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Anti-consumption and Public Policy

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Welcome

Anti-consumption research focuses on the reasons against consumption and includes subject matter relating to boycotting, social equality, consumer resistance, activism, culture-jamming, dissatisfaction, complaining behavior, undesired self, organizational disidentification, voluntary simplification, and brand avoidance. Following the unfettered growth of mass consumption since the 18th Century, the importance of anti-consumption has arisen at the turn of the 21st century. Interest in the area is evidenced by several special issues, focusing on various aspects of anti-consumption, published by journals such as: Psychology and Marketing (2002); Journal of Business Research (2009); Consumption, Markets and Culture (2010); Journal of Consumer Behaviour (2010); European Journal of Marketing (2011); Journal of Macromarketing (2013); and the Journal of Consumer Affairs (2016).

With a focus on consumption rejection, avoidance, and reduction, anti-consumption translates into explicit implications for public policy and what the actual impacts of anti-consumption are, for the people who practice, or experience, the phenomena, for communities, and for the whole of society.

The Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology’s (RMIT) distinctive approach, driven by impact, embraces the task of extending the benefits of innovative research to our whole community and our world. The initiative to host ICAR 2016 with a focus on public policy is part of our responsibility to help shape a more sustainable and just world, and responds to RMIT’s growing interdisciplinary expertise and creative thinking.

Consequently, ICAR 2016 is proud to present the following works linking anti-consumption research to public policy. This year’s symposium reflects a wide and interesting selection of topics in anti-consumption, with papers questioning the idea of top-down anti-consumption; looking at the effects of anti-consumption; and profiling the anti-consumers; through to those exploring bottom-up urban anti-consumption; and reflecting on situations and contexts of when anti-consumption fails.

It is fitting that such an array of topics should be shared in the cultural capital of Australia where an abundance of varied tastes, cultures, lifestyles, and consumption choices exist. A multiplicity of perspectives, which should make us all question what the term ‘Public policy’ actually means?

We hope everyone enjoys the riveting presentations, engaging discussions, and friendly company!

From the organisers:
Michael SW Lee, Helene Cherrier, and Timothy Dewhirst
Friday 9th December

Presentation 1 (ICAR Day 1 Keynote)

Prospects for less? Material geographies of consumption in Australian homes

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Introduction
The environmental crisis is unfolding alongside two major defining events of our times. The first is the so-called deregulation of financial markets and opening up of international trade since the 1970s, in a phenomenon generally termed neo-liberalism. This particular form of capitalism has been associated with growing inequality and growing consumption amongst those who can afford it, and growing denudation of the environment across all income groups. The second is the headlong rush to cities. In 1976, when the first UN Habitat Conference took place, the urban population represented 38% of the total. By 2016, Habitat III the urban population is 54.5%, projected to reach 84% by 2050 (6.3 billion urban dwellers). Cities are seen as engines of economic growth. However, 80% of carbon emissions are associated with cities, and indeed it is urban areas that are associated most closely with relatively high levels of consumption.

Current responses to the growing crisis
Current sustainability policy discourses range from calls for householders to curb consumption through to ideas of technologically driven sustainable development. These discourses emphasise particular ways of seeing and de-emphasise others. In line with ideas of ecological modernisation (Mol and Spaargaren, 2000), the dominant discourse sidesteps the quantum of consumption by holding that low carbon transitions can be achieved within capitalism, by giving primacy to levers of government or other large institutions to instigate and convene change. Moreover, the ‘levers’ of government in limiting consumption are increasingly constrained or, perhaps, restrained. Since the 1980s, waves of ‘modernisation’ and ‘deregulation’ of policy processes and accountability manifested as ‘New Public Management’ (NPM). In this era, households, communities and street life is diminished and instead individual consumers take primacy, each exercising rational choices to maximise their personal utility:

- Markets dominate resource allocation, dominated by the idea of supply (production) and demand (consumption);
- Government reduces taxation and privatises services, focuses on the regulation of ‘markets’;
- Inequality rapidly increases but is dealt with where necessary at the ‘symptom’ end of the market through welfare, rather than through the ‘symptom’ end of the market through adjustments to resource distribution;
- Commodities traded in markets are governed by the primacy of individual ‘choice’ over what to consume, how much, how, where and for what, and this is regulated by pricing through these markets.
Metrics of consumption in housing

Mike Bloomberg, ex-mayor of New York City recently and infamously tweeted: ‘If you can’t measure it, you can’t manage it and you can’t fix it’. This is very much an adage of our times, and while it can be challenged, there is an implicit truth in that we must be able to define and place some metrics around consumption if we are to have any confidence in describing, understanding and, potentially, purposively addressing it.

So, what is consumption? Consumption is typically associated with consumer products and/or energy and/or water. An alternative view is that consumption is best seen as services that in turn require energy, materials or water. In any event, in westernised cities it is invariably a consequence of mineral extraction connected to human services such as cleanliness, comfort and convenience, connected by long supply chains often spanning continents, industry sectors and multiple livelihoods.

In housing then, what do we count? Is it products and services consumed within the home? There will always be ‘truncation effects’ depending on the boundary conditions applied, the scope and the specific question, goal and functional unit chosen. For example, if we place the boundary around the dwelling, we can easily include heating and cooling and appliances in consumption, but what about food? We could simply eat out more to reduce consumption, so this hardly seems like a good place to put the boundary. If we expand the boundary to include the suburb, then perhaps we can include travel and eating out. But then should we include air travel?

Spatial dimensions of measuring consumption are challenging. A popular concept of ‘food miles’ is problematic, since several studies have shown that, for example, tomatoes grown in Spain and exported to the UK are far more sustainable than ‘home grown’ tomatoes.
in the UK, as they do not need artificial greenhousing and heating that the UK climate demands.

Similarly, there are temporal challenges, Apples grown in New Zealand and shipped to the UK are more sustainable overall than English apples that need to be artificially kept in air conditioned sheds if they are to last between seasons (NZ and UK seasons are ‘opposite’ and so complimentary in delivering year-round fresh fruit.)

Another temporal dimension is the ‘footprint’ that consumption implies through the life cycle of products. For example, a house not only ‘enables’ consumption by offering spaces to be heated and cooled, it also is a consumption object. The embodied energy in a typical Australian home in Melbourne represents around 10-20% of the total lifetime energy the house will consume in its lifetime (Horne et al, 2009).

Even if we can agree on the what/when/where of consumption, then what are our units? Consumption per what? Larger houses inevitably can accommodate more possessions, does this lead to higher consumption? Moreover, similar houses can be variously ‘full’ or ‘empty’ of possessions, and of social life (Miller, 2008). If consumption leads to higher quality of life, then should we be measuring ‘consumption per X quality of life units’. If so, how do we calibrate these units and what are the limits on consumption?

**Diversity in housing, households and homes**

Housing and households offer millions of different variations of dwelling types and tenures, from apartments to detached houses and from marginal rental or social housing to owner-occupied, from various ages of properties with various renovation histories, of every sort of family arrangement possible, from every corner of the world, etc. A household is increasingly difficult to define, as the nuclear family declines in popularity alongside more diverse living arrangements. Consumption has a myriad of meanings and conventions. Indeed, “home” is inculcated with various social and cultural meanings, including security, privacy, identity, family (Mallett, 2004), belonging, attachment (Blunt and Dowling, 2006) and memories seemingly rooted in early childhood but added to, and transported, from home to home. The sociology of home includes ‘comfort, cleanliness and convenience’ as central features of social practice, shaped in turn by the social rules, understandings and technologies available to the occupants (Shove, 2003). The experience of home is intimate and intense (Bachelard 1994) and invokes ideas of attachment and ‘rootedness’ (Cresswell 2004, 24), and a private place for relaxation and repose (Seamon 1979). It is much more than a site of consumption.

**(Over)Consumption in the Australian home**

Consumption studies are problematic to the extent that they focus on acts and places of consumption, rather than the underlying social structures that shape it. I reject the idea that primacy can be attached to cognitive decisions or planned behaviours without leaving out important social, material and political dimensions of consumption.

Elizabeth Shove’s characterisation of the ABC of behaviour change, in which: ‘A’ stands for attitude, ‘B’ for behaviour, and ‘C’ for choice” (Shove 2010:1274) is deliberately provocative but the point is well made. It is easy to see why the ABC framework is attractive, for it suggests relatively simple mechanisms: Do X to change behaviour and consumption will move down to Y. However agency is more spread out, and different disciplinary and theoretical perspectives are needed for a fulsome understanding of Overconsumption in the Australian Home.
The ‘practice turn’ in the social sciences (Schatzki, 2001) can be traced back through seminal works of Marx, Heidegger and Wittgenstein, to the legacy of classical thought (Nicolini, 2012). Practices, combining elements of meanings and rules, materials and knowledge, are the building blocks of routinized daily life, underpinned in turn by social structures. Hence, consumption is an outcome of routines rooted in social structures, rather than a primarily choice based phenomenon. Changes in consumption ‘behaviour’ are more likely to be associated with ‘everyday crises of routines’ (Reckwitz, 2002) or through the ‘natural selection’ of practices in particular conditions amongst a very diverse set of varying bundles of arrangements of technologies, households, rules, and cultural practices (Warde, 2005).

Power, pervasive as it is, plays a key role in consumption. Neo-liberalism has, arguably, led to fundamental changes in the way post-modern government works, becoming more indirect in operation, relying increasingly on quangos, agencies and rules in dispersed yet pervasive ways encompassed in the notion of ‘governamental’ (Foucault and Gordon, 1980). These changes re-constitute have reconstituted our cities as the sites of consumption through the phenomenon of ‘splintering urbanism’ (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Thus, reflexive relations between urban materiality, social life and the exercise of power are critical in understanding consumption and how it might be reduced.

Two Vignettes on Material geographies of consumption in Australian homes

Two vignettes are presented to illustrate how socio-material relations are imbricated in consumption in Australian households.

Routes of reuse – secondhand goods

Our starting point for studying second-hand goods and materials in households was that consumption is often confused with material accumulation and that understandings of consumption need to also include practices of circulation and divestment. We used social practices as a framework and started with 3 key assumptions:

1. Competencies (skills and knowledge) play a key role in how goods and materials (and technologies) are treated, and the level of knowledge and skill required varies depending on the practice (Hand, Shove and Southerton, 2007);

2. Practices are not static, nor do they occur in isolation, and can be ‘structured’ by past experiences and future visions (Shove et al. 2007);

3. Accumulation, circulation and disposal of material goods are constrained by domestic spaces but also can reconfigure domestic spaces (Hand, Shove and Southerton 2007).

Reuse and repair is generally assumed to substitute for new consumption and ‘product life extension’ is a desirable anti-consumption goal for reducing waste and other environmental impacts associated with consumption. In our three selected domains, food and beverage provision, home furnishing, and home improving and maintenance, various opportunities were encountered for the reuse of goods and materials, the substitution of new goods and materials with second-hand alternatives, or divestment and disposal. For example in the first domain, food packaging that is no longer required can be recycled, reused or disposed of, and this is in turn associated with particular practices of cooking, eating and socialising, requiring:

- Competencies (skills, knowledge and planning);
- Interactions with informal and formal systems of provision, and;
Spatial and temporal demands on the home and urban context.

We did home visits with 3 sets of householders:
- 16 home-owning Australians who had undertaken some form of home improvement in the last 12 months (renovation, retro-fitting or both) and were planning to initiate future home improvement projects.
- 6 ‘secondhand goods’ households keen on and proficient with use, acquisition and disposal of second-hand goods.
- 16 self-identified ‘green’ renovators who had undertaken a renovation in the last two years.

Regarding Food and Beverage Provision, Packaging and Food Composting were the main activities we encountered. Informal systems were a key feature, for example, people with back yards set up their own composting systems. For many, it is a family affair, and it isn’t clear who is teaching who:

You know, I recycle and I’ve taught my children to recycle. We don’t waste. It’s easier now, it’s in the schools. You know, my eight year old tells me to put something in the recycling bin. Yeah, it’s good. (Cohort 1, Householder 15)

Regarding Home Furnishing, our work confirmed that the acquisition of second-hand furnishings can be a complex exercise that connects with personal emotional states, with expressions of identity or social status, or with expressions of care for significant others (Miller 1987, 1998, 2001). The social acceptability of secondhand outlets and charity shops, etc has risen rapidly amongst some sections of the population, while it has languished in others. Skillwise, our more overtly ‘eco’ Cohorts 2 and 3 generally displayed a sophisticated level of resourcefulness and initiative in learning the skills needed to acquire, repair or dispose of furnishings. Some placed particular value in avoiding new purchases of furniture and were willing to invest considerable time and space to this end. One householder had embarked on an expensive and new home extension incorporating a living and dining area and a new kitchen and yet they expressed considerable pride in not buying any new furniture:

Another thing I was really happy about though, if I can just tell you; I didn’t have to buy any furniture; all the furniture is old furniture of the family or stuff that I have stored or bought second-hand or hard garbage or something like that. (Cohort 3, Householder 3)

It seems that householders can become particularly preoccupied with some forms of ‘anti-consumption’ while others remain ‘blind spots’ or somehow outside anti-consumption considerations. In any event, their stories were rich in interactions with both more formal, op-shops and hard rubbish, and informal exchanges, with networks of ‘friends and family’ playing a significant role. Space played a big role in furnishing too. Blended and transient families had trouble storing and maintaining living spaces while owners of furnishings came and went.

Regarding Home Improving and Maintenance, Recycled Building Materials and Reused Appliances were the most demanding of skills and competences. Often our so-called ‘green’ renovators did not use recycled or second-hand materials, and instead focused on sustainable technologies such as grey water recycling and solar hot water systems. Those who did seek out recycled materials and household goods often went to considerable time and effort.
Four key points emerged from the study. Firstly, skills were important, but increasingly important in furnishings and even much more so in renovations. More competent reusers were able to navigate extensive formal and informal systems with relative ease. Secondly, Time was mentioned in renovations, but often because builders, or others, were constrained and the job needed to be done. Otherwise, time was not mentioned as a significant constraint, suggesting that the (sometimes considerable) time invested by some households is successfully incorporated into daily patterns of living.

Thirdly, the ease of formal systems precludes and shapes practices – and may conceivably shape consumption as a result. For example a well-organised kerbside waste collection scheme allows for packaging waste to grow since there is little requirement on households to manage this beyond bin size and frequency of collection. The existence of the system therefore enables higher throughput of packaging materials in the household. Since recycling processes create significant attendant energy, with environmental and economic costs, the higher throughput of packaging is not necessarily environmentally desirable. Furthermore these systems enable widespread proliferation and market domination of supermarkets, which are dependent on energy intensive packaging and storage requirements (for example freezers) to provide and store food. In turn this system effectively reduces the choices available to consumers who may prefer to source their food and drink from alternative, small-scale, less packaging intensive suppliers. In this regard I view recycling of packaging not as anti-consumption but as feeding a burgeoning and fossil intensive recycling industry.

Finally, costs were sometimes mentioned but our second two Cohorts (‘eco’) were not driven by monetary factors alone; they overlaid this with a strong environmental ethic and were not only concerned about human environmental impact but were equally concerned about intergenerational equity. Further, some of their future plans for solar power or hot water appeared to be predominantly driven by status, or the appearance of doing the ‘right thing’. Household members in Cohort 2 who were active recyclers and users of second-hand goods subscribed to an efficiency discourse in which they were uncomfortable about ‘wasting’ goods that still had use value.

Sustainability citizenship in ‘green’ housing developments
This study focussed on two recent ‘new-build’ ‘green’ housing developments in Melbourne. We did detailed (20) interviews and household tours, investigating:
1. Material settings of the innovative energy and water systems
2. Householders’ motivations, aspirations and life stage
3. Householders’ skills and knowledge of green technologies and living
4. Social rules and common understandings of sustainability
5. Governance arrangements.

The two sites were:
1. Green master-planned developer led example: A new outer-urban Master-planned greenfield development on the northern fringe of Melbourne. Around 8,000 dwellings will be constructed over the 20–25-year lifespan of the project (around 800 were built at the time of this research). All houses have: passive thermal design, gas-boosted solar hot water units, a six-star energy performance rating (above the then standard five-star minimum), and a supply of recycled ‘Class-A’ water delivered via a ‘third-pipe’ non-potable water network.

