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Master Degree Project In Marketing And Consumption

The naked truth about the Swedish condom market
- A qualitative study on why condoms are not marketed in Sweden.

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Abstract

In Sweden, sexually transmitted infections (STIs) are increasing and the numbers of abortions, due to unwanted pregnancies, are among the highest in Western Europe. Moreover, STIs become increasingly more difficult to treat and cure. For example, gonorrhoea is becoming resistant against various antibiotics and other diseases are occurring more frequently as an effect of low usage of condoms, such as oropharyngeal cancer. The condom is the only prophylactic *and* contraceptive method available. However, the use of condoms in Sweden is low and decreasing. There is ample research within social marketing on how to increase condom usage through behavioral change, yet these theories are not applied in Sweden in order to increase condom usage. Why is there not more condom marketing in Sweden? To answer this, it is relevant to study what actors construct the Swedish condom market and what their marketing efforts to increase usage are. One finding of this qualitative study is that the involved actors of the Swedish condom market are dominated by one single actor, constructing a de facto monopoly. This organization, RFSU AB, is owned by RFSU who in turn is controlled by its members who does not have the condom as their main focus. Furthermore, there is generally low interest in condoms for other involved actors, such as the Public Health Agency in Sweden and the health care system. For these actors, other contraceptives or products have higher priority. Moreover, there is a clear ideological difference between RFSU and RFSU AB, which highly affect the marketing efforts for the condom. Despite the clear evidence of the effects of marketing and condom social marketing, these methods are not applied in Sweden concerning the condom, even though-involved actors believe in the marketing and/or behavioral change effects for other products and/or practices.

Keywords • condoms • marketing • ANT • practice theory • market construction

Introduction

The usage of condoms in Sweden is low, and even if other options is highly used to prevent pregnancies, condoms are the only efficient option for reducing the risk of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Fridlund, 2014). The condom is both a prophylaxis and a contraceptive (Hinman, 1976). In the past, Sweden was brought up as a good example of condom marketing and use (Solomon & DeJong, 1989; Hinman, 1976). However, Sweden has now even been named the STI ‘capital’ of Europe, by the Daily Mail (Innes, 2013).

The low usage of condoms in Sweden is a growing problem (Sveriges Radio, 2015a) and the usage is decreasing (Rfsu, 2016a). In the year of 2015, the number of reported cases of both syphilis and gonorrhea in Sweden had increased with around 30 %, in comparison to the previous year (Dagens Nyheter, 2016). Moreover, the STIs are becoming increasingly more difficult to treat and cure (Sveriges Radio, 2015b). Gonorrhea is becoming resistant to various antibiotics and other diseases are occurring as an effect of the low condom usage, such as oropharyngeal cancer (Fridlund, 2014). Another example regarding the effects of the low condom usage in Sweden, is that HIV-positive patients and patients with gonorrhea, chlamydia or syphilis have doubled on the health care center “Venhälsan” in Stockholm since 2007 (Flygt, 2017).

Moreover, half of all cases of female infertility are caused by chlamydia infections (Socialstyrelsen, 2007). Kopp Kallner, Thunell, Brynhildsen, Lindeberg and Gemzell Danielsson (2015) found that 22 % of the females in the study had unintentionally become pregnant one or more times. Furthermore, Sweden has a higher abortion rate than all other countries in Western Europe (Kopp Kallner *et al.*, 2015), which indicates that the rate of unwanted pregnancies is high. Thus, there is no doubt that there is a large need for

increased protection against STIs and pregnancies in Sweden today.

Alongside the increasing numbers of STIs, one can see liberal changes regarding sexuality and sexual behavior (Hammarström, Tikkanen & Stenqvist, 2015). Furthermore, a discrepancy has been found between the intentions to use a condom and the actual use, as the actual use is lower than the intended. It has also been found that there is a general lack of knowledge in Sweden regarding how STIs are spread (Fridlund, Stenqvist & Nordvik, 2014). Therefore, there is not only a lack of condoms usage; there is also a general lack of knowledge regarding STIs.

The overall assessment from these facts regarding STIs, HIV-numbers, unwanted pregnancies, abortions, infertility, resistance and oropharyngeal cancer in Sweden today, constitutes problems, which higher condom usage could resolve.

Conclusively, the condom usage in Sweden needs to increase, which can be seen in the effects that the low usage have on the public health. The low condom usage in Sweden is a problem. One way of increasing usage of a product is to promote the usage and the selling of it, through marketing. The idea of marketing is to influence behavioral change (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971).

The general effects of marketing on behavioral change are acknowledged (Martin & Shouten, 2014). Moreover, in the area of the so-called condom social marketing, one can clearly find methods on how to increase condom usage (Sewak & Singh, 2012; Kennedy, Mizuno, Seals, Myllyluoma & Weeks-Norton, 2000). As there is a great need for increased condom usage in Sweden today and there are methods regarding how marketing can help achieve that, questions are raised regarding who the main actors on this market are and how they use marketing to increase the usage of condoms in Sweden today.

However, there could still be problems regarding the extent of condom usage in a market with perfect condom marketing. However, marketing could contribute to an increased usage of condoms and thereby reducing the problem of too low usage. Hence, it is relevant to study what actors construct the Swedish condom market and what their marketing efforts to increase usage are. Are they doing what they can to increase usage, and if not - why is there not more marketing from these actors?

If the motives for not marketing condoms more in Sweden are more clearly understood, understanding of whom and how to influence to create a change of this behavior is enabled. The change needed in order to create a more socially sustainable society, in regards to the Swedish condom market is increased usage, where one step can be increased marketing of condoms.

Therefore, the purpose of this qualitative study is to understand what actors construct the Swedish condom market and what their marketing efforts to increase usage are, in order to explain why there is not more marketing in Sweden today for condoms.

Literature Review

Marketing condoms

It is argued in this paper that marketing can be applied to the use of condoms and increase the usage of it. A literature review over earlier research about Condom Social Marketing (CSM) will follow. As mentioned by Martin (1968) in Kotler and Zaltman (1971, p.8) "*Selling birth control is as much a marketing job as selling any other consumer product*". This means that within this product category, one needs to have the same understanding of the variables of the market as within selling any other consumer product. As an example, Martin (1968) stated that the Indian government had failed in their marketing of birth control, as "*they have*

been blind to the importance of promotion and advertising" [Martin in Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p.8]. Therefore, the importance of promotion and advertising of products representing social causes, should not be underestimated. The references in this paragraph demonstrate that already in the 1968, the importance of marketing and its possible application to contraceptives was known.

The importance of Condom Social Marketing

A study in Vietnam regarding social marketing of condoms, discusses the difficulty of the taboo around sex. Hong, Nguyen, Parker, Brennan and Clements (2014) identified that "*Social marketing may have a role to play in deconstructing social taboos surrounding safe sex practices.*" Most research about condom use originates from developing countries, and few studies are from industrialized countries. Because of this, one has to ignore the cultural differences that arise and assume that there is some transferability from developing countries to industrialized countries. Furthermore, social marketing for condoms needs to take place within the cultural context (Tierney, 2013).

Yaaminidevi (2014) have conducted a study in India about Behavior Change Communication (BCC) in regards to social marketing of condoms. From that study, it was found that BCC could develop positive behaviors, promote and sustain individual, community and societal behavioral change and maintain appropriate behaviors. It is suggested that the effective BCC could bring about increased knowledge, promote essential attitudinal change, improve skills and a sense of self-efficacy, and stimulate community dialogue and environmental changes among the target groups. Therefore it is stated that BCC adapted effectively in any health based interventions, like life style diseases, could

bring in necessary behavioral change (Yaaminidevi, 2014).

According to the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 1998), CSM emerged in the mid 1980s as an effective tool to combat the spreading of HIV/AIDS. Knerr (2011) states that much of the research on CSM is done by organizations involved in the actual CSM activities. This means that despite the volume of articles on the topic, external evaluations should be encouraged and is needed. CSM regards the application of social marketing on condoms, rather than constitutes a marketing theory (Knerr, 2011).

