

# MERICI

— URSULA HALL —  
ACADEMIC JOURNAL

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# Foreword

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Welcome to the inaugural volume of the Ursula Hall Academic Journal. An exciting collection of works consisting of topics drawn from a range of disciplines which are the result of 12 months of determination from our Editor-in-Chief Henry Poetrodjojo and his editorial team. This journal draws on research from the youngest community on campus, as Ursula Hall Main Wing is predominantly first and second year students. The main aim of this journal is to provide more opportunities for undergraduate students to publish their work as we know that this kind of activity helps to build on student interest in their academic field and to support them in choosing their path in postgraduate studies.

The Australian National University has a culture of supporting great ideas generated by students and it is my pleasure and privilege to support this initiative and to be asked to write the foreword. ANU is a world leader in research and this publication demonstrates that research is not solely the domain of postgraduate students and academic staff. It is hoped through publishing these papers that were extensively reviewed by ANU academics, that others will be inspired to submit works in the future, building on the culture of undergraduate research here at ANU. This publication further adds to the undergraduate research activities at ANU, which include the ANU Learning Communities, ANU Student Research Conference, Summer Research Program, Winter School, Bruce Hall's *Cross-sections* and much more.

I would like to thank the students who bravely submitted their work to be peer reviewed by academics and I would also like to thank the academic staff who gave up their time to review these works.

I know you will enjoy reading every article presented here due both to the high quality of academic integrity and breadth of discipline.

*Dave Segal*

*Head of Residence*

*Ursula Hall*

## A word from the editor

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The idea of creating the Ursula Hall Academic Journal originated in a dark garage at a house in Anglers Rest where the Ursula Hall leadership team were having their retreat. Ilze and I had both thought about creating a journal for Ursula Hall for the past few years, but now we were in a position to make it a reality. With the help of Lauren, the academic Senior Resident, the editors of the very first edition of the Ursula Hall Academic Journal were born.

The name of the Ursula Hall Academic Journal, *Merici*, was suggested by the Ursula Hall Residents Committee President, Kathy Lee. The journal takes its name from St Angela Merici, an Italian religious educator who founded the Company of St Ursula in Brescia in the year 1535. Her order was dedicated to the education of girls. Merici was canonised on 24 May 1807 by Pope Pius VII. With her connection to the Ursuline nuns who founded Ursula Hall in 1968 and St Merici's focus on furthering the education of young people, it is fitting the Ursula Hall Academic Journal is named in her honour.

The biggest struggle of creating *Merici* was the process of building something from scratch. Figuring out where to start was one of the hardest tasks in the beginning. The advice that I received from Siobhan Tobin, *Cross-sections* Editor, proved to be invaluable and really contributed to the progress in the early stages. The enthusiasm of the editors and copy editors to assist and contribute to the journal is what has made this possible and I am extremely grateful for their help. I would like to thank Ilze for her artwork, which is featured on the front cover of *Merici*, and for helping me immensely throughout this year. I would also like to acknowledge the support and advice that I received from Dave Segal and Rowena Wedd,

without which we would not have a journal. Finally, I would like to thank everyone who submitted their work to *Merici*. The purpose of *Merici* was to showcase the amazing talent and work achieved at Ursula Hall, which I believe has been achieved in the very first edition. To those of you who submitted but are not featured in this edition, I strongly encourage you to submit your work next year and show the world your achievements.

To those of you reading this journal, speaking on behalf of the editorial team, we hope that you enjoy the compiled works of the very best of Ursula Hall.

*Henry Poetrodjojo*  
*2015 Merici Editor*

# Author profiles

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## Stephanie Gajewski

Stephanie has finished her first year of a double Bachelor of Arts and European Studies degree. She hopes to pursue postgraduate studies in film and new media, and European history. She only has a minor obsession with *Citizen Kane*.

## Lucinda Janson

Lucinda is a first-year student studying the Bachelor of Philosophy (Arts) degree, with majors in history and Latin. She hopes to pursue further study in Australian history.

## Judy Kuo

Judy is a second-year student studying the Bachelor of Philosophy (Arts) degree, majoring in sociology and philosophy. In these fields, Judy is interested in the connection between contemporary social theory and aesthetics, and is currently researching this topic in relation to refugee politics. She hopes to pursue a career in social theory research.

## Jason Leong

Jason is a second-year Bachelor of Laws (Honours) student with an interest in strategic studies and the Asia Pacific. Jason one day hopes to pursue a career in defence or public policy as a practicing lawyer.

## **Robert Sarich**

Robert Sarich is a second-year student at Ursula Hall undertaking a Bachelor of Commerce with a double major in accounting and marketing. Upon graduation at the end of 2016, Robert hopes to work within these fields and gain his Chartered Accountant qualification. He is also passionate about humanitarian causes and is the Financial Officer of CommonYouth Australia, a youth-led initiative that provides opportunities for youth engagement and a platform for discussion around Commonwealth principles.



# ***Citizen Kane*: The inadequacies of the ‘Rosebud’ ending**

Stephanie Gajewski

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*Citizen Kane* by Orson Welles presents a hollow ending to a complex film. While Rosebud exists as numerous entities throughout the film, as Kane’s last words, the film’s narrative structure and one of the two leading interpretations of the film, whether the ending is satisfying rests upon whether the viewer believes the reveal of Rosebud as Kane’s childhood sleigh ‘solves’ the ‘narrative’ of *Citizen Kane*. However, as Roger Ebert notes in his commentary on *Citizen Kane*, ‘you have to be an active viewer when you look at *Citizen Kane*’.<sup>1</sup> When a viewer reads the film holistically and without the intention of interpreting Kane’s life, Rosebud is ultimately an artificial deduction that can only be made by the audience based on the narrative structure of the film, described by Pauline Kael as ‘gimmickry’.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the Rosebud ending to *Citizen Kane* cannot be satisfying and is hinging too much on too little for two primary reasons. Firstly, while the film does create some basis for the ‘Rosebud interpretation’, it also creates an arguably stronger foundation for the alternate theory: the ‘Enigma interpretation’.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, the ethos and narrative structure of *Citizen Kane* deny the viewer a definitive answer to what the audience believes to be the objective of the film; as the film and audience violate the rights

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1     Commentary with Roger Ebert, *Citizen Kane*, directed by Orson Welles (1941. Burbank, CA: Turner Entertainment Co, 2001), DVD.

2     Pauline Kael, ‘Raising Kane’, *The New Yorker*, February 20 and 27, 1971.

3     Noël Carroll, ‘Interpreting *Citizen Kane*’ in *Interpreting the Moving Image*, Cambridge Studies in Film Series (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 153–65.

of its characters and assume at its core *Citizen Kane* is about finding a singular, definitive answer to explain the motivations and life of Charles Foster Kane.

Laura Mulvey's 'Citizen Kane' notes Noël Carroll was the first to establish the two disconnected leading critical responses to *Citizen Kane*; the 'Rosebud interpretation' and the 'Enigma interpretation'.<sup>4</sup> The 'Rosebud interpretation' entirely rests on the viewer putting together images from the film, which Mulvey notes are typically 'patterns, symmetries and repetitions'.<sup>5</sup> The audience unites images through the narrative quest of Rosebud. One such image this could be used with is the snow globe that is shattered by Kane upon his death.<sup>6</sup> This is directly associated with the scene where Kane is 'handed over' to Thatcher and reacts violently with the sled he was playing with. This allows the audience to associate Rosebud with Kane's childhood and mother through the symmetry between the idealistic snow globe and its reflection in the boarding house, which becomes apparent that this is 'something he lost'.<sup>7</sup> The audience can make further assumptions through this idea of loss. In order to regain his childhood, Kane begins a quest of acquisitions extending to power, statues, newspapers and people. It's his acquisition of people that proves to ultimately be the most detrimental to Kane, highlighted by Kane's death and ending of the film. Welles uses extreme close ups on Kane and the snow globe to emphasise his loneliness at death. This is reversed in the ending, where Welles uses wide overhead shots and deep focus to allow the audience to see the piles upon piles of Kane's belongings. The circular, symmetrical narrative of the film and the Rosebud interpretation emphasises what he lost — Rosebud — and what he tried to fill the void with — items that held little value.

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4 This text is part of the 'BFI Film Classics' book series and reads as an extended essay on *Kane*, like Kael's 'Raising Kane', albeit with a primary focus on critical analysis as opposed to a biased and ultimately discredited argument on auteurism and authorship. Laura Mulvey, 'Citizen Kane', BFI Film Classics Series (Palgrave Macmillan on behalf of the British Film Institute, 2012), 30; Carroll, 'Interpreting Citizen Kane', 153–65.

5 Mulvey, 'Citizen Kane', 55.

6 Robert L. Carringer, 'Rosebud, Dead or Alive: Narrative and Symbolic Structure in Citizen Kane', *PMLA*, Vol. 91, No. 2 (March 1976): 185–93, accessed 6 April 2015.

7 *Citizen Kane*, directed by Orson Welles (1941. Burbank, CA: Turner Entertainment Co, 2001), DVD.

Despite the emphasis the film places on Rosebud, as the narrative drive and the seeming gravity this drive gives the Rosebud reveal to the audience, the film undercuts Rosebud. While introducing this narrative lens, Thompson's boss, Mr Rawlson, is backlit so sinisterly he looks devilish.<sup>8</sup> Further, no character actually knows anything about Rosebud. The two primary characters who have a connection to it — Mr Thatcher and Susan, through the sled and the snow globe respectively — have no idea what it is. Mr Thatcher is dead and didn't note the name of the sled shoved into him by a young Kane, though he did understand its importance to Kane as a low shot shows Thatcher looming over Kane at Christmas after giving him a new sled. On the other hand, Susan didn't come into contact with Rosebud. Instead, it is her snow globe that Kane breaks at his death, a globe that's almost surreptitiously hidden in Susan's apartment as Kane and Susan are talking about their mothers, allowing the audience to link Susan to Kane as a part of his search for his childhood. Further, events in the film cause doubts over whether Kane's actions can be unified through Rosebud. Kane already has the love of the people, but when we're shown him running for higher office, he seems deluded in his own power, as shown by him standing in front of an overinflated image of himself. Further, he destroys the majority of his primary relationships that could substitute for the love he lost in his childhood.

While the structure of *Citizen Kane* suggests an emphasis on finding out Rosebud, in reality it presents a stronger argument for the second interpretation of *Citizen Kane*, the 'Enigma interpretation'. This interpretation suggests that Kane was ultimately a myriad of different people that cannot be unified by one single word, which is well supported by the film through 'witnesses' of Kane's life, each providing a different interpretation of him.<sup>9</sup> Thatcher presents a negative view of his ward, Bernstein presents an idealistic view of his boss, Leland presents a disillusioned opinion of his former friend, Susan presents an image of a powerful ex-husband, and Raymond recalls a weakened employer. These contrasting views are visually represented in the image of Kane walking past a mirror in Xanadu, revealing multiple, fragmented Kanes as if they are walking beside him.

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8    Commentary with Roger Ebert, *Citizen Kane*.

9    Ibid.

However, the character who presents the strongest argument for the ‘Enigma interpretation’ is Thompson, who actively rallies against pursuing this line of questioning. In response to Rawlson’s exclamation that Kane ‘maybe ... told us all about himself on his deathbed’, Thompson’s response is simply, ‘Maybe he didn’t’. Thompson represents the audience in the film, providing the vessel needed to explore Kane’s life. This representation is highlighted by the fact that his face is never fully seen in the film, emphasising his utilisation as a vessel. After interviewing all his witnesses, Thompson comes to the conclusion that he has been ‘playing with a jigsaw puzzle’, understanding there isn’t a definitive answer to Kane. Carroll describes Kane as ‘a mass of contradictions’, and Rosebud doesn’t make sense of these contradictions.<sup>10</sup> Even if it is a representation of his lost childhood, the film doesn’t need to reveal that the name of Kane’s sled is Rosebud in order for it to be understood that he lost his childhood. It’s already been shown through his acquisition of items that can only be fully shown at the end of the film by the camera in an extreme wide shot. Kane himself said when he first meets Susan, ‘I was in search of my youth’. He seemingly finds it through his mothering relationship with Susan, attempting to assume the role of his and her mother, culminating in him dominating the frame and leaving her in his shadow. When asked what he finds out about Kane, Thompson replies, ‘Not much, really’. In a film that is presumably about giving a definitive answer to the question of Kane himself, it never gives one. This asks the question: What is *Citizen Kane* about?

The ethos of *Citizen Kane* can be summarised by Newton’s Third Law: ‘for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction’. When charting the shifting power and control of Kane, for every rise there is an equal fall: he has and loses an empire, he has and loses the public and he has and loses people. It seems consistent that each character would be held to this same standard, including the audience, a character through Thompson. Ultimately, the audience and the film violates Kane by trespassing, even though the old, rusting sign on the tall, Gothic doors guarding Xanadu explicitly says not to. As the audience is led up Xanadu to meet its’ master, a single light is framed in the same place in each shot, even in the reflection in the water — a guiding light through a decayed, extensive estate.<sup>11</sup> While this represents how Kane is trapped within a place of his

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10 Carroll, ‘Interpreting Citizen Kane’, 153–65.

