and the moral sphere of social movements. In their market framings, producers show their awareness of society's general perception that the logics guiding exchange processes in each of these spheres – a logic of profit-seeking, on one hand, and a logic of doing good, on the other – are incompatible. They therefore stress that their business should be seen as a successful example of how to combine these seemingly incompatible logics. One producer, for instance, sees no conflict between business-oriented principles and practices following environmental and social justice-related principles:

> [O]ur endeavour [is] to redress inequalities in the global fashion industry through demonstrating that it is possible to run a successful retail and wholesale clothing business which benefits the producers and is environmentally sustainable. (Pachacuti)

9 See also Table A1 in the Appendix for the kinds of master frames in producers' accounts of ethical fashion.

Another producer addresses the hierarchy of aims guiding fair trade businesses, thereby combining the business frame with the social justice frame:

> Fair Trade Organizations trade with concern for the social, economic and environmental well-being of marginalized small producers and do not maximise profit at their expense.
> (People Tree)

Producers focusing more on the environmental aspect of ethical fashion tend to combine the business frame with the environmental frame by claiming, for instance, that they have "come up with a solution to reduce wastage as well as manufacture costs, in a unique win-win situation for both the environment and business operation" (Mark Liu). Finally, some producers see their business as contributing to the aims of the animal rights movement and therefore seek "to demonstrate an economic model whereby sheep can exist, be valued and have a place in our world without becoming meat" (Izzy Lane).

Market members also adopt master frames from non-market spheres. Besides the media, a few designers in 2009 sporadically adopted a *health frame* to address possible health effects of conventionally produced fashion on either workers or consumers. They refer, for instance, to the "[m]any chemicals used in cotton farming [that] are acutely toxic" (People Tree), or they become more precise when saying that "five of the top nine pesticides used in cotton production in the US … are known cancer-causing chemicals" (Del Forte Denim), with harmful effects for the workers who are exposed to these chemicals. They also address allergy problems for consumers and thus suggest switching to organic, un-dyed cotton to avoid the "chemical residue" of cotton production and conventional dyeing procedures (Stewart/Brown). Some of them therefore claim that they "make sure that all our dyeing has minimum impact on the wearer, the producer and the environment" (People Tree).

The other non-market frames that market members use to talk about the new market, the new product, and their activities are all related to the moral sphere of social movements: *a social justice frame, an environmental frame, an animal rights frame, a global justice or localism frame and a slow fashion frame.* Table 2 provides some anecdotal evidence of how these frames help producers to imbue the emerging category "ethical fashion" with meaning.

Framing tactics in market categorization

Table 2 shows that market members pursue different framing tactics when adopting movement frames to categorize the new market. Some evoke movement frames rather generally (non-articulate framing) when referring to a keyword that belongs to a particular master frame, such as "fast fashion" as a keyword associated with the slow fashion frame, or "waste" as a keyword associated with the environmental frame. Others

Table 2 Use of movement-related master frames in producers' categorization of ethical fashion

Environmental frame	"In Britain, more than 1 million tonnes of textile waste finds its way into our landfill sites every year, 50% of which is reusable." (Goodone) [diagnostic use]
	"Ada has also employed zero waste technology by saving the fabric residue and shredding this to create padding utilised in scarves and shoulder pads. Other fabrics used in the collection include Fair Trade organic cotton." (Ada Zanditon) [prognostic use]
Social justice frame	"Fairtrade means ensuring a better price for disadvantaged cotton farmers, many of whom struggle to earn the minimum wage." (Monsoon) [diagnostic and prognostic use]
	"Veja buys cotton respecting fair trade rules and has long term commitments to the cooperatives. Veja offers twice the market price to the Brazilian producers to buy their organic cotton." (Veja) [prognostic use]
Animal rights frame	"There sheep graze on organic land and the wool is spun and dyed naturally within a 120 mile radius of the sheep's cozy shed where they will live out the rest of their natural lives." (The North Circular) [prognostic use]
	"Ahilya goats are not intensively farmed; indeed they are free to roam all summer, followed and protected by Nomadic herders who guide them to lower, safer altitudes in winter." (Ahilya) [prognostic use]
Global justice/ localism frame	"Through the provision of our training programmes we empower local grassroots partners … supporting UK industries, traditional arts and crafts … Our garments are all produced in the UK, from the grass the sheep graze on to the product in your hands." (The North Circular) [prognostic use]
	"When you purchase a piece made by Henrietta Ludgate, you are investing in the Scottish Textile industry, sustaining a way of working that has been in this country through generations." (Henrietta Ludgate) [motivational use]
Slow fashion frame	"Fashion has a lot to learn from the slow food movement, where quality speaks throughout the process of growing, creating and consuming." (Makepiece) [general use]
	"We also allow enough time for production by hand, which is very rare in this world dominated by fast fashion." (People Tree) [prognostic use]
	"Anatomy allows you to shop ethically … slow, cleaner fashion that … you will treasure and wear from season to season." (Anatomy) [motivational use]