The majority of the studies concern the effect on behavior of adolescents in developing countries. As an example, the UNAIDS have reported on selected case studies regarding condom social marketing in Haiti, Mozambique, India, Kenya and Cameroon (Fox (UNAIDS report), 2006). However, the outcome of these studies is nevertheless interesting in understanding the impact that CSM may have. Another contributing organization in this research area is USAID (United States Agency International Development) and their study regarding the rigorous evidence and usable results from condom social marketing. USAID (2011) define CSM as a type of intervention in which “*condom brands are developed, marketed with a promotional campaign, and sold to a specific target population*” (p.1).

CSM promotes sale and use of condoms through commercial marketing approaches as well as commercial distribution methods (Knerr, 2011). This, alongside the fact that condoms increase in availability through governmental donations and subsidies in many cases, makes condoms more normalized. In turn, condoms become economically and culturally accepted to a higher extent for potential users. CSM has further initiated marketing innovations in developing countries (UNAIDS, 1998).

Even though the distribution and sales of condoms have increased through CSM, it is found that sales is a poor measurement of condom use (Knerr, 2011). According to Sweat, Denison, Kennedy, Tedrow and O'Reilly (2012) “*Ample evidence shows that condom social marketing programmes increase condom sales, which have often been cited as an indication that condom use is increasing, although the evidence points to a weak relationship between condom sales and use.*” (pp. 613) Thus, it is not enough to measure the sales or distribution of condoms, as it is the use that matters. This is underpinned by Meekers and Van Rossem (2005), who highlight that “*Consequently, condom sales data are a very poor indicator of the level of condom use.*” (pp. 1).

The Influence of Condom Social Marketing

Regarding the relation between marketing and condoms, Sewak and Singh (2012), identified from their study that advertisement can positively influence the usage of condom “*Our survey results showed that nearly 39% of respondents were influenced by condom advertisements in their decisions to use condoms*”. This study is from Vietnam but some transferability is provided if it is assumed that there are no extreme differences for how receptive a population is to be influenced by marketing. As the respondents themselves reported that they are affected by the marketing, this must not be a problem as it is difficult to otherwise determine whether the individual has been affected or not.

Moreover, Kennedy *et al.*'s (2000) study from Sacramento, California, shows similar results. “*The more channels through which an adolescent was exposed to PMI [Prevention Marketing Initiative] messages, the more likely he or she was to have used a condom at last sex with a main partner; the odds that condom use would be reported increased 26 % with each additional channel.*” They detected a

statistically significant and increasing trend in exposure to the intervention regarding condom use. The number of channels through which an adolescent had been exposed to the intervention was associated with condom use at last sex occasion with main partner. The proportion of adolescents who had used a condom at the last intercourse increased 4.3 percentage points over the 1-year intervention period. Kennedy *et al.*'s (2000) conclusion is therefore that social marketing can be combined with behavioral science to reduce the risk of STIs.

Even if most studies are from developing countries, there are more examples from other parts of the world, apart from Kennedy *et al.*'s (2000) in Sacramento, California. There are several other studies regarding condom usage and attitudes, from the US (Rosenberg & Biggar, 1998; Guttmacher, Lieberman, Ward, Radosh, Rafferty & Freudenberg, 1995; Blake, Ledsky, Goodenow, Sawyer, Lohrmann & Windsor, 2002). Moreover, there are examples from Switzerland by Dubois-Arber, Jeannin, Konings and Paccaud (1997). Yet, the studies from developed countries are rather scarce in comparison to the ones regarding developing countries.

Condom Social Marketing Critics

However, there are other opinions heard in this area. Cohen and Farley (2004) mean that social marketing of condoms is great, but what really matters is the distribution of free condoms. According to Pfeiffer (2004), the CSM approach often is too focused on the number of sold units, rather on the actual health effects. This is thus in line with what previously have been brought up regarding the correlation between sales and usage of condoms (Knerr, 2011; Sweat *et al.* 2012; Meekers & Van Rossem 2005).

Knerr (2011) states for example that *"This is no doubt the case in many CSM programmes, particularly those dependent on donor funding, as donor priorities may*

not always match those of scholars of evidence-based practice." (p.168). This indicates that the focus often is not on the public health, but on distribution and/or other more tangible measurements.

It has also been discussed if CSM-programmes increase or decrease the commercial market for condoms. The reason for a decrease would be that the subsidies of condoms damage the commercial market. However, it is also argued that the expanding market would be an advance for the commercial sector, as well as increase the commercial branch (UNAIDS, 1998).

As with all kinds of marketing, the aim and idea is to change behavior to different extents; often by convincing the consumer to choose a certain product, service or brand. Traditionally thinking, successful marketing results in sales (Martin & Shouten, 2014). However, changed sales is an effect of changed behaviour. The effects of marketing in changed consumer behavior are widely acknowledged (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971).

Conclusively, there are many examples of how condom social marketing works and how it influences behavior. The idea of applying traditional marketing methods to social causes, such as for condoms, has been around for a long time and has proven to work regarding changed behavior. If there is a problem with too low condom usage, CSM can be a solution. Yet, there is some criticism against CSM, as the focus tends to be more on sales than usage. Moreover, another important aspect of the application of CSM is that it often does not apply the evidence-based practice, as that may not match the priorities of the funder.

The Swedish condom market

As part of the purpose of this study is to understand what actors construct the Swedish condom market, the market construction is studied. Actors on the Swedish condom market in this study,

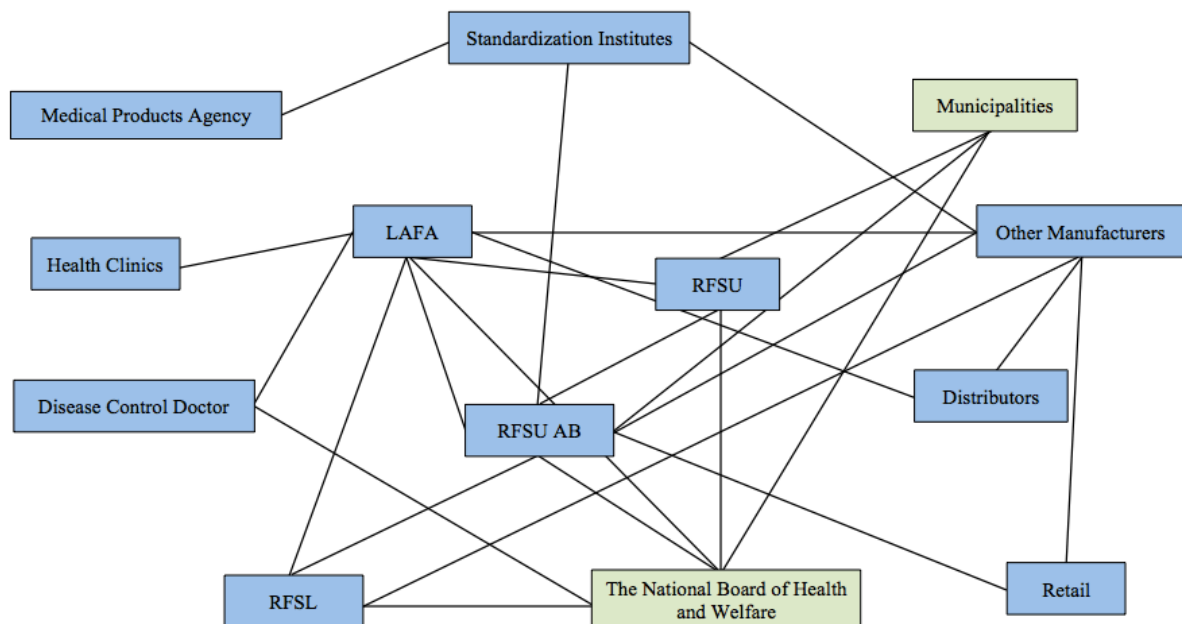
refers to any part and contributor tangential to the condom. In this case, that includes more than a producer. It involves for example the health care system and governmental institutions as well. Earlier studies of the market have been conducted by Tyllström and Benson (2009). This study has been published in Stockholm center for organizational research (SCORE) in report series 2009:10, which is a series from Stockholm University. The fact that it is not published in a scientific journal, can be argued to reduce the credibility of the article. However, Tyllström and Benson (2009) are alone in mapping the Swedish condom market and hence a good starting point for this study. Tyllström and Benson's (2009) study is focused on actors involved in condom exchange in Sweden, with the purpose of better understanding how that affects the market construction.