2. Small eco-village infill, community led example: WestWyck housed 32 people in 12 households. The technologies included: solar hot water and space heating, solar PV
electricity, passive thermal design, on-site rainwater collection, greywater treatment and reuse; and, onsite blackwater treatment and stormwater collection. Apartments share a single solar-boosted hot water system. Greywater is collected centrally, treated, stored, and used in toilets, laundries and gardens.

At the Master-planned development, householders interviewed were not overtly espousing a ‘green’ outlook, whereas Westwyck interviewees were specifically attracted to its alignment with their lifestyle values and ethics. Both sets of householders were resourceful and inventive, and could describe and demonstrate ‘correct’ use of the innovative energy and water technologies. For example, across both developments, householders linked passive design features to comfort and valued their homes that were generally much better insulated and designed than their previous dwellings. Picking up new skills was apparent across both developments, although the process of sharing and learning from each other was more evident at Westwyck, where a combination of shared technologies and communal areas and regular community meetings meant that help and knowledge was ‘on tap’. When things went wrong, at WestWyck, householders were clear about to whom to go, and were more likely to be forgiving of technological glitches and the contractors responsible.

Despite the ‘green’ narratives of Westwyck households, social rules and common understandings of sustainability at each site were not fundamentally different. In each case, householders wanted to do the ‘right’ thing by the environment, but also had private homes, priorities around comfort for themselves, other family members and guests, and practical everyday challenges (work, time, conflicting priorities) that needed to be managed.

Westwyck had stronger ‘social rules’ about not having air conditioners, for example. However, the fact that there are fewer households with air conditioners at Westwyck than Aurora does not necessarily reflect lower consumption per se. To test this, one would need to balance the environmental ‘savings’ at Westwyck with the environmental ‘costs’ of the various substitute hot-period activities that Westwyck residents undertake when non-air-conditioned upstairs rooms are abandoned, such as going out driving, shopping and cinema-going. One would also need to account for the richer alternative services available around Westwyck; launderettes, libraries, etc.

Resisting air conditioning at Westwyck may be a valid — if symbolic — gesture to a sustainability culture. But, does it constitute successful anti-consumption? Householders at Westwyck and Aurora were equal in that they each innovatively engaged with the housing regime, sought sustainability outcomes where practicable, and shared priorities around housing, comfort needs and family or network priorities. Differences do not lie in aspirations, skills and knowledge, or behavior, but in governance, structuring and social practices. Affectively, people have common aspirations — ‘comfort, cleanliness and convenience’ (Shove, 2003), and these are not traded off easily. Yet, there is a role for intermediary organisations well versed in the arts of community engagement and co-management, and able to act as a network conduit.

Conclusion

How can we ‘shape’ anti-consumption? I will posit 3 options, non-mutually exclusive.

Option 1 Local action

There has been a rise in interest in experimentation amongst low carbon governance scholars (Bulkeley, Castán Broto and Maassen, 2014). As we saw in the two vignettes, informal networks, experiments, practical action, and experiential, action research, touching as many people as possible is a way of building coalitions of the willing. Informal systems
that promote social learning and socialising of what the ‘right’ things are, contribute to new or reformed social rules. Extending this idea, adaptive co-management (Huitema et al. 2009) based on the sharing of rights, responsibilities and power between different scales and sectors of government and the public opens up arenas for anti-consumption experimentation and flexibility. In time, perhaps we will socially license each other to not consume, and to make more acceptable anti-consumption. Local governments can also be active here. As we saw from the routes of reuse study, informal systems are at least as important as formal systems, and care must be taken when designing formal ‘anti-consumption’ routes that they do not actually embed new forms of consumption, such as packaging that is recyclable.

**Option 2 Government action**

IF governments were (able) to act, then as in wartime or economic crisis, they could – with some social license - impose rationing and curbing of consumption. At present, this seems unlikely, if only because it requires rethinking government’s current KPIs which are hardwired to consumption. Moreover, governments are products of networks of power and so incumbent regimes of consumption are advantaged by their position. As Meadowcroft (Meadowcroft, 2011, 336) asks; “When have policy directions, even those that officially espouse change, openness, and participation, entirely escaped the orbit of economic and political power?”

Government action is, however, a possibility if large groundswells of social change overtake or challenge current imperatives for Governments to drive ever greater consumption. This is most likely where there are active bottom up ‘niches’ that challenge the existing regime. The language of niches and regimes relates to middle range theories of socio-technical transitions (Geels, 2002). While there is no time to extend his point further here, needless to say, various models for and explanations of socio-technical transitions (for example Geels and Schot 2007) indicate diverse interpretations and pathways, suggesting that we should be wary in attributing causation to any one particular agency when we contemplate possibilities for promoting purposive increases in anti-consumption.

**Option 3 An alternative ethical urban narrative**

Ethics of course is concerned with what is ‘right, fair, just or good’, not necessarily what is most accepted as normal or expedient. A key starting point is the proposition the cities that fail to build ethical futures, social inclusion and citizen engagement become less attractive, less sustainable and more vulnerable to the negative effects of shocks and mega-trends over time. They become dysfunctional and anti-social as individual citizens begin to prioritise their narrow short-term interests over those of their community.

We can link ethics to cities and anti-consumption as others have done. Peter Singer asks us to put ourselves in the position of those affected by their decisions. David Harvey points out that by pursuing deliberate urban development strategies focussed on equality, democracy and diversity, city governance systems can — at least in principle — shape particular environments that enable social inclusion, justice and care relative to others.

We need to think of urbanism beyond our current dominant forms of neoliberalism. By posing an alternative to GDP oriented consumption-based urban development, urban scholarship and practice can focus more centrally upon tackling inequality, climate change and over-consumption, and of course good governance and accountability.
Acknowledgements

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References


Introduction

Worldwide policy makers extend sustainable transportation alternatives. Nevertheless, the number of cars is increasing (OECD & TIF, 2015) and cities all over the world are facing serious traffic problems. Cars congesting the streets, side effects like air pollution and related health problems have to be taken seriously by policy makers. To tackle this worldwide problem, three possible ways exist: technological inventions, short term renting, and sharing. As described in the following considerations, sharing is the most promising solution. Therefore individual (anti-consumption attitudes), social (social identity) and sociodemographic aspects are relevant to answer the question “Why people participate in peer-to-peer car sharing activities?”.

By illustrating the three mentioned possible solutions for a more sustainable way of individual transportation, the strength of the concept of sharing can be demonstrated.

Three Possible Roads Towards Sustainable Transportation?

New sustainable technologies can be named as the first option. In the last years, local governments have focused on new technological inventions like electric cars, in consequence political actions are limited to provide infrastructure (e.g. charging stations) and financial benefits (e.g. reduced taxes). However, even with the scenario of most cars in cities being petrol-free, plenty of natural resources are needed for the production process and use of electric vehicles, while lots of space is still devoted to parking (Blum, 2011) instead of parks, playgrounds and other “sustainable places”. Therefore, the answer to this problem may not be a technical one, but rather be grounded in a fundamental problem of how we consume. Besides technical solutions, the idea of shared usage of cars, which has become popular over the last years, can be seen as a second possible option. Different companies (e.g. zipcar) offer short term car renting services (Belk, 2014) that allow consumers to use a car when it is needed (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). But the potential to solve the problem of an overcrowded city is limited as additional cars from different “car sharing” companies may not reduce the usage of cars at all. As they provide access to cars for those who would not use it otherwise, and even more space is needed for those additional vehicles, another concept of shared car usage is necessary. Under the viewpoint that a car is (on average) only used one hour a day (Blum, 2011) and that already plenty of cars exist, a possible solution seems simple.
The third option is sharing as defined by Belk (2010) as pooling and allocation between peers. This option has the potential to make a more efficient use of existing private cars. Based on the conceptualization of sharing and the differentiation to collaborative consumption by Belk (2010), there are two possible sharing activities for private cars: peer to peer car sharing in terms of (1) lending (in this article referred as car sharing) and (2) driving together in a car (known as carpooling) by eventually sharing the costs of the ride or the car.

Due to the described problem of excessive traffic load, we focus in this paper on the question “Which relevant factors are influencing the willingness of car owners to participate in these two forms of peer to peer car sharing?” Furthermore, we aim to identify implications that support policy makers to tackle the problems caused by inner city car usage. In order to examine these influencing factors a qualitative in-depth interview study and a quantitative study were conducted. The theoretical background sheds light on relevant influencing factors on an individual (anti-consumption attitudes), social (social identity), and sociodemographic level are integrated in order to examine determinants of peer-to-peer car sharing.

**Sharing and Anti-Consumption**

Sharing is actually practiced by persons with anti-consumption attitudes (Ozanne & Ballantine, 2010). Therefore, it is necessary to integrate an anti-consumption research approach in order to enhance our understanding of influencing factors. As outlined by Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman (2009) anti-consumption research focusses on reasons against specific or general consumption practices, and therefore it differs from research approaches that focus on consumption of sustainable or green products. As Richetin, Conner, and Perugini (2011) as well as Chatzidakis and Lee (2013) suggest, the motivations for showing a behavior or not showing a behavior are fundamentally different. Based on this idea, anti-consumption describes a different aspect of sustainable consumption behavior: the rejection of consumption practices as an additional strategy in a sustainable lifestyle (Black, 2010; Black & Cherrier, 2010). Beside the rejection of products anti-consumption practices can also include reuse and recycle practices (Black, 2010). Paradoxically this means that anti-consumption cannot be reduced to the question if someone owns a car or not, but moreover if it is used in a resource saving way. In this context the underlying motives of consumption behavior are critical to understand both sides, consumption and non-consumption behavior regarding peer to peer car sharing usage.

**Sharing and Social Identity**

Since sharing differs from conventional consumer behavior, like paying for services, social identity has to be considered. Based on the community idea of sharing platforms (Albinsson & Yasanthi Perera, 2012), sharing can only be understood through group membership. While prototypical sharing behavior already exists in “natural groups” like the family (Belk, 2010), modern sharing behavior is mainly a phenomenon of the digital age (Belk, 2014). Therefore, the behavioral influences of group membership is not based on spatial proximity to other group members, but moreover on the cognitive representation of the group prototype (Hogg & Reid, 2006). Social identity through group membership as a part of the self-concept (Tajfel, 1974) influences attitudes and behavior of the group members in two ways.

**Study 1: Anti-Consumption Behaviors of Car Owners and Non-Owners**

To get a deeper understanding of underlying motivations for (non) car ownership a qualitative study with 30 respondents (15 car owners and 15 non car owners) was implemented in our project. The interviews showed that in the case of car usage the expression of anti-consumption attitude is not a simple question of car ownership and non-
ownership but moreover about underlying motivations and attitudes. The data was collected by using a semi-structured interview method and analyzed using the categorization procedure described by Mayring (2010). The categorization allows a deeper understanding of the qualitative data and is used to interpret the results and identify relevant implications. While the motives and reasons for not owning a car are mostly related to a lack of necessity and financial reasons, car owners on the other side are more heterogeneous. As some car owners have cars for practical reasons and in some cases as prestige objects to express themselves (as Belk already described in 1988). Others reported the necessity of a car as some places are hard to reach. Some car-owners see car usage even more critical than some non-owners. Therefore, also other transportation means are way more important for them on a daily basis than the private car. On the one hand, the group norm, defined as shared prototypes within a group (Hogg & Reid, 2006), describes how a group member should behave and which attitudes a group member should have. On the other hand, the possibility of an evaluation by other group members leads to group norm consistent behavior and attitudinal expressions (Hogg & Reid, 2006; Hogg & Smith, 2007). Another enhancing factor for sharing is based on in-group favoritism as it increases the willingness to share office space or share the ride to work with a colleague of the same company (Ben-Ner, McCall, Stephane, & Wang, 2009).

**Study 2: Willingness of Car Owners to Participate in Sharing**

Based on the theoretical considerations and the results from study 1, we decided to focus on anti-consumption attitudes (simplifier and global-impact consumer on a seven-point scale as described by Iyer and Muncy (2009)) and the identification as environmentalist and urban person as different social identities. Social identification was asked on a five-point scale where the participants should rate how strongly they feel as e.g. environmentalist. Additionally we integrated demographics (e.g. gender, income and age) as they may influence the willingness to participate in car sharing and carpooling. Another insight from the qualitative study showed that having children may also be a relevant factor for the willingness to share the own car with others. This was measured after an introduction of the concepts with the question “Would you provide your car to others for carsharing/carpooling?”. The aim of this study was to cover a broad sample in terms of sociodemographic factors from a large European city. Overall our sample is composed out of 161 adults and university students who own a car by themselves (mean age = 42.3 years. SD 13.5, 46% female).

The results of the logistic regression analyses are shown in table 1 and table 2. While the likelihood of car sharing is more than doubled if the identification as urban person and environmentalist is strong, a higher age decreases the likelihood slightly. Anti-consumption attitudes had no influence.

In the case of car-pooling global-impact anti-consumption attitudes raised the likelihood of providing the own car for others. Furthermore, higher identification as an urban person and higher education increases the likelihood while being male had a negative influence on carpooling.

These results show a slight difference between environmental behavior and anti-consumption. Anti-consumer attitudes are not related to the willingness to let others use their cars, or in other words they reject that additional distances are driven with their car. But moreover anti-consumers want to reduce the environmental impact of car usage by sharing it on ways that are already planned. The identification as an urban person is relevant in both cases. This could be seen as a hint that shared usage of cars is more related to group identification of urban persons than others. Interestingly, identification as environmentalist only had a significant influence on car sharing and not carpooling. With regard to previous findings this can be seen as a clear evidence that anti-consumption differs from simple pro-environmental behaviors also in the case of car usage. And as suggested above, anti-
consumers use cars in a resources saving way. Finally, a slight influence of gender may be explained by more environmental friendly behavior of women (Minton & Rose, 1997).

**Implications**

Surprisingly an environmentalist identity is not as relevant as it may be suggested for the willingness to participate in car sharing and carpooling. If policy makers accept that on the long term more cars (with different technologies/ business models) may not solve the problems caused by inner city car usage, this study is holding strong implications. The influence of social identification as urban person, which promotes the willingness to share the private car with others, can be used for systematic campaigning. Targeting the prototype of an urbanist identity opens up a wide range of consumer and community based solutions for traffic problems. In the case of peer to peer car sharing further implications for policy makers are a lack of regulations that allow private persons to share their cars with others on a secure base (e.g. insecurities with the insurance, parking tickets). Moreover, policy makers could provide benefits for companies (as they are already existing groups with a shared identity) to enhance or initiate necessary infrastructure for carpooling. Finally, the results are relevant for scientists and provide further research possibilities in the field of anti-consumption. Beside known strategies of anti-consumers there are other ways to refuse dominant consumption practices.