11 Commentary with Roger Ebert, *Citizen Kane*.

own creation, isolated from the world, it also represents how the audience is trapped within the film. Once the camera reaches the light, it goes out. With it goes the person who could answer all the film's questions — Kane himself. Mankiewicz and Welles could have found a way to include Kane's point of view — a diary like Thatcher's could easily have been written in — but instead Kane's story is told without his voice. The audience is further punished by being at the mercy of a circular narrative that simply provides recollections of Kane's life and doesn't answer Rawlson's statement of telling us 'not ... what he did' but 'who he was'. Rosebud becomes a deduction made because the film seemingly doesn't give closure, forcing the audience to create their own. An unbiased view of Kane isn't shown, emphasising how the narrative structure provides no definitive resolution. In fact, the closest the film gets to a self description from Kane is his statement of being an 'American', which, like Rosebud, only offers more questions than it does answers. Further, the story is told from the points of view of individuals who have already made up their minds about who Kane is to them, but not necessarily who Kane was. As Pedro Gonzalez notes, 'the inner life of private individuals ... can never be made truly explicit', particularly on the terms of the public and without the voice of the individual.<sup>12</sup>

Rosebud cannot be a satisfying ending, not only because of the contradictions the film makes, or the violations the film makes, or the narrative structure it employs, but because the answer to the question 'What is *Citizen Kane* about?' is not about finding an answer to Kane himself. David Thomson described Rosebud as 'a gesture ... a trick the magician has for keeping our gaze off his hands'.<sup>13</sup> Ultimately, this trick attempts to divert us from film reflecting reality. Cinema is rooted in a longing to visually reanimate life and its struggles, as do all expressions of art, and *Citizen Kane* illustrates the wonders and capacities that human beings have to achieve, fail, struggle, and ultimately go on with their lives. The characters within *Citizen Kane* need no explanation for who Kane ultimately was, as they all hold their own firm beliefs based on their experiences with him, just as the audience

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12 Pedro Blas Gonzalez, 'Citizen Kane: Biography and the Unfinished Sentence', *Senses of Cinema*, accessed 6 April 2014, [sensesofcinema.com/2010/feature-articles/citizen-kane-biography-and-the-unfinished-sentence/](http://sensesofcinema.com/2010/feature-articles/citizen-kane-biography-and-the-unfinished-sentence/).

13 David Thomson, *The Big Screen: The Story of the Movies and What They Did to Us* (Penguin, 2012), 169.

does with everyone in their lives. *Citizen Kane* represents a longing for film to provide answers where none exist, resulting in Rosebud's creation as a manifestation of an individual's inability to understand the reflection of life in cinema, as it's built up to be a magical place full of happy endings as opposed to often crushing realities. To some, an answer to *Citizen Kane* might provide a reflection of reality to them, but this ending, no matter what it is, will ultimately be incomplete as it doesn't have the input of the central piece to the puzzle.<sup>14</sup>

Even if one believes that the 'answer' to *Citizen Kane* is Rosebud, it cannot be satisfying. The last image inside Xanadu is of Rosebud burning. The narrative focus of *Citizen Kane* is revealed, and swiftly taken away and allows Rosebud to burn. This reveal is not climactic, it is hollow. The question to which Rosebud is seemingly the answer has already been told. While the film has chosen to centre itself around Rosebud, this centre is ultimately a 'fallacy'.<sup>15</sup> The film returns to the image it opened on, the cold gates surrounding Xanadu and the warning of 'No Trespassing' remains, with only the emphasis of the film being a 'labyrinth without a centre' remaining.<sup>16</sup> Like Thompson, the audience has learnt nothing about who Kane was, simply what he did.<sup>17</sup> The contradictions, structure and ethos of the film doesn't allow Rosebud to be a satisfying ending, as even if one believes *Citizen Kane* needs to answer the questions of Kane, the 'Rosebud interpretation' still leaves questions behind.

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14 'This is not to say the film holds that there is no possible interpretation of a human life ... the audience to determine'. Carroll, 'Interpreting Citizen Kane', 153–65.

15 Carringer, 'Rosebud, Dead or Alive', 185–93.

16 'Borges described *Citizen Kane* as a labyrinth without a centre.' Mulvey, 'Citizen Kane', 3.

17 *Citizen Kane*, directed by Orson Welles.

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# The impact of Australia's distinctive nature and ecology on imperial expansion in the first years of settlement in New South Wales

Lucinda Janson

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Australia's nature and ecology have been shaped over millennia by geological and climatic factors into a distinctive and complex ecosystem. The continent's Aboriginal peoples adapted to the challenges of a variable and often hostile climate and landscape, and developed a sophisticated means of living off the land. Yet the arrival of a fleet of British ships to what would become known as New South Wales permanently altered this balance. The land would eventually be shaped by these invaders into what Alfred Crosby called a 'neo-Europe'.<sup>1</sup> Australia's European colonisers had a complex and ever-changing relationship with the Australian landscape. During the early years of settlement in New South Wales, Europeans struggled to establish and maintain an imperial colony in a strange land. Their reluctance to understand the Aborigines and their connection with the indigenous plants and animals initially had harmful consequences for the imperial project.

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1 Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 2.

Overcoming this early resistance, the settlers soon began to adapt their farming practices and even their diet to the new environment. Yet the 'foreign' aspects of Australia's nature and ecology caused many Europeans to react by imposing their own plants and animals in order to 'improve' the land. Moreover, while some colonists praised and admired the landscape, others used the image of the city replacing the bush to demonstrate that the Europeans' imperial achievement had involved a rejection of Australia's distinctive nature. This unsteady and unsettled process of colonisation left an enduring imprint on the European occupation of Australia, and revealed significant dynamics in the broader processes of settler colonialism itself.

Australia's distinctive ecological characteristics developed as a result of a number of complex processes. Australia's lack of geological activity and large-scale glaciation meant that its soil has very few nutrients.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, its unpredictable climate is a result of the El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO), which can bring droughts, bushfires and fierce winds.<sup>3</sup> Australia's infertile soil, changeable climate and unpredictable rainfall mean that plants and animals have evolved in a system of co-operative ecology in order to make the most of the country's scarce resources.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, fire has developed as an integral part of the landscape. Since the poor soil could not support large herbivores, fire — often in the form of huge bushfires — took on the role of recycling plant matter. When the Aborigines arrived, they developed a method of lighting controlled, low-intensity fires partly to prevent such disastrous bushfires. The Aborigines equally used fire to facilitate travel, hunt, signal, regenerate and cultivate plants, and clear access to edible roots.<sup>5</sup> Such deliberate manipulation of the land was crucial to the Aborigines' survival in this harsh and unpredictable landscape. Indeed, Bill Gammage describes the pre-contact Aborigines as

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2 Tim Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History Lands and Peoples*, 2nd ed. (Sydney: Reed New Holland, 2005), 76–78.

3 Ibid., 81–83.

4 Flannery, *Future Eaters*, 84.

5 Stephen J. Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia*, (New York: Henry Holt, 1991), 95–98; Flannery, *Future Eaters*, 223.

'farmers' who 'tended' both plants and animals and controlled their own food supply.<sup>6</sup> Eric Rolls claims that before the arrival of the Europeans, 'everything in Australia was in a state of balance'.<sup>7</sup>

Yet with the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788, the Europeans were confronted with a strange land which they often did not understand or appreciate. Tom Griffiths claims that the Europeans viewed the Australian land and people as 'ancient, primitive and endemically resistant to progress', while even its animals were seen as 'undeveloped'.<sup>8</sup> Such judgements reflected the Europeans' confused and defensive reaction to an ecology and a way of living in a land very different from their own. This reaction allowed the Europeans to legitimise their colonisation by casting themselves as superior to the 'savage' Aborigines.

Their failure to appreciate the Aborigines' knowledge is evident in the Europeans' responses to fire. Although many early observers recognised that the Aborigines set fire to the land, they were at a loss to understand why, and certainly did not see it as a crucial land management practice. Thus, Watkin Tench noted that the Aborigines were 'perpetually setting fire to the grass and bushes', yet he disapproved of the practice, believing it 'contributes to render small quadrupeds scarce'.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the surgeon George Bouchier Worgan noted that he had observed 'a great Fire' which he assumed the Aborigines had lit but he could not 'conjecture' for what

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6 Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2011), 281–82.

7 Eric Rolls, *From Forest to Sea: Australia's Changing Environment*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1993), 167.

8 Tom Griffiths, 'Ecology and Empire: Towards an Australian History of the World,' in *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies*, ed. Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin, (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997), 3.

9 Watkin Tench, *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*, (London: G. Nicol and J. Sewell, London, 1793; Sydney: University of Sydney edition, 1998), 118, [www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover\\_collections/history\\_nation/terra\\_australis/published\\_accounts/tench/index.html](http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/terra_australis/published_accounts/tench/index.html).

purpose. He could also deny the Aborigines agency in lighting the fires, remarking that ‘I have been induced to impute them to accident, from the Natives carrying lighted touch-wood about the Country with them’.<sup>10</sup>

Such an unthinking dismissal of an ancient practice is characteristic of the Europeans’ views of the Aborigines as uncivilised and backward. John Hunter provides another example of a European observer who failed to understand the Aborigines’ sophisticated and thriving lifestyle, when he remarked that ‘the Land seems to afford them but a very scanty Sustenance’, and claimed that they only lived along the coast.<sup>11</sup> This failure to understand the Aborigines’ ways of managing the land was a way for the Europeans to justify their imperial expansion. In refusing to believe that the Aborigines managed their land, the settlers could see themselves as its rightful workers. Indeed, Tench describes himself and his companions as ‘new lords of the soil’, implying natural superiority over the Aborigines.

Grace Karskens claims that ‘the belief that a people could only “own” land if they exploited it was part of a long tradition of natural law ideas of property’.<sup>12</sup> Nicole Graham claims that the Europeans’ notion of the ‘improvement’ of the land rested on the idea that food production, as opposed to hunting and gathering, was the ideal form of society. She suggests that the difficulties the Europeans faced in achieving the imperialistic ideal of settled agriculture encouraged them to persist rather than to adapt their farming methods.<sup>13</sup>

Despite their arrogance, the Europeans faced great challenges in working the land and especially in creating a self-sufficient colony. Their lack of knowledge about the different and unpredictable landscape led to many hardships in the first years of settlement. In his letters to Lord Sydney,

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10 George Bouchier Worgan, ‘Journal Kept on a Voyage to New South Wales with the First Fleet, with Letter Written to his Brother Richard, 12–18 June 1788’, First Fleet Collection of journals, correspondence and drawings, ca 1786–1802, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, and transcript online at [acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/\\_transcript/2015/D33332/a1175.html#a1175009](http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/_transcript/2015/D33332/a1175.html#a1175009), 34.

11 John Hunter, ‘Journal kept on board the Sirius during a voyage to New South Wales, May 1787–March 1791’, First Fleet Collection of journals, correspondence and drawings, ca 1786–1802, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, and transcript online at [acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/\\_transcript/2007/D00007/a1518.html#a1518009](http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/_transcript/2007/D00007/a1518.html#a1518009), 90.

12 Grace Karskens, *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2009), 36.

13 Nicole Graham, *Lawscape: Property, Environment, Law*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), 126.

Governor Arthur Phillip was forced to repeatedly urge that 'a regular supply of provisions from England will be absolutely necessary for four or five years' since the colony could not produce sufficient food supplies.<sup>14</sup> Many observers noted the initial failure of the colony's crops. Arthur Bowe Smyth, surgeon on board the *Lady Penrhyn*, pessimistically reported that the soil, 'when exposed to the intense heat of the Sun by removing the surrounding trees, is not fit for the vegetation [sic] of anything even the grass itself'.<sup>15</sup> In November 1790, Tench recorded that 'cultivation, on a public scale, has for some time past been given up here' since 'wheat returned so poorly last harvest', while vegetables were equally 'in wretched condition'.<sup>16</sup> In the same year, Tench inspected the crops of the Reverend Johnson, who he described as 'the best farmer in the country'. Despite this praise, Tench was largely unimpressed by his crops, claiming that the 'best wheat' was 'tolerable' and that other patches were 'very bad'.<sup>17</sup>

Among the challenges of adaptation, Europeans began to experience Australia's variable climate, which swung suddenly from one extreme to another. They faced not only droughts, but also floods and bushfires. Collins reported that in December 1792 'the country ... was everywhere on fire'.<sup>18</sup> This bushfire was one of many caused by the Europeans' lack of understanding of the Aboriginal fire regime, and the importance of controlled burning to prevent large-scale fires.<sup>19</sup> The Europeans' first experience of a 'true' flood occurred in May 1799, when the Hawkesbury River rose 15 metres and crops and houses were swept away. Such a destructive event came as a great shock to the farmers, despite warnings by

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14 Phillip to Sydney, 9 July 1788, in *Historical Records of Australia (HRA)*, Series 1, Vol. 1, ed. Frederick Watson, (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914), 46.