& Benson, 2009). This is thus a de facto monopoly (SAOB, 2017). RFSU was founded in 1933 and works for sexual education and enlightenment, through school visits, lobbying and opinion forming (RFSU.se, 2014a).

RFSU is a non-profit organization controlled by its members and its highest decision-making body is the congress, held every two years (RFSU, 2016c). A board, whose mission is to pursue the issues and questions decided by the members, through the congress, leads RFSU. RFSU has a chairman (currently Kristina Ljungros) and a secretary general (Maria Andersson) (RFSU, 2016c).

Furthermore RFSU has a relatively newly created "third leg"; the RFSU collection foundation, with the main purpose of collecting money from the public as well

Collaboration on the Condom Market



[Picture 1: Collaboration on the condom market, translated from Tyllström & Benson, 2009, p.41]

The main actor on the condom market in Sweden is RFSU AB, the share company owned by the Swedish Association for Sexuality Education (RFSU) who sells 90-95 % of all condoms in Sweden (Tyllström

as establishing cooperations with business (RFSU, 2016d).

Regarding condoms, RFSU AB manufactures, creates norms for, tests, and

qualifies both themselves as producers and other condom producers (Tyllström & Benson, 2009). Furthermore RFSU AB sells different kinds of chlamydia- and pregnancy tests, and some other products related to sexual health and pleasure (RFSU, 2016b).

Tyllström and Benson (2009) have interviewed different actors in this market, such as representatives from RFSU and RFSL (The Swedish Federation for LGBTQ-Rights). RFSU AB had at this point a very large part of the market, which according to RFSU AB is a success (Tyllström & Benson, 2009 p.34). However, it can be argued whether or not this depends on the free distribution of condoms (one fifth of all condoms are purchased by public authorities for this purpose) of condoms or a market(ing) success, which is the reason stated by RFSU. The reason for free distribution of condoms from RFSU is said to be to improve the STI- and HIV-numbers, and decrease unwanted pregnancies. However, their interviewee means that those numbers are not clearly evaluated, because "*then one cannot claim success*" (p.21). Their measurement is more regarding the amount of condoms distributed (for free) (Tyllström & Benson, 2009). Tyllström and Benson (2009) conclude, that the market structure is the reason free distribution is the preferred action taken regarding STIs, HIV and unwanted pregnancies. The construction of the condom market in Sweden is thus, according to Tyllström and Benson (2009), of high importance for how the actors act.

Tyllström and Benson's (2009) empirical data suggest that the market for condoms is negotiated in a network of public, non-governmental and market actors seeking to affect and emphasize different qualities of the object, such as the commercial value, function and usage, and moral values. The prioritizing of the qualities depends on which logic the actor's engagement is based on. These qualification processes are

also found to vary over time (Tyllström & Benson, 2009).

Tyllström and Benson (2009) state that free distribution lack demonstrable effect on the parameters to indicate what is most important for evaluation. Unwanted pregnancies and cases of STIs have increased dramatically during the same period as condom distribution has doubled. Their explanation for why the distribution of condoms is so politically popular in Sweden, is that it is a visible measure which is relatively cheap. The condom also has an obvious materiality; it can be displayed, recognized, measured and quantified. The condom is a clear answer to the desire to display HIV prevention initiatives.

Moreover, the condom as a product has several signifying characteristics. According to Kotler (2000) a product offer has five levels, and that each level gives added value to the purchaser. The most important or fundamental value of a product is the core benefit, when buying a drill, "buying holes" is the core benefit. Applying this theory to the condom, the core benefit sold would be safe sex.

The competing companies on the Swedish condom market question the unique position RFSU has, as they have both a for-profit corporation part and one non-profit organization part. Their argument is that it is not possible to compete on a fair commercial market, as the RFSU non-profit organization gets governmental funds for information purposes (Tyllström & Benson, 2009).

This results in a market, where competitors are excluded and the state renounced many of the bodies that have traditionally been outside the market in condoms management; standardization and testing, for example (Tyllström & Benson, 2009).

Conclusively, there is one main actor on the Swedish condom market, namely

RFSU, with approximately 95 % of the market. According to Tyllström and Benson's (2009) interviewees RFSU believed that they have succeeded on the market. This success is based on the market share and amount distributed condoms; not the usage of condoms. It is also found that it is an answer in the market structure regarding the question of why not more evidence-based practices of how to increase the condom usage are applied in Sweden. Furthermore, other actors do not believe that there is a fair commercial market as the RFSU non-profit organisation gets governmental funds for information purpose.

Theoretical Framework

According to the purpose of this study, it is relevant to study what actors construct the Swedish condom market and what their marketing efforts to increase usage are. Thus, it is necessary to study the actors that construct the market and their practices. Actor-network theory (ANT) is used as an analytical method to describe the character of constructions of the actors on the Swedish condom market. To study the actors' market practices, practice theory is used.

The Actor-Network Theory

In the Actor-Network theory, actors are seen as networks and include human and non-human entities (Latour, 2005). The network represents a continuous process of translation. The Actor-Network theory is built from studies of science and technology and is based on tracing the actors in a market, which is what will be done in this study. Or in the words of Latour (1996):

“Follow the actors, my dear man, follow the actors. Those are your methods, right? But the further we go, the more crowded it is. Every part of the system is as complicated as the system as a whole. Every plate we unfold is itself made up of

plates to be unfolded.” (pp. 243, Latour, 1996)

The early writings concerning ANT, originating from Bourdieu and Latour, engage with epistemological debates on the link between knowledge and reality (McLoughlin, 1999). Bourdieu attempted to bridge the gap between structure and agency through his concept of habitus. He emphasizes that the researcher always has to go into the field to identify the objects of dispute and the specific stakes related to these objects and in relation to interests specific to other fields. Instead of having to choose between the local and the global view, the notion of network allows us to think of a highly connected global entity, which still remains local (Latour, 1990).

Callon (1987) clearly states that an actor network is not to be understood as a network that links static or well-defined elements. Rather, the entities constituting the actor network are able to redefine their identity. Relationships can be altered and new entities can be brought into the network. Thus, he suggests: “[A]n actor network is simultaneously an actor whose activity is networking heterogeneous elements and a network that is able to redefine and transform what it is made of” (p. 93).

Bourdieu's work attempts to overcome the contrast between structure and nature, while the aim of ANT is to overcome the dichotomy between nature and society (Latour, 2005). Instead of defining theoretical categories, ANT demands the researchers to follow the actors and their constitution of categories. It is the researcher's task to keep the social domain completely 'flat' and to trace associations amongst elements instead of introducing new concepts. In the words of Latour (2005, p. 172): *“It might seem odd at first, but we have to become the Flat-Earthers of social theory”*. As proposed by Latour

(1996:2), ANT can be read as a ‘change of topology’; the method becomes a ‘flattening’ theory by tracing associations.

Practice theory

Actor-network theory (ANT) is the analytical method used to describe the constructions of the actors on the Swedish condom market. However, to fulfill the purpose of understanding the marketing efforts to increase usage of condoms, through understanding the actors that construct the Swedish condom market, it is relevant to study the involved actors’ market practices. To study these practices, practice theory is used. Practice theory builds on the assumptions of ANT, as practices of actors are their activities (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2007).