**References**


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Table 1: Logistic regression for peer to peer car sharing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B (SE)</th>
<th>95% C.I. for Odds Ratio</th>
<th>Lower</th>
<th>Odds Ratio</th>
<th>Upper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>.000 (0.00)</td>
<td>.999</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>1.001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.057 (0.02)</td>
<td>.903</td>
<td>.945</td>
<td>.988</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1=female, 0= male)</td>
<td>-.812 (0.60)</td>
<td>.137</td>
<td>.444</td>
<td>1.439</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>.349 (0.41)</td>
<td>.633</td>
<td>1.418</td>
<td>3.178</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children (1= yes)</td>
<td>-.047 (0.63)</td>
<td>.279</td>
<td>.954</td>
<td>3.268</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanist identity</td>
<td>.778 (0.34)</td>
<td>1.109</td>
<td>2.177</td>
<td>4.275</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmentalist identity</td>
<td>.893** (0.33)</td>
<td>1.283</td>
<td>2.442</td>
<td>4.650</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simplifier</td>
<td>.068 (0.20)</td>
<td>.717</td>
<td>1.071</td>
<td>1.598</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global impact consumer</td>
<td>-.029 (0.24)</td>
<td>.603</td>
<td>.971</td>
<td>1.564</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-7.110 (2.44)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $R^2 = .189$ (Cox & Snell), .356 (Negelkerke), Model Chi$^2$= 86.997, $p<.001$, $^T p < .10$ *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p <.001$

Table 2: Logistic regression for Carpooling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B (SE)</th>
<th>95% C.I. for Odds Ratio</th>
<th>Lower</th>
<th>Odds Ratio</th>
<th>Upper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>.000 (0.00)</td>
<td>.999</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.014 (0.02)</td>
<td>.956</td>
<td>.986</td>
<td>1.017</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1=female, 0= male)</td>
<td>-1.242** (0.44)</td>
<td>.123</td>
<td>.289</td>
<td>3.012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>.562* (0.28)</td>
<td>1.022</td>
<td>1.755</td>
<td>3.012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children (1= yes)</td>
<td>.335 (0.44)</td>
<td>.592</td>
<td>1.398</td>
<td>3.298</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanist identity</td>
<td>.565** (0.21)</td>
<td>1.166</td>
<td>1.760</td>
<td>2.657</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmentalist identity</td>
<td>.317$^T$ (0.18)</td>
<td>.960</td>
<td>1.373</td>
<td>1.962</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simplifier</td>
<td>-.178 (0.13)</td>
<td>.643</td>
<td>.837</td>
<td>1.089</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global impact consumer</td>
<td>.420* (0.18)</td>
<td>1.077</td>
<td>1.522</td>
<td>2.151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-5.978 (1.57)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.003</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $R^2 = .190$ (Cox & Snell), .274 (Negelkerke), Model Chi$^2$= 154.044, $p<.001$, $^T p < .10$ *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p <.001$
Historically, deviant behavior has been viewed through a negative lens with scholarship focusing on marginalized individuals and often harmful behavior (Spreitzer and Sonenshein 2004; West 2003). However, during the mid-1980s and 1990s a debate was ignited regarding deviant behavior and whether deviance could be viewed as having positive implications for society (West 2003). The works of Dodge (1985), Sagarin (1985), Ben-Yehuda (1990) and Goode (1991) established a foundation for more noble forms of deviance facilitating the development of the positive deviance construct. The culmination of this debate fueled research aimed at formally defining positive deviance as a societal phenomenon. Heckert and Heckert (2002) examined the positive deviance construct and imposed a central criterion that the action must be perceived with admiration from external social actors. Additionally, through an examination of early literature purporting the positive effects of certain deviant behaviors, Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004, p. 828) defined positive deviance using a normative perspective as intentional behaviors that depart from the norms of a referent group in honorable ways. Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004) argued that to classify an action as positive deviance it also must (1) involve a departure from norms of a referent group, (2) be purely voluntary, and (3) be based on honorable intentions.

Stemming from literature establishing positive deviance as a real-world construct, actions characterized as positively deviant have been examined in the contexts of gift-giving (Hayes and Simmons 2015), sports (Hughes and Coakley 1991), voicing discontent (Crane and Platow 2010), psychology (Hutchison and Abrams 2003), with the abundance of positive deviance research occurring in health and medicine (e.g., Berggren and Wray 2002; Caldwell and Kleppe 2010; Nti and Lartey 2007). In a health context, positive deviance is commonly defined as the observation that in many settings a few at-risk individuals follow unusual, advantageous practices and consequently experience improved outcomes (e.g., in the poorest communities some individuals deviate from lifestyle norms, achieving good health) relative to their neighbors who share similar risks (e.g., Berggren and Wray 2002; Marsh et al. 2004). This definition in the health and medical field encompasses the three qualities (departure from referent group norms, voluntary, and honorable intentions) set forth by Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004). In addition, the health and medical literature often examines positive deviance behavior as a model for other citizens, fulfilling Heckert and Heckert’s (2002) admiration requirement.

Despite the maturation of positive deviance as a construct, and its foothold in health and medical literature, it remains a scarcely investigated construct in many other contexts. To expand upon the investigation of positive deviance, we examine positive deviance’s applicability to the anti-consumption context. In particular, we propose a qualitative study to investigate guerilla gardening (GG) as a potentially positive deviant behavior.

Anti-consumption and Guerilla Gardening (GG)

Anti-consumption behaviors are often traditionally linked to sustainable consumption motivations and anti-consumption subcultures often emerge as a moral critique of perceived
unsustainable consumption (Black and Cherrier 2010; Dassapoulos 2015). Anti-consumption can be summarized as a withdrawal from socially accepted standards of consumption and anti-consumption research typically centers on reasons against consumption (Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman 2009). More importantly, anti-consumption is not restricted to existing as an anti-thesis to business success or quality of life (Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman 2009). Anti-consumption research has broadly incorporated pro-social behaviors, promoting a sustainable lifestyle (Black and Cherrier 2010; Pentina and Amos 2011) and motivated by personal (desire for liberation), moral (feelings of agency), activist (subvert consumerism), identifactory (desire for authenticity), and social motives (desire for community and solidarity) [Dassopoulos 2015]. Behaviors designated in research as anti-consumption include dumpster diving, squatting, culture jamming, boycotting, and ethical consumption, among others (Dassopoulos 2015; Pentina and Amos 2011). While some anti-consumption behaviors focus on consumption abstinence (e.g., boycotting/culture jamming), other behaviors focus on waste reclamation (e.g., squatting, dumpster diving). Interestingly, there appears to be a confluence between both the conceptualization of both anti-consumption and positive deviance. Anti-consumption activities often (1) feature a departure from norms of a referent group (Peattie and Peattie 2009), (2) are purely voluntary (Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman 2009), (3) are based on honorable intentions (Dassopoulos 2015), and (4) are perceived with admiration from external social actors (Pentina and Amos 2011).

While a multitude of anti-consumption behaviors may qualify as positive deviance, GG is a particular waste reclamation behavior growing in popularity among groups exhibiting anti-consumption behaviors (e.g., Freegans) but it has received little attention in marketing and consumer behavior literature. Freegan.info (2016) defines GG as nonviolent direct actions by environmental activists to reclaim land from perceived neglect or misuse through assigning it a new purpose. Tracey (2007) indicates that GG includes a range of actions, from voluntarily picking up broken glass and litter in public spaces, to more covert urban beautification tactics such as using plants to reclaim public space-with or without permission. Additionally, GG can include efforts to grow vegetables and other grocery items in public spaces for personal consumption by the actors and their community. Hence, GG is distinct in that there is often a lack of explicit ownership within the modern day private property understanding of space (Crane, Viswanathan, and Whitelaw 2013).

This study examines the practice of GG using a positive deviance framework. Triangulated interpretive methods will examine the practice of GG from both an observer (content analysis of online content) and participant view (first person accounts of GG) in the United States. This approach should provide novel insight into motives for the practice and how the GGer identity is constructed within the GG discourse. Further, public policy implications will be derived regarding GGing and whether it threatens cultural notions of private property.

**Data Collection**

Using multi-sited, “in and out” observations (Marcus 1995), we plan to employ data triangulation methodology to compare the inner perspective provided by the netnographic analysis of the major GG online forum (Kozinets 2002) and observation and depth interviewing of GGS in action. The comparative investigation of different discursive frameworks, commonly used in linguistic and sociological studies (Cherrier 2009), will assist in evaluating GGS collective identity by combining internal and external perspectives (Cooley 1902), and allowed simultaneous assessment of intent and recognition dimensions of anti-consumption manifestations (Hollander and Einwohner 2004).
The guerillagardening.org forum selected for the netnographic analysis, facilitates information exchange and advice regarding alternative consumption practices, requests for volunteers in certain areas, requests to join protests and activities worldwide, reflections and discussions regarding GG philosophy and ideology, among other discussions. It was selected due to its high traffic and postings volume, very detailed data supported by photographs, and frequent interactions among members representing both GG ideologues and practicing members at large. An author will join the forum, contribute to online conversations, comment on, clarify and qualify other members’ statements, and pose questions to confirm conclusions and interpretations. YouTube content and comments will also be analyzed as a diverse array of videos have been posted by GGers around the world. To supplement the forum’s netnographic analysis, and to be able to generalize the findings, as well as to provide corroborative evidence, depth interview and observations data will be collected in the U.S. GGing communities exist in various urban areas and has received national public attention. Communities such as the GGing community in Salt Lake City will serve as case studies for the current research. In-depth interviews will help us understand motivations that drive activity and the dynamics between the actors and their community.

**Public Policy Implications**

As population growth continues, there is greater pressure on public policy to manage cities sustainably. Available public policy instruments (defined as “the set of techniques by which governmental authorities wield their power in an attempt to ensure support and affect or prevent social change” (Vedung 1998, p. 21), incorporate governmental ownership, regulations, and incentives (Bengston, Fletcher, and Nelson 2004). Land ownership by local governments enables urban and landscape planning and guides public investment in green as well as gray infrastructure (roads, sewers, etc.) (Benedict and McMahon 2002). However, poor land management and a lack of resources has led to the deterioration of many urban landscapes, prompting some local citizens to take matters into their own hands (e.g., Finley 2013; Hryse 2013; Pagano 2013). It has been suggested that citizen involvement is a vital element for success of urban growth management because it allows those whose needs are affected by it to take ownership of their environment (Nelson and Duncan 1995). However, institutional support, while providing legitimacy to grassroots initiatives, may imply a reduction in citizens’ autonomy and undermine their participation.

Further, the nature of GG often leads to dissension between the legality of such actions and community enhancement aspects. In some instances, GGers have faced fines or other sanctions for their efforts despite their community enhancement objects with community enhancement occurring both through environmental enrichment and food justice, potentially superseding GGing’s illegitimacy (e.g., Finley 2013; Hryse 2013; Pagano 2013; Schindler 2014). Environmental enrichment transpires through the introduction of more greenery, replacing weeds with attractive flowers, and tidying landscapes (Pagano 2013). Food justice stems from the production of sustainable and healthy food in urban areas dominated by unhealthy food options (e.g., Finley 2013; Hryse 2013; Pagano 2013).

Despite the seemingly positive nature of these actions, GGers often go to extraordinary lengths to maintain the covertness of their actions to avoid legal consequences and keep others from preventing their actions (e.g., Hryse 2013). Notwithstanding the surreptitious nature of defiant GGers and legal precedent, is GGing a form of public good engaged positive deviance that should be embraced and encouraged? Should anti-establishment brands partner with GGers as a form of cause-related marketing? Is the clandestine nature of GGing imperative to its survival as a form of waste reclamation? To answer these questions, it is important to understand the motivations and political vision.
driving unique GG projects along with the perspective of external social actors in order to formulate meaningful public policy implications.

References


The development of anti-consumption research has led a number of theorists to speak of consumer practices of rejecting, reducing or reclaiming processes of acquisition, use or disposal of certain goods (Lee, Roux, Cherrier and Cova 2011). Notably absent from this developing field of research is the poor and materially deprived consumer. Prior anti-consumption research has looked at consumers choosing to voluntarily limit material consumption in order to seek satisfaction through nonmaterial aspects of life (Cherrier 2009), consumers opting for non-hegemonic brands to minimize dependence on corporations (Cromie and Ewing 2009), or consumers trying to control their daily consumption to cultivate sustainable living (Cherrier, Black and Lee 2011). In essence, these studies portray anti-consumption to be a middle and upper class phenomenon that turns a blind eye to those consumers at the economic margin of society. These studies gloss over the hundreds of thousands of material deprived consumers as irrelevant to the anti-consumption culture and suggest choice and freedom to reject, reduce, or reclaim, is strictly restricted to those who can “afford” to anti-consumption.

Yet, studies show that the materiality deprived consumer, in particular the homeless person typified by a lack of material possessions and adequate shelter, the homeless person (Hill 1994, 2001) is involved in anti-consumption practices. Hill and Stamey (1990) for example have recognized and documented the homeless persons rejecting the generosity of others, charity, or the welfare system to reclaim control over daily lives. Other studies have described the alienating aspect of not having a home and how homeless persons try to regain citizen rights and fight against a deviant label, in part, by developing innovative subsistence strategies to survive on the street and remain independent of social services (Osborne 2002; Hill 1994; Hill and Stamey 1990; Snow and Anderson 1993). We also know of a subpopulation of homeless - the ‘hidden homeless’ - who voluntarily reject living in shelters (Hill and Stamey 1990). Their anti-consumption behaviour is marked by a consistent rejection of the social services available to them, claiming that reliance on such organizations reduces self-esteem. In his review of existing literature, Hill (1994, 2001) reinforces that the homeless consumers take an active role in determining their life choices and purposefully reject the consumption of certain goods. In particular, he notes that some homeless persons reclaim a sense of pride from building a shelter from scavenging rather than accepting the provision of welfare benefits.

The research presented here is the first to redress this intellectual lacuna by considering anti-consumption amongst consumers who experience homelessness within the broader context of public policy. Questions pertinent to this study include: Can the homeless consumer ‘afford’ practices of anti-consumption? Does anti-consumption amongst the
homeless differ from the more affluent consumer? Does the homeless anti-consumption practice link to identity project, community, and/or socio-cultural transformation? What do anti-consumption practices amongst the homeless reveal in terms of public policy?

This article begins with an overview of homelessness in Australia, drawing on previous literature on the phenomenon, including an examination of websites and public policy debates. Findings from ethnographic research reveal the possibilities for individuals who experience homelessness to reclaim access to quality food in a high density urban area through, in part, anti-consumption practices of reducing food waste, rejecting social services, and reclaiming the public domain. Combined, these anti-consumption practices not only illustrate that the homeless persons can afford to reject, reduce, or reclaim. These practices also mark a form of self-empowerment for the homeless persons to take power out of the hands of governmental institutions and create alternatives to the imbalance between food waste and food insecurity. Anti-consumption practices amongst the homeless persons are thus simultaneously acts of individual resistance and a collective engagement in the circulation of food that embraces human rights to access to quality food.

This study has important public policy implications. In general, public policy approaches to homelessness is either structural or individual in nature (Barrios, Piacentini and Saliuviene 2015). From a structural perspective, the homeless persons are victims of the broader unemployment rate, unaffordability of housing for low-income people, fiscal austerity and welfare retrenchment. Consequently, the way to reduce homelessness is to form government-subsidized social welfare programs and services with the aim to offset free-market housing costs and structural factors to homelessness. By contrast, the individual perspective defines the homeless person as an able-bodied person whose irresponsible leads choosing passivity and ill-consumption such as drugs and alcoholism. The pledge to reduce homelessness is thus proposed through tighter drug and alcohol regulations, conditional welfare and market discipline (Chamberlain, Johnson and Robinson 2014, Schutt and Garrett 2013). Whilst these two perspectives point to complex causes of homelessness, either approach is, however, inadequate on their own (Chamberlain et al. 2014). Furthermore, none of these approaches consider the homeless persons with agency and their capacity to actively respond to their structural conditions and regain control over their life.

In the context of the present study, most of homeless persons interviewed did not aspire to be taken care by the government nor were they irresponsible individuals choosing alcohol and drugs over employment. Rather, the homeless persons involved at Share Food showed agency to overcome some of the structural conditions of poverty and actively use their own resources to survive hardships, create social bonds, engage in a community, and become a legitimate part of urban living. Thus, one alternative way for policy makers to reduce homelessness is to help steer agency amongst the homeless. Findings from this study show that a prominent aspect for enabling the homeless person to participate in social lives is to provide access and rights to urban space. Currently, the push for corporatization and privatization of urban spaces where economic exchanges are centralized tends to punish the less affluent consumers to the outskirt of urban life and affects the homeless in alarming ways (Mitchell 2003). We also know of increasing anti-homeless urban architecture such as spikes under bridges and on the side of the bench, making sleeping impossible (Petty 2016). The controlling of urban space by corporations causes important threats to the success of organically grown communities such as Food Share in empowering the homeless persons and reducing food insecurity. Public policy intervention aimed reducing homelessness thus demands more than just housing, it demands developing cities that can respond to the needs of its inhabitants, including the oppressed and economically deprived, and facilitate active participation and engagement in the community.
Findings also suggest that social services can be experienced as a form of tyranny and promote discontentment. To many of the homeless persons who participate at Share Food, social services are influenced by dominant political actors and employ a market logic that turns the homeless person into a commodity. Mostly managed by non-homeless individuals, these services were described as ill-equipped to provide adequate social support and material resources. By rejecting social services and developing their own unmediated food provision tactics, Food Share participants regain some control over their autonomy and what they consume. Their active participation lessens feelings of dependability on charity and promotes a sense dignity and self-esteem.