15 Arthur Bowes Smyth, 'A Journal of a Voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales and China in the *Lady Penrhyn*, 1787–1789', First Fleet Collection of journals, correspondence and drawings, ca 1786–1802, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, and transcript online at [acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/\\_transcript/2007/D00007/a1085.html#a1085009](http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/_transcript/2007/D00007/a1085.html#a1085009), 41.

16 Tench, *Complete Account*, 53–54

17 *Ibid.*, 55

18 David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Vol. 1, ed. Brian H. Fletcher, (London: T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, 1798; Sydney: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1975), 216.

19 Karskens, *Colony*, 272–73.

the local Aboriginal people.<sup>20</sup> These examples demonstrate the difficulties the Europeans experienced when faced with a climate and nature very different from their own.

This lack of knowledge about Australia's distinctive ecosystem almost threatened the survival of the colony, which at first relied almost exclusively on supplies brought in from Britain. By October 1789 there were fears about how long provisions would last, and rations were reduced. Collins records that around this time the last of the butter brought from England was finished — the first provision to completely run out.<sup>21</sup> In April 1790, the colony was still waiting for an English ship to arrive. Tench anxiously noted that at this time the settlement's salt pork would last until July, the flour until August and rice until October.<sup>22</sup> English ships carrying more provisions — and convicts — finally arrived in June.<sup>23</sup> Such hardships were a result of the European refusal to come to terms with the foreign environment in which they found themselves.

During these months of famine, the settlers were forced to adapt and rely more on native sources of food. Thus, Collins notes that 2,000 pounds of fish were caught in one month, and used to supplement the English rations, while Tench writes of hunting for kangaroos during this period.<sup>24</sup> Although native plants were denigrated, many observers noted and even seemed to enjoy the edible varieties. Midshipman (later second Lieutenant) Newton Fowell described many such plants, including a cabbage he claimed was 'very good eating', 'some small green berries' which had 'a very pleasant strong tartness' and 'a plant very like the Spinage in England which afford us a most excellent repast'. He equally noted that a number of these plants were 'very good for the Scurvey'.<sup>25</sup> Such examples of European acknowledgement of the uses and benefits of indigenous plants suggest that even during this early period they began, to a certain extent, to adapt to their new environment.

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20 Ibid., 131.

21 Collins, *An Account*, 66.

22 Tench, *Complete Account*, 33.

23 Collins, *An Account*, 93.

24 Ibid., 92; Tench, *Complete Account*, 33.

25 Newton Fowell, 'Letter to his Family, 12 July 1788', First Fleet Collection of journals, correspondence and drawings, ca 1786–1802, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, and transcript online at [www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover\\_collections/history\\_nation/terra\\_australis/letters/fowell/index.html](http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/terra_australis/letters/fowell/index.html), 20–23.

Karskens claims that the Europeans farmers also adopted numerous 'pragmatic measures' which were 'adapted' to the peculiar Australian situation.<sup>26</sup> She suggests that early accounts denigrated farmers in New South Wales since their practices did not conform to the idea of the 'English rural idyll', and they did not make use of new notions of scientific breeding, crop rotation and intensive cultivation. Instead, the settlers adapted to the Australian conditions and 'quickly worked out a sort of rough environmental and economic logic by trial and error'.<sup>27</sup> This meant, for example, using the hoe rather than the plough and planting crops of hardier maize rather than of wheat. There was also much experimentation with different types of grain, and different methods of planting them. Tench recorded in 1790 that farmers were beginning to understand the land. The Reverend Johnson had found that the beginning of May was the best time to sow barley.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, the colony gradually became more productive and able to support the growing European population. Collins noted that in 1794 the colony had enough stores of maize and wheat to last for 43 weeks, which he claimed was 'an abundance' that could successfully prevent the 'evil hour of want and distress'.<sup>29</sup>

Despite these successes, Jared Diamond claims that the settlers never truly succeeded in creating 'a literate, food-producing, industrial democracy in Australia'. Instead, they simply imported all the elements of their colony from outside Australia, drawing on technologies developed in a different environment.<sup>30</sup> Thus, although the Europeans gained some knowledge of the land in which they had settled, to a large extent they responded to the Australian ecology by ignoring and attempting to supersede it.

Indeed, to a large extent, it was not the Europeans' adaptation to Australia's distinctive environment, but their conscious decision to reshape it which truly drove their imperial expansion. Their reluctance to understand the land and how it had already supported human life made it easier for them to simply impose their own worldview. Thus the foreignness of the colony's ecology meant that the land became a blank canvas on which an imperial vision could be established. Geoffrey Bolton writes that the

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26 Karskens, *Colony*, 116.

27 Ibid., 115.

28 Tench, *Complete Account*, 55.

29 Collins, *An Account*, 289.

30 Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel*, rev. ed. (London: Vintage, 2005), 321.

British colonisers brought with them the notion that ‘men had a right and duty to transform the environment into greater productivity’.<sup>31</sup> Thus, observers often reacted to Australia’s unique flora and fauna by considering how it could be ‘improved’ and rendered more European. Tench talks of ‘cutting down and burning’ trees as the only ‘impediment’ to cultivation of the land.<sup>32</sup> Phillip wrote that ‘this country at present does not furnish the smallest resource except in fish’, suggesting that it was up to the Europeans to render the land productive and fruitful.<sup>33</sup> It is also significant that the Europeans named the native plants they observed after European ones, thus refusing to accept Australia’s distinctive ecology. In a letter to Lord Sydney, Phillip describes the ‘wild celery, spinages, samphose, a small wild fig, and several berries, which have proved very wholesome’, the English names symbolically suggesting ownership.<sup>34</sup> Tench writes that during an early exploratory expedition to Richmond Hill, ‘potatoes, maize, and garden seeds of various kinds were put into the earth’, implying that the planting of European species could indicate possession of the land.<sup>35</sup> Yet the landscape was not only altered deliberately by planting and cultivation, but also by exotic plants and animals run wild. The ‘cotton-plant’, for example, escaped from farms and was soon found in paddocks and along roads throughout the colony.<sup>36</sup> A diverse range of plants, including geraniums, peach trees, blackberries, the privet and the willow similarly aided the Europeans’ imperial expansion by taking over much of the landscape.<sup>37</sup>

Although the Europeans certainly altered the landscape considerably, and thus tampered with Australia’s distinctive nature, many early observers appreciated Australia for its exotic and unique nature. Such admiration also established European domination of New South Wales, since by recognising the beauty of the country, and seeking to catalogue it, they were effectively establishing a claim to the land. Karskens writes of the ‘rage for curiosity’ which overtook many of the colonists, as they collected

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31 Geoffrey Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers: Australians Make their Environment, 1788–1980*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1981), 11.

32 Tench, *Complete Account*, 25.

33 Phillip to Nepean, 9 July 1788, *HRA*, 55.

34 Philip to Sydney, 15 May 1788, *HRA*, 23.

35 Tench, *Complete Account*, 24.

36 Karskens, *Colony*, 267.

37 *Ibid.*, 268–69.



plant specimens, described the flora and fauna and even painted it. Many were writing and producing art for an audience 'back home'. Bernard Smith claims that Australia's 'natural curiosities aroused the interest of the British public far more than the story of the foundation of the penal settlement'.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, the accounts and letters of the early colonists are filled with remarks on exotic and exciting flora and fauna. Worgan seemed especially attracted by the picturesque nature of his surroundings. He described the country as 'consisting of gentle risings & Depressions, beautifully clothed with variety of Verdures of Evergreens' and seemed enchanted by the land which included 'Here, a romantic rocky, craggy Precipice over which, a little purling stream makes a Cascade. There, a soft vivid-green, shady Lawn'.<sup>39</sup> Many recorded their impressions in paintings and drawings, both of landscape scenes and of detailed images of native flora and fauna. Yet not all paintings depicted such an idealised view of Australia's nature. Instead, the topographical paintings of the period told a narrative of the stages of social evolution — from the 'savage' hunters and gatherers to the 'civilised' farmers and commercial men. One such artist, James Wallis, contrasted the Aborigines in the 'desolate wilderness' with a view of Sydney and its harbour. Robert Dixon claims that this image of the triumph of the city over the Australian nature represented for Wallis 'the consummation of empire in a commercial city'.<sup>40</sup> Thus, the European settlers did not seek to come to terms with, but rather tried to replace, Australia's native ecology in order to fulfil their imperial ambitions.

Australia's distinctive nature and ecology shaped the experience of European settlers in New South Wales in a number of ways. The colonisers sought to denigrate and ignore the environment, but it played a role both in the near failure of their society and their survival in Australia's hostile climate. To a certain extent, the Europeans were able to adapt to the landscape and even appreciate it, yet much of the success of their imperial project lay in their conscious rejection of the distinctiveness of Australia's nature.

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38 Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 2nd ed., (Sydney: Harper and Row, 1984), 163

39 Worgan, 'Journal', 8.

40 Robert Dixon, *Course of Empire: Neo-Classical Culture in New South Wales, 1788–1860*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 61–62.

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# Deconstructing Bataille: The sacred and the profane

Judy Kuo

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## Introduction

This essay explores Georges Bataille's analysis of the fundamental duality of the irrational sacred, and the rational profane in human experience, reevaluating the centrality of terror and awe in social functioning. By reimagining the significance of the sacred in the functioning of rational life, Bataille challenges classical conceptions of rationality and irrationality, principally those within the work of Max Weber. This essay first analyses the essential duality of the sacred heterogeneity and profane homogeneity of human experience, and the fundamental centrality of the excessive within rational life. Then through a deconstruction of the sacred and profane, I suggest a necessary interrelation of mutual dependence and perpetuation between these opposing concepts. Using this deconstructive interpretation, I put forward a critique of the classical conception of this dichotomy as portrayed in Weber's 'disenchantment', which is finally illustrated through an analysis of the hospital as a site in which these social forces manifest.

## The essential duality of social life

In Bataille's analysis of both social life and human condition, the irrational drive to consume and destroy is contrasted with the rational desire to maintain a homogenous order in our perception of the world. Through the inexorable duality of 'the realm of calm and rational behaviour and the violence of the sexual impulse' in human experience,<sup>1</sup> Bataille reveals the opposing yet interlocked relationship that places the sacred at the centre of social functioning. For Bataille, the sacred encompasses that element of 'inner experience' whose opacity defies any homogenous social structure or *knowledge*. It disrupts order, and tempts us toward destruction, in its irreducible heterogeneity — in its 'useless expenditure', 'waste and destruction'.<sup>2</sup> The 'radical centrality of a heterogeneous will to expend and destroy' is the definitive core of the social that 'simply is ... as a fact of social life' that today's rational life wants to disregard.<sup>3</sup> It is this excess that '[incite] disgust and veneration ... which both constitute and threaten the everyday world',<sup>4</sup> which becomes sacred. Yet despite this 'rational world' which man has 'built up',<sup>5</sup> the sacred eternally returns as 'a sickness' in spite of any attempt to achieve its rational suppression.<sup>6</sup> The sacred is radically *beyond* in this way, evading definition, limitation, or rationalisation, yet invariably central to human existence.

The affirmation of these instincts towards the excessive and irrational, which constantly throws the rational world out of balance, is what Bataille and the Collège de Sociologie sought to reinvigorate within their focus on 'sacred sociology'. Rather than accepting the modernist authority of the rational, the Collège emphasises that 'a homogenous society leads to the destruction of the idea of religion and so denies the sacred', and thus

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1 Georges Bataille, *Death and Sensuality: A Study of Eroticism and the Taboo* (New York: Walker and Company, 1962), 53.

2 Tiina Arppe, 'Sacred Violence: Girard, Bataille and the Vicissitudes of Human Desire', *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2009): 41.

3 William Ramp, 'Religion and the dualism of the social condition in Durkheim and Bataille', *Economy and Society*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2003): 125–27.

4 Ramp, 'Religion and the dualism of the social condition in Durkheim and Bataille', 129.

5 Bataille, *Death and Sensuality*, 40.

6 Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, trans. W. Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), 236.

'denies itself'.<sup>7</sup> For Bataille, it is precisely 'to the extent that [we] participate in a sacred horror, that [we] become human',<sup>8</sup> as it is our continual failure to come to terms with heterogeneity that lies at the foundations of human being and society. In forcing irrationality into the peripheries of irrelevance, we deny the foundation of social being that is the sacred. As such, the Collège sought to affirm this 'unproductive expenditure ... énergie excédente [exceeding energy]',<sup>9</sup> where life is experienced at its limits, with acknowledgement of the necessary centrality of irrationality in social life.