apply movement frames more thoroughly (articulate framing) to discuss specific problems in the conventional fashion industry and their causes, and to provide solutions. Table 3 provides insights into the articulate framing tactics when producers adopt the environmental frame and the social justice frame, which are the two most prominent master frames not only in the producers' accounts of ethical fashion, but also in media accounts, with the environmental frame dominating the moral framing of the new market.[10]

The analysis of the framing tactics shows that producers tend to use the master frames of movements in articulate ways, mostly to talk about solutions to existing environmental and ethical problems in the fashion industry. In such prognostic uses of movement frames, they refer, for instance, to using "a range of organic and natural fabrics

10 See Table A2 in the Appendix for the frequency of framing tactics in producer and media accounts of ethical fashion.

Table 3 Framing tactics of producers applying movement-related master frames

	Environmental frame	Social justice frame
General use (non-articulate framing)	"I wanted to achieve my dream of creating my own premium denim line while protecting the environment and the farmers." (Delforte Denim) "as much as we care about fashion … we also care about the environment and people" (Monsoon)	"Emesha is fully committed to … social responsibilities" (Emesha) "From the artisans embroidering our clothes to the teams serving in our shops, valuing people isn't just fashionable, it's part of who we are." (Monsoon)
Diagnostic use (articulate framing)	"Non-organically (conventionally) grown cotton can cause irreparable damage to the natural environment and to farm workers, and may contaminate drinking water." (Delforte Denim) "Much of the waste from production is dumped into rivers which severely damages entire ecosystems." (Beyond Skin)	"This is, more often than not, poor quality fibre, from goats kept in poor condition in lowland China, and/or made by underpaid, possibly child, labour." (Mudra Cashmere)
Prognostic use (articulate framing)	"Minna ensures that no materials gets wasted in the production process since all remnants are used to embellish the garments." (Minna) "Wherever possible, natural dyes are used" (House of Tammam)	"Personal relationships are built with the small units that manufacture the clothing." (Ada Zanditon) "We ensure prompt payments and pay at least 50% in advance when requested." (Pachacuti)
Motivational use (articulate framing)	"Attaining peace of mind because you are supporting the future of life on this planet and in doing so, serving as a positive role model to your children, nieces and nephews …" (Stewart/Brown)	"If you think of what you're wearing and you find … it was sewn by people in shoddy conditions, it suddenly doesn't feel half as glamorous. Style is about expressing who we are. Most of us don't think of ourselves as cheap and shoddy but if we're not careful that's what our clothes say about us." (Makepiece)

as well as innovative waste reducing and energy conscious solutions" (Ada Zanditon). When applying the environmental frame in prognostic ways, many designers present fairly detailed information about their materials or about resources in clothing production, including the use of "eco friendly light bulbs, eco friendly cleaning products and recycled stationary [sic]" (Ada Zanditon), or of "pre-consumer waste such as proofs, swatches, production off-cuts and end of rolls" (From Somewhere), or of "wool [as a material that] is fully biodegradeable" (Makepiece). They evoke principles of social justice when describing solutions to problematic working conditions in conventional fashion production, such as "workers are free to join federations of labor units and offered appropriate reasonable payments over the average living wage" (Righteous Fashion), or "long-standing, sustainable relationships … work[ing] with many … suppliers for over 20 years" (Monsoon). Here as well, we sometimes see very detailed information such as "prompt payment and pay[ment] at least 50% in advance when requested," or the monitoring of the "price we pay against an analysis of local cost of living and against the canasta family, [i.e.,] the monthly basket of essentials for a family of 4" (both Pachacuti). In general, by using movement frames in prognostic ways, the producers seek to present their products, implicitly or explicitly, as solutions to critical issues in the conventional market.