This study also contributes to the current governmental efforts to tackle food waste. To take Australia as an example, food waste is estimated to represent around AUD$5.2 billion annually in 2010, including waste from restaurants and take-away food sectors (AUD$1.0 billion) (PMSEIC, 2010, p.37). Currently, most policy interventions and governmental regulations aim at reducing the production of waste. For example, households are encouraged to lower their production of waste via awareness interventions around use of appropriate recycling bins and financial incentives around the implementation of Home composting collection services (Bulkeley and Gregson 2009). This study points to another alternative, which shifts the focus away from reducing the production of food waste (household or retail) and considers the consumption of food waste and the ones who directly benefit from food rescue. Scholars have discussed the social and individual benefits of re-using and re-purposing left-overs (Cappellini 2009). We also know of Dumpster Divers gleaning food waste from supermarket dumpster bins (Fernandez et al. 2011) and communities collecting and rejuvenating rotten natural food (Clark 2004). Just like these consumers, the homeless who participate in Food Share have developed innovative strategies that respond to ethical and environmental issues around food waste. Based on the findings, public policy needs to develop genuine discussions of how people in the margins might directly benefit from food waste and take responsibility for collecting food waste as means to regain control over what they consume, create a more resilient community, and participate more actively in social life.

This study also profits anti-consumption research. Anti-consumption is both an activity and an attitude (Cherrier 2009). It is an activity that ranges from a rejection to a reduction or a reclamation (Lee, Roux, Cherrier and Cova 2011), and an attitude that declines to give resignation to the logic of the market (Cherrier 2009). Although current anti-consumption research focuses on the middle to upper class anti-consumers, this study discusses the homeless anti-consumers who decline to give resignation to the logic of the market through practices of reduction, rejection, and reclaim. Through anti-consumption practices of reducing food waste, rejecting social services, and reclaiming the public domain, a group of homeless persons demonstrate their capacities to collectively organize acts of resistance intended to highlight their rights to produce what they consume and legitimacy to exist in the public domain. In contrast to individual modes of anti-consumption such as voluntarily simplicity (Cherrier and Murray 2007), temporal clothing abstinence (Cherrier 2016), custodian behaviours (Cherrier 2010) or plastic bag rejection (Cherrier 2006) that mainly exemplify the individual self stepping aside from mainstream practices, the anti-consumption practices described in this study focus more on building solidarity and community that seem the necessary conditions to reclaim inclusion and participation in mainstream activities such as eating quality food and existing in the public domain. Looking at Food Share calls for future research on the capacities for the homeless persons to create change in lines with government’s commitment to democratic rights, civil liberties and social diversities.
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The Dynamics of Boycotts – How Different Consumer Types React on Boycott Calls

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Early 2013, German public TV broadcasted a documentary on the mortifying work conditions of employees subcontracted by a leading e-tailer. Many consumers publicly expressed their willingness to boycott the company. After some time has passed, however, public indignation and readiness to boycott appeared to have settled at a lower level (NTV 2013). Over the last years, the literature provides valuable insights into consumers’ boycott motivation (e.g., Klein, Smith, and John 2004; Sen, Gurhan-Canli, and Morwitz 2001), mainly drawing from theories of social psychology and economic models (e.g., theories of fairness and reciprocity; Delacote 2009). Scholars have identified promoters that drive consumers to join boycotts, such as self-enhancement, as well as inhibitors that prevent consumers from boycotting, such as a lack of substitutes, inconvenience, disbelief in boycott efficacy (Hoffmann 2011; Sen, Gurhan-Canli, and Morwitz 2001). Notwithstanding, to date only few studies have analyzed the longitudinal effects of boycotts, and no study has examined changes in motivational determinants or perceived egregiousness leading to changes in boycott participation over time at a micro-level.

To fill this gap, the present paper reports three mixed-methods studies that jointly explore the intrapersonal processes thought to be responsible for a decrease in boycott participation. We suggest that in a “heat up”-phase, the agenda setting of the media firstly raises broad awareness of the boycott trigger which increases egregiousness. However, during a “cool down”-phase many consumer fall back to their consumption habits and stop boycotting due to high subjective costs. Yet, it is necessary to distinguish different consumer segments that follow different dynamics of egregiousness and boycotting behavior. The paper makes at least three contributions to the literature on unethical firm behavior and consumer boycotts.

First, this paper tackles the triggers, promoters and inhibitors of boycott participation in the heat up-phase. We content analyzed internet postings related to the documentary on the
commentary site of an online newspaper. The article in the news-website was published on February 13th 2013 and describes the documentary which was released on the same day. A total of 612 readers published postings related to the article in the commentary-section. Our results suggest that participation costs play a pivotal role when it comes to a decision for or against a boycott. In some cases consumers’ decision to boycott the company was justified by the low costs which are associated with alternatives. On the other side, the majority of expressed inhibitors were expected participation costs as well, such as the distance to the next electronic retailer and the narrow assortment of alternative retailers.

Second, the paper explores the reactions and dynamics of media and society after the egregiousness act. According to the agenda setting theory (McCombs et al. 1977), the media influences the direct proportion to the emphasis placed on news, e.g. about the egregious behavior of a company. Therefore, when the proportion of this case in the media changes through other news, consumers shift their perception on other topics. Initial and often massive reporting about an irresponsible corporate act raises egregiousness fast and intensively. However, consumers’ frustration cool down during the course of time as media coverage decreases. Hence, we expect that the perceived egregiousness corrodes over time. Therefore, we investigated the dynamic effects of the media coverage over time through comparing the media coverage of an irresponsible corporate act to the brand index over time as indicators for the dynamics of perceived egregiousness. We used google news to find and analyze 134 news articles which were related to the triggering TV documentary, starting with the publishing date, February 13th, till June 1st by means of a content analysis. We apply a frequency analysis to examine the valence of the articles (positive/neutral or negative). There were less news articles with positive relation to the case, such as article about employees that assert good working conditions or news about a positive reaction of the company, than news articles with negative tonality. Media coverage was intense the first three weeks after the documentary was published and reached its peak after two weeks. Afterwards the news articles related to the event decreased. After 13 weeks the debate in the news abated. The brand index decreased immediately after the event was published and reached its low level after four weeks. However, afterwards the brand index slightly increased but did not reach the prior level. In the long term the brand index reached an average value which was slightly lower than before the event. The results of study 2 provide evidence that some of the boycotters internalized their shifted consumption habits and thus did not return to the e-tailer. The results of our study provide that the media coverage of this topic decreases and thus drives a shift of consumers’ perception towards other news. As perceived egregiousness is considered as the main driver for boycott intention it is seemingly reasonable that it also corrodes over time.

Third, we identified groups of consumers who differ in their perceived egregiousness and boycott behavior over time. While we expect that a decrease in perceived egregiousness should lower boycott participation, this effect may not apply uniformly to consumers. Instead, we propose distinguishing three consumer segments. Despite their knowledge of the company acting non-responsibly, some consumers may choose to not change their consumption pattern over time. We label this type of consumer the ‘Apathetic’. In addition, two types of consumers may exist who both quit boycotting after some time but vary in their underlying levels of perceived egregiousness. Labeled ‘Forgetters’ display a reduction in levels of perceived egregiousness and lower their boycott participation over time, while the ‘Capitulated’ maintain a high level of egregiousness, but still lower their boycott participation. We next discuss how boycott inhibitors affect these three groups differentially. The Apathetic maintain their consumption pattern despite having knowledge of the company’s non-responsible behavior. These consumers are expected to maintain their consumption habits for several reasons. They may adhere to inherent beliefs and values and
thus follow goals that serve as guiding principles in their lives. These values are not tied to any specific situation, such as the observed misbehavior of the provider of the preferred brand, and therefore some individuals with a high level of dogmatism may perceive such event as irrelevant. Moreover, under specific conditions (e.g. especially depending on the individual self-construal) consumers are more easily willing to accept brand transgressions for the sake of the long-term relationship with the brand. More specifically, consumers with interdependent self-construals, i.e. they perceive themselves as part of the social context, are motivated to maintain external relationships and thus are more forgiving when they have strong relationships with the transgressing brand, even after learning of its misbehavior. The Apathetics may have made a conscious decision to not boycott, possibly because of emotional attachment, or have a generally positive evaluation of the firm, reflected by a positive corporate image, which buffers the tendency to boycott. Furthermore, people strive for internal consistency of thoughts and behavior. Based on that, the Apathetic consumers continue on their old habits to maintain consistency. In our third study we explored whether there are different consumer segments and which role subjective costs play in different consumer segment’s boycott participation. Five months after the triggering TV documentary was broadcasted, we conducted a study in which we asked 305 participants (63.5 percent female, 25.5 years on average) to indicate their current egregiousness and participation and to retrospectively evaluate both constructs five months before. We assigned the participants, which were recruited via a social network and were mostly young consumers, into one of the (apathetic, forgetters, capitulated) three categories based on the aforementioned criteria.

We derive several managerial implications. First, According to previous literature (e.g., Chavis and Leslie 2009; Ettensohn and Klein 2005) boycotts have not kept their intensity over a long period. Consequently, managers should always consider that after a certain period boycott calls could lose their momentum. However, the present study demonstrates that some consumers still remain on a high level of perceived egregiousness but abort boycotting due to internal cost-benefit considerations. From a customer relationship perspective, the Capitulated display behavioral loyalty, but no attitudinal loyalty (Chaudhuri and Holbrook 2001; Dick and Basu 1994). They may stay with the company, because of a lack of substitutes. Once better (e.g., more ethical) offerings are available they will quit the relationship. Consequently, managers should take boycott-related barriers into account, such as financial efforts for alternative-seeking. Especially in the short term, companies could override boycotts either by a cessation of the egregious act or by communicating arguments against reasons to try competitors’ products. However, managers should always consider the possible dynamics that could evolve after an egregious act. In the observed case the companies’ first reaction was to ignore the comments which were posted on its Facebook site. Later on, users complained on the e-tailer’s facebook site that the e-tailer has deleted some comments. Four days later, the company stated on its Facebook page that it admits the mistakes and will change its behavior, particularly with temporary workers. Furthermore, many employees on their own tried to rescue the company and organized informal Facebook-groups and discussed it in public (groups were visible for other users). In this groups they tried to spread the information that the facts presented in the documentary have been wrong. An effective way to avoid or at least reduce the negative consequences of boycotts is to strengthen the brand image and the public perception of the company as corporate reputation plays a key role. For all three groups of Study 3, a good image helped to keep consumers from becoming boycotters.

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The (im)possibilities of non-consumption: 
An analysis of absence through practice based research

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Accounts of anti-consumption can be critiqued as being focused on individually determined choice and identity work with scant attention to the possibilities available to the consumer. We advance a practice-based approach in order to address absence of consumption as opposed to choice not to consume. Using urban cycling in Las Palmas (Spain) as our example we reveal how consumers are often tied into forms of non-consumption as a consequence of practice arrangements. In closing we examine how practice based research helps to analyse patterns of non-consumption we also discuss the implications of this approach for policy surrounding sustainable consumption.

Introduction

Although scholars have identified not consuming as the ‘logical opposite’ (Chatzidakis and Lee, 2012, p. 190) of positive consumption, possibly ‘resulting from choice towards a preferred alternative’ (Cherrier et al. 2011, p. 1757), other forms of not consuming have been neglected by consumer research (Chatzidakis and Lee, 2012). Unsurprisingly, anti-consumption has defined forms of not consuming as ‘reasons against consumption’ (Lee et al. 2009, p. 145), making the study of not consuming mainly a matter of consumers’ deliberate attitudes towards avoiding, boycotting and abstaining from consumption as a form of deliberate decision to avoid products or brands (Lee et al., 2013, Kozinets, et al. 2010).

With regard to sustainability and the ‘green gap’ (Black, 2010, p. 404) in which consumer behaviour is often inconsistent with their deliberate beliefs and values, incidental non-consumption is an important topic for policy makers, especially as they are tasked with understanding why people do not recycle (Hargreaves, 2011), do not reuse food (Evans, 2011) or do not ride bicycles for urban transportation (Claudy and Peterson, 2014). In this regard energy, food and transportation have been cited as the three main problematic pillars of sustainable policy interventions (Sahakian and Wilhite 2014). Insights into these issues might provide useful implications for policy makers, as the current impact of policy interventions on consumer behaviour seems to be rather limited (Black, 2010, Steward, 2015, Newell et al., 2015).

We put forward a practice based approach as a means of placing greater emphasis on such structural-contextual nature of non-consumption (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011, Warde,
Practice scholars, for example, have argued strongly for a shift in ontological commitments in order to understand how consumers are ‘locked’ (Newell et al., 2015, p.537) into unsustainable patterns as a consequence of practice arrangements (Schatzki, 1996, 2001, 2002, 2012, 2013, 2016, Shove, 2010, Shove et al. 2012, Shove and Spurling, 2013, Colls and Evans, 2008, Watson 2013, Warde, 2014). In analysing the 'material and historical conditions' (Nicolini and Monteiro, 2016, p. 8) that allow a practice to emerge, exist and change, practice based research exposes practice bundles instead of isolating a single practice. This offers an integrative way of looking at consumption within the complex constellation of practices. Evans (2011) for example has shown that policy interventions might target challenges of food waste more effectively if consumption is understood as a result of practices instead of consumer choice. In this turn towards non-consumer-centred approaches, marketing and consumer research have embraced practice based studies in analysing various aspects of everyday life including recycling (Hargreaves, 2011), blogging (Arsel and Bean, 2013), eating (Molander, 2011, Warde et al., 2007, Warde, 2013), cooking (Truninger 2011), reading (Southerton et al., 2012), heating (Gram-Hanssen, 2011), value creating (Schau et al. 2009) and veiling (Sandikci and Ger, 2010).

While these studies emphasise the usefulness of a practice based approach to investigating established practices and existing forms of consumption, we believe that practice based research can also do this job for non-consumption. In fact, if Warde (2005, p. 137) has argued that ‘consumption is not itself a practice, but is, rather, a moment in almost every practice’ and if practice bundles and their constellation condition consumption, they must have the potential to condition non-consumption, too. Our study therefore will unpack the dynamics within and relations between practices to understand a marginal practice that is still struggling to emerge. For policy makers, this integrative character is especially useful in order to understand non-consumption in relations to wider and multifaceted issues, which hopefully offer a bigger picture about the conditional ‘barriers’ (Claudy and Peterson, 2014) as to why people do not consume.

**Theoretical Framework: Using a practice based approach to study the absence of urban cycling**

Practice based research shares the orientation that ‘social and organisational life stem from and transpire through the real time accomplishments of ordinary activities’ (Nicolini and Monteiro 2016, p.1). As such practice researchers believe that social life is primarily constituted by practices, as opposed to individuals, they therefore take practices as their primary unit of analysis (Nicolini and Monteiro, 2016). This approach also commits to a ‘flat’ ontology, rejecting micro/macro divisions, and viewing all the elements that make up the practice as equally important for its existence. Practice based studies slightly differ in their identification of these elements but because both bodywork and bicycles themselves are central aspects of cycling (Spinney, 2011) we drew on two frameworks which emphasise the material and embodied elements of practices (those advanced by Shove et al. 2012 and Schatzki 1996). In combining these frameworks we used three distinct elements to guide our fieldwork as below: material elements, competences and meanings.

- **Material Elements** - we looked for bodies, vehicles and bicycles, facilities like storage opportunities (bike racks and buildings), access to private and public buildings like shopping malls etc. We looked at the infrastructure in the city; the place and space assigned to the different urban transportation practices. We looked for bike shops providing bikes, accessories and repair services
- **Competences** - we looked for skills and physical abilities of riding bicycles, practical understandings of urban moving, rules and norms in traffic. We looked for how bodies
move, how bicycles are moved and parked in the street. If and how rules on paper are actually performed in traffic.

- **Meanings**: apart from symbolic meanings we examined the teleoffective structures of urban cycling entailing: ‘a set of ends that participants should or may pursue, a range of projects that they should or may carry out for the sake of these ends and a selection of tasks that they should or may perform for the sake of those projects.’ (Schatzki, 2001, p.80).

### Methodology

The present research is based on a three year practice based ethnographic study in Las Palmas carried out by the first author. The above elements of urban cycling were explored through ethnographic methods such as unstructured (group) interviews, observation, participant observation and documentary analysis in two phases. In the first phase, she explored the field conducting a ‘mobile ethnography’ (Spinney, 2011, p.161) saddling up on her own bicycle. A total of 42 participants were interviewed and observed in this way. In the second phase the author turned to secondary sources collecting a variety of documents covering issues such as regulations, traffic norms and urban planning outlines. Data analysis and representation were of a hybrid inductive nature, following the practice based framework. Hence, data were grouped into the categories of material, competence and meanings. Nevertheless, themes under these three main categories ‘crystallized’ (Fetterman, 2010, p.110) as we oscillated between literature, visual- and secondary data, field notes and diaries (Davies, 1999, Goulding, 2005).