In contrast to the sacred realm, the world of the profane is the realm of the social where there is guarantee of 'the stability of meanings', of definition and order, of *homogeneity* in understanding.<sup>10</sup> The modern processes of rationalisation and secularisation, in this way, becomes the development of 'a servile human species, fit only for the fabrication, rational consumption, and conservation of products',<sup>11</sup> which strives in every attempt to subsume the irrational to the rational, the unknowable to the known. By this definition, the profane is everything we come to know as hierarchy, order, knowledge, language, and institution. As such, what is 'vague, difficult to grasp', or ultimately *violent* against order, becomes taboo, 'preventing the invasion of [the sacred] in ... profane, orderly existence'.<sup>12</sup> Thus the function of taboos is to omit violence or excess from established order — 'its shape and its objects do change ... but ... violence, terrifying yet fascinating, is what [taboo] is levelled at'.<sup>13</sup> Profane life is therefore a means by which we cope with the abyss of the chaotic and unknown, which constitutes the backdrop upon which profane rationality is both founded and perpetually disrupted. This disruption is exemplified by our anxiety and uncertainty about the meaning of death provoked by liminal phenomena. For example,

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7 Michael Richardson, *Georges Bataille* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 37.

8 Georges Bataille, 'The Place of Violence: Selected Writings', *Parallax*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2000): 88.

9 Steven Shaviro, *Passion & Excess: Blanchot, Bataille, and Literary Theory* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1990), 45–6.

10 Denis Hollier, 'The Dualist Materialism of Georges Bataille', *Yale French Studies*, No. 78 (1990): 132.

11 Georges Bataille, 'The use value of D. A. F. de Sade', in *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings*, eds. A. Stoekl, trans. A. Stoekl, C.R. Lovitt & D. Leslie Jr (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 97.

12 Arppe, 'Sacred Violence', 43.

13 Bataille, *Death and Sensuality*, 51.

the liminal phenomenon of death spurs scientific debate over the question of whether cessation of heart/lung function or brain function constitutes death.<sup>14</sup> For Bataille, this inherent tension between the profane and sacred in social life and human experience defines the way in which we make meaning — we cannot do without either of them. As such, the profane always attempts to construct order on the backdrop of the chaotic sacred and human beings must constantly experience this constant tension.

Ultimately, Bataille and the Collège de Sociologie as a whole challenge the supremacy of rationality within social life, as the sacred is reimagined as a centre of heterogeneity upon which homogenous structures emerge. Thus, profane rationality must perpetually negotiate with and fail to reconcile the abyss of the sacred, which continually disturbs the profane in its overflowing excess and impenetrability, in the very foundations of social life.

## Intertwining the sacred and the profane

Deconstructing the dichotomy of the sacred and the profane (to take inspiration from the ‘deconstructive’ works of Derrida, Nancy, and Agamben), the complex relationship between these conceptual oppositions is revealed to be one of symbiotic interdependence, wherein the *opposition* of the sacred and the profane define each other — in deconstructing the two concepts we find that the sacred and the profane are intrinsically tied up in one another. For Bataille, the sacred corresponds to ‘elements that are impossible to assimilate’ in their very excess,<sup>15</sup> and in this way, must rest on its exclusion from assimilation into the profane. As Bataille writes,

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14 Steven Laureys, ‘Death, unconsciousness, and the brain’, *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, No. 6 (2005): 900.

15 Georges Bataille, ‘The psychological structure of fascism’, in *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings*, ed. A. Stoekl, trans. A. Stoekl, C.R. Lovitt & D. Leslie Jr (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 140.



'the possible, so it seems, exists at the limit of the impossible'.<sup>16</sup> This notion of the *limit*, 'the ineffable or the unspeakable',<sup>17</sup> provides explanation for the perpetuated yet clashing relationship between sacred and profane.

Because the sacred itself *is* inexplicable, it is thus established on a notion of what it cannot be reduced to; its *exteriority* to the profane, as the disgust and horror of the sacred renders it indigestible. To touch on a previous example, death is ultimately sacred in that it cannot be understood by individuals in any way apart from its *exteriority* to life, as death is absolutely beyond any experience of *being*, by definition. It is thus by condition of its irreducibility to the profane that the sacred maintains its essential exteriority. The sacred is precisely defined as that which constantly escapes the grasp of homogeneity, and in the same way, the possibility of the sacred emerges at the limit of its impossibility, of its ineffability and 'unknowability'.

In the same way, the profane, constituted by the 'commensurability of all elements ... in productive, namely, useful society',<sup>18</sup> is correspondingly centered on its foundations in the irrational. In the human will to rationalise, measure, and control, it is that which is not yet assimilated that prompts this drive to make order. It is in the human need to make sense of a world of chaos that our desire to homogenise and make things *known* is activated. For instance, it is only in incomprehension of the random, disordered phenomena that probability becomes a concern for human beings (who, in attempting to measure chance, reduce unpredictability to its opposite). Moreover, this interrelation of sacred and profane is reflected by the role of the taboo within social life. Taboos function for the profane as they protect homogenous social life from the violent disruption of the sacred, '[removing] the object of taboo from our consciousness', eliminating the unassimilable.<sup>19</sup> As such, the profane is only preserved through a deliberate awareness of sacred heterogeneity, rather than ignorance or disregard for the sacred. It is at this limit of the rational/irrational that taboos are activated, and it is precisely at this limit that the

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16 Georges Bataille, *The Unfinished System of Nonknowledge*, ed. S. Kendall, trans. M. Kendell & S. Kendell (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 19.

17 Christopher Stanley, 'Bataille's Communication at and After the Limit of the Law', *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law*, Vol. 11, No. 32 (1998): 157.

18 Bataille, 'The psychological structure of fascism', 137–38.

19 Bataille, *Death and Sensuality*, 38.

boundaries of the profane are established. The continuation of the rational is thus *only* made meaningful on an implicit background of the irrational. It is therefore in this opposition between the sacred and profane that the rational structures of social life are ‘continually renewed and threatened by the excess at its centre’,<sup>20</sup> as both concepts are founded upon each other. In this way, the heterogeneous sacred and the homogenous profane are not in hostile antagonism, but must instead be defined by the limits of their own impossibility in their opposites.

## A critique of Weber’s ‘Disenchantment’

In this analysis of the sacred and profane as both fundamental elements of the human social condition, and as inherently involved in each other’s animation, I critique Weber’s classical conception of the irrational and rational as mutually exclusive elements of social life — an idea embedded in his conception of ‘disenchantment’. In this section, I relate Bataille’s dichotomy of the sacred and profane to Weber’s rationalisation and irrational ‘magic’ of life, and suggest that my deconstruction of these oppositions challenge Weber’s conception of the sacred and profane as fundamentally incompatible.

For Weber, modern life is characterised by a disenchantment prompted by the ‘development of rationalization’ and the intellectualisation of all aspects of life, in the ‘erosion of religious powers’.<sup>21</sup> He argues that ‘one need no longer have recourse to magical means ... to master or implore the spirits’ in modern society, as the rise of science and capitalism gives way to ‘technical means and calculations’ to ‘master all things by calculation’.<sup>22</sup> According to Weber, ‘rationalization’ is thus measured negatively in terms of the degree to which magical elements of thought are displaced’, suggesting that magic must be sacrificed to make way for the rational, as the irrational and rational must be directly conflicting.<sup>23</sup> In this way, Weber

20 Ramp, ‘Religion and the dualism of the social condition in Durkheim and Bataille’, 128.

21 Bryan Turner, ‘Preface to the New Edition’, in *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, eds. H.H. Gerth & C.W. Mills (New York: Routledge, 2009), xxvi.

22 Max Weber, ‘Science as a Vocation’, in *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, eds. H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 139.

23 Hans Gerth & C. Wright Mills, ‘Introduction: The Man and His Works’, in *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, eds. H.H. Gerth & C.W. Mills (Routledge: New York, 1946), 51.

depicts a mutually negating relation between the rational and irrational, with the rational reigning supreme to the destitution of the irrational and the enchanting.

However, using Bataille's evaluation and the deconstructive analysis above, the irrational sacred and rational profane can be elucidated in this way as a fundamental, irreducible *duality* in the human condition, in that the conditions of possibility for rationality lies in irrationality, and vice versa. Rather than increasing rationalisation growing in proportion to diminishing magic, Bataille argues that the sacred is the background upon which the profane is constantly interrupted and exceeded — this 'will' does not withdraw when confronted with rationalisation, only reinscribed. Moreover, as the sacred requires the profane for its conditions of possibility (and vice versa), the rationalisation of society must continually invoke the irrational and unknowable, even in opposing it. For example, does the taboo against sex within the workplace not also incite a heightened awareness and attention to what could be considered sexual in the workplace, in spite of (and, I suggest, because of) this very prohibition? In this way, this reading of Bataille offers a critique of Weber's 'disenchantment' by challenging the traditional notion of the absolute separation between the rational and the irrational, questioning the depiction of conceptual dichotomies as mutually *negating*. Instead, this relationship must be reciprocally intensifying and enabling as they are made meaningful only at the threshold of their impossibility. This interconnected relationship can be observed in many social arenas — in particular, public institutions that handle elements of the sacred and the profane, such as hospitals.

## Hospitals: Reinscribing the sacred

In exploration of the context of the hospital environment, I utilise Bataille's analysis of the function of the sacred and profane to illustrate this critique of Weber and emphasise the manner in which the sacred always remains central to the function of social life, never receding behind the profane.

Through a multiplicity of processes in the hospital, the profane conceals the sacred in favour of an ordered rationality which removes any 'enchantment' from its functioning, excluding the heterogeneous reality upon which it functions. Within the hospital, networks of administrative processes serve to catalogue and categorise all interactions, defined by

rationalised roles (of patient, doctor, nurse, receptionist). This underscores the 'systematic coherence' of the homogenous profane that reduces human communication to a bureaucratised function, which Weber argues is the root of our 'disenchantment of the world'.<sup>24</sup> Any conversation engages with a procedural language which concerns the 'transgressive economy of abundance' of bodies, death, birth, sex, trauma, consumption,<sup>25</sup> yet removes any vulgarity, or violence, through its scientific technicality. To use a previous example, the hospital is concerned with sex as sexual intercourse, never 'f\*\*\*ing', or concerned with reproductive organs, never 'c\*\*t', as used in Bataille's own short stories and novels. In this way, the carnal and destructive sacredness within the hospital is reduced to Weber's notion of 'intellectualisation' and 'rationalization' of human life, safeguarding the profane to the exclusion of attraction or repulsion.

Furthermore, in the physical setting of the hospital itself, the sacred is also always masked by the profane rationality that functioning on a background of a common awareness of the sacrality it hides. Inscribed in its very purpose, the hospital is always concerned with bleeding, secretions, defecation, waste, and regurgitation — sacred excess in all its immanent forms. Nonetheless, hospitals must preserve pretence of sterility, cleanliness, even virtue, by masking the horror and disgust of the sacred that persists beneath the surface. For example, the white partitions and white sheets that hide the corpse pacify our fascination and horror towards death, as the dead body is discreetly deposited at the morgue, without ceremony. Yet it is in recognition of the sacredness and irrationality in these images that motivate this numbing bureaucratisation and technical administration, to diminish it to the profane and rational. In this way, the sacred remains at the heart of the profane, for it is in confronting this endless abyss of the sacred that we are driven to fabricate a sense of order or security for ourselves. As such, the dependence of the profane rationality on the centrality of the sacred challenges Weber's depiction of these opposing elements of social life as being irreconcilable antagonisms that negate each other.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>25</sup> Stanley, 'Bataille's Communication at and After the Limit of the Law', 157.

The reanimation of enchanting elements of the hospital, through its imagination in entertainment media, also highlights the perpetual shortcomings of rationalised efforts to eliminate the sacred that merely re-emerges in other manifestations of cultural imagination. In medical dramas such as *Grey's Anatomy* and *House M.D.*, the main attraction of this form of entertainment is the reinvigoration of the bloodshed and gore of hospital environment.<sup>26</sup> These sacred excesses remain intensely affective and vivid within the cultural imagination of torture, sex, incest, cannibalism, violence, and vampires, reinscribed within the imagination of the media in shows such as *Game of Thrones*, *Hannibal*, and *True Blood*. In this way, the perpetual, the reanimation of the irrational and the sacred within entertainment media suggests that what Weber calls the increased rationalisation of social life (and what Bataille refers to as the profane) only prompts a *reinscription* of the sacred in other forms. Thus there is no increased rationality measured in proportion to the impoverishment of the irrational as Weber suggests, as the sacred always evades any constraints of rationality by its overflowing, teeming excess; enduring relentlessly in this way.