The media do not use the movement frames as thoroughly as the producers do; there is an equal balance of non-articulate and articulate framing. Journalists sometimes only mention keywords such as "recycling," "upcycling," "organic range," "fair trade fashion pioneer," "social and environmental justice," or they refer to "clothing makers and retailers going green" to evoke the underlying master frames of the social justice movement and the environmental movement (non-articulate framing). Yet when journalists apply articulate framing tactics, they also tend to discuss solutions – such as producing "environmentally friendly hemp-based fabrics," "taking into account the package and labeling," "using fair trade materials," or "dealing with suppliers directly" – without clearly denominating potential underlying problems.

Interestingly, the other two framing tactics are not as important as the movement literature generally suggests. Rather, compared to prognostic framing, we see relatively little diagnostic and motivational framing in the adoption of movement frames. Both producers and the media do not talk extensively about the problems in the conventional fashion industry. When they diagnostically use the environmental frame, for instance, they ask rhetorically "what happens to the industry's waste (such as off-cuts, pre-consumer surplus, end of roll, damaged fabrics) at the end of each producing season?" (From Somewhere), they refer to the "huge amounts of energy in the form [of] oil and electricity – used in manufacturing and the production of synthetics and in shipping and air travel" (Good One), or to the "fact [that] 2.5% of all farmland worldwide is used to grow cotton, yet 10% of all chemical pesticides and 22% of insecticides are sprayed on cotton" (People Tree).

Neither do market members often directly speak to their audience in the way Stewart/Brown do, who adopt the environmental frame in motivational ways by directly addressing consumers to buy ethical fashion to support "the future life on this planet," or Elena Garcia who claims that "[l]ike you, we are concerned about the welfare of our planet." To summarize, when market members draw on movement frames to categorize ethical fashion in articulate ways, problems are not so much discussed than solutions presented and the audience's conscience is often not directly addressed.

5 Discussion and conclusions

Little is known about the social construction of a category's content and the kinds of cultural templates that market members adopt to imbue a new market with meaning. We particularly lack an understanding of the categorization of markets that emerge at the boundary between the economic sphere of markets and the moral sphere of social movements (Fourcade/Healy 2007; Aspers 2011). The aim of this study was therefore to explore whether and to what extent members of a market emerging at the boundary of social movements perceive movement frames as important cultural material for categorization.

The analysis generally reveals that movements leave their cultural footprint on categories. Movement-related master frames form part of the cultural toolkit that producers and the media use to make sense of an emerging market. Two key findings can be mentioned. First, while several movement frames can be found in categorizing the new market, the environmental master frame dominates. Second, when market members apply movement frames more thoroughly to imbue the emerging category with meaning, they tend to discuss solutions for problems against which former movement activism was directed. I will discuss each of these findings in turn.

Dominant movement frame in market categorization

The environmental frame is the most important master frame for imbuing the emerging category of ethical fashion with meaning. This can be attributed to social practices, political opportunities, and the cultural context of market categorization. The environmental frame's prevalence can be related first to practical limitations entrepreneurs had to face during the early stages of the ethical fashion market. When the market was getting started, entrepreneurs found it easier to do business according to environmental principles than to meet the criteria of social justice, as Tamsin Lejeune, co-founder of the Ethical Fashion Forum, recalled during a presentation at the Beyond Fashion Summit 2011. In those early days, few designers had strong connections to production sites or wielded enough clout to control the many suppliers that usually make up the clothing supply chain (see for the latter Aspers 2010). For a designer, it was more achievable to focus on the environmental aspect, for example, through buying organic cotton. Hence, practice-related reasons that may have precluded a stronger use of other movement master frames can help explain the greater appeal of the environmental frame in categorizing the ethical fashion market.

Furthermore, the context in which market categorization takes place may have supported a stronger use of the environmental frame. Social movement research underscores the importance of context, in particular of political opportunities, for the outcome of movement activism (e.g., Tarrow 1998; McAdam/McCarthy/Zald 1996). According to McAdam (1994), movements that achieve political leverage and economic resources are more likely to leave their cultural traces behind. We could thus argue that a master frame that is backed by support from state agencies and other influential organizations (such as professional associations, cf. Suddaby/Greenwood 2005, or consumer watchdog organizations, cf. Rao 1998), is more likely to become adopted in market categorization than frames that receive less or no political support. This suggestion is in line with Rao (1998) who shows that out of competing frames of rival entrepreneurs, the frame that receives greater support from professions and the state becomes more influential. In the United Kingdom, two state agencies support the formation of the ethical fashion market. The Department for International Development, that manages Britain's aid to poor countries, financially supports the Ethical Fashion Forum (the

market's first professional association) through its Development Awareness Fund, and the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) is deeply committed "to enhancing the environment and biodiversity, and supporting a strong and sustainable green economy."[11] The latter's Sustainable Clothing Action Plan, launched during London Fashion Week in February 2009, sets out agreed stakeholder actions from the fashion industry to improve the environmental sustainability of clothing.[12] Hence the categorization of the ethical fashion market takes place in a context of considerable political support from two governmental agencies, both of which stand for environmental justice by supporting green growth either in the UK or abroad.[13]