### Key Findings

In summary we found that using a practice based approach to understand patterns of non-consumption directs us to explore the conditions under which the elements of a practice may or may not come together. Opportunities to perform the practice of urban cycling are complicated, and sometimes made impossible for two reasons: first the internal conflicts between the elements of a practice, i.e. material competence and meaning, often hinder the evolution of that practice. Second that practices can be hindered by conflicted and complex relationships with other practices. In our case we found that stealing, schooling, policing, driving, walking, lobbying and campaigning frequently clashed. We also found that the relations between these practices was typically hierarchical wherein the dominance of some practices resulted in the marginality of others.

Our study also revealed the importance of looking at the possibilities for these elements and their relationships as they happen. Existing studies have tended to analyse the way in which pre-existing elements come together, where elements are somehow out there, waiting to be linked together just as if they ‘have outlived the practice of which they were once a vital part’ (p.44). Our findings suggest, however that this explanation overlooks the moment in which elements themselves emerge. In fact, our findings provide evidence that not every practice necessarily has a history in which elements have fallen in and out of integration but rather –and in particular- emerging practices rely on elements that establish in situ from scratch. Hence the need to pay attention to absence rather than established forms of consumption in order to advance our understanding of sustainability.

### Conclusions

In regard to sustainable policy we think we have a series of important insights to bring to the table. Analysing practice bundles makes transparent why sustainable practices such as urban cycling come to be marginalised while other unsustainable practices such as car driving, come to dominate. This requires a key change in policy thinking, one which rather than seeing the consumer as the root of the problem takes practices as the context of
consumption (and non-consumption). Rather than targeting individual consumer behaviour through a series of policy incentives, policy should recognise that consumers are ‘locked’ (Newell et al., 2015, p.537) into unsustainable patterns as a consequence of practice arrangements.

Our findings show how policy needs to understand non-consumption as one result of a multifaceted construct of practice bundles. In our case a bundle that is not limited to practices of urban moving, but calls for an investigation of surrounding practices such as stealing, schooling and policing. For example, our findings demonstrate how clashes between practices have wider impact on market behaviour, which unlikely will be resolved by merely ‘[providing] consumers...with more or different information’ (Steward, 2015, p. 2). Stealing is outside of the consumers and businesses’ reach and requires policing practices to be aligned with urban cycling. In coping with Steward’s (2015) call that ‘sound policy making requires information about this complexity [as] much policy research begins with rather simplistic assumptions’ (p.2), the present study indeed foregrounds a complex vision as to why people do not use the bicycle for urban transportation.

Further our findings have discovered ‘governance traps’ (Newell et al., 2015) in which policy makers are conflicted between seeing sustainability as ultimate goal to which incentives are aligned in order to encourage sustainable ways of life or using sustainability as a marketing claim for the sake of increased votes. As we have seen that teleoaffective chains are tied to practices, the ends, aims and purposes of campaigning practices, is winning elections. Hence, policy incentives themselves are used to achieve this end and urban cycling is not taken seriously by authorities and policy makers as an ultimate sustainable objective to be achieved.

Resulting from the above, we argue that practice based research offers to be an important tool for ‘policy analysis’ (Steward, 2014, p. 2). Practice based research successfully identifies, analyses and connects the five p’s i.e. problems, processes, policies, procedures and protocols of policy (Steward 2014). Rather than just describing policies and the phenomenon under study (problem), practice based research clusters regulations, social movements, groups of interests, such as activist and lobbyists relevant for policy (processes), policy incentives (procedures) and outcomes or ‘standards’ (protocols) and puts them holistically into critical relationships. In doing so, practice based research reveals hierarchical positions, conflicts and harmonies between practices that determine not only the marginality or dominance of consumption but also the effectiveness and willpower of policy incentives. Hence, practice based research embraces the notion that ‘policies evolve over time and the process by which that evolution occurs is important to understand those policies’ (Stewards, 2014, p.2). Thus, we advance the inference that policy is not an impeccable redeemer to sustainable consumption and that the problem under study might not be solved by policy without critically considering that policy practices might be conflicted within themselves in need for resolution. Hence, at ‘the intersection of public policy and marketing’ (Steward, 2014, p.1) we believe that practice based research is an important new way of approaching sustainable (non)consumption in order to ‘make the full link to policy’ (Steward, 2014, p.2).

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Presentation 7

Failing Anti-Consumption? A Case Study of Skoros

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I draw on data from a 7-year ethnographic study of Skoros, an anti-consumerist collective in Athens that was established just before the beginning of the Greek crisis; and which aimed to run a space where people could come and give, take, or give and take goods and exchange services for free. I explore how the socio-economic crisis fundamentally altered everyday logics and practices of anti-consumption, not least because mainstream consumer culture, as originally understood (and criticised) no longer applied. Implications for anti-consumption projects at times of crisis and potential public policy interventions are discussed.

Introduction

Research into anti-consumption has grown substantially over the last two decades and has provided valuable insights in relation to the scope of anti-consumerism (e.g. Iyer and Muncy 2009; Lee, Fernandez and Hayman 2009; Lee, Cherrier and Belk 2013) and the variety of anti-consumption choices and projects adopted at individual and more collective levels (e.g. Cherrier 2009; Black and Cherrier 2010; Hogg, Bannister and Stephenson 2009; Portwood-Stacer 2012). However, common in these studies is the underlying assumption that anti-consumption is the domain of largely agentic groups and individuals that share concerns over the negative (personal and/or social and environmental) consequences of consumption. The meaning and scope of anti-consumption at times of severe socio-economic crisis, and by implication limited consumer sovereignty, remain largely under-explored and under-theorised. In addition, less attention has been paid to anti-consumption projects that address the end-stages of consumption through re-circulating and re-claiming otherwise wasted products (Lee, Roux, Cherrier and Cova 2011). In this article I attempt to address both gaps by drawing on data from a 7-year ethnographic study of Skoros, an anti-consumerist collective in crisis-hit Athens, Greece.

Skoros: An Anti-Consumption Project

Skoros is an anti-consumerist collective in Athens, Greece that was established in 2008. It runs a place where people can come and give, take, or give and take goods and exchange services without any expectations of reciprocity. Skoros originally represented a form of creative resistance, an experimentation that criticised “consumer society and atomised logics and practices” through gifting, sharing, re-using and re-circulating; therefore addressing both early and end-stages of consumption. Part of the logic of Skoros also was to implace this experimentation in a former retail premise that continued to run like a “shop” but did not belong to anyone. Instead, the space was shared and used creatively by members and visitors alike.

In its inception, Skoros was meant to be a response to an over-commercialized and consumerist society that “used up, used more and threw away” in an unprecedented
magnitude and scale for the history of modern Athens. Many visitors of Skoros found it extremely difficult to engage with its anti-consumerist ideals. For instance, many users would insist on donating whatever they considered to be the equivalent market value. Others would give too many items, and yet others would take too many. Both were a “problem” (various informants), the former because they simply wanted to alleviate their middle-class guilt; and the latter because they in effect promoted alternative over-consumption.

**Anti-Consumption in Crisis**

Soon after Skoros’ opening however, came a severe financial crisis. Skoros’s mission was fundamentally undermined. As Evi, one of the original members put it: “When we first opened Skoros we were trying to deconstruct a dominant discourse that naturalised over-consumerism. Then the crisis came and this discourse was no longer relevant…”. Indeed, three years later Skoros was in a full-blown “existential” crisis. As a leaflet produced in 2011 put it:

“When we started Skoros, three years ago...everything was easier. It was much easier to propose anti-consumerism, re-use, recycling and sharing practices. Later however the economic crisis arrived – of course the social and cultural crises pre-existed – and made us feel awkward. How can one speak of anti-consumerism when people’s spending power has shrunk considerably? How can one propose a critique of consumerist needs when people struggle to meet their basic needs? How can we insist that “we are not a charity” when poverty is next to us, around and above us and it is growing massively?..”

The financial crisis proved to be the worst of its kind ever experienced in a Western country during peacetime. By 2014, the average Greek salary was reduced by 40%, whereas unemployment amongst the youth had rocketed above 50%. Inevitably, Athens became a city of disempowered consumers, approximating what Bauman would describe as largely “disqualified” and “failed” consumers (Bauman, 2011, 2007); no longer able to define themselves neither in terms of what they consume nor what they produce. As a consequence Skoros’s critique of consumer needs became somewhat redundant.

Concurrently the crisis imposed its own spatio-temporal logics and practices, ones focused less on trying to do things differently and more on urgency, the need to provide solidarity to an increasing number of people who were approaching and falling below the poverty line. As Harriot (member of Skoros) explained, the collective had to re-define its priorities and mission: “How can I talk to the poor illegal immigrant about anti-consumerism? Whose misfortunes never come singly and she is an anti-consumerist already because she cannot be anything else?”. By choosing to provide solidarity to all however, Skoros soon approximated a space of “failed anti-consumption” a last resort for hundreds of recently failed consumers (Bauman, 2008) who kept mourning the loss of their spending power: “She comes and pretends she is in Zara or something, treating us like servants” (Amy, describing one of the visitors). In many cases, Skoros even became a space for cultivating over-consumerist practices: “We get people that come to this place and once again, or perhaps for the first time in their lives, they have the chance to try out new clothes, try different combinations, check themselves in the mirror…they like it so much that they keep coming back every day for more and more….” (Mary, 52, member of Skoros).

Ultimately, although the socio-economic crisis provided the material conditions needed for the mainstreaming of various forms of anti-consumerist action (e.g. less materialist, based on sharing and the re-circulation of goods and services), it also undermined it in so far as anti-consumerist ideals were bracketed off from everyday action centred on immediate social needs. To some extent, most visitors were forced to embrace less
materialistic lifestyles and to re-consider the use-value of objects but certainly not on a voluntary basis or some kind of “alternative hedonism” (Soper 2008). Concurrently, as the crisis begun to penetrate more deeply Greece’s social fabric, many people’s energy was directed away from private consumption objects and into what Manuel Castells (1977) defines as items of “collective consumption”: education, housing and health. Consumer activists began being involved in newly formed self-managed health, education and housing projects, in effect fire-fighting the gaps left by the demise of the welfare state and the inability of markets to address them.

### Re-evaluating Anti-Consumption

“Nonetheless, we are definitely not mourning the loss of our spending power. Our wardrobes may not be as full so as to be able to get rid of last season’s clothes and rush for their renewal but how many things do we really need? We are part of a broader network of resistance and struggle.... ....We believe in solidarity, social support and collaboration and not in charitable giving. We are part of society, not its rescuers. Our suggestion is simple. We produce and share goods, services, knowledge. We become independent of the old structures and develop new ones. These new structures will cultivate an environment that will allow a way out of the current economic, social and cultural crisis. A way out on the basis of equality and justice.” (Leaflet produced by Skoros, Dec 2011).

Despite facing various challenges, not least the observation that the original discourse against (mainstream) consumption no longer applied (cf Cherrier, 2009), Skoros’s members remained committed to putting their anti-consumerist ideals to praxis. At the time of writing, the space continues to be run on an everyday basis. Indeed, as Nancy, one of the original members put it: “…This is something important that Skoros has achieved. Perhaps because it found itself in this area, in this location, as a neighbourhood shop and not within a squat or a social centre. It opened its doors to the neighbourhood, people walked in. In fact, many of those who came were people who had never done something like this before”. Skoros remained a space for anti-consumption that is firmly removed from logics of ownership and possessive individualism (various informants) whilst foregrounding the importance of sharing (urban) space, collective action and solidarity. Concurrently the collective’s focus has moved beyond re-circulating and socialising private goods and services to broader struggles around public goods and their collective consumption (Pinch 2014).

### Discussion

The case of Skoros offers insights both in relation to anti-consumption theory and public policy. For scholars of anti-consumption, it illustrates how anti-consumerist discourses and practices evolve alongside dramatic socio-economic conditions to accommodate reformulated questions around private and public consumption. In addition, despite the numerous ideological challenges, Skoros remained a successful anti-waste project (Cherrier 2010; Brosius, Fernandez and Cherrier 2014) through re-circulating and re-distributing thousands of objects to an ever-increasing part of the population.

Relatedly, the case of Skoros raises important questions for public policy. In many ways it exemplifies what Bauman (2013) notes as the key difference between “contemporary consumers” and the consumers of previous financial crises, such as those living during the 1920’s: that is, whereas the latter looked to a strong state for rescue, for many contemporary consumers both governmental and market institutions have failed. As a consequence the
consumer activists of Skoros (and beyond) sought to reclaim individual and collective (anti-)consumption by self-organising and cultivating solidarity with other bottom-up organisations. The ability of consumers to achieve such socio-economic outcomes without the mediation of traditional institutional actors remains largely under-investigated in the marketing literature. Further, as the case of Skoros illustrates, it is questionable that in the long run such bottom-up mobilisations can effectively redress the vast deficits in collective and private consumption caused by market and state-related inefficiencies. Inevitably, a more constructive approach would involve dialogue and mutual reinforcement of bottom-up and top-down policies and actions. In this sense, what can governmental organisations do to encourage and support forms of consumer-led social innovation at times of socio-economic change? And what are prospects for collaboration, if any, between new bottom-up and traditional top-down institutional actors? Finally, as noted above, beyond the collective’s ideological struggles, Skoros represents a highly successful experimentation with re-circulating objects and addressing the end-stage of consumption in a creative and collectively embraced manner. In this sense it is a social innovation project that has potential to be successfully replicated across different places and social contexts.

References


**Presentation 8**

The role of consumer empowerment in the relationship between Anti-consumption and Consumer Well-Being

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**Keywords:** Consumer Empowerment, Anti-consumption, Consumer Well-being, Sustainable Consumption

**Introduction and Literature review**

Consumption is responsible for many environmental and social problems, thus consumption knowledge is vital to attaining sustainable lifestyles (Arbuthnott 2012). Despite efforts by policy makers, marketers and scholars to encourage sustainable behavior, unsustainable consumption continues to be the norm. Anti-consumption (lifestyles) in terms of consciously rejecting, reducing, or reclaiming consumption behavior (Black 2010; Lee, Cherrier, Roux and Cova 2011) is sustainable per se and evidence suggests that it has the potential to improve peoples’ quality of life or well-being (e.g., Sheth, Sethia and Srinivas 2011; Iyer and Muncy 2016; Seegebarth et al. 2016). Because goals of public policy are to ensure people’s well-being as well as attain sustainability (Devezer et al. 2014), marketing and anti-consumption scholars can contribute by examining the relationship between sustainable consumption and personal well-being. Indeed, if we are able to provide evidence that anti-consumption positively affects consumers’ well-being and identify important levers surrounding this relationship, such findings would be an excellent starting point for public
policy to encourage anti-consumption lifestyles more widely among consumers. Ideally, consumers may realize that practicing anti-consumption may not only be beneficial for the environment, society, and their own financial budget, but also makes them happier, by contributing to their well-being and quality of life.

Previous scholars found a negative relationship between proconsumption (materialistic) attitudes and subjective well-being (see Dittmar et al. 2014 for an overview). Additionally, above a certain level, income has a limited effect on individuals’ well-being and high levels of materialism was found to decline individuals’ happiness and mental well-being (Iyer and Muncy 2016; Shankar et al. 2006; Tatzel 2014). Similarly, debts resulting from strong materialistic lifestyles can be stressful and negatively impact on consumer’s mental health (Cacioppo et al. 2008). By contrast, individuals practicing anti-consumption (lifestyles) for personal reasons (micro-anti-consumption) are more satisfied with their life and indicate stronger feelings of subjective and financial well-being (Seegebarth et al. 2016; Iyer and Muncy 2016). The present paper follows a micro-perspective and is based on an extended concept of sustainability-rooted anti-consumption (SRAC) (Seegebarth et al. 2016). Understood as behaviors against consumption (rejection, reduction, reuse, redirection) driven by sustainability concerns, SRAC encompass consciousness for voluntary simplicity, collaborative consumption and boycotting/resisting. Additionally, because long-term financial stability (Devezer et al. 2014) is a part of sustainability, we introduce the concept of ‘living within means’ into the SRAC approach. People who live within their means consider their economic future (Sheth et al. 2011), which is strongly connected to long-term financial stability instead of debt.