## Conclusion

In analysis of Bataille and the Collège de Sociologie's affirmation of the central importance of the sacred — the abyss of excess, attraction, and repulsion — this essay has argued that the profane and the sacred in social life embody an irreducible dualism in which the profane and the sacred both have their conditions of realisation rooted in each other, in their opposites. Using this reading of Bataille, a critique of Weber's 'disenchantment' is explored and expanded, in the context of the hospital as a site of this interaction. It is in this way that the sacred is revealed to be an inherent element of human experience and social life, which is never successfully suppressed by the rational profane, but endures as a 'will' that always reinscribes itself in the social imagination, with a presence as unavoidable as the horror and awe it incites within us.

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26 Philippa Roxby, 'Why are medical dramas so popular?' *BBC News*, 10 November 2012, accessed 2 May 2015, [www.bbc.com/news/health-20257541](http://www.bbc.com/news/health-20257541).

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# Regional security institutions do contribute significantly to the maintenance of peace and stability in the Asia Pacific region

Jason Leong

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## Introduction

Today, we can observe that there is relative peace and stability in the Asia Pacific region. There remains traditional security flashpoints such as the South China Sea, Taiwan and North Korea, which could challenge the current peace and stable regional order. More recent issues such as energy security, transnational crime and human security add to these growing challenges.<sup>1</sup> In an increasingly globalised world, the challenges faced by the Asia Pacific region are large, involve many countries and therefore require a multilateral approach to resolve.

Pre-1990s, in the Asia Pacific there was very little formal regional security dialogue.<sup>2</sup> Then in 1994, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), one of the most prominent regional security institutions in the Asia Pacific region,

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1 Katja Weber, 'The ASEAN Regional Forum and Security Governance in the Asia-Pacific' (paper presented at the EUSA Eleventh Biennial International Conference, Marina Del Rey, California, 23–25 April 2009), 10.

2 Brendan Taylor, Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region in *History as Policy: Framing the Debate on the Future of Australia's Defence Policy*, ed. Ron Huisken and Meredith Thatcher, (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2007), 117.

was formed.<sup>3</sup> This reflected a shift of emphasis to regional institutions to tackle multilateral issues. This paper will use the ARF as a major case study in analysing the contributions of regional security institutions to peace and stability in the region. Two other institutions, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the Council of Security and Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), will be discussed to an extent.

## Thesis

Using the specific regional security institutions as an example, this paper will argue that these institutions have contributed significantly to the maintenance of peace and stability that is present in the region today. The institutions have been significantly engaging major powers, enhancing cooperation between states and building confidence through a 'soft' leadership style. This has been successful in maintaining peace and stability until now. However, the future prospects later discussed will require these institutions to become more proactive to remain relevant.

## How do the institutions contribute to peace and stability?

In analysing the contributions of the three institutions, we must remember that diplomacy in the Asia Pacific region differs from that of other regions. In particular, the philosophy that ASEAN attempts to implement is one based on the 'ASEAN Way'.<sup>4</sup> Briefly, the ASEAN Way is informal diplomacy built on cooperation and conflict avoidance,<sup>5</sup> consensus, and respect for sovereignty.<sup>6</sup> The following sections will look at the institutions' contributions through the lens of the ASEAN Way.

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3 'ASEAN Regional Forum', Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia, accessed 27 May 2015, [dfat.gov.au/international-relations/regional-architecture/asean/Pages/asean-regional-forum-arf.aspx](http://dfat.gov.au/international-relations/regional-architecture/asean/Pages/asean-regional-forum-arf.aspx).

4 Colonel Georgeina Whelan, 'Does the ARF have a Role in ASEAN's Pursuit of Regional Security in the Next Decade?' (paper presented at the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies at the Australian Defence College, 2009), 11.

5 Ralf Emmers, *Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in the ASEAN and the ARF*, (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 23.

6 Weber, 'The ASEAN Regional Forum', 8.

## Engaging major powers

Engaging the United States and China in a regional security dialogue has had positive benefits towards building peace and stability in the much-contested Asia Pacific region. Most of the individual states in the region are too small to face either the US or China on their own. In a multilateral sphere, smaller states are able to keep both the US and China balanced against each other, and at the same time promote norms of cooperation and interdependence. Evelyn Goh terms this strategy as ‘enmeshment’, involving the major powers in deep, sustained relationships eventually leading to integration.<sup>7</sup>

ASEAN is successful in its engagement with China because the norms built within the ASEAN Way suits China, which has a common interest in non-intervention policies.<sup>8</sup> ASEAN’s partnership with China is notable in the economical aspect, with the trade liberalisation of goods and services, as well as the signing of free trade agreements (FTAs).<sup>9</sup> These policies would certainly lead to economic interdependence with both sides having a stake in maintaining the peace to ensure trade from both sides continues. From a liberalist perspective, this cooperation and interdependence is significant in maintaining a peaceful and stable region.

This enmeshment of the major powers is an effective strategy even from a realist perspective. In a region where states such as China view Japan and the United States with distrust, dialogue is still possible as the major powers view ASEAN and the ARF as impartial.<sup>10</sup> The strategic enmeshment involving opposing powers like China and Japan effectively puts both states in a power balance. Douglas Webber argues that this balance means if one of them attempts to aggressively display leadership, it risks facing a balancing coalition against it.<sup>11</sup> In effect, this means the costs of aggression would weigh heavily against any benefits. Brendan Taylor suggests that

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7 Evelyn Goh, ‘Great Powers and Southeast Asian Regional Security Strategies: Omni-Enmeshment, Balancing and Hierarchical Order’, (Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, 2005).

8 Douglas Webber, ‘The Regional Integration that Didn’t Happen: Cooperation Without Integration in the Early Twenty-First Century East Asia’, *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 23, Issue 3 (2010): 323–324.

9 Webber, ‘Regional Integration’, 318.

10 Webber, ‘Regional Integration’, 323.

11 Ibid., 323–24.

this enmeshment has also dampened concerns about an aggressive rise of China.<sup>12</sup> By balancing the major powers and increasing the costs associated with aggression, ASEAN and the ARF have managed to shape a stable regional order.

The ARF engagement with the US is also strategically useful in maintaining a stable regional order. It engages the US by presenting itself as a low risk, non-threatening institution.<sup>13</sup> This paper believes it allows the US to maintain its interests in the region whilst not committing to serious binding military commitments. It is also a way to reassure allies that the US is still engaged in the Asia Pacific region.<sup>14</sup> This thus leads to the effect of containing the rise of China by ensuring there is appropriate competition in the region.<sup>15</sup> This competition is evident in the example of FTAs, seen when the US announced talks for a FTA with ASEAN in 2000, with China followed by opening a FTA negotiation with ASEAN in 2001.<sup>16</sup>

The enmeshment strategy therefore is one of the primary contributions of the ARF and ASEAN. It brings together different states that harbour some distrust about each other<sup>17</sup> into a sphere of cooperation and interdependence that balances the power possessed by major states and helps maintain peace and stability in the region.

## ‘Soft’ leadership style

Following on the theme of cooperation, the ARF is successful in maintaining relative peace and stability using what is a ‘soft’ leadership style. This style focuses more on co-opting states rather than coercing them through pressure, threats or sanctions, which is a hard leadership

12 Taylor, ‘Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific’, 122.

13 Alice D. Ba, ‘Regional Security in East Asia: ASEAN’s Value Added and Limitations’, in *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol. 29, No. 3, (2010): 117.

14 John Duffield, ‘Why Is There No APTO? Why Is There No OSCAP?: Asia-Pacific Security Institutions in Comparative Perspective’, *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 22, Issue 2 (2001): 77.

15 Ibid., 80.

16 Goh, ‘Great Powers’, 5.

17 Ba, ‘Regional Security’, 116–17.

style.<sup>18</sup> Some of the main ways that the ARF exercises its soft power is by sharing common norms, adopting confidence-building measures (CBMs), and opening opportunities for dialogue.<sup>19</sup>

## Spreading norms

The ASEAN style norms of cooperation and consensus builds positive and peaceful relations between states. This is beneficial to maintaining peace and stability in the region. The ARF, being parented by ASEAN nations, ensured that security framework was heavily influenced by ASEAN norms.<sup>20</sup> By engaging major powers in ASEAN norms of cooperation and consensus, it builds a sense of common purpose and mutual confidence.<sup>21</sup> This sets the tone for peaceful relations between different states, especially between ASEAN states. To take an example, the motto of ASEAN is 'One Vision, One Identity, One Community'.<sup>22</sup> This idea of a common identity reconciles and integrates otherwise different states to a sense of common purpose for peace. Although it is questionable whether there really is an 'ASEAN identity' because of the different cultures, languages and prejudices between states.<sup>23</sup> Nonetheless, Taylor notes that this striving for a sense of unity has made what he describes as a 'shooting war' between ASEAN states, an unthinkable situation. It can thus be argued that ASEAN and the ARF are attempting to promote this common identity, first within itself and then to its other members to build peaceful relationships.

## Confidence-building measures

One of the more common initiatives employed by the ARF is confidence-building measures (CBMs). CBMs are broadly defined as any set of unilateral, bilateral or multilateral actions that act to reduce military tensions between states.<sup>24</sup> These measures build confidence between parties and states and increases interdependence between states. This occurs because

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18 Joseph Nye, '5 Leadership Lessons: Joseph Nye on Leadership', [www.leadershipnow.com/leadingblog/2010/07/5\\_leadership\\_lessons\\_joseph\\_ny.html](http://www.leadershipnow.com/leadingblog/2010/07/5_leadership_lessons_joseph_ny.html).

19 Whelan, 'Does the ARF have a Role', 10.

20 Ibid., 14.

21 Taylor, 'Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific', 123.

22 ASEAN Motto. [www.asean.org/asean/about-asean/asean-motto](http://www.asean.org/asean/about-asean/asean-motto).

23 John Patrick Allengui, 'Is an ASEAN Identity Possible?' (2015), [www.rappler.com/move-ph/ispeak/87163-asean-identity-possible](http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/ispeak/87163-asean-identity-possible).

24 Holly Higgins, 'Applying Confidence-Building Measures in a Regional Context' (paper presented to Institute for Science and International Security, 2002), 109.

CBMs consist of information sharing, notification of military exercises and exchanges between scholars, military and civilian government personnel, among others.<sup>25</sup>

One success in the ARF's confidence-building measures is facilitating dialogue between North and South Korea, who would otherwise be ill prepared to make arrangements between each other.<sup>26</sup> The establishment of prominent Track II informal dialogues through institutions like the CSCAP and the Network of ASEAN Defence Institutes (NADI), could also be seen as CBMs. Track II dialogue do not restrict participating officials to state policy and allow different perspectives to be put forward. These forums provide an arena for building confidence, and discussing security issues beyond official governmental positions.<sup>27</sup> Track II institutions also provide a stable channel to manage tensions, and mediate dialogue between states in situations when there is a lack of mutual trust (for example, Taiwan Strait issues).<sup>28</sup> These CBMs have been noted to increase trust between ARF participants,<sup>29</sup> which the ARF seeks to use to promote lasting peace.<sup>30</sup>

More concrete progress has also been made in other non-traditional security issues such as energy security and climate change. In the area of energy security, the ARF has facilitated greater cooperation through information exchange, sharing of best practices and mutual investment.<sup>31</sup> In late 2009, ASEAN with China, Japan and South Korea also solidified cooperation in working-level talks to initiate oil-stockpiling plans.<sup>32</sup> ASEAN has also demonstrated significant contributions towards combating climate change. A noteworthy example is the Singapore Declaration on Climate Change,

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25 Acharya, 'The ASEAN Regional Forum: Confidence-Building', 8–9.

26 Higgins, 'Applying Confidence-Building Measures', 117.

27 Secretariat of NADI, [www.rsis.edu.sg/nadi/](http://www.rsis.edu.sg/nadi/).

28 Chyungly Lee, 'Cross-Strait Participation in the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific: A Case Study of a Multilateral Track Two Approach to Conflict Prevention', *Issues & Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (2009), Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University.

29 ASEAN Regional Forum, Co-Chair Summary Report from Workshop on 'Confidence-Building Measures and Preventive Diplomacy in Asia and Europe' (2008).

30 Weber, 'The ASEAN Regional Forum', 12.

31 Ibid., 17.

32 Mely Caballero-Anthony, 'Non Traditional Security Issues in Asia: Imperatives for Deepening Regional Security Cooperation' in *Assessing Track 2 Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific Region: A CSCAP Reader*, ed. Desmond Ball and Chong G. Kwa (2010), 213.

Energy and Environment adopted in 2007.<sup>33</sup> Another initiative is the ASEAN Multi-Sectoral Framework on Climate Change and Food Security adopted in 2009.<sup>34</sup> These two examples showcase policy coordination and can be interpreted as different states recognising common goals and interests. This kind of cooperation is useful in maintaining peace and stability.