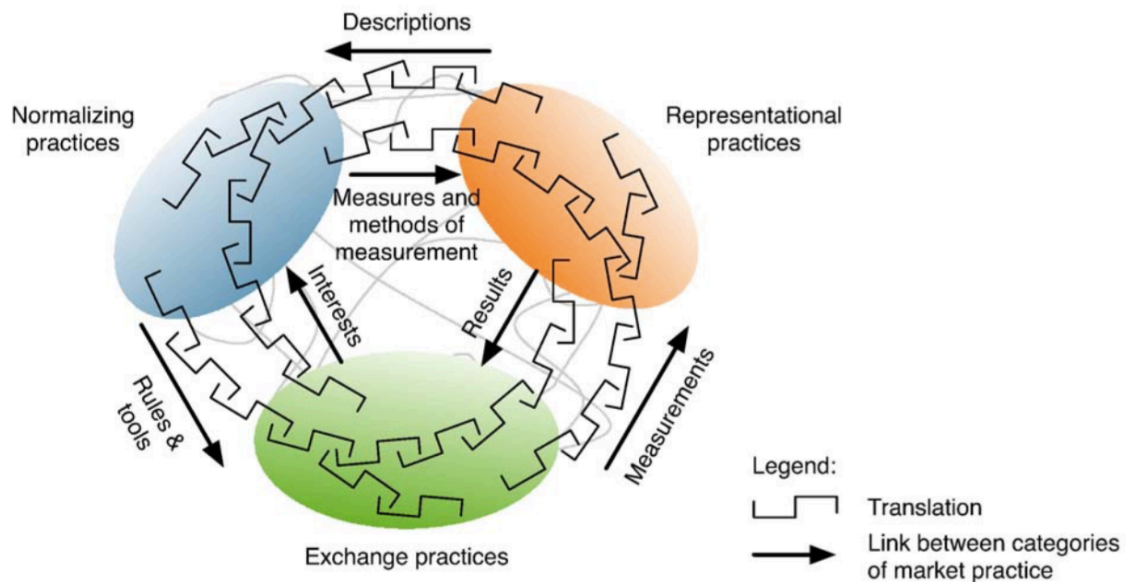
A central assumption of practice theory is the view of entities as practical outcomes, some of the more important ones being buyers, sellers and the objects exchanged. All actors engaged in market practice are seen as outcomes of associating practices and are characterized as networks — actor-networks (Latour, 1986). These actor-networks have varying constitution, depending on situations (Latour, 1996).

Practice theory has been used to examine and explain the practices of the Swedish condom market, and is a suitable choice since practice is an important part of marketing (Cornelissen & Lock, 2005). This theory manages the assumption that the idea of a market contributes to shape the market (Callon, 1998). The three types of practices (exchange, representational and normalizing) proposed by Kjellberg and Helgesson (2007) is used to find the

structure as well as to structure the Swedish condom market.

The image of a garden that must be cultivated and planned, is used by Kjellberg and Helgesson (2007) to describe how a market is created. What they particularly emphasize is that markets, like gardens, are built on ideas and thoughts of a desired goal. Kjellberg and Helgesson (2007) define market practices as ‘*all activities that contribute to constitute markets*’ (pp. 141), however they further argue that ‘*market practice should be taken to include efforts to shape markets as well as efforts to market in markets*’ (pp. 142).

Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006) developed a model to facilitate the sorting of empirical material. They divide the market into three types of practices, *exchange practices*, *representational practices* and *normalizing practices*. Exchange practices works by providing insight into individual economic exchanges. Exchange practices also focus on other types of individual exchanges such as advertising and comparative product tests, which enable economic exchange. This means that exchange practices are concrete activities related to performing economic exchanges. Representational practices function by portraying markets and how they work, which makes representational practices a pillar when it comes to creating markets. Last but not least, normalizing practices are all the activities that strives to establish norms, guidelines and normative goals for how a market should be (re)shaped according to market actors.



[Picture 2: A practice based model of markets, Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2006, p.843]

These three practices are interlinked by chains of translation (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2006). The term translation characterizes the interrelation of market practices, and is also an important concept of ANT. Translation in practice theory denotes a basic social process by which something – such as a token, rule, product, technique, truth, or idea – spreads across time and space (Latour, 1986; 1999). To regard markets, through translations, as interconnected exchange, representational and normalizing practices gives us a flat image of reality. It emphasizes the importance of different forms of intermediaries (agents, tools, documents etc.) (Helgesson, Kjellberg and Liljenberg, 2004, p. 42). As the practices are interconnected, one practice can create prescriptions for the others, eg. creating a market strategy (normalizing practice), can result in rules and tools for the future exchange practice, which in turn develop into measurements for the representational practice. At the same time, the representational practice can produce descriptions for the normalizing practices, which creates a closed chain. Through that, the practices individually contribute to produce the market (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2006).

In their theory (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2006) assume that there is no extreme gap

between the world of ideas and the actual world. This differs from other theories proposing that the world of ideas and the actual world are totally separated (Latour, 1999); allowing practices to appear as a world of ideas as well as the actual world. Performativity is then conceived as the chain of translation, which allows a movement from practices as the world of ideas to practices as the actual world. This makes it possible to argue that the ideas contribute to shape the market (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2006).

To conclude, the Actor-Network Theory is applied for studying what actors construct the Swedish condom market. The Actor-Network Theory is an analytical method in which actors that construct a market are followed. In this theory, actors are seen as networks and include both human and non-human entities. Moreover, practice theory is used as the tool to understand the market practices of the involved actors. These practices can be divided into exchange, representational and normalizing practices in accordance with the theory developed by Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006). These three practices are interlinked by chains of *translation*, which is also an important concept of ANT.

Methodology

To fulfill the purpose of understanding what actors construct the Swedish condom market, the Actor-Network Theory was the analytical method applied. This was mainly done through semi-structured ethnographic interviews, where one actor led to another actor. The actor network was thus followed, according to the Actor-Network methodology. To fulfill the purpose of studying the actors' marketing efforts to increase usage, in order to explain why there is not more marketing in Sweden today for condoms, practice theory was used as the analytical tool for understanding.

The qualitative primary data in this study was produced by individual in-depth interviewing (Spradley, 1979). Ethnographic interviewing with descriptive, structural and contrast questions (Spradley, 1979) is intended to produce narratives about socially embedded experiences. For this purpose, the interviews were inspired by Spradley's (1980) technique for participant observation as well, where the place, actors, activity, objects, actions, events, time, goal and emotions are examined.

Latour (1999) writes about a scientific experiment in which samples of a plethora of soil were collected. Latour explains that it is impossible to see and measure everything hidden under the surface. Thus, the researcher must take all the soil samples and from that create a picture of how the reality looks. Although the aim is to correctly display the reality this is an almost impossible task in many cases. In the same way that scientists in the rainforest took the soil samples in order to form an opinion about reality, interviews were conducted to try to form a picture of the Swedish condom market and the involved actors' practices. Interviews allow the researcher to enable actors to

openly develop their thoughts, opinions and motives in the matter (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008).

To create a picture good enough for the reader to follow, the reader must be able to follow the chain of actors in different directions (Latour, 1999). To achieve this, a condom campaign served as the basis to find different actors on the market. By following the steps in the campaign one can receive a coherent link between actors. To truly understand a market, it is important to follow all the threads that form the network. Everything will not lead to an explanation but it all leads to a greater understanding of the market structure (Latour, 1999).

Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006) calls this view a realist epistemology and they explain that "*It is realist because we assume that what is known about something is a consequence of the durability of the chain of associations mediating between matter and form*" (pp. 841).

The starting point for this research was to study the whole condom market through several perspectives, firstly through secondary sources, such as articles, news broadcasts, journals, commercials and other advertisement. This laid the factual basis for the interest in the area and what seemed to be the lack of knowledge there. When recognizing that it seems to be an actual problem with too low condom usage in Sweden despite much marketing research on how to increase usage, the focus of this study went from the actual social marketing of condoms to market construction. There were indications from the previous research of Tyllström and Benson (2009), on that being important for why and how the actors of the market act.