Similarly, well-being is multifaceted and has been investigated from various perspectives (Iyer and Muncy 2016). Among existing theories, two key well-being approaches exist. First, eudaimonic well-being involves psychological well-being and refers to individuals’ personal growth and finding meaning in their lives. Second, hedonic or subjective well-being encompasses individuals who strive for immediate pleasure and happiness. Diener et al. (2010) conceptualize satisfaction with life as a broader assessment of subjective happiness that reflects one’s own appreciation of life. Furthermore, assessing anti-consumption in terms of future financial stability (Devezer et al. 2014), means we need also consider financial well-being.

Assuming that anti-consumption positively influences consumers’ well-being (Lee and Ahn 2016), it remains unclear but important for public policy to uncover factors reinforcing this link or drivers of anti-consumption. Drawing upon these issues, Cherrier (2009) argues “anti-consumption depends on a sense of identity that is grounded in social positions, empowerment and a vision of society” (p. 189). More precisely, Krishnamurthy and Kuku (2009) emphasize consumer empowerment as a key motivator for consumer driven anti-consumption activities, which, in turn, manifest into consumer sovereignty. Participating in consumer boycotts or voluntary simplification reflect activities of sovereign and empowered consumers (e.g., Smith 1990; Klein et al. 2004; Shankar, Cherrier, and Canniford 2006). In general, empowerment fosters people’ control and influence over all domains of life (e.g., Rappaport 1987). Related to the modern consumer, consumer’ empowerment is defined as a (positive) subjective state resulting from individuals’ perceived increase of control (Corrigan et al. 1999; Hunter and Garnefeld 2008). In addition, scholars conceptualized empowerment as means of strengthening ones’ self-determination, autonomy and self-efficacy (Füller et al. 2014). Empowered people are free from the constraint of acting as a good consumer and have the mental strength to decide against buying more (Shankar, Cherrier, and Canniford 2006). Although theoretical evidences indicate strong relationships between consumer empowerment and anti-consumption (Lee and Ahn 2016), quantitative empirical studies confirming these
relations are missing. Accordingly, we address the following research questions (see Figure 1):

**Research Question 1:** Do consumers’ consciousness toward anti-consumption affect their well-being (subjective, psycho-social, financial, life satisfaction)?

**Research Question 2a/b:** What is the role of consumer empowerment in the anti-consumption-wellbeing relationship: Does consumer’ empowerment a) determine anti-consumption and/or b) moderate the anti-consumption-wellbeing relationship?

![Conceptual framework](image)

**Figure 1:** Conceptual framework

**Method and Data**

To answer our research questions, data was collected using an online questionnaire at two German universities in January 2016 resulting in 450 usable questionnaires. With the exception of consumerism resistance, measurements for each construct of our framework were adapted from existing scales from literature. The anti-consumption constructs voluntary simplicity (SIMP), collaborative consumption (COLLAB) and living within the means (MEANS; original term: debt free consumption) were obtained from Balderjahn et al. (2013). We newly developed the measure of consumers’ intention to escape general consumerism in society (consumerism resistance, RESIST) by applying a seven item scale (e.g., ‘I boycott the excessive consumerism of our society’). Psycho-social well-being (PSWB) was measured with the Flourishing Scale (Diener et al. 2010) and subjective well-being (SWB) was operationalized by the Subjective Happiness Scale (Lyubomirsky/Lepper 1999). For global life satisfaction (LS) we used a single item, applied by the European Social Survey (‘All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?’). The measurement for financial well-being (FWB) was operationalized with the InCharge Financial Distress/Financial Well-Being Scale of Prawitz et al. (2006). Finally, we used Hunter and Garnefeld’s (2008) scale of consumer empowerment (EMPO). All measures were assessed on 7-point Likert scale with the exception of life satisfaction, which was recorded on the original 10-point Likert scale.

Structural equation modelling was used following a four-step procedure: First: Confirm the validity of all measurements. Second: Analyse the structural model to examine the impact of SRAC on multidimensional consumer well-being (RQ1). Third: Estimate the impact of consumer empowerment on SRAC (RQ2a). Fourth: Test the moderating effects of empowerment on the SRAC-well-being relationship in a multi-group analysis (RQ2b).
Summary of Findings

Explorative and confirmatory factor analyses were used to evaluate measurement properties of the eight latent constructs. Explorative factor analysis exhibits high factor loadings (> .65) for all items, with two exceptions (one item of the FWB/EMPO scale). These two items were deleted for subsequent analysis. All values of Cronbach’s α were higher than .70, demonstrating high internal consistency across our eight constructs. Confirmatory factor analysis of the measurement models showed an acceptable model fit ($\chi^2$/df = 1640.9/712, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .054; CFI = .893; SRMR = .053). Thus, our measurements were valid. The impact of SRAC on consumer well-being was evaluated in a structural equation model, showing a satisfactory fit ($\chi^2$/df = 1956.4/644, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .067; CFI = .845; SRMR = .100). Results indicate that each of the four anti-consumption options have a positive impact on at least one of the four well-being measures. But for the relationships COLLAB→FWB and RESIST→SWB an unexpected inverse relationship occurs (RQ1: see first column in Table 1). One explanation for COLLAB→FWB might be that collaborators are likely to be financially poorer hence the need to share. For RESIST→SWB, it might be that resisting excessive consumption in general creates a sense of deprivation, and consequently a reduced sense of SWB. Overall, SIMP exhibits the strongest effects on consumers’ well-being. Consumer empowerment has significant impacts on SIMP (.292, $p < .01$) and MEANS (.123, $p < .01$) but not on COLLAB (.009) and RESIST (.085) (RQ2a). The fit of the structural model is acceptable ($\chi^2$/df = 724/185, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .080; CFI = .868; SRMR = .103).

Based on a median split a multi-group analysis was performed for respondents with low and high consumer empowerment to test RQ2b (see columns 2-4 in Table 1). For both groups we found configurial invariance, partial metric invariance and scalar invariance, which legitimate comparisons of structural relations across groups. The overall fit for the multi-group analysis is acceptable ($\chi^2$/df = 2814.9/1353, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .070; CFI = .831; SRMR = .107) with a reasonable $\chi^2$-contribution for low ($\chi^2_{low} = 1308.9$) and high ($\chi^2_{low} = 1506.0$) empowered consumers. As can be seen from Table 1, both groups differ significantly only for the SIMP-well-being coefficients. While all forms of well-being for low empowerment people are strongly increased by living more simply (SIMP) this effect disappears for high empowerment people. These results reveal the moderating role of consumer empowerment on the influence of SIMP on well-being.
Table 1: Structural model results and moderating effects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total sample: standardized parameter</th>
<th>Low Consumer Empowerment: standardized parameter</th>
<th>High Consumer Empowerment: standardized parameter</th>
<th>Δχ² for equalized parameters in both groups²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 415¹</td>
<td>N = 194</td>
<td>N = 210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMP → PSWB</td>
<td>.189***</td>
<td>.376***</td>
<td>4.08**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMP → SWB</td>
<td>.263***</td>
<td>.523***</td>
<td>9.19***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMP → LS</td>
<td>.217***</td>
<td>.497***</td>
<td>8.19***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMP → FWB</td>
<td>.069</td>
<td>.286***</td>
<td>6.39**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEANS → PSWB</td>
<td>.166***</td>
<td>.131</td>
<td>.164⁺</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEANS → SWB</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td>-.034</td>
<td>-.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEANS → LS</td>
<td>-.025</td>
<td>-.028</td>
<td>-.060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEANS → FWB</td>
<td>.133⁺</td>
<td>.143⁺</td>
<td>.122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLAB → PSWB</td>
<td>.142**</td>
<td>.150**</td>
<td>.059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLAB → SWB</td>
<td>.182**</td>
<td>.184**</td>
<td>.081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLAB → LS</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>-.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLAB → FWB</td>
<td>-.106⁺</td>
<td>-.109</td>
<td>-.156⁺</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIST → PSWB</td>
<td>-.058</td>
<td>-.049</td>
<td>-.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIST → SWB</td>
<td>-.142**</td>
<td>-.137⁺</td>
<td>-.094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIST → LS</td>
<td>-.017</td>
<td>-.042</td>
<td>.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIST → FWB</td>
<td>-.027</td>
<td>-.061</td>
<td>.026</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *p < .1, **p < .05, ***p < .01; ¹ difference to sample size of N = 450 resulting from listwise deletion of missing data; ²reference values of the χ²-distribution (df = 1): 2.71 (α = .1), 3.84 (α = .05), 6.64 (α = .01)

Key Contributions

Little scholarly research has explicitly examined the empowerment concept in the anti-consumerism and well-being domain. Our study provides two contributions in this field for consumers, marketers, and policy makers.

First, we show how SRAC fosters different facets of consumer’s quality of life. Specifically, SIMP exhibits the strongest effect on people’s well-being compared to all other anti-consumption options. Because voluntary simplifiers are less engaged in consumption activities and have smaller consideration sets, purchase situations are easier to manage and less confusing for them. Confusion is a problem for consumers if information about stores and products increases, leading to personal difficulties in choice making because of limited cognitive abilities. Walsh et al. (2008) shows that overload confusion has a negative impact on satisfaction. It can be inferred that simplifiers are more relaxed and less confused in shopping situations leading to a relief effect, and improved well-being. To a lesser extent, the consumer confusion reducing relief effect can be assumed for living within the means (MEANS) and collaborative (COLLAB) consumers, too, suggesting all efforts in curbing the oversupply of products and excessive consumption opportunities. We conclude, that a better understanding of this relationship on the part of consumers may lead to a greater shift towards sustainable anti-consumption.

Second, we demonstrate that consumer empowerment plays an important role to foster simple consumption lifestyles in two ways: first, empowerment improves consumer’s
autonomy and self-determination and second, it enhanced consumer’s happiness by reducing shopping confusion. To raise consumer’s empowerment should be a core goal of public policy. Empowered consumers have the mental power and autonomy to decide how to spend their money (MEANS). They are also better able to manage their life and cope with self-directed consumption (SIMP). However the more voluntarily simplifiers are empowered the less effective is the relief effect. In fact, we reveal that low empowerment consumers actually benefit most from the happiness effect of simplification, perhaps because they have more to gain from the simplification process. Thus, consumer empowerment is a good policy tool to foster sustainable anti-consumption options, but is less appropriate to strengthen empowered consumer’s well-being rooted in anti-consumerism.

References


Entrepreneurial responses to anti-consumption movements: The role of collective entrepreneurship

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Keywords:
Anti-consumption, environmental entrepreneurship, collective action

This study builds bridges between anti-consumption, environmental entrepreneurship and collective action to explain how anti-consumption movements can trigger alternative entrepreneurial models that reject the current status quo to create a more sustainable collective business venture. We present a theoretical framework accompanied by an in-depth inductive study of a renewable energy cooperative venture operating in Spain since 2010. We find that anti-consumers rather than simply boycotting and stop consuming, they act together motivated by their same shared attitudes of rejection towards a particular type of consumption and business establishment – electricity generated from nonrenewable sources. Anti-consumers opted by transforming the market and acting collectively to create new entrepreneurial ventures more aligned with their environmental consciousness.

1. Introduction

Recent years have witnessed a growing environmental concern worldwide. Accordingly, consumers have started to worry about the impact of organizational practices on the natural environment, and even, on how the consumption of specific goods can cause damage on the natural environment. As a result, the number of consumers preferring and being more willing to purchase and consume environmentally products as a means to contribute to the preservation of the natural environment has substantially grown (Black & Cherrier, 2010; Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013). However, the evidence show that little progress has been achieved to solve pressing environmental challenges such as climate change, ozone depletion, biodiversity loss, etc. Such environmental problems require changing the dominant unsustainable production and consumption patterns.

Given this scenario, a growing number of consumers aware of the interconnection of consumption and environmental degradation have gone further with the development of anti-consumption practices (Bekin et al., 2005; Cherrier, 2009). Anti-consumption has been defined as “acts against any form of consumption with the specific aim of protecting the natural environment” (Garcia de Frutos, et al., 2016). Thus, it encompasses a wide range of behaviors that individuals intentionally undertake to reduce, avoid or reject consumption of environmentally harmful products or services. Research on this regard has proliferated in the last years, since anti-consumption is regarded as key to the transition of societies toward sustainable development and curb urgent environmental problems (Black & Cherrier, 2010).

However, there are still important research gaps. First, the literature on anti-consumption has predominately focused on the study of individual motivations and antecedents (e.g., consumers that find a mismatch between their consumption and their self-concept and develop anti-consumption attitudes), thus overlooking other important levels of
analysis. Second, scarce research has been conducted on the consequences of anti-
consumption in a sector or in society and this research is largely biased toward a micro-level
analysis as well (García-de-Frutos et al., 2016). Existing works suggest that individual actions
of anti-consumers can lead to an environmental transformation and contribute to improve the
natural environment. However, many scholars urge that a sustainable economy may require a
larger role to be played by associations rather than lone individuals. The impact of an
individual is small; environmental problems require a great effort and then it is the
collaborative action what can be successful in transform current unsustainable societies.
Third, although the practice shows some evidence, little is known about how consumers
might decide to join to create companies that offer more environmentally-friendly products
and services according to their anti-consumption motivations. Most of the literature on the
consequences of anti-consumption behaviors have focused on the creation of social
movements (e.g., agricultural cooperatives such as cocoa and coffee growers) or exertion of
pressure on public institutions and companies to initiate a market transformation.

We expand existing literature by (1) studying anti-consumption antecedents, practices
and outcomes through a collective lens (macro level), (2) and acknowledging the role of
cooperative entrepreneurship as a possible means to translate aggregated anti-consumption
attitudes into action, that is, initiation of a sector green transformation.

2. Theoretical Framework

We propose a framework that theorizes on the connections between anti-consumption
behavior and both environmental and collective entrepreneurship. In particular, we posit a two
stage conceptual model that includes first a rejection stage (anti-consumption) and
consequently a support stage (entrepreneurial response). Figure 1 summarizes our theoretical
framework on anti-consumers’ entrepreneurial responses towards a more sustainable
consumption model. In the first stage, anti-consumers reject consumption of a particular good
because of they consider it environmental unsustainable. They are torn by, on one hand, the
need to consume a necessary good (e.g. electricity) and on the other hand their awareness that
the process by which good is produced is unsustainable – cognitive dissonance. They are
dissatisfied and look for alternative more sustainable offerings of the same good. In this
search process they identify other unsatisfied consumers and the emergence of social
movements that also reject the current business model. This support found in other conscious
consumers helps individuals reinforce their anti-consumption identity to then take action. In
the second stage, all those environmentally conscious consumers realize that they want an
alternative and work together – collective action- towards the transformation of the sector
assuming the role of entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs have been regarded as powerful vehicles
for social change able to solve many of the socio-economic and sustainable challenges that
current economies face (see Hall et al., 2010 for a review). The literature has shown insights
into how entrepreneurs can be in the vanguard of radical changes in business models,
institutions, market conditions and technologies to transform current societies and promote
sustainable development (e.g., Dacin et al., 20011; Dean & McMullen, 2007; Wang & Bansal,
2012). In order to achieve their entrepreneurial goals anti-consumers may opt for joining
forces and acting jointly as entrepreneurs (Cato et al., 2008), acting as, to what some have
coined, cooperative entrepreneurs (Diaz-Foncea & Marcuello, 2013).

3. Methods and Data

3.1.1. Research Setting

Our theoretical framework is empirically tested with an in-depth qualitative study of
Som Energia, a renewable energy non-profit cooperative operating in Spain since 2010. Som
Energia originated through a citizen participation process organized by a group of students
and professors of the University of Girona who were inspired by the 350.org campaign. The
350.org campaign aims to change the current energy model that heavily relies on fossil fuels and non-renewable sources and it is negatively impacting the climate and transition to a more sustainable green energy model. The cooperative was formally established on December 11 of 2010 in Girona (Spain) with an initial group of 150 members who still wanted to consume electricity but refused to consume it if either non-renewable sources (coal, oil, natural gas) or nuclear were involved in its generation to prevent climate change and nuclear waste generation. To achieve their goals, Som Energia provides its members with affordable electricity generated by renewable sources. As of February of 2016, Som Energia has 24,432 members.