## Opportunities for dialogue

Naturally, many opportunities to facilitate dialogue arise with better trust and cooperation, confidence-building measures and strong engagement with different states. As with the North and South Korea example above, states that would otherwise be unwilling to have dialogues, are likely to find multilateral institutions impartial and a useful avenue for discussion. Taylor notes further examples of such dialogues, held between the US and North Korea in 2004, and between China and Japan in 2006, both facilitated by the ARF or due to their participation in the ARF.<sup>35</sup> Without such an avenue, mistrust could easily develop, with different political rhetoric present. But this lack of trust can be overcome with the discussion of what are usually highly sensitive and controversial issues in such dialogues.<sup>36</sup>

The opportunities for dialogue between officials and policymakers have the potential to continue building confidence and engaging different states. The CSCAP has been noted to be extraordinary in its achievements towards dialogue.<sup>37</sup> CSCAP's participation is made up of academics, think-tank analysts and policymakers who engage in free discussion of security issues.<sup>38</sup> By including different states in a regional dialogue, it works to act as a barrier to conflict. As Lee notes, the inclusive membership of CSCAP in a regional dialogue process, inherently implies the utility of conflict prevention.<sup>39</sup>

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33 Ibid., 206.

34 Ibid.

35 Taylor, 'Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific', 122.

36 Ibid., 123.

37 Barry Desker, 'CSCAP: Shaping the Future of the ASEAN Regional Forum' in *Assessing Track 2 Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific Region: A CSCAP Reader*, ed. Desmond Ball and Chong G. Kwa (2010), 2.

38 Ibid., 231.

39 Lee, 'Cross Strait Participation', 192.

A similar analogy about inclusive membership could be drawn for the ARF, but there is also a mutual lack of trust between regional powers. Therefore, a Track II institution like CSCAP contributes significantly in bringing together experts in their private capacities who are more welcoming and feasible.<sup>40</sup>

## Conclusion

Desker notes that the combination of engagement and enmeshment strategies of the ARF, and the willingness of major powers to respond to those strategies, make the likelihood of continuing peace and stability very promising.<sup>41</sup> This paper agrees with that idea. The enmeshment strategy and the soft leadership style used by the ASEAN states within the ARF has worked towards integrating the major powers, making them feel as if they have a stake in peace and stability in the region. Through confidence-building measures, dialogue and cooperation mechanisms and initiatives, a sense of common purpose and interdependence overall has helped the ARF maintain peace and stability in the region.

## Limits of regional security institutions

One of the main criticisms of the ARF is that it lacks the ability to respond to conflicts or any major crises.<sup>42</sup> This criticism arises mainly from the major powers. Narine notes that there is a distinct difference in expectations between Western states and ASEAN of what the ARF should achieve.<sup>43</sup> The ARF still remains in the confidence-building stage after a decade of establishment,<sup>44</sup> possibly because the consensual style of dialogue makes any form of progress too slow.<sup>45</sup> Cooperation and compromise is not as easy

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40 Ibid., 194.

41 Desker, 'CSCAP: Shaping the Future', 227.

42 Taylor, 'Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific', 122.

43 Shaun Narine, 'ASEAN and the ARF: The Limits of the ASEAN Way', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 37, No. 10, (University of California Press, October 1997): 964.

44 Weber, 'The ASEAN Regional Forum', 19.

45 Taylor, 'Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific', 122.



to achieve with the number of different countries involved in the ARF. Also, unlike smaller ASEAN states, great powers are unlikely to cooperate, as it might expose weakness.<sup>46</sup>

A counter to this criticism is that the great powers usually would find themselves in a position where they will lose if they choose not to cooperate or compromise. Firstly, analysts note that major powers decided to join the ARF to avoid being left out in the first place.<sup>47</sup> They would likely be left out if they decided to take an uncompromising stance, or in another case, if they display aggressive leadership, it risks facing a balancing coalition from other states (as discussed in the 'Engaging Major Powers' subsection). Secondly, the ARF as an institution provides many benefits for cooperation. It fulfils the role of an institution that lowers costs, provides information and is a welcome setting for states that have mutual lack of trust.<sup>48</sup> Weber notes that the ARF has clearly promoted stability through CBMs, trust building and exchange of ideas. While it may not be the coercive military-strong institution Western states seek, the ARF may be better off with its soft leadership style, one that has proven suitable to the region.

## Future prospects

Despite the limitations and challenges, the contributions of the ARF cannot be overlooked. Willingness to hold dialogue and engage is the first step towards any substantive progress.<sup>49</sup> But the criticism of the ARF's inability to respond to conflict, and its being nothing more than a 'talk shop',<sup>50</sup> must be considered. As political issues are becoming more transnational, existing arrangements relying on the ASEAN Way of diplomacy may not be sufficient.<sup>51</sup>

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46 Narine, 'ASEAN and the ARF', 975.

47 Weber, 'The ASEAN Regional Forum', 21; Narine, 'ASEAN and the ARF', 975.

48 Weber, 'The ASEAN Regional Forum', 21.

49 Ba, 'Regional Security', 127.

50 Taylor, 'Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific', 122.

51 Webber, 'Regional Cooperation', 330.

The emphasis on achieving a consensus has already frustrated Western states, and moving at the speed of the lowest common denominator is seen as unreliable for the future.<sup>52</sup> Philippine analyst Raymond Jose G. Quilop notes that suggestions have been made to leave behind achieving consensus and utilising a coalition of the willing.<sup>53</sup> Such change of process and reform would take quite a while to achieve, based on the willingness of the states. Weber argues that from the history of the region, countries are sensitive to such curtailing of their freedom of action.<sup>54</sup> However, it is clear that such criticism must be addressed if the ARF wants to remain relevant in the future,<sup>55</sup> and continue to maintain peace and stability in the region.

## Conclusion

Regardless of how successful an institution is, it has to consistently adapt with the times. In an increasingly globalised world with transnational challenges, the ARF as a regional security institution has contributed significantly to maintaining peace and stability. The ARF achieves this by engaging major powers and different states, enhancing cooperation and exercising soft leadership. These actions build confidence, a common sense of purpose and interest in a peaceful region. Although this soft leadership style has certain limits and has been subject to some criticism, this does not necessarily mean that the ARF is unable to maintain peace and stability. Rather, the ARF will need to continuously adapt in the future to remain a relevant key actor in maintaining peace and stability, as it already does today.

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52 Raymund Jose G. Quilop, 'Preventive Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific: Challenges and Prospects for the ASEAN Regional Forum' (University of the Philippines, 2003), 76.

53 Ibid., 77.

54 Weber, 'The ASEAN Regional Forum', 24.

55 Ba, 'Regional Security', 129.

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# Discussion and analysis of the marketing strategy of Coke Zero in the US market

Robert Sarich, Riasat Zaman, and Chinmoy Misra

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Coke Zero 375ml cans as sold in vending machines were launched in the US market in 2005, as a sugar-free version of Coca-Cola that maintains the same taste. The product is controlled by the Coca-Cola Company, a multinational firm that is most famous for its namesake product Coca-Cola, but also produces a range of sodas, spring waters, bottled teas, and other beverages.<sup>1</sup> Cans of Coke Zero sold through vending machines are marketed as a convenient product for 18–22-year-old health-conscious male cola-drinkers who identify with masculinity. As the product is currently within the growth stage of the product life cycle and market penetration is the most appropriate strategy, its marketing mix strategy has evolved accordingly. Product features, convenience pricing strategy, customer relationship management (CRM) promotional strategy, and place utility with vending machine distribution have all been effectively utilised in order to maximise market penetration among the targeted customer segment.

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1 '2011 Year in Review', Coca-ColaCompany.com. Accessed 9 May 2015. [www.coca-colacompany.com/annual-review/2011/operating-groups.html](http://www.coca-colacompany.com/annual-review/2011/operating-groups.html).

The growth stage of a product life cycle requires careful consideration in relation to the overall marketing strategy during this time. Product life cycle theory is useful as it provides guidance on the appropriate strategy that should be used based on sales growth over time.<sup>2</sup> For the aggregate US market, Coke Zero experienced sales growth of 5 per cent in the first quarter of 2015, which is consistent with this growth stage.<sup>3</sup> However, it is worth noting that the growth rate appears to be slowly indicating that it may be heading towards the maturity stage in the near future, since double-digit sales growth has frequently been reported in recent years.<sup>4</sup> Coke Zero's continued growth is particularly notable, given that sales across the entire soft drink industry have been falling slightly in the US market in recent years.<sup>5</sup>

Given this information, it is fair to assume that the targeted customer segment for Coke Zero 375ml cans of health conscious 18–22-year-old male cola drinkers who identify with masculinity is also within the growth stage. This assumption is evidenced by the success of the marketing strategy as discussed later.<sup>6</sup> Due to the fact that at this current stage of the product life cycle, and that Coke Zero 375ml cans are already within existing submarket of diet cola beverages, it is required that the product being offered is precisely tailored to a very refined market segment, and that is achieved through the specific aforementioned customer segment.<sup>7</sup>

The marketing strategy of Coke Zero 375ml cans is best described as market penetration, which is accordance with the Ansoff Matrix, as well as the growth stage of the product life cycle.<sup>8</sup> The Ansoff Matrix

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2 David Rink and John Swan, 'Product Life Cycle. Research: A Literature Review', *Journal of Business Research*, Vol. 7, Issue 3 (1979): 219–42.

3 Paul La Monica. 'Diet Coke Sales Fizzle', *CNNMoney*, 22 April 2015. [money.cnn.com/2015/04/22/investing/coke-earnings-diet-coke-coca-cola](http://money.cnn.com/2015/04/22/investing/coke-earnings-diet-coke-coca-cola).

4 *Investor's Business Daily*, 'Demand Strong For Coke Zero, Energy Drinks', Nasdaq, 11 April 2014. [www.nasdaq.com/article/demand-strong-for-coke-zero-energy-drinks-cm343827](http://www.nasdaq.com/article/demand-strong-for-coke-zero-energy-drinks-cm343827).

5 Phil Wahba, 'Update 1-U.S. soda sales fall to lowest since 1995-report', *Reuters*, 31 March 2014. [www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/31/usa-soda-beverages-idUSL1N0MS16O20140331](http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/31/usa-soda-beverages-idUSL1N0MS16O20140331).

6 Coca-Cola Company, '2011 Year in Review'.

7 Vithala Rao and Joel Steckel, *Analysis for Strategic Marketing*. (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1998).

8 Michael Solomon, Andrew Hughes, Bill Chitty, Greg Marshall and Elnora Stuart. *Real People, Real Choice: Marketing*. 3rd ed. (Frenchs Forest, NSW: Pearson, 2014).

is a tool for deciding the main marketing strategy that should be used depending on whether both the product and market are either new or pre-existing.<sup>9</sup> Since Coke Zero has existed for 10 years in the US market, and is comparable to other diet cola soft drinks that have existed within the soda market and its diet cola submarket for decades, the Ansoff Matrix dictates that market penetration is the appropriate strategy. The use of this strategy is consistent with the growth stage of the product life cycle that the product falls within for the customer segment. Coke Zero's use of market penetration strategy is evident in the product's appearance, pricing, promotional efforts and places where it can be purchased.<sup>10</sup>

The core focus of the market penetration approach has been to continue the growth of Coke Zero 375ml cans as sold through vending machines amongst the existing target market. This is being achieved by focusing efforts towards encouraging the continued use of the product by existing users, and attempting to increase their purchase frequency.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Coke Zero has also been involved with market penetration through attempting to win over customers of competing products that target a very similar market segment, such as Pepsi Max.<sup>12</sup> This is proving difficult due to the strong brand loyalty that exists within the entire cola market, however, one strategy is to ensure Coke Zero's vending machines are more conveniently located than Pepsi Max's vending machines in order to maximise convenience value for the target market.<sup>13</sup> The longer term benefit of engaging in market penetration is for Coke Zero to acquire a larger market share which it will hopefully be able to hold on to as it enters the maturity phase of the product life cycle.<sup>14</sup>

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9 Malcolm McDonald and Mike Meldrum. *Marketing in a Nutshell: Key Concepts for Non-specialists*. (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007).

10 Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*.

11 Rao and Steckel, *Analysis for Strategic Marketing*.

12 Tirtha Dahr, Jean-Paul Chavas, Ronald Cotterill and Brain Gould, 'An Econometric Analysis of Brand-Level Strategic Pricing Between Coca-Cola Company and PepsiCo,' *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy*, Vol. 14, Issue 4 (2005): 905–931; Kusum Ailawadi, Donald Lehmann and Scott Neslin, 'Market response to a major policy change in the marketing mix: Learning from Procter & Gamble's value pricing strategy', *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (2001): 44–61.

13 Albert Muniz, and Lawrence Hamer, 'Us Versus Them: Oppositional Brand Loyalty and the Cola Wars', *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 28 (2001): 355–361.