Finally, the cultural context of market categorization can provide further opportunities for the use of particular movement frames (Williams 2004; Benford/Snow 2000; McAdam 1994). Social movement research suggests that movements that utilize resonant frames are more likely to have an impact (e.g., Snow/Benford 1988; Benford/Snow 2000; McCammon 2009; McCammon et al. 2007). Likewise, Weber/Heinze/DeSoucey (2008) argue that frames to recruit market participants are successful when they resonate with their targets, which is achieved via cultural codes that are held in common by activists and targets. Thus it is likely that members of the ethical fashion market consider the environmental frame as the most appropriate interpretive scheme for categorization because it resonates with prominent cultural themes in the broader environment. Other consumption markets – such as the market for renewable energy or the organic food market – build on comparable values and provide evidence for its broader appeal. Due to the growth of such markets, actors become increasingly exposed to environmental arguments on a daily basis and do not question them anymore. Hence, the increasing institutionalization of environmental beliefs and practices in society increases the likelihood that producers and the media resort to them when constructing the cultural boundaries of a new market. To conclude, the findings suggest that when a market emerges at the boundary of various social movements, the master frame of the movement prevails in market categorization whose activism has led to changes in the political agenda, social beliefs, and practices in society.

Framing tactics in market categorization

When movement frames become applied more thoroughly, it is striking that prognostic use is prominent, and diagnostic use is only sporadic. Both producers and the media do not talk much about the problems of conventional fashion production, but rather em-

11 Supporting a sustainable green economy is a main goal in Defra's 2012 Business Plan. See http://www.number10.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/DEFRA-2012-Business-Plan.pdf.

12 See http://www.defra.gov.uk/publications/files/pb13206-clothing-action-plan-100216.pdf.

13 While the Department for International Development is primarily dedicated to enhancing social justice throughout the world, it strives for solutions that support the British government's core principle of sustainability.

phasize what an ethical approach to fashion entails and how it helps to build an alternative fashion business. They mainly provide detailed descriptions of how to act according to social and environmental guidelines, thereby using the frames in prognostic ways. How can we account for such a result? First, one could argue that it is redundant to raise problems when they become implicitly transmitted through talking about solutions.[14] For instance, when a journalist writes that she "challenged the High Street brands to add just 80p to a pair of £20 jeans so the workers could earn a living wage" (Daily Mail, September 13, 2010), the underlying problem appears in a latent form, namely that if workers do not receive a living wage, they will remain in their "cycle of poverty."

Second, it seems unnecessary to raise the problems directly when the assumption can be made they are commonly known in society. For instance, when ethical fashion entrepreneur Livia Firth refers to her aim to achieve "as small a carbon footprint as possible" with her new store (Daily Mail, May 18, 2009), she implicitly addresses the subject that carbon can be harmful to the environment. Why it is harmful to the environment remains unexplained, but both producers and the media are likely to assume that actors in society already know about the underlying problems. The existence of such shared knowledge is particularly likely when there is a history of considerable social movement activism around the issues, or when there are political initiatives, strategies, and programs, or other market and non-market spheres that seek to counter them. In the UK, many social movement organizations are active in fighting against social injustice or mobilizing against environmental destruction and pollution, and government agencies dedicate financial, organizational, and symbolic resources to social and environmental aims. We can hence assume that British society is aware of the conditions under which social and environmental problems arise.