Initially, Som Energia started by selling green electricity bought from existing generation capacities (by using green certificates as proof of origin). However, the ultimate goal of the cooperative was from the beginning to invest into their own renewable installations to be able to supply all of its members with green electricity coming from small-scale projects situated near the home of members. Henceforth, in 2015 Som Energia introduced the new initiative Generation kWh that allowed members to invest in different projects of green electricity generation. As of February of 2015, Generation kWh was composed by 1,703 members who had invested 1.55 million euros to auto-generate 2.5 million of green kWh.

### 3.2. Methods

We follow a multiple methods approach to gather qualitative data from a variety of sources as recommended by Davis et al. (2011). This approach enables researchers to examine distinct but complementary aspects of a same phenomenon and avoid single-method biases. The data were collected from different sources: semi-structured interviews with cooperative members, in-depth interviews with two individuals of the cooperative board, semi-structured interviews with local people, and secondary sources (the corporate website and social networks profiles, blogs, forums, news, etc.).

### 4. Findings

Our qualitative study illustrates how the confluence on motivational factors lead by a strong anti-consumption desire triggered the transformation of the electricity sector in Spain. Som Energia cooperative model has been duplicated all over the Spanish territory in recent years.

### 5. Conclusion

Our inductive study of a cooperative renewable energy venture in Spain helps understand how anti-consumption and entrepreneurship, two seemly opposite phenomena, confluent because of the motivations that anti-consumers have to change the established institutional arrangements to enjoy electricity. Our study has important implications for research and the fields of anti-consumption and entrepreneurship because it presents a two stage model composed by a rejection stage - anti-consumption of electricity generated from non-renewable sources- and a support stage – transformation of the market by acting as cooperative entrepreneurs of electricity from renewable sources. Future research should analyze this phenomenon at a greater scale by conducting a quantitative study of the phenomenon all over Europe or even globally. Another interesting study can analyze whether similar phenomena are taking place in other industries and consumer products.

### References


Figure 1. Entrepreneurial responses to anti-consumption

Environmental consciousness <-> Harmful

Existence of alternative offerings

Dissatisfaction (urged action)

Lack of institutional support

Cognitive dissonance

Identity

Social movement

Individual 1

Individual 2

Individual 3

Cooperative

Collective action

Institutional change

Market transformation

New producers
New distributors

YES

NO
Saturday 10th December
Presentation 10

The impact of Religion on Consumer Anti-Consumption: The Case of Brand Rejection

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Introduction

Boycotts are a form of anti-consumption. Boycotts have historically been studied as a platform for consumer discontent in which consumers attempt to increase corporate sensitivity to certain economic, political and social concerns (Klein, Smith, & Andrew, 2004). These acts of anti-consumption can negatively affect corporations not only through the direct loss of sales revenue but also through damage to the firm’s brand image and loss of loyalty through motivation for consumers to try other brands (Klein et al., 2004).

Although boycotts were once geographically contained, advances in communication such as the internet and mobile devices have created an international arena for boycott organizers to recruit participants (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004). Simultaneously, with this increase in technology and globalization came a heightened awareness of cultural differences through two distinct mechanisms, 1) increased international media coverage and 2) diversification of geographic communities through human migration (Huntington, 1993). Among these cultural contrasts, religion has historically served to both unite individuals through a sense of community among members bound by common beliefs and rituals and differentiate individuals from outsiders of their faith (Graham & Haidt, 2010). This heightened cultural awareness among consumers along with the expansion of firms into multiple international markets has created unique challenges for international firms and, in some cases, encouraged the increase in religiously motivated boycotts in the last two decades (Heathcote, 2006).

This paper suggests that religiously motivated boycotts differ from traditional boycotts in the persuasion mechanisms that motivate participation. Current research has focused on the likelihood of success and a cost benefit foundation to explain consumer motivation to participate in a boycott (Klein et al., 2004; Sen, Gürhan-Canli, & Morwitz, 2001). While these factors may also influence consumer participation in religiously motivated boycotts, this paper suggests that the belief in absolute truth and the connection to the divine will provide
motivation beyond traditional antecedents to boycott participation. This understanding not only enables academics and practitioners to understand why and how religious consumers may boycott a business, but such understanding also informs public policy regarding boycotting laws and when law enforcement should step in to stop or alter boycotting habits. In religious boycotts, the question of freedom of speech and freedom of religion are also raised - both topics that are integral to the marketing and public policy domain. To address these gaps in prior research, this paper develops a series of propositions that investigate religiously motivated anti-consumption and look at the impact of religious affiliation and religiosity level on calls for boycotts.

Religion & Boycotts: Background

Religious followers recognize certain truisms about their beliefs (Graham & Haidt, 2010). Cultural truisms are “beliefs that are so widely shared within the person’s social milieu that he would not have heard them attacked, and indeed would doubt that an attack was possible (McGuire, 1961).” Cultural truisms are rarely found in traditional consumer opinions and beliefs about products (Szybillo & Heslin, 1973), however, when framed in the context of religion, many consumers take a different perspective on consumption. For example, most consumers have an attitude towards pork that is unique but can be influenced to some degree by marketing persuasion. However, Jewish consumers have religiously-based, collective beliefs about the morality of avoiding consumption of pork that leads them to be more resistant to marketing persuasion. Despite marketing efforts, it is unlikely that devout Jewish consumers will alter their beliefs. In this example, Jewish consumers would likely act in ways, such as boycotting, that affirm and align with their beliefs. On the other hand, consider the Christian consumer’s reaction to the Beatle’s proclamation “We’re bigger than Jesus.” In this instance, the artist’s statement challenged the consumer’s cultural truism that Jesus is the highest, most divine being. In response, consumers refuted the statement by attempting to diminish the status of the Beatles through acts of anti-consumption. Although these two examples are both forms of resistance and anti-consumption that were initiated to respond to persuasion related to cultural truisms, the psychological motivation underlying each decision varied greatly. Theories on resistance to persuasion help explain these two distinct forms of motivation.

Innoculation theory states that individuals employ two possible types of defenses to protect cultural truisms from counter persuasions: (1) refutational defenses and (2) supportive defenses (McGuire, 1962). “Refutational defenses involve mention and refutation of possible counterarguments against the belief, while ignoring arguments positively supporting the belief (McGuire, 1962).” Refutational defenses are expected to be employed when an argument directly challenges an individual’s beliefs. Thus, we propose that refutational defenses are used to motivate defensive RMBs (religiously motivated boycotts). Supportive defensives are just the opposite, working more to affirm the current belief rather than to challenge alternative beliefs. Thus, supportive defenses are expected to be employed during affirmative RMBs. Building off these defenses described in inoculation theory, this paper proposes two explanations for why religious boycotts differ from traditional boycotts: (1) defensive motivation and (2) affirmative motivation. Additionally, this paper proposes two moderators to the impact of religious boycotts: (1) reference groups and (2) religiosity.

Religion & Boycotts: Propositions

Defensive Motivation: Religious boycotts differ from traditional consumer boycotts when a particular product violates consumers’ religious beliefs or challenges their faith, and there is no desirable corrective action. This was seen in the case of the Beatles and also in the Christian boycott of Harry Potter. According to inoculation theory, individuals use refutational defenses to resist persuasion of counter arguments against cultural truisms (e.g.
Jesus is divine; sorcery is evil). The goal of refutational defenses is to weaken the alternative explanation threatening their belief. In the earlier examples, consumers attacked the status of the Beatles by attempting to diminish their market share and reputation. In many instances, this anti-consumption behavior is a more powerful motivating force than the motivation to inspire corporate change (Freeman & Johnson, 1999). Therefore:

P1a: Boycott participation functions as a defensive response to contradictory or offensive beliefs of the targeted organization or corporation.

P1b: Individuals who participate in defensive RMBs will exhibit more refutational statements directed towards the counter argument than those who do not.

Affirmative Motivation: Kozinets and Handleman (2004) posited that boycott participation provides the consumer an outlet for expression of individuality and a vehicle for moral self realization. Almost all motivation to boycott is in response to an action or in hopes of changing a course of action of a corporation or a government (Klein et al., 2004). In many instances, RMBs are similarly motivated. However, religious boycotts differ in this respect in instances where a particular product violates consumers’ beliefs or challenges their faith, and there is no desired corrective action. Consumption of the product is seen as morally wrong because it violates the consumers' core beliefs system. These particular acts of anti-consumption are seen as acts of devotion to their faith, such as the Jewish restriction on consuming pork. According to inoculation theory, consumers will resist persuasion to go against their religious values through supportive defenses. In other words, consumers who participate in acts of anti-consumption that reaffirm their faith will generate arguments that bolster their beliefs through affirmation. Thus:

P2a: Consumers will participate in acts of anti-consumption in order to reaffirm their faith.

P2b: Consumers who participate in affirmative RMBs will generate more supportive thoughts than consumers who do not participate.

Reference Group Influence (Moderator): The marketing literature has long established that reference groups, such as family members and friends, influence consumer decision making (Bearden & Etzel, 1982; Childers & Rao, 1992). With ethical, political or other motivating factors of boycotts, consumers may not feel the same obligatory motivation to support the boycott in defense or support of their religion as in RMBs. The nature of this religious obligation is likely to increase the influence of the reference group who may judge a consumers’ action of not joining the boycott as a sign of religiousness (Tajfel & Turner, 1985). In fact, consumers may perceive their reference group to take personal insult to not joining the boycott, considering the boycott to be in their personal best interest. In many societies, ignoring religious beliefs can cause a person to be a social outcast who is not worthy of being part of the group. Therefore, we expect the influence of reference groups to act as a moderator to RMB participation, ultimately leading to increased participation in such boycotts. Thus:

P3: The influence of reference groups will increase consumers' likelihood of participating in RMBs.

Religiosity (Moderator): Religion plays an important role in human behavior, attitudes and values at the individual level as well as the societal level. This religious influence varies, however, between different faiths and as a function of a consumers' religiosity, which is the
degree to which a person abides by or values his or her faith (Mokhlis, 2009). Religiosity is one of the most important cultural determinants of consumer behavior (Delener, 1990). A number of studies support the application of the religiosity construct in consumer research (Delener, 1990 1994; Delener & Schiffman, 1988; Minton, 2015, 2016). Given propositions one and two rooted in defending or affirming beliefs, it is expected that a consumer's level of religiosity would play an important role in the degree to which they feel strongly that beliefs need to be defended or affirmed. Stated another way, religiosity should influence a consumers' level of participation in RMBs. Additionally, the influence of religious authority initiating a RMB should depend on consumers' religiosity levels. Thus:

P4: Religiosity will strengthen the relationship between the request for boycott participation and brand rejection behavior.

**Conclusion**

These propositions and the associated understanding of religiously motivated boycotts adds to marketing literature in three ways. First, this paper highlighted that such religiously-motivated boycotts are likely different than other boycotts without religious motivation. In doing so, this paper stimulates discussion among public policy makers as to how to develop laws and intercede with boycotts, especially in adhering to the fundamental principles of freedom of speech and freedom of religion. Second, these propositions provides a framework and definition of the emerging and growing phenomenon of religiously motivated boycotts. Third, these propositions examined the presence and influence of cultural truisms in consumer decision making specifically in relationship to consumer reaction to counter persuasion through the participation in religiously motivated boycotts (i.e., anti-consumption). This paper is meant to increase interest in the role of religion and religious conflict (e.g., boycotts and related anti-consumption) on consumer behavior and related public policy outcomes, especially in light of the increasingly more diverse domestic markets as well as the increasingly connected global marketplace.

*References Available Upon Request*
Introduction

The consumption of clothes in Western countries has changed with the emergence of the fast fashion concept. This shift of consumption came hand in hand with a delocalization process of manufacturing companies (Morgan and Birtwistle, 2009). However, accessing the latest “cheap-but-fashionable” items on retailers’ shelves every few weeks has some not so fancy counterparts: workers’ exploitation and environmental degradation have been associated with the fast fashion industry (Kim, Choo and Yoon, 2013). Consumers show a growing level of interest in discovering how the products they consume are produced; often, information emerges about questionable labor and environmental practices put forward in the product’s country-of-origin (COO). As a result, some individuals associate the manufacturing process of apparel products with social and environmental problems in the COO (Shaw et al., 2006).

From all the beliefs a person may hold about a country—which may influence consumption and anti-consumption decisions—, the literature has mainly focused on political and economic issues (Roth and Diamantopoulos, 2009). Recent research has extended the available empirical evidence and shown that political-economic, social, and environmental issues play an important, but differentiated, role in country image (COI) constructions and anti-consumption decisions against foreign products (García-de-Frutos and Ortega-Egea, 2015).

This work aims to shed additional light into the role of political-economic, social, and environmental COIs in anti-consumption decisions. In particular, the study examines two potential contingencies in the relationships between “macro” COIs and “micro” foreign product judgments: (1) subjective knowledge about the COO in political-economic, social, and environmental areas and (2) congruence between domestic and foreign COIs.

Theoretical Background

COI (in) congruence

The congruency effect theory from Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955) postulates that congruent information will be preferred and relied upon to a greater extent (Chao, 2001). The higher the number of sources pointing to the same information, the better the perception of this information as congruent (Josiassen, 2010). Conversely, incongruent information—that is, different sources pointing to different facts—, is expected to elicit cognitive dissonance in individuals (Osgood and Tannenbaum, 1955). The congruency theory has been well researched in the marketing literature and has received empirical support in several domains, including the COO literature (see, Chao, 2001; Josiassen, Lukas and Withwell, 2008; Josiassen, 2010; Leclerc et al., 1994; Spielmann, 2016).

This work explores the idea that “macro” COI effects on “micro” foreign product judgments may be contingent on the congruence level between the domestic COI (Spain) and
Subjective knowledge plays an important role in understanding consumer behavior, mostly with regard to cognitive processing (Park, Mothersbaugh, and Feick, 1994). In the present study, knowledge about the COO in political-economic, social, and environmental areas is important as a potential moderating factor of the effects of political-economic, social, and environmental COIs on foreign product judgments. It is expected that, as a result of criticism in the media about questionable working conditions and environmental practices, individuals rating themselves as being more knowledgeable about China in social and environmental areas should report a more negative social and environmental image of China and, hence, of its products.

Methods

Study context and sample

Since COO effects are expected to be specific for every country dyad (Leonidou, Palihawadana and Talias, 2007), Spain was selected as the host country and China as COO. The selection of China was the result of a pretest. Data were collected between April-May 2012 in collaboration with a market research company. The final sample consists of 400 adult people and is representative of the Spanish population in terms of age, gender, and territorial distribution—with participants from all regions of the country. Participants were randomly selected, contacted, and interviewed by telephone until the desired number of completed interviews was achieved.

Measures

The questionnaire included self-report assessments of three COI dimensions (i.e., political-economic, social, and environmental COI) about China and Spain, perceived knowledge levels about China in political-economic, social, and environmental areas, and foreign product judgments (i.e., the main outcome of interest in this study). All variables were measured on 11-point scales (from 0 to 10)—indicative of respondent’s level of agreement and disagreement with the different statements.

14 items were used to measure political-economic, social, and environmental COI (5, 4, and 5 items, respectively). The majority of measures were adapted from the available COI scales (i.e., Heslop et al., 2008; Oberecker and Diamantopoulos, 2011). Other COI items were derived from related theory bases—such as corporate environmental image (Chang and Fong, 2010; Chen, 2008)—so as to capture consumers’ social and environmental country views.

Subjective knowledge was measured using 3 items reflective of respondents’ self-rated level of knowledge about China in politie-economic, social, and environmental social matters. The foreign product judgments scale was adapted from Klein et al. (1998).

Results

Subjective knowledge and COI–foreign product judgments relationships

Linear and polynomial regression analysis—using the Stata 11 statistical software—was conducted to test the potential moderating role of subjective knowledge on the relationships of political-economic, social, and environmental COI on foreign product judgments.
Prior to regression analysis, reliability of the scales representing latent variables (i.e., the three COI dimensions and foreign product judgments) was checked. All Cronbach’s alpha values were above 0.80, indicating a satisfactory level of reliability of multi-item scales. Three separate composite indexes (centered mean scores) of political-economic, social, and environmental COI and centered knowledge variables were created for use as inputs (predictors) to regression models. Interaction terms between the centered COI and knowledge variables, and quadratic COI and knowledge terms, were also computed.