14 Geoff Lancaster and Paul Reynolds. *Marketing Made Simple*. (Oxford: Made Simple, 2002).

As potential growth still exists for this product, Coca-Cola has focused the market penetration strategy of Coke Zero towards the 18–22-year-old health-conscious cola-drinking male consumers, who identify strongly with gender stereotypes.<sup>15</sup> This market holds prosperous opportunities as the target segments are at a time in their lives when they maximise soda consumption.<sup>16</sup> When Coke launched Diet Coke as an alternative for the original Coke, containing less calories, sales showed a decline in their male customer base. It was discovered that men disliked the taste of Diet Coke and they cared more for the taste than the ingredients in the drink. Therefore, Coke Zero was introduced, which had zero calories and tasted more like the original Coke.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, men perceived Diet Coke as feminine product, due to the use of the word 'Diet' and the colour grey.<sup>18</sup> This is related to the field of psychographics, which analyses the separation of the customers based on factors such as personality traits, interests, and lifestyles,<sup>19</sup> which differ between genders. A common example of such segmentation would be the choice of colour between blue and pink for babies, depending on their gender.<sup>20</sup> The chosen colour scheme of Coke Zero is in keeping with its male target market, as men associate black with masculinity. Further explanation regarding the colour choice of the product will be explained later on. A study conducted by Nelson shows that the male target market are less rigid than women when it comes to brand loyalty, which justifies Coke's attempt to win over consumers from competitors.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, by considering all aspects and needs of customers, Coke is building their customer lifetime value and loyalty through its marketing efforts aimed at the aforementioned consumer segment.

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15 Teresa Howard, 'Coke finally scores another winner', *USA Today*, 4 November 2011. [abcnews.go.com/Business/story?id=3788224](http://abcnews.go.com/Business/story?id=3788224).

16 'Products - Data Briefs - Number 71 - August 2011'. CDC.gov. Accessed 14 May 2015. [www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db71.html](http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db71.html).

17 Jeremiah McWilliams, 'Coke Zero Becomes a Hero for Coca-Cola Co', *The Star*, 19 September 2010. [www.thestar.com/business/2010/09/19/coke\\_zero\\_becomes\\_a\\_hero\\_for\\_cocacola\\_co.html](http://www.thestar.com/business/2010/09/19/coke_zero_becomes_a_hero_for_cocacola_co.html).

18 McWilliams, 'Coke Zero Becomes a Hero for Coca-Cola Co'.

19 Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*, 218.

20 Jane Daniels, 'Marketing Strategies within the Baby Product Industry', Honours Thesis. (Eastern Michigan University, 2009).

21 Nelson Oly Ndubisi, 'Effect of gender on customer loyalty: a relationship marketing approach', *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (2006): 48–61.



The features of Coke Zero 375ml cans are designed in accordance with meeting the desires of the target market, and are reinforced by value proposition theory. As for all types of Coke Zero, the differential benefit of the drink is that unlike its predecessor, Diet Coke, it has zero calories while retaining almost the same taste as the original Coke.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, in order to maximise its value, the company has invested heavily in its look, to give it an appearance which is considered by the male target customers to be 'cool'<sup>23</sup> and 'socially acceptable among peers'.<sup>24</sup> The physical appearance of the product consists of the standard black can with the red trademark Coca-Cola logo and the text 'Zero' in white underneath it (Coca-Cola Zero), giving it a mysterious and attractive look that the male customers were seeking. The theme of black symbolises mystery and power, which older teenagers and young adults like to connect with their personalities, and to show dominance.<sup>25</sup>

As for the product features, the 375ml cans are made of aluminium thus making the drink thermally useful,<sup>26</sup> and allowing the beverage to stay cool for a considerable amount of time after being purchased at a vending machine, which adds further value for the target market through additional convenience.<sup>27</sup> To access the drink, there is a pull-tab, which makes it convenient, as no other tool is required. The can size is very convenient, as it occupies less space. For example, it can fit in a backpack, a cup holder in a car and vending machines, making it easier to sell the product. This suits

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22 McWilliams, 'Coke Zero Becomes a Hero for Coca-Cola Co'.

23 Jeff Goins, 'Marketing Works: Why I Drink Coke Zero,' *Goins, Writer* (blog). Posted 12 May 2011. Accessed 10 May 2015, [goinswriter.com/marketing-works-why-i-drink-coke-zero/](http://goinswriter.com/marketing-works-why-i-drink-coke-zero/).

24 Miranda Hale, 'Gender-Targeted Advertising, Or "Coke Zero Is For Bros!"', *Miranda Hale* (blog). Posted 6 November 2011. Accessed 14 May 2015, [mirandacelestehale.net/2011/11/06/gender-targeted-advertising-or-coke-zero-is-for-bros/](http://mirandacelestehale.net/2011/11/06/gender-targeted-advertising-or-coke-zero-is-for-bros/).

25 'The Colour Black', *Empower-Yourself-With-Colour-Psychology.com*. Accessed 16 May 2015. [www.empower-yourself-with-color-psychology.com/color-black.html](http://www.empower-yourself-with-color-psychology.com/color-black.html).

26 'What are soda cans made of? What environmental problems do they cause?' Antoine.frostburg.edu. Accessed 16 May 2015. [antoine.frostburg.edu/chem/senese/101/environmental/faq/soda-can-problems.shtml](http://antoine.frostburg.edu/chem/senese/101/environmental/faq/soda-can-problems.shtml).

27 'Sustainability', *Coca-ColaCompany.com*. Accessed 9 May 2015. [www.coca-colacompany.com/topics/sustainability/](http://www.coca-colacompany.com/topics/sustainability/).

the needs of the 18–22-year-old male customer segment, such as for males who would drive home with a can of Coke Zero in their drink holder after purchasing it from a vending machine at their college after class.<sup>28</sup>

The marketing theory evident here is implementation of dynamically continuous innovation in the marketing strategy development process, a part of the product section in the marketing mix. Dynamically continuous innovation involves a change in existing product that requires conducting market research first in order to understand behavioural change.<sup>29</sup> In this context, the attitudes and customer dissatisfaction towards Diet Coke by the male consumer group were analysed and studied, thus leading to the creation of Coke Zero.

When looking at the pricing strategies for Coke Zero 375ml cans, many factors must be considered. Pricing objectives, the environment and demand will form part of the overall pricing picture.<sup>30</sup> Pricing objectives describe what a company hopes to achieve by setting a price. The pricing of Coca-Cola's range of products is mimicked by its competitors (primarily PepsiCo) to such a degree that clear models can be made to describe this linear relationship. As such Coke cannot rely on selling through competitive pricing or long-term penetration pricing.<sup>31</sup> In lieu of this, Coca-Cola leans towards customer satisfaction objectives by setting an acceptable price for Coke Zero to retain loyal customers, relying on its other marketing elements to build loyalty and attract customers.<sup>32</sup>

There are many environmental factors that affect the sale of 375ml Coke Zero cans. Coca-Cola alters its vending machine pricing based on geographic location, so there is no consistent price for the product across

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28 'Get a Coke Vending Machine for Your Business', CokeSolutions.com. Accessed 13 May 2015. [www.cokesolutions.com/Vending/Pages/Site%20Pages/FullServiceVending.aspx](http://www.cokesolutions.com/Vending/Pages/Site%20Pages/FullServiceVending.aspx).

29 Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*.

30 Ibid.

31 Dahr et al., 'An Econometric Analysis of Brand-Level Strategic Pricing Between Coca-Cola Company and PepsiCo'.

32 Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*; C.B. Bhattacharya, 'Corporate Social Responsibility: It's All About Marketing', *Forbes*, 20 November 2009. [www.forbes.com/2009/11/20/corporate-social-responsibility-leadership-citizenship-marketing.html](http://www.forbes.com/2009/11/20/corporate-social-responsibility-leadership-citizenship-marketing.html); Dahr et al., 'An Econometric Analysis of Brand-Level Strategic Pricing Between Coca-Cola Company and PepsiCo'; Ailawadi, Lehmann and Neslin, 'Market response to a major policy change in the marketing mix: Learning from Procter & Gamble's value pricing strategy'.

the United States of America.<sup>33</sup> Government regulation restricts the sale of sugary drinks in some areas of the target segment in America.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, consumer trends are moving away from sugary beverages and towards those with healthier images.<sup>35</sup> These trends, coupled with similarity in price<sup>36</sup> among the competition, allows the cost element to be lessened, facilitating the choice of Coke Zero due to its healthier image.<sup>37</sup>

A major component of pricing is demand; pricing can be strategically altered to manipulate the level of demand.<sup>38</sup> As demand can be estimated from controllable variables,<sup>39</sup> Coke Zero was able to benefit from increased demand with short-term promotional strategies by using penetration pricing.<sup>40</sup> Another element of the demand of Coke Zero 375ml cans is the sale of convenience. Convenience can be used to increase utility and

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33 'Globalization and the Coca-Cola Company', Saylor.org. Accessed 2 May 2015. [www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/BUS208-2.5.6-Globalization-and-The-Coca-Cola-Company-FINAL.pdf](http://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/BUS208-2.5.6-Globalization-and-The-Coca-Cola-Company-FINAL.pdf); 'Coca-Cola (One Can)', Humuch.com. Accessed 10 May 2015. [www.humuch.com/prices/CocaCola-one-can-12oz350ml/\\_/110#.VVXqsZOeDGd](http://www.humuch.com/prices/CocaCola-one-can-12oz350ml/_/110#.VVXqsZOeDGd).

34 Chris Dolmetsch and Henry Goldman, 'New York Soda Size Limit Statute Barred by State Judge', *Bloomberg Business*, 12 March 2013. [www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-03-11/new-york-city-soda-size-limitations-barred-by-state-court-judge](http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-03-11/new-york-city-soda-size-limitations-barred-by-state-court-judge); ComLaw, *Australia New Zealand Food Standards Code - Standard 2.6.2 - Non-Alcoholic Beverages and Brewed Soft Drinks*. (Australian Government, December 2000). [www.comlaw.gov.au/Series/F2009B00004](http://www.comlaw.gov.au/Series/F2009B00004).

35 Sue Mitchell, 'Coca-Cola puts lid on new product Coke Life until April', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 2014. [www.smh.com.au/business/cocacola-puts-lid-on-new-product-coke-life-until-april-20141029-11dpd1.html](http://www.smh.com.au/business/cocacola-puts-lid-on-new-product-coke-life-until-april-20141029-11dpd1.html).

36 Dahr et al., 'An Econometric Analysis of Brand-Level Strategic Pricing between Coca-Cola Company and PepsiCo'.

37 Rachel Clemons, 'Diet Cola Myths Exposed', *Choice.com.au*, 16 March 2007. [www.choice.com.au/food-and-drink/drinks/sports-drinks-energy-drinks-and-soft-drinks/articles/diet-cola-myths-exposed](http://www.choice.com.au/food-and-drink/drinks/sports-drinks-energy-drinks-and-soft-drinks/articles/diet-cola-myths-exposed); Mitchell, 'Coca-Cola puts lid on new product Coke Life until April'.

38 Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*.

39 Ibid.

40 Paul McIntyre, 'Coke's local advertising campaign a worldwide success', *Financial Review*, 25 March 2013. [www.afr.com/business/media-and-marketing/advertising/cokes-local-advertising-campaign-a-worldwide-success-20130324-je82m](http://www.afr.com/business/media-and-marketing/advertising/cokes-local-advertising-campaign-a-worldwide-success-20130324-je82m); Nicola Riches, 'Coke smashes sales forecast with coloured cans', *AdNews*, 23 March 2015. [www.adnews.com.au/news/coke-smashes-sales-forecast-with-coloured-cans](http://www.adnews.com.au/news/coke-smashes-sales-forecast-with-coloured-cans); P.C. Yang, 'Pricing strategy for deteriorating items using quantity discount when demand is price sensitive', *European Journal of Operational Research*, Vol. 157, No.2 (2004): 389–97.

thus demand for the product.<sup>41</sup> Convenience is created through the use of vending machines, which facilitate the distribution of Coke Zero to their target market and add value through refrigeration.<sup>42</sup>

Coca-Cola uses a plethora of promotional elements and communication channels to sell its products. These elements form strategies that support the market penetration strategies of Coke Zero 375ml cans.<sup>43</sup> Coca-Cola has a successful history with traditional advertising strategies incorporating many mediums such as billboards and television.<sup>44</sup> Coke Zero has inherited this history and built upon it with innovative advertisements.<sup>45</sup> These repeat successes facilitate the market penetration focus for Coke Zero's 375ml cans in the short term, as Coca-Cola was able to increase market share during each campaign.<sup>46</sup>

A second promotional strategy used to promote Coke Zero is public relations (PR). PR extends to all outwardly facing communications that influence public opinions and thus increase market penetration.<sup>47</sup> PR is a

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41 Richard Holton, 'The distinction between convenience goods, shopping goods, and specialty goods', *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 23, No. 1(1958): 53–56; Mark Jekanowski, James Binkley and James Eales, 'Convenience, accessibility, and the demand for fast food', *Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, Vol. 26, No.1 (2001): 58–74.