Finally, talking more about solutions than about problems can be associated with the designers' worries about offending consumers when putting too much emphasis on problematic issues such as the waste of water and energy, environmental pollution, workers' health risks through the use of pesticides or the abuse of workers' and children's rights. As ethical fashion retailers remarked in personal conversations, consumers feel intimidated when confronted with the problems of fashion production; most of them still buy conventionally produced clothing. Comparably, Lounsbury (2005) and Weber/Heinze/DeSoucey (2008) argue that more radical framing is likely to foster elite resistance and prevent actors from entering emerging markets. Diagnostic framing can be considered more radical as it usually involves using vocabularies of severity to highlight the seriousness of the problems (Benford 1993). To conclude, while diagnostic framing has been shown to be an effective strategy for mobilizing potential activists in the realm of social movements (e.g., McCammon 2009; Benford 1993; Gerhards/Rucht 1992), in the realm of markets, pointing to the seriousness of problems seems to be re-

14 In this vein, Benford and Snow (2000) argue that there is some empirical evidence that suggests a correspondence between diagnostic and prognostic framing in that the choice of solutions and strategies is bounded by the underlying problems.

garded as less appropriate. This finding suggests that the importance of framing tactics changes when movement frames are applied outside of the movement sphere, in the economic arena of markets.

6 Implications and future research

The study holds insights for the sociology of markets' interest in categories as symbols reflecting the cultural structure of a market (Scott 2001). It examines a currently underdeveloped area of research, namely the construction of a category's content and the role of moral values originating from the movement sphere in an emerging market category. In particular, the study shows whether and to what extent producers and intermediaries consider movement-driven moral values to be appropriate or supportive elements for making an evolving market intelligible to others. The findings indicate a prevalence of movement master frames in the emerging market category, thereby providing insights into the role of morality in the cultural structuring of an economic arena.

The approach to categorization in this study takes the recent call for agency, or the manipulation and change of categorical boundaries through meaning work, seriously (Kennedy/Lo/Lounsbury 2010; Negro/Hannan/Rao 2011; Porac/Thomas/Baden-Fuller 2011). Market members are considered as having the ability to draw on a range of cultural schemas, including those originating from non-economic, moral spheres, to provide meaning to an emerging market (Swidler 1986; DiMaggio 1987; Sewell 1992). Whereas most empirical research on categorization relied on existing or formal category schemas such as ratings, product taxonomies, or industrial classification systems, without delineating the outcome of market members' cultural framing of a new market, this study draws attention to a category's content through the lens of market members' framing activities. We thereby learn that the meaning of an emerging category results from the blending of pre-existing master frames from different social arenas. The study thereby also exemplifies the usefulness of frame analysis in categorization research. It shows that frame analysis is a balanced approach (Sewell 1992; Giddens 1984) that helps to link the different levels of analysis involved in categorization, one being the framing activities of market members, the other being their cultural and cognitive embeddedness (Zukin/DiMaggio 1990) into different social spheres, which provides them with the cultural material needed to construct the boundaries of the market.

This study also contributes to recent scholarship at the nexus of social movement theory and organization theory (Rao 2009; Soule 2009, 2012a; King/Pearce 2010; Davis et al. 2005; Davis et al. 2008). Empirical investigations of the cultural impact of movements on markets are particularly rare. Advancing Weber et al.'s (2008) work on the structuring of an emerging market through cultural codes originating from one movement, this study draws attention to what happens when various social movements provide cultural

resources for market construction. It discusses some of the conditions under which one movement frame is more likely to influence market categorization than another. Furthermore, by addressing the cultural embeddedness of categorization, in which master frames from the movement sphere provide a source for category construction, this study also points to an indirect and, most likely, originally unintended outcome of social movements: the cultural legacy of movements in the economic sphere of a market. It thereby adds to social movement scholarship on the cultural outcome of movements which is still – mainly due to methodological problems – a neglected area of research (Giugni 1998; Tilly 1999; Earl 2000, 2004; Bosi/Uba 2009).

Social movement research, where little is known about framing tactics in social spheres other than social movements (Soule 2012b), will benefit from this study. While current research regards all of the framing tasks as equally important for mobilizing potential adherents (e.g., Cress/Snow 2000; McCammon 2009), this study suggests that the role of the framing tactics differs with regard to the social sphere in which framing occurs. When movement frames are applied in the sphere of markets, consumers are the main targets to be mobilized. Market members then seem to perceive prognostic framing as the appropriate tactic. Thus in markets, the mobilization of action via movement frames seems to be perceived as less contingent on identifying the sources of problematic conditions and situations (diagnostic framing), or on providing adherents with compelling accounts for engaging in collective action (motivational framing), but rather on articulating solutions and strategies to overcome problems that have been defined elsewhere (prognostic framing). Thus this study suggests that the core framing tasks to mobilize potential adherents are not equally important but depend on the targeted audience. Attributions of who or what is to blame for problematic conditions or situations in need of change are only rarely found when movement frames enter markets in which economic actors are the main targets.