This led to practice theory and ANT for the theoretical perspective, and of course a methodological one as well. In-depth

interviews with involved actors were necessary and a starting point for whom to talk to needed to be found.

A condom campaign made by RFSU in collaboration with the clothing company Weekday was chosen (Weekday.com, 2014). The reasons for this choice was that it is one of the most recent ones (aired in 2014), it was broadcasted on TV, it was a campaign with several factors (a special edition condom package, selling condoms in clothing retail stores etc), and the most viewed RFSU condom commercial on their Youtube-channel.

This collaboration between Weekday and RFSU had the slogan “Be carefree, not careless”, sprung from a hypothesis from RFSU regarding a changed sex pattern with more sex during weekdays, not just weekends. Therefore, RFSU wanted to create a condom for every day of the week and sell them together with Weekday. Another idea in this campaign was to promote the condom to be kept in the “fifth pocket” of a pair of jeans, as Weekday sell jeans. The campaign was done in an international perspective regarding SRHR-issues, it was ideologically in line with the work of RFSU and connected to a political message, including selling t-shirts with the text “My pussy, my choice”. This campaign was the starting point for the interviews with Pelle Ullholm and Krister Nyman, two of the main contributors from RFSU for the campaign.

After that decision was taken, representatives of RFSU were contacted, in order to find people to interview who were involved in creating the campaign. The focus on the first interviews was to find detailed information on how and when this campaign was produced, and who the involved actors in the process were. Contact with Krister Nyman (responsible for collecting external funds for the foundation connected to RFSU) was established, as well as with Pelle Ullholm (sex educator) from the RFSU federation,

who both were key people in the development of the campaign. Interviews were done with Nyman and Ullholm. In turn, they recommended us to talk to Anette Otterström at RFSU AB, who would know more of the condom market.

Parallely to this, Ullholm was named one of the experts in an article regarding STI and condom usage, written by Karin Stenqvist, previous Regional Chief with responsibility for the prevention of STI and HIV / HIV prevention in Västra Götaland. She is now a member of the board for RFSU. We contacted Stenqvist and conducted an interview. Stenqvist emphasizes that she is no longer the practicing regional chief and therefore cannot express herself in a professional role. Yet, as she has many years of experience in this field she is still a reliable and credible source. Stenqvist in turn, recommended us talking to The Public Health Agency in Sweden (Folkhälsomyndigheten), where we found Veronika Fridlund, who is a researcher. Fridlund has written her dissertation on condom use in Sweden and now works at the department of Sexual Health at The Public Health Agency in Sweden (PHAS). She would like to ensure that she often speaks as a researcher, and not mainly as an employee at the PHAS. However, her double-role makes her very valuable as an interviewee due to her knowledge of the subject, but also something that needs to be considered regarding what she says.

Research has been done in order to find other actors, nationally and internationally, to compare and contrast market activities. However, as RFSU has a very large portion of the Swedish market, a natural focus has been on them and their motives. However, a short telephone conversation has been held with Andreas Åberg, Managing Director at LELO, a Swedish company for pleasure equipment and intimate lifestyle products, in order to receive more nuances of the whole Swedish condom market.

Conducted interviews

1. Krister Nyman, responsible for
2. Pelle Ullholm, sex educator at RFSU.
3. Andreas Åberg, managing director at LELO.
4. Karin Stenqvist, previous Regional Chief with responsibility for the prevention of STI and HIV, HIV prevention in Västra Götaland. She is also member of the board for RFSU.
5. Anette Otterström, product manager at RFSU AB.
6. Veronika Fridlund, researcher at The Public Health Agency in Sweden.

Six in-depth interviews were conducted for this thesis, each were approximately 60 minutes long. As there are few actors on the Swedish condom market, the options for whom to interview are limited. Thus, six interviewees is sufficient. Furthermore, the fact that RFSU stands for 90-95 % of the Swedish market, make them the most important actor to interview. Interviews were held with two of three persons from RFSU that were involved in the Weekday-campaign, which was the starting point for the study. Moreover, an interview was conducted with the person at RFSU AB who has the most responsibility for condoms at RFSU AB. Furthermore, there are about 16 employees (officials) at RFSU AB, and therefore one can argue that this is an acceptable number of interviews from them. As the other actors at the market are less important for the market construction, one person representing each actor is sufficient.

Contact has also been made with the condom producer Durex, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKL) and the Swedish Competition Agency (Konkurrensverket)

through emails in this study of the Swedish condom market.

Thereafter, questions were mainly based on issues, question and answers brought up in the previous interviewed that needed to be followed up.

Each interview was transcribed and then analyzed through a practice theory perspective and then discussed in regards to the literature review. The interviews were compared and contrasted in order to create common themes regarding the actors' market practices and motives for why not more condom marketing occurs in Sweden.

The data were coded in different steps according to the method of Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008). A systematic coding of the data can provide an explanation of the conclusion that is reached, and therefore is of importance. Firstly, open coding was applied. This includes four parts; breaking down, analyzing, comparing and categorizing the data (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). The data was categorized into themes developed from the empirical data (Shank, 2002). Open coding allows the researcher to examine the categories for similarities and differences. However, open coding often result in a plethora of codes and therefore is hard to use as a final coding approach, which is the case for this study. Thereafter, axial coding was used. In this stage all themes are thoroughly analyzed and subcategorize are created. Axial coding gives an opportunity to find relationships between the different themes and connect them to the research question. Furthermore, it allows the researcher to examine the categories from new perspectives. The final step was selective coding, in this step two main core themes were chosen, which provides a focus that the other themes can be integrated into (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008).

In this study ANT is selected as the analytical method. One of the major advantages of applying ANT is that one can understand collaborations with actors that could be missed otherwise (Latour, 1999). Furthermore ANT allows selection of the next interviewee in a structured way, making sure that all the interviewees are relevant for the market.

Analysis

Exchange practices

Exchange practices are concrete activities related to performing economic exchanges. They are constituted of individual economic exchanges as well as other types of individual exchanges such as advertising and product tests (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2007).

The exchange practices of the Swedish condom market are quite complicated and differ from other products, as governmental institutions and the health care system are involved. Other signifying factors for this market are that one actor has a monopolistic control and that the product itself is different than other products. Tyllström and Benson (2009) have explained these complicated exchange practices as a double exchange practice, where the condom is seen both as a freely distributed item and as a sales product, from one actor (RFSU). However, in this study the analysis goes deeper and views the two main parts of RFSU - the federation (RFSU) and the share company (RFSU AB) - as two different parts and how their relation affects the market. Emphasis in the analysis is put on their respective marketing efforts.

What is clear from the interviews is that the RFSU and RFSU AB have different points of interest regarding the Weekday campaign. This is well explained by Ullholm, the sex educator from RFSU and one of the involved actors in creating the Weekday campaign. He means that RFSU

wants to spread information and fight for a more equal society, sexual pleasure/sexual trust and LGBTQ rights. According to him, the core concepts of RFSU are confidence, consensus and empowerment regarding sexual situations. RFSU does what the members' congress decides, whilst RFSU AB has more of a financial focus as it is a corporate business.

Ullholm talks about a “good” conflict existing between these two parts. He states that if RFSU AB got what they wanted more condoms would have been sold, but without the higher ideological value. However, if RFSU was in charge less condoms would be sold. The ideological value ought to be encouraged, which give less emphasis to the consumer that is most inclined to purchase. Ullholm sees himself as a counterweight to *selling*, “Then I become a counterweight against their spearhead sales”, he says. Ullholm says that RFSU AB would not sell as much as they do if RFSU would decide everything. Yet he confesses, that RFSU do decide in the end. The federation, as owners, can veto, thus with that power comes the power to decide. The owners have the final say.

However, according to Otterström no conflict exists between RFSU and RFSU AB concerning condoms as they have the same goal for that product, to increase condom use. One issue that was mentioned is that RFSU would like for RFSU AB to have an expansive strategy, and that they gain profit from condoms instead of other products. According to Otterström however, this is almost impossible as one cannot profit as much from condoms sales. Because of this, other products become of higher interest for RFSU AB.