42 AP and Staff Writers, 'Are Coca-Cola's mini-cans worth it?' *News.com.au*, 15 January 2015. [www.news.com.au/finance/business/are-coca-colas-mini-cans-worth-it/story-fnkgdftz-1227184568698](http://www.news.com.au/finance/business/are-coca-colas-mini-cans-worth-it/story-fnkgdftz-1227184568698); CokeSolutions.com, 'Get a Coke Vending Machine for Your Business'.

43 Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*; 'A History of Coca-Cola Advertising Slogans', Coca-ColaCompany.com. Accessed 9 May 2015. [www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/coke-lore-slogans](http://www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/coke-lore-slogans).

44 Ibid.

45 John Deighton, 'The interaction of advertising and evidence', *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1984): 763–70; 'A Sign of Great Taste: Coke Zero Unveils "Drinkable" Billboards and More in Indy', Coca-ColaCompany.com. Accessed 10 May 2015. [www.coca-colacompany.com/innovation/a-sign-of-great-taste-coke-zero-unveils-drinkable-billboards-and-more-in-indy](http://www.coca-colacompany.com/innovation/a-sign-of-great-taste-coke-zero-unveils-drinkable-billboards-and-more-in-indy); Coca-ColaCompany.com, '2011 Year in Review'.

46 Andrew Lester, *Growth Management: Two Hats are Better Than One*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); McIntyre, 'Coke's local advertising campaign a worldwide success'.

47 Department of Business and Industry, *Public relations tools and activities*, (Queensland Government, October 2014). [www.business.qld.gov.au/business/running/marketing/public-relations/public-relations-tools-activities](http://www.business.qld.gov.au/business/running/marketing/public-relations/public-relations-tools-activities); Lester, *Growth Management: Two Hats are Better Than One*.

risky method of promotion as there is a lack of control and moderation.<sup>48</sup> Coca-Cola have mediated the potential lack of control though the use of customer relationship management (CRM) and corporate social responsibility (CSR) to lessen negative implications by swaying and influencing public opinion.<sup>49</sup>

CRM is an element of Coca-Cola's PR strategy as it uses information to build an understanding of a customer/client to better influence them. For example, the My Coke Rewards CRM introduced in 2015 attempts to increase customer loyalty by offering a points-based system that provides tangible cumulative quantity discounts for repeat purchases from vending machines.<sup>50</sup> The second element of Coca-Cola's PR strategy is CSR. CSR is used to improve a company's image through social improvement activities with the overarching aim to improve loyalty and thus market share.<sup>51</sup> Coca-Cola uses several CSR initiatives to promote Coke Zero. These include sponsorship of events which are significant to Coke Zero's target market, grants/scholarships, and sustainability.<sup>52</sup> All of these activities contain a positive social benefit for Coke Zero's market segments and tie in Coca-Cola's CSR elements into the company's PR strategy.

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48 Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*; Robert Jackall and Janice Hirota. *Image makers: Advertising, public relations, and the ethos of advocacy*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003).

49 Manuela Weber, 'The business case for corporate social responsibility: A company-level measurement approach for CSR', *European Management Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (2008): 247–61; Glen Urban, 'Customer advocacy: a new era in marketing?' *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (2005): 155–59.

50 'My Coke Rewards Card FAQs', MyCokeRewards.com. Accessed 14 May 2015. [www.mycokerewards.com/content/legal/vending-faq.html](http://www.mycokerewards.com/content/legal/vending-faq.html); Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*.

51 Urban, 'Customer advocacy: a new era in marketing?'; Bhattacharya, 'Corporate Social Responsibility: It's All About Marketing'.

52 'Game On: Coke Zero, Riot Games Launch "League of Legends" Challenger Series to Give Amateurs a Path to the Pros', Coca-ColaCompany.com. Accessed 9 May 2015. [www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/game-on-coke-zero-riot-games-launch-league-of-legends-challenger-series-to-give-amateurs-a-path-to-the-pros](http://www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/game-on-coke-zero-riot-games-launch-league-of-legends-challenger-series-to-give-amateurs-a-path-to-the-pros); Coca-ColaCompany.com, 'Sustainability'.

Through the use of multiple promotional strategies, Coca-Cola focuses on brand image and relationship management with its customers to build loyalty and promote its product. These strategies tie into Coke Zero's market penetration strategy; they have been proven to be successful over the lifespan of Coke Zero, therefore no alterations should be made.<sup>53</sup>

The positioning of a product refers to where a product sits in comparison to its competition, and how well this 'position' is received by a product's target market segments.<sup>54</sup> Coke Zero has used target and positioning to appeal to its specific target market segments.<sup>55</sup> To position a 375ml can of Coke Zero, a comparison must be made to its closest competitors, i.e. a can of Pepsi Max.<sup>56</sup> Both colas are similar as they are both sugar-free colas which are marketed to similar market segments.<sup>57</sup> Coke Zero also has many indirect competitors, ranging from home brand colas to make at home alternatives.<sup>58</sup> Albeit these products may be chasing different markets, they may still play a part in Coke Zero's position.

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53 Coca-Cola Company, '2011 Year in Review'.

54 Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*; Stuart Rogers, *Marketing Strategies, Tactics, and Techniques: A Handbook for Practitioners*. (Westport, Conn: Quorum Books. 2001).

55 Ibid.

56 Dahr et al., 'An Econometric Analysis of Brand-Level Strategic Pricing between Coca-Cola Company and PepsiCo'; Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*.

57 'Official Global Partner of the ICC Cricket World Cup 2015', Pepsi.com. Accessed 7 May 2015. [www.pepsi.com/en-au/d](http://www.pepsi.com/en-au/d).

58 'Sugar Free Cola 500ml', SodaStreamUsa.com. Accessed 9 May 2015. [www.sodastreamusa.com/sugar-free-cola-500ml](http://www.sodastreamusa.com/sugar-free-cola-500ml); Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*.

Coke Zero doesn't have a competitive advantage in terms of price or product.<sup>59</sup> One element of Coke Zero that is well coveted is its 'secret formula'.<sup>60</sup> However, this exclusivity cannot be retained with competitors creating 'close enough' substitutes.<sup>61</sup> Brand loyalty is a competitive advantage for Coke Zero as it is a reason Coke Zero is chosen over substitutes.<sup>62</sup>

Coke Zero's marketing mix of price, place, product and promotion has been developed to align with the product's market penetration focus. As Coke Zero's pricing will be mimicked by its competition, specifically Pepsi Max,<sup>63</sup> Coca-Cola uses cost in conjunction with other elements such as promotion or baselined at a reasonable level.<sup>64</sup> A can of Coke Zero is positioned similarly to its competitors in terms of form and place utility, however perceived possession utility is increased through the use of attractive colours.<sup>65</sup> As previously stated, one of Coke Zero's advantages is its customer loyalty. The company's relationship- and image-based promotional strategy aim is to retain and build upon the loyalty of its chosen market segment. As Coke Zero is an existing product entering the maturity phase of its life cycle, Coca-Cola is focusing on market penetration. The product's distribution strategies support this by increasing the availability of Coke Zero at lower

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59 Dahr et al., 'An Econometric Analysis of Brand-Level Strategic Pricing between Coca-Cola Company and PepsiCo'; Pepsi.com, 'Official Global Partner of the ICC Cricket World Cup 2015'.

60 Coca-ColaCompany.com, 'Sustainability'.

61 Jessica Cox, 'Why Coca-Cola's Fictional Lawsuit Against Coke Zero for Taste Infringement is a Losing Battle', *Journal of Intellectual Property Law*, Vol. 17 (2009): 121.

62 Ailawadi, Lehmann and Neslin, 'Market response to a major policy change in the marketing mix: Learning from Procter & Gamble's value pricing strategy'; 'Drawing Customers Into the Coke Zone', Aimia.com. Accessed 13 May 2015. [www.aimia.com/content/dam/aimiawebsite/CaseStudiesWhitepapersResearch/english/Aimia\\_CaseStudyCOKE.pdf](http://www.aimia.com/content/dam/aimiawebsite/CaseStudiesWhitepapersResearch/english/Aimia_CaseStudyCOKE.pdf).

63 Dahr et al., 'An Econometric Analysis of Brand-Level Strategic Pricing between Coca-Cola Company and PepsiCo'.

64 Clemons, 'Diet Cola Myths Exposed'; Mitchell, 'Coca-Cola puts lid on new product Coke Life until April'; Ailawadi, Lehmann and Neslin, 'Market response to a major policy change in the marketing mix: Learning from Procter & Gamble's value pricing strategy'; Jekanowski, Binkley and Eales. 'Convenience, accessibility, and the demand for fast food'.

65 'What Are the Four Types of Utility Marketing?' SmallBusiness.Chron.com. Accessed 14 May 2015. [smallbusiness.chron.com/four-types-utility-marketing-24420.html](http://smallbusiness.chron.com/four-types-utility-marketing-24420.html); Goins, 'Marketing Works: Why I Drink Coke Zero'.

costs.<sup>66</sup> Coke Zero's success is an indicator that its marketing mix and targeting approach to product positioning is well devised and should not be altered at present.<sup>67</sup>

Distribution of Coke Zero to the target market in the US involves the use of indirect channels and intermediaries, and is supported by supply chain theory. In 2013, the Coca-Cola Company announced that it was moving away from its attempts to take control of its US distribution networks, and instead opting for a franchise model.<sup>68</sup> This model involves Coca-Cola remaining in charge of providing Coke Zero syrup, which is then to be produced, packaged, and distributed by independent regional bottling companies to vending machines across the country.<sup>69</sup>

This alteration in the logistics of distribution has been pursued due to expected cost reductions as a result of allowing dedicated intermediaries to specialise in delivering the product to retailers and the target market.<sup>70</sup> The move away from the vertical integration is somewhat uncommon, but has been shown to be similarly beneficial in the past for businesses such as the Ford Motor Company.<sup>71</sup> The timing of these changes in distribution is fitting, considering that they are occurring at a time in the product life cycle when sales growth is slowly beginning to fall, which will allow for efforts to continue growth to be maximised in other areas.<sup>72</sup>

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66 Martinne Geller, 'UPDATE 4 - Coca-Cola to return some distribution to U.S. franchisers', *Reuters*, 16 April 2013. [www.reuters.com/article/2013/04/16/cocacola-bottlers-idUSL2N0D30HG20130416](http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/04/16/cocacola-bottlers-idUSL2N0D30HG20130416).

67 La Monica, 'Diet Coke Sales Fizzle'; Coca-Cola Company, '2011 Year in Review'.

68 Geller, 'UPDATE 4 - Coca-Cola to return some distribution to U.S. franchisers'.

69 Shannon Bond, 'Coke shares gain after distribution deal', *Ft.com*, 16 April 2013. [www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c53dbb78-a689-11e2-885b-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3aM3wBtq6](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c53dbb78-a689-11e2-885b-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3aM3wBtq6).

70 Geller, 'UPDATE 4 - Coca-Cola to return some distribution to U.S. franchisers'.

71 John Gattorna, *Strategic Supply Chain Alignment*. 6th ed. (Aldershot, Hampshire: Gower. 1998).

72 Solomon et al., *Real People, Real Choice*.



The locations of vending machines that offer Coke Zero 375ml cans heavily takes into account the target market. College campuses across the US have a high number of vending machines that offer Coke Zero.<sup>73</sup> Through placing vending machines at college campuses, it is ensured that the product is in close proximity to the 18–22-year-old group. Vending machines offering Coke Zero are also commonplace in areas such as shopping malls and food courts frequented by young people, in order to be maximise exposure to the key demographic and encourage purchases.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, the use of these locations is also substantiated by theory related to impulse buying — by offering a low-cost item that requires very little commitment at a time that is convenient for the consumer.<sup>75</sup>

The Coca-Cola Company uses market penetration as its core marketing strategy to sell its product — 375ml cans of Coke sold through vending machines. As growth levels indicate the product is close to entering the maturity stage of the product life cycle, Coca-Cola is using loyalty and convenience to increase market penetration for its target segment, health-conscious 18–22-year-olds who identify with masculinity in the US. Loyalty has been increased through attractive packaging, customer satisfaction through fair pricing, company image and relationship management with customers/clients. Convenience is increased through high form utility of packaging, convenient sizing and place utility through vending machine distribution. Based on high-growth levels in recent years, loyalty and convenience are used to successfully position Coke Zero ahead of competitors.<sup>76</sup>

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73 Julia Lapp, William Ressler and Amy Frith, 'College students, vending machines, and improving nutritional choices: The effects of adding healthier foods on perceptions of vending machines', *International Journal of Food Safety, Nutrition and Public Health*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2014): 16–33.

74 CokeSolutions.com, 'Get a Coke Vending Machine for Your Business'.

75 John West, 'Results of two years' of study into impulse buying', *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (1951): 362–63.

76 Coca-Cola Company, '2011- Year in Review'.

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