Finally, the limitations of this study point out possible directions for future research. This study intended to examine the presence of cultural material from social movements in market categorization. It is thus a descriptive and interpretive study on the extent to which moral values deriving from movement activism can shape the cultural structuring of a market. Because categories are constructed collectively by various market members, this study scrutinizes categorization by examining producers and the media, who are commonly regarded as the most important actors in market categorization. However, scholars have started to call for more actor-specific studies on categorization to acknowledge that producers and audience members can have different perceptions of a particular category (Durand/Paolella 2012). Hence, different kinds of actors may use different movement frames and thereby apply different framing tactics. It would thus be interesting to enlarge upon the question of whether there are different classes of actors who draw on movement frames differently, and to scrutinize the reasons for potential framing differences. For instance, producers with a background as movement activists, or producers collaborating with social movement organizations may make stronger use of movement frames when making sense of ethical fashion. Ultimately, market "fram-

ings are linked to social positions and identities" (Meyer/Höllerer 2010: 1259), and actors are likely to frame differently when they are differently positioned, have a different collective identity, or pursue different interests in the market (Fiss/Hirsch 2005; Durand/Paolella 2012). Thus further research could examine biographical, cultural, and structural factors that can account for differences in the extent to which movement values shape market categorization. Finally, such a study is likely to reveal the existence of "frame disputes" (Benford/Snow 2000) in market categorization. In light of conflicting logics of moral and economic arenas, the extent to which moral ideas from the movement sphere should provide meaning to a new market is likely to be a contested issue that must be negotiated among market members. Apart from analyzing the causes of such disputes, further research could illuminate the conditions under which frame disputes or struggles over category meaning tend to facilitate or constrain the development of a market (Benford 2013b; Durand/Paolella 2012).

Appendix

Table A1 Frequency of master frames on producer websites

	Absolute frequency (number of quotations)	Relative frequency	Absolute frequency (excluding outliers[a])	Relative frequency (excluding outliers[a])
Business frame	77	0.05	51	0.05
Health frame	29	0.02	12	0.01
Social justice frame	505	0.35	268	0.28
Environmental frame	667	0.47	495	0.52
Animal rights frame	76	0.05	65	0.07
Slow fashion frame	28	0.02	24	0.03
Antiglobalism/localism frame	44	0.03	44	0.05

a While most producer websites have a length up to around 2,000 words, some are outliers with 4,661 words (People Tree), 3,151 words (Stewart/Brown), or 7,319 words (Pachacuti). This table shows the results when excluding these outliers, indicating the importance of the environmental frame in producers' accounts of ethical fashion.

Table A2 Framing tactics in the use of the two most common movement master frames (number of quotations)

	Producers Frequency, absolute	Media Frequency, absolute	Total
Social justice framing – general	150	58	208
Social justice framing – diagnostic	65	31	96
Social justice framing – prognostic	264	38	302
Social justice framing – motivational	26	2	28
Total, social justice framing	505	129	634
Environmental framing – general	176	119	295
Environmental framing – diagnostic	107	19	126
Environmental framing – prognostic	345	66	411
Environmental framing – motivational	39	11	50
Total, environmental framing	667	215	882

Table A3 Producers in the sample: Designers of clothing, shoes, and accessories, who exhibited at …

Estethica, February 2009	Estethica, September 2010
Ada Zanditon	Ada Zanditon
Anatomy	Ahilya
Antonello	Borders/Frontiers
Article 23	Camilla Wellton
Beyond Skin	Christopher Raeburn
Butcher Couture	Emesha
Ciel	From Somewhere
Del Forte Denim	Good One
Elena Garcia	Henrietta Ludgate
Eloise Grey	Ioannis Dimitrousis
Enamore	Issi
From Somewhere	Josie Beckett
Good One	Junky Styling
House of Tammam	Lost Property
Ivana Basilotta	Luflux
Izzy Lane	Makepiece
Makepiece	Martina Spetlova
Mark Liu	Max Jenny
Mia	Michelle Lowe-Holder
Minna	Minna
Nahui Ollin	Monsoon
Nina Dolcetti	Nina Dolcetti
Numanu	Pachacuti
People Tree	Partimi
Prophetik	Propethik
Raeburn Design	Righteous Fashion
Reet Aus	Romina Karamanea
Mudra	She Died of Beauty
Samant Chauhan	Sonya Kashmiri
Sonya Kashmiri	The North Circular
Stewart/Brown	
Veja	

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