Otterström also mentions that there is a general difference in the cultures of how the organizations of RFSU AB and RFSU work, as the federation has their political enlightenment work and RFSU AB does not have that directly. Otterström also

means that their competitor Durex for example, can be more “sexy” in their communication than RFSU AB can be, due to RFSU’s political platform.

Ullholm means that no kind of sales measures (in order to increase usage) from RFSU AB can be done on the expense of the ideology of the federation. For example, he does not want to increase the sales of condoms if that meant directing marketing of this condom towards women, as RFSU ideologically wants men to take more responsibility regarding protection. Ullholm states that he himself stops “half of all marketing ideas” right away, due to ideological differences. Thus, RFSU says no to some campaigns and products that RFSU AB want to create because it is not in line with the RFSU ideology.

As mentioned by Knerr (2011), the priorities of the funder may not always match the evidence-based practice. The current condom social marketing strategy from RFSU and RFSU AB does not follow the evidence-based practices of how to increase usage. The priorities of the owner, RFSU, are not in line with either the evidence-based practice on how to increase usage or in line with the priorities of RFSU AB.

Otterström tells us that they have not had a lot of focus on marketing of condoms because marketing does not work for condoms. However, she also says that they do market the condoms through PR. This PR is mostly heavy and informative; including school visits and doing a survey named Kådiskollen that examines the condom use in Sweden for all ages. She calls RFSU AB’s marketing strategy a passive management strategy, in contrast to a more active strategy employed for their other product categories. She is quite content with their market share; “It’s incredibly hard to grow when you have such a large market share as we have. One can really only lose”, she says, thus sees no reason to increase market wise. Therefore

there is no focus or interest in increasing sales of condoms for them. For her, the low use of condom is neither an issue nor a market opportunity.

The claim that marketing does not work for condoms is a straight opposite to what Sewak and Singh (2012) found, regarding that 39 % of their respondents were positively influenced to use a condom after being exposed to condom advertisement. Furthermore it is found that CSM promotes sale and use of condoms through commercial marketing (Knerr, 2011). Kennedy *et al.*’s (2000) found that the more exposed someone was to prevention’s advertising the more likely it was to use a condom during the next intercourse.

Otterström talks about “the day we are going to re-launch the condom, which we are going to”, which means that she is aware of the non-focus on condoms today. She also says “the condom is a product that no one wants”. Instead of campaigns, their focus has been on information and distribution, which is however done by RFSU and not by themselves, RFSU AB. Ullholm, representing RFSU, on the other hand states that promoting the condom is RFSU AB’s responsibility. Thus, both parts are shoving over responsibility to each other.

Looking at the campaigns and marketing they have done and/or are doing, little is regarding the condom. For the moment they work with one campaign on maternal mortality and one against sexual violence (in line with their focus areas), this is “*Barnvagnsmarchen*” and regarding the Bråvalla-festival. An example that shows a rather ad hoc sentiment, is regarding a condom campaign they did in Almedalen 2014, about which Ullholm mentioned that “RFSU suddenly realized” that their condoms had three different colors, representing three different political ideologies. This concept was thereafter developed into a condom campaign; based only on the fact that their condoms and

three Swedish political orientations share the same coloristic aesthetics. Moreover, Otterström states that RFSU AB have many other current campaigns, for example regarding intimate shaving and that these products are easier to market.

According to Ullholm, RFSU AB do most of the marketing for their condoms, and the Weekday campaign was an exception. When asked what campaigns RFSU AB does, Ullholm mentions one done by Norwegian RFSU AB. However, he does not like the ones (by RFSU AB) in Norway, as he calls them “meaningless”. In this, there is a giant penis that occurs in sexual situation. The penis spins on a lucky wheel with different STIs. When the wheel has stopped on a STI, the penis ejects confetti on the loving couple, symbolizing the risk of STIs from sex. This worked well in Norway according to Ullholm, but he also said that he would never allow it in Sweden because it did not have a good message.

Nyman, responsible for collecting external funds at RFSU and involved in creating the Weekday campaign, also argues that these kinds of advertisements do not work when it comes to condoms; a view he shares with RFSU AB. “It doesn’t happen much when you put money on condom advertising”, both Nyman and Otterström say.

Nyman was happy with the effect of the Weekday campaign as he got about SEK 100 000 in collection to the foundation. For them, this is a way of providing more funds for the general RFSU work. However, this could imply that the money from condom sales becomes less important relatively speaking. Nyman says about the Weekday campaign “it wasn’t a commercial idea for us”, as he means it was more regarding the political message rather than the usage and selling of condoms.

For Ullholm, it seems that accessibility and consent is more important for a condom

commercial, than what is used in the Norwegian example; humor (man dressed as penis) and information (the STI-risk demonstrated by a wheel of fortune). Ullholm does not want to see that kind of communication from RFSU in Sweden.

All interviewees believe that scaremongering is not the right way to market the condom. Otterström says “we did a lot through humor because we can not work by scaring, it does not help”. However, Fridlund believes that there is low knowledge of STIs at a deeper level; people know that STIs exist but not how to get them and how they are spread. From this perspective, an informative marketing strategy would be beneficial.

One of Tyllström and Benson’s (2009) conclusions is that the condom market in Sweden has a double exchange practice where the product is on the commercial markets, whilst being given away for free. This also means that it is being “de-commodified” in a Kopytoffsk sense, according to Tyllström and Benson (2009). The condom as a product has many definitions and functions. The product also has a political meaning. It is classified by the political control body as something “sacred”, something that certain groups of citizens should be provided as a social service to protect themselves against infection (Tyllström & Benson, 2009).

However, the distinction between the two exchange practices is hard to maintain. Tyllström and Benson (2009) identify that it is hard to protect the condom from commercial value (the free condoms have been found to be sold both in Sweden and abroad). However, the commercial condoms are also hard to keep commercial, whilst RFSU are giving theirs away for free. In Sweden today, it is difficult to know when a condom is a gift and when it is a commodity. Meanwhile, the construction of the market, contributes to making public institutions and NGOs becoming active market participants that

mobilize focus groups, tests, makes the selection, design, handle complaints - all activities on the commercial market that are usually handled by producing corporate marketing and communications departments. In addition, county councils are both customers and distributors (Tyllström & Benson, 2009).

Conclusively, RFSU want the exchange value of the condom to be carefree and pleasurable sex while RFSU AB rather want an economical exchange value. This results in a conflict between RFSU and RFSU AB regarding the decisions they make. As RFSU AB has demands from RFSU to gain profit, the relative importance of selling condoms decreases for RFSU AB as they believe that condoms are more difficult to sell than other products. The fact that RFSU has a more ideological point of view, and an owner's right to veto, make it impossible for RFSU AB to market the condom as a commodity, in the ways that other brands do. This is in line with Knerr (2011) regarding best-practice being undermined depending on the funder. The consequence of the actors not seeing the value of marketing creates an unwillingness to perform market practices. That is to say that the activities that constitutes the exchange practices of the Swedish condom market, are selling condoms but promoting sexual openness in regards to a certain ideology. However, very few activities are performed to promote the use of condoms as a product or as safe sex.

Representational practices

Representational practices include activities that portrays and create images of markets as well as how they function. These activities involve market research and express different views on how the market is represented (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2007).

The fact that RFSU AB has a monopoly-like position on the Swedish condom market is based on sales and distribution.

However, sales and distribution is a poor measurement of condom use (Knerr, 2011).

LELO mentions that the Swedish market is no different than other countries'. On the American market, Trojan dominates and on the British one, Durex is the largest. The reason why LELO today not yet focusing to increase on the Swedish market is that it is too small. However, Åberg, managing director at LELO, means that they will try to increase on the Croatian market (which populous wise is smaller). The Swedish one is thus not currently as interesting as other countries' even if LELO is a Sweden based company.

Åberg sees a great need for increased condom use, and shares the view expressed by Ullholm - the main goal is to increase the usage of condoms - not especially their own brand. Åberg at LELO wants people to talk about condoms, something he believes is needed.

Nyman states that the RFSU perspective regards lust and positive feelings, which becomes difficult to merge with the negative aspect of having to protect oneself, i.e the condom. They want people to be able to live their sexual desires in a way that does not make them feel uncomfortable the day after. The condom is somewhat of a lust killer instead of a product enhancing lust and pleasure. Nyman does not want to see the condom as a product, "I have tried to make them [AB] stop calling it a product, because it really isn't", he says.

Moreover, RFSU does not want to have any kind of restrictive view on sex. Nothing bad should be associated with sex, which is what the condom reminds everyone of; such as unwanted pregnancies, STIs and HIV. Stenqvist, previous Regional Chief with responsibility for the prevention of STI and HIV, HIV prevention in Västra Götaland, also member of the board for RFSU,

confirms this view and says that people do not want to talk about the negative sides of sex - neither unwanted pregnancies, nor STIs, and definitely not bad sexual experiences such as rape or sexual assaults.

Stenqvist informs that gonorrhoea is becoming resistant against various antibiotics and other diseases are occurring as an effect of the low usage of condoms, such as oropharyngeal cancer. Information regarding this is thus needed, “but no one wants to scare people” Stenqvist says.

Another discovery regards that both the representatives from RFSU, Ullholm and Nyman, lacks knowledge of the Swedish condom market. Ullholm says he does not care about the *general* condom usage. He mainly wants people to use condoms with a new partner, which will be discussed more in-depth further on.

Nyman says that their biggest competitors are condoms from ICA and Coop and not other brands as Durex. However, neither Coop nor ICA have their own condom brand. This means that RFSU has little or no idea what the market looks like or what the competition is.

Ullholm argues that “everybody knows that it is not that easy to get STIs”, especially not for men because they have little mucous membrane. However, this assumes hetero normative vaginal sex, and disregards anal and oral sex. Both Ullholm and Otterström state that STIs are “not that bad/dangerous” as they are not directly lethal. Ullholm says concerning unwanted pregnancies that no one wants to be undesired pregnant, but it is “not that bad when it actually happens”. This sentiment regarding STIs and unwanted pregnancies demonstrates the low priority from both RFSU and RFSU AB to decrease those effects of the low condom usage. What was identified as a problem with low condom usage, is not a shared view by RFSU and RFSU AB as they do not believe the effects are problematic.

Tyllström and Benson (2009) mean that due to the complicated nature of the condom as a product, as it has several meanings and levels, the consumer view of the condom becomes hard to grasp and thus a less important factor in the organization of the market, compared to other markets. Thus, the documented knowledge of the condom, or the condom representational practice, becomes incomplete. The users' voices are not heard and suppliers and distributors lack that image. Consumers really only have one means of showing their preferences; the purchase. However, through free distribution, they do not even have this, but it will be the benefits that define what is important for them (size, knots, design) and what is the function of the condom in a particular situation (reduce infection risk, have safe sex). In other words, these actors qualify the object, which thus has significant effects on the construction of the market (Tyllström & Benson, 2009).

Regarding the representational practices on the Swedish condom market, RFSU AB, who has a monopolistic position on the Swedish condom market, is quite content with their market share. Therefore, they see no reason to increase sales more and thus not market the condom to a great extent. They see it as a monopoly, and have little knowledge about other market actors. Regarding the condom as a product, the views from different actors are quite coherent. Everyone talks about it as a complicated product, where neither sales, usage nor marketing efforts is done wholeheartedly. There is always a *but*; a reason for not selling, using or marketing the condom. The ideology and other products are more interesting to market. Moreover, the market construction with one dominating actor implies that no marketing is needed from a growth perspective market wise.

Normalizing practices

The normalizing practices include all the activities that create norms, guidelines and goals for how a market is formed and shaped according to the actors (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2007).

Condoms are not a top of mind focus for RFSU. Regarding their normalizing practices, they describe their focus areas as: abortion right, LGBTQ rights, HIV/STI, sexual education, sexual enlightenment and sexual violence (RFSU.se, 2014b). Condoms, and not even prevention is mentioned as a core focus for the owner of the largest actor on the condom market. In the conceptual program of RFSU, condoms are mentioned *once*, as one of many contraceptive methods (RFSU.se, 2015).

From the interview with Ullholm one could understand that he did not want the Weekday campaign to be regarding the use of condoms. He wanted this to be a campaign about reciprocity, interaction and consent, connected to the condom. Further Ullholm analyzes if the campaign was good at all since they had too many messages imbedded in the campaign, “actually, there are three messages in one... that is a little too many messages”, Ullholm says, even though he was one of the key persons in that process. He means that it was not well thought through. It seems unclear from the producers of the campaign, what the campaign was actually about, or what the purpose was. It seems that RFSU has a recurring problem with the campaign for condoms, namely that they do not have a clear goal and purpose with the campaigns; it seems that the campaigns lack a strategic plan. Moreover, the idea with keeping the condoms in the fifth pocket can be a rather bad idea, as condom should not be kept in tight places as that hurt them (Colouroflove.se, 2017). Thus, the core concepts of the campaign were not clearly thought through.

From the interviews, this was the case for both the Weekday-campaign and the one done in Almedalen. Collecting money was one important reason on its own for the Weekday campaign, which according to Nyman succeeded. However, the general success of increasing sales and use of condoms was not measured. As previously mentioned, RFSU hardly even wants to view it as a product, and thus sales measures become unimportant in the context. However, as Pfeiffer (2004) states, condom marketing is often too focused on the number of sold units, rather than on the actual health effects, yet neither was measured here.

As mentioned, RFSU AB focus on “heavy” and information based PR (through the survey Kådiskollen). However, according to Otterström it is unclear if this increases sales or the usage of condoms. Yet, “we succeed very well” with this kind of PR, Otterström says. Otterström means that RFSU AB work as a regular commercial company, but their strategy (with focus on information-heavy PR, free distribution and school visits) does not resemble the work of a regular company. Again, the actual health effects of the PR are not measured.

Moreover, Nyman informs that RFSU have a new project at their clinic, which also is accepted to become a routine by the The National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen). The project offers a copper coil as both an emergency and long term contraceptive. Nevertheless, one possibility could be that sexual partners then opt out the condom, as they feel protected even without the condom. Thus, they worry about pregnancies and not STIs.

Karin Stenqvist, with long and profound knowledge of STIs and HIV, states that there is a large need for increased condom usage in Sweden. “Sweden is a low-usage country”, Stenqvist means. In her experience, staff at maternity clinics

providing contraceptives and advice does not trust or recommend the condom as a contraceptive. In the best-case scenario, people would use both condoms and a long term contraceptive, but that does not seem realistic for most people. The preventive work against STIs and pregnancies are not coordinated, according to Stenqvist. Sweden has a chlamydia action plan which is very unusual (as it is against a specific bacteria). This is however not implemented by concerned actors, says Stenqvist. Not RFSU (/AB) or maternity clinics. This action plan was produced by The National Board of Health and Welfare, and the responsibility is now moved to The Public Health Agency of Sweden (Folkhälsomyndigheten). In 2011 Nationella Hivrådet, part of the National Board of Health and Welfare, started a campaign mentioned by Stenqvist called Knullträdet and Knull De Luxe, to increase condom usage. These were a part of the strategy to reduce the HIV-numbers in Sweden by half until 2016. However, now the Nationella Hivrådet is gone, and the websites for the campaigns are gone as well. For example, Knulldeluxe.se is now a website selling keychains/lanyards.

The action plan against chlamydia lasted until 2014, and no new one seems to have replaced it. According to the PHAS, the follow-up of the action plan was supposed to be planned and executed during 2015 and 2016, but no result can yet be found (Folkhälsomyndigheten, 2016).

Fridlund, at PHAS, means that people in Sweden knows that the condom should be used, and that the ones that do not want to use it cannot be persuaded. Yet, she agrees that more information is needed concerning the need for condoms regarding oral sex, for example. However, she says that rather than increasing condom usage, it may be more effective to promote safe sex in other ways that does not include the condom; such as non-penetrational sex. She wants to make clear that this was said by her as a researcher. However, this

further emphasizes that the condom is not even a prioritized method for reducing the STIs in Sweden from PHAS, although it is the only prophylactic against STIs.

Although it is not possible to force people to use a condom Yaaminidevi (2014) found that BCC could develop positive behavior, promote and sustain individual, community and societal change as well as increase knowledge and attitudinal change.

The vocabulary regarding sex and sexual practices are not adapted to the reality of many sexual active young adults, Stenqvist states. For example, one of the goals with the chlamydia action plan is that “By 2014, the proportions of adolescents and young adults (15-29 years) who report that they always use a condom with a new or temporary partners have significantly increased.” However, many young adults now have casual partners, which then are neither new nor temporary. Many often have several of these causal relationships parallely. This category is probably the most risk-taking and thus important to reach, but due to an unrealistic view of the world and vocabulary, this category becomes forgotten in the action plan. This is also interesting when compared to what RFSU/Ullholm says regarding their view on condom usage. The aim with his work as a sex educator is that everyone should use a condom with new partners. However, this does not include the “fuck buddy” category - who is not a new partner, and perhaps someone who has sex with several persons parallely.

Stenqvist means that no one is really interested in STIs; only the dermatologists, but they are not interested in prevention, just the treatment. No one is passionate about condoms; other questions (for RFSU, such as LGBT rights and masturbation) are more important, since they are a member organization where the congress decides what questions/issues to pursue.

Moreover, there is no national strategy regarding the number of unwanted pregnancies, and no authority directly responsible for obtaining this, according to Veronika at the PHAS.

Regarding normalizing practices, Tyllström and Benson (2009) have shown through empirical evidence that RFSU AB have strategically exercised and gained power over the condom's normalizing practices (through standardization/product classification, public acquisition rules, public opinion/media spins, formal and informal networking) as well as rhetoric referral to central social and moral issues, such as "safety" and "sexuality". This has been done through the use of socio-technical tools used by actors in strategic attempts to qualify the object for exchange. RFSU have used a network to influence the purchasing and procurement rules and product delivery, and simultaneously protected their own market channels - something that greatly influenced the organization of the Swedish condom market. RFSU have been able to become a unique player, ahead of competitors in creating requirements and in analyzing the market (Tyllström & Benson, 2009). This was done by simultaneously highlighting their own norm as essentially different and better than the ISO standard (as they themselves have been active in creating), this makes their own product more unique (Tyllström & Benson, 2009).

Thus, there is an answer within the market structure (affected by political goals and by non-competition), regarding the question of why not more evidence-based practices of how to increase the condom usage is applied in Sweden.

RFSU AB are the largest actor on the Swedish condom market and therefore, how they and RFSU act are of great importance for the norms of the market. All actors at the condom market are involved in normalizing practices. RFSU and RFSU AB create norms regarding the

condom as a product, however, their views differ. Furthermore, regarding the condom as a contraceptive, norms are created by the Swedish health care system. However, the views and goals concerning the condom within that system differ as well. Yet again, there are always reasons for not prioritizing the condom; by promoting other contraceptives or by avoiding it all together in order to promote safer sex.

Conclusion

There are two reasons why there is not more condom marketing in Sweden. The first regards the ideological motives of the owner of the company holding a monopolistic control over the market. The second reason regards a general lack of focus and interest on increasing condom usage, for involved actors.

There is an ideological difference between RFSU as a member owned organization and RFSU AB as a profitable corporation. RFSU pursue the issues decided by their members through the congress, which is focused on political opinion and ideology regarding sex. RFSU AB as a share company, want to sell in order to make profits for which a focus on the condom is not optimal. RFSU stop marketing ideas and does not let sales measures in order to increase use from RFSU AB to be done on the expense of the ideology.

Secondly, there is a general lack of interest in condoms in Sweden from involved actors, where other contraceptives and/or products are prioritized. RFSU do not have STIs or contraceptives as a core focus, and therefore no basic focus on increasing usage of condoms. For RFSU AB, other products are more profitable and easier to sell. LELO do want to sell more condoms, and have an interest in marketing the condom even if their current focus is not on the Swedish market. The Public Health Agency in Sweden has an interest of

decreasing the STIs and especially HIV in Sweden. There has been an action plan regarding chlamydia and probably there will be a new HIV-strategy, but the condom is still not the focus in these. There is no national strategy regarding decreasing the number of unwanted pregnancies either.

All involved actors work in different directions, but all seem to agree that sales and usage of condoms is nearly impossible to increase. This result in a market construction where there is a great need for increased usage of condoms for the Swedish population, yet little effort to achieve this can be found from involved actors.

Discussion and contribution

Despite the headline, *the* truth regarding the Swedish condom market cannot be claimed to have been found. A relative truth is found, obtained from conducted research. Simmel (2004 [1907]) uses the term 'the relativity of truth' to explain that all the knowledge obtained is partial as well as corrigible. One cannot state that one knows the whole truth about a market; one has to trust the relativity of truth. This is further explained by Latour (1999) in the book *Pandora's Hope*. Latour has developed the theory and methodology on which this thesis is based.

The findings of ideological differences and the low interest in condoms in Sweden, answer the question of why condoms are not marketed to a higher extent. Both internal ideological differences, and ideological motives suppress market activities on this market. This is furthermore affected by the market construction. That is the naked truth of the Swedish condom market found. However, the involved actors seem to believe in marketing and behavioral change regarding other products and practices, just not concerning the condom. Their common

truth, as a contrast to the one of this study, is that the condom is not marketable.

The original problem in this thesis was explained as too low condom usage in Sweden. From a marketing perspective, the view is thus that there is too low consumption of a product and that marketing can contribute to solving that. However, all involved actors on the Swedish condom market do not share that description of the reality. RFSU, RFSU AB and PHAS do not describe low condom usage in Sweden today as an issue prioritized to be solved. Therefore, not even the problem is a shared truth in this case.

The original purpose regarding clearly understanding the motives for not marketing condoms in Sweden, in order to enable understanding of whom and how to influence to create a change of this behavior, can thus be further problematized. The change needed and desired regarding the Swedish condom market was explained as increased usage, where understanding the current situation in order to increase marketing of condoms is one step taken in that direction. However, as found out, the perspectives regarding this issue differ to a great extent. As concluded, a common ideology and interest regarding the condom is needed to increase marketing actions. However, even more importantly, it seems that there needs to be a common description of the truth, of the problem, in order to even see the need for a change. That is where the real problem is.

A problem was identified with too low condom usage, and CSM was identified as a possible solution to this. Yet, the bridge between a problem and a solution, is firstly to identify the problem as a problem and secondly, the solution as a solution. Thirdly, the actual bridge is the motives, ambitions, and desires to use the solution to solve the problem. Apart from the problem not being identified as a problem,

and the solution is not seen as a solution; those motives, ambitions and desires are lacking from involved actors on the Swedish condom market today.

Therefore, this study has not only answered the question of why not the condom is marketed to a higher extent in Sweden today, but also shed light on the fact that marketing as theory can identify societal problems and solutions to previously not examined problems. The contribution is thus not limited to understanding the market construction through the tools of ANT and practice theory and drawing conclusions from that. The contribution also concerns how marketing can contribute to solving societal problems for a more socially sustainable society, through both identifying problems and solutions.

Future research

According to the purpose of this study, the change needed in order to create a more socially sustainable society, in regards to the Swedish condom market is increased usage, where one step can be increased marketing of condoms. This thesis can in that respect be seen as way of beginning to understand whom and how to influence to create a change of this behavior. Yet, there are many other steps on that way; regarding potential effects of condom social marketing on behavior change in Sweden today, for example. Moreover, a gender analysis regarding the attitudes regarding the condom would contribute to understanding the market (behavior) to a greater extent.

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