Centering helps alleviate the risk of multicollinearity, particularly important when accounting for interaction and quadratic terms in regression. To further exclude the risk of multicollinearity, correlation values and the variance inflation factor (VIF) criterion were examined. All correlations were below 0.5 and all VIF values were well below the threshold value of 3 (max. VIF = 1.41), thus indicating that multicollinearity should not be problematic in the regression models (Kleinbaum, Kupper, & Muller, 1988).

COI and knowledge variables were entered in a stepwise procedure in three separate sets of models, corresponding to the relationships of political-economic COI (model set 1a), social COI (model set 1b), and environmental COI (model set 1c) with foreign product judgments: first, the COI and knowledge variables were entered as main effects; second, the product/interaction term between COI and knowledge was entered; finally, the quadratic terms of COI and knowledge were entered. The results of linear and polynomial regression are shown in Table 1.
Table 1. Regression models of COI and knowledge relationships with foreign product judgments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Models</th>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Estimated regression model</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model set 1a:</td>
<td>Step 1: Linear (main effects)</td>
<td>FPJ = 3.402 + .318<em>PC + .062</em>PK</td>
<td>.110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.096) (0.054) (0.046)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Step 2: Linear + interaction</td>
<td>FPJ = 3.405 + .329<em>PC + .061</em>PK – .021<em>PC</em>PK</td>
<td>.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.096) (0.055) (0.046) (0.026)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Step 3: Linear + interaction + quadratic</td>
<td>FPJ = 3.556 + .329<em>PC + .058</em>PK – .021<em>PC</em>PK – .015<em>PC^2 – .024</em>PK^2</td>
<td>.119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.140) (0.055) (0.047) (0.026) (0.024) (0.017)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model set 1b:</td>
<td>Step 1: Linear (main effects)</td>
<td>FPJ = 3.360 + .333<em>SC + .036</em>SK</td>
<td>.164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.093) (0.044) (0.042)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Step 2: Linear + interaction</td>
<td>FPJ = 3.360 + .331<em>SC + .038</em>SK + .003<em>SC</em>SK</td>
<td>.164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.093) (0.045) (0.044) (0.019)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Step 3: Linear + interaction + quadratic</td>
<td>FPJ = 3.730 + .359<em>SC + .049</em>SK + .017<em>SC</em>SK – .047<em>SC^2 – .035</em>SK^2</td>
<td>.208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(.129) (0.050) (0.043) (0.019) (0.018) (0.015)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model set 1c:</td>
<td>Step 1: Linear (main effects)</td>
<td>FPJ = 3.353 + .272<em>EC + .086</em>EK</td>
<td>.138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.097) (0.040) (0.045)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Step 2: Linear + interaction</td>
<td>FPJ = 3.371 + .267<em>EC + .093</em>EK + .033<em>EC</em>EK</td>
<td>.150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.097) (0.040) (0.045) (0.016)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Step 3: Linear + interaction + quadratic</td>
<td>FPJ = 3.731 + .314<em>EC + .081</em>EK + .017<em>EC</em>EK – .038<em>EC^2 – .032</em>EK^2</td>
<td>.187</td>
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<td>(.138) (0.046) (0.045) (0.017) (0.015) (0.016)</td>
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</table>

Note. Numbers in parentheses are standard errors of the estimate. FPJ = foreign product judgments; PC = political-economic COI; SC = social COI; EC = environmental COI; PK = political-economic knowledge; SK = social knowledge; EK = environmental knowledge.

Our theory suggests a negative interaction in the effects of subjective knowledge (about the COO) and political-economic, social, and environmental COI on foreign product judgments. Nonetheless, contrary to the expectations, the coefficient of the interaction was only significant, but positive, in step 2 of Model set 1c (see Table 1), which may suggest a synergistic relationship between environmental COI and knowledge. However, the addition of the quadratic terms of political-economic, social, and environmental COI in step 3 of model sets 1a, 1b, and 1c, respectively, indicated the absence of a linear interactive relationship between subjective knowledge and COI, even for environmental COI and knowledge. Interestingly, the coefficients of the quadratic terms of COI and knowledge were significant,
and negative, in model sets 1b and 1c (social and environmental issues), but not in model set 1a (political-economic issues). These results indicate a concave (negatively attenuated) relationship between social and environmental COI and foreign product judgments, as well as a concave relationship between social and environmental knowledge about the COO and foreign product judgments.

For illustration purposes, two-way interaction plots are constructed for models with significant curvilinear terms of COI and knowledge (i.e., step 3 of model sets 1b and 1c involving social and environmental COI and knowledge). Figures 1 and 2 display plots of mean foreign product judgments, respectively, against social and environmental COI, separately for low (1 SD below the mean), moderate (the mean), and high (1 SD above the mean) levels of subjective knowledge.

Figure 1. Mean foreign product judgments as a function of social COI, separately for low, moderate, and high levels of subjective knowledge

![Figure 1](image1)

Figure 2. Mean foreign product judgments as a function of environmental COI, separately for low, moderate, and high levels of subjective knowledge

![Figure 2](image2)

Convergence between domestic and foreign COI and foreign product judgments

Cheung’s (2009) structural equation modeling-based latent congruence approach (LCM)—using the EQS v6.1 statistical software—was adopted to examine the potential role of the congruence between domestic and foreign country images in foreign product
evaluations. Three separate LCM models were tested that operationalize COI congruence as the level (mean) and congruence (difference) of domestic and foreign COIs. Level is operationalized as the mean rating of domestic COI and foreign COI and is specified as a latent factor that has fixed factor loadings of 0.5 on both domestic and foreign COI. Congruence is operationalized as the difference in rating between domestic COI and foreign COI constructs and is modeled as a latent factor that has fixed factor loadings of 1 on domestic COI and –1 on foreign COI. Level and congruence constructs are modeled as correlated factors directly influencing foreign product judgments (see Figure 3).

The assessment of absolute fit showed that the scaled chi-square (S-B $\chi^2$) was significant at $p<0.01$ in the three LCM models tested. Given the sensitivity of the chi-square statistic to samples with more than 200 observations, alternative indices were examined. RMSEA (0.049 to 0.058) fell below the recommended threshold level of 0.08. Incremental fit measures also indicated a good model fit (NNFI between 0.903 and 0.966; NFI between 0.849 and 0.939; CFI between 0.917 and 0.972).

**Figure 3. Results of three LCM models with congruence of political economic, social, and environmental COI as antecedents and foreign product judgments as outcomes**

The path coefficients reported in Figure 3 show that the mean levels of domestic and foreign COI have significant positive effects on foreign product judgments in all three models of political-economic, social, and environmental COIs. That is, the better the joint “macro” image of the home country and the COO, the better the evaluation of foreign products coming from the COO. Importantly here, the findings show also the interplay of domestic and foreign COIs in affecting foreign product judgments. As expected, congruence (difference) levels of domestic and foreign COI were significantly, and negatively, associated with foreign product judgments in the three separate LCM models tested. That is, the greater the difference between domestic and foreign COIs (i.e., better positive domestic COI than the foreign COI), the worse the evaluation of foreign products coming from the specific COO.

**Implications for Public Policy**

This work shows how the social and environmental images of a COO, along with political-economic ones, are important determinants of product evaluations, which in turn can lead to anti-consumption. It also evidences that social and environmental issues affect consumers in a different way than more traditionally-researched political-economic country images.
Sometimes governments put forward campaigns aimed at promoting a more favorable image of their country. The present work offers evidence that, in some cases, it is not only the image of the foreign country what matters, but also the (conscious or unconscious) comparison of the foreign vs. the local country images. Manufacturing countries of origin should be interested in reducing incongruence effects by convincing potential consumers that they put as much care on social and environmental matters as the country which imports their products does. However, results from subjective knowledge analysis are suggestive that simply investing in image campaigns may not have the desired result for all the population. More knowledgeable people can go beyond the “standard” image of a country and react more to negative information about social and environmental country issues.

References


Presentation 12
Modularity as a managerial choice for degrowth

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Key words: degrowth, modularity, management innovations

The planet is absorbed in a process of change (Sekulova, Kallis, Rodriguez-labajos and Schneider, 2013) and consumption is one of the key problems. In the international debate about the future economic progress, it is being more and more significant the necessity of managing the natural environment in a more sustainable manner with two clear objectives: to reduce planet resources consumption and to limit the emissions of pollutants and wastes to the environment, because it is being evident and clear the imbalance between planet’s capacity and the required conditions to maintain high rhythms of economic growth (Global Footprint Network, 2007).

In this context, the economic theory of degrowth arises as a collective economic approach, oriented and deliberated to get a change in present production and consumption habits so that markets are oriented to make from human and planet survival, an essential objective (Schneider et al., 2010). However, the economic theory of degrowth has not been developed in business management neither the development of social and environmentally sustainable practices nor the widespread use of measures aimed at assessing the success in managing such practices, being clear the lack of innovation in management to achieve these goals (Jackson, 2011). In current economic environments both companies with degrowth and for-growth principles coexist. The question that arises in this context is how firms, following a degrowth approach; can successfully compete with firms only oriented to increasing profits.

Our paper explains how to contribute to this goal presenting a modular approach as a managerial innovation helping firms to address the duality of being successful in the short-term competition with profit oriented firms while at the same time keeping their values and degrowth ideas as the driving line of their actions. In this sense, we propose that the combination of sustainable management practices within the different functional areas of the company with short-term for profit oriented practices in other parts might be a successful solution form firms in a transition from a pure capitalistic market to a more sustainable one.

Modularity is a concept that has proven very useful in a wide range of fields of study, especially those dealing with complex systems (Sosa et al, 2004). A "module" is defined as a
unit whose structural elements are powerfully connected to each other while weakly connected to other units. Because there may be different degrees of connection, it is possible to find different degrees of modularity (Baldwin and Clark, 2000). Conceiving organizations as complex systems of modules that interact to achieve a common goal but at the same time keep a certain degree of independency to carry out activities in different ways, provides an excellent framework for analyzing how firms can apply sustainable principles to different functions. The paper explores how degrowth principles can be applied to different parts of the organization following a functional scheme. Hereafter, it is presented in a summary form how firms may apply a degrowth approach to its key functions: the strategic management, operations management, finances and accounting, marketing and human resources management.

**Strategic Management**

Strategic management is the starting point of business management; it means to establish business objectives, to identify and analyze business capabilities and its environment, and to suggest a model of management translatable to all the company (Porter, 2008). Stakeholder integration (Freeman, 1994; Plaza-Úbeda, Burgos-Jiménez y Carmona-Moreno, 2009) is an essential point when designing business objectives. The involvement of all stakeholders in the business decision making process is at the same time an ethical requirement (Jones, Felps and Bigley, 2007), a source of competitive advantages (Berman et al., 1999; Walsh, 2005) and a way of management that goes beyond the economic benefit, looking for the survival of the company in the long term (Post, Preston and Sachs, 2002). In line with the economic model of degrowth, stakeholder integration calls for directing business activity towards value creation, with goods and services production, not being this value just economic because stakeholders’ concerns are not always economic, but the goal is business survival and, as a resource, planet survival is essential. This concept leads us to emphasize the importance of collaborative processes and those of wealth co-creation. Business nature must be established as a contractual union between stakeholders’ interests and resources (Wieland, 2011).

Another cornerstone of strategic management and business objectives development is to measure the achievement of objectives. How do we evaluate if a company goes well in the economic model of degrowth? Do we have any tool? …If the economic model of degrowth means to be valid, to comply with this premise is essential because we could not know if companies do or do not do it well. Christian Felber (2010, 2012) developed what is known as a model for measuring business management based on the economic model of degrowth (Deutike, 2008). This management model is a clear example of that corporate management can be measured under the model of degrowth.

**Operations Management**

The importance of sustainability in the field of operations management is clear in business management nowadays (Corbett, 2009). Achieving a change in the operations area of organizations is unavoidable if we want to achieve sustainable development, thus contributing to increased welfare and real progress of the present and future generations, not only in the immediate environment, but on the entire planet, whose limits, according to Sorman and Giampietro (2013), are being increasingly evident both in the supply side (increasingly less water, minerals, oil, etc.) and in the sink side (which produce pollution and waste). This implies that organizations, when making any decision on its activity, take into consideration the environment, establishing a commitment of equity between what is took from the environment and what they contribute, besides trying to make a positive contribution to both social and economic welfare.
**Finances and Accounting**

The application of measures of financial analysis in business management from the financial perspective has the Common Good matrix as the main reference of application (Felber, 2012). The matrix pursues an ethical management of finances, since they are the companies themselves who have the obligation of contributing to the movement of financial markets activity towards the common good. That is, it must be sought a fair distribution, not just obtaining profits, as well as it is needed to make proper use of financial resources. Thanks to this new indicator of ethical management of finances, it is wanted to achieve an ethical and ecological use of finances. The key financial indicators for the financial measurement from the economy for the common good perspective are: deposit focused on the "common good", pursuit of social and ecological quality of financial service and funding oriented to “common good”.

In the accounting field, the application of the theory of economic degrowth is not intended to change the financial statements, but that the financial statements are fully accurate and reliable; as there are various aspects of management that encourage maintaining some considerable mistrust among shareholders, managers and auditors, which in many cases is reflected in fraudulent management and embezzlement. Consequently, it is necessary the presentation of information of trust about the operations of any business, argued in impartial principles and away from the influence of the interests of directors, auditors or any other individual.

**Marketing**

It is noteworthy that the stakeholder-oriented marketing, the so-called stakeholder marketing, has a very important role in directing society towards responsible consumption, and is a powerful tool for producers to integrate into the concept of social responsibility, thus ensuring that companies and stakeholders benefit from the business and society symbiosis (Craig Smith and Williams, 2011). Therefore, from the marketing area of businesses, there arise various issues when implementing this new trend, although perhaps the most relevant and related to the issue that concerns us is: how can be integrated the marketing area in economic degrowth conditions in the company? Evidently, there are significant incompatibilities that arise in response to that question, but it is being developed a new concept that can be useful to facilitate the response to the raised question, the viability.

From a practical point of view, viability is recognized as the concept whereby one works from the company when it is in the maturity stage. Through Corporate Social Responsibility and Great Place to Work certifications companies work on this line and the valuations obtained by the community are quite positive. If we look at the real and more concrete actions implemented in social environments, we find that companies obtain the profitability sought in both revenues and brands loyalty. The main motto to keep in mind for an economy based on a degrowth model is that in order to win it is needed to lose as well. It means losing profitability in the short term, as it may be by making investments and actions of social and environmental involvement, which leads to win around more stable societies, raising the quality of life and assuming an elevation of Brand Equity. Moreover, from a relational level, this leads to consumer-business pairing to establish a relationship of collaboration in similar objectives that can result of interest for its exploitation and strengthening.

The importance of marketing in the company to promote environmental and socially sustainable consumption is an essential condition for its influence on the consumption habits of customers (Lorek and Fuchs, 2013). A social and environmentally responsible marketing is possible, without having an effect on lower profitability regarding company incomes.
Human Resources Management

Nowadays, the contribution of human resources management to sustainability is a key for achieving environmental improvements in management (Jamali et al., 2015). The area of human resources is essential to implement an environmental and socially responsible position in the company. In turn, the need to connect talent management and engagement with all areas of the company is a fundamental task of human resources management (Roca, 2014) and job protection is a key factor to ensure the model of economic degrowth (Alcott, 2013). Green Human Resource Management (GHRM) means aligning aspects of human resource management, such as training, performance evaluation and rewards, to the emerging environmental management goals of organizations (Jackson et al., 2011; Renwick et al., 2013; Jackson et al., 2014). GHRM practices can also be used to align principal and agent’s incentives, reducing shirking and motivating employees and managers (through performance assessment and reward based on environmental criteria) and to give opportunity (through green teams) to the development of employees and managers as moral agents (Cuevas-Rodriguez et al., 2012) so the employees may contribute with the adoption of more proactive environmental practices (Renwick et al., 2013).

With this paper we try to show that besides establishing a change from the political-economic perspective, it is possible and there are innovative approaches in different areas of management to try to manage businesses in a more sustainable way and it is necessary to encourage these practices in order to stop consumption. The review in this paper shows that the approach of business objectives and the integration of stakeholders in decision-making can be a crucial element to change the current form of corporate governance toward a more sustainable management and compatible with situations of economic degrowth. From the finance and accounting area, transparency and ethical collaboration must prevail; marketing strategies must be ethically responsible to society, they should not trigger an endless consumerism; from human resources it is intended to ensure the welfare of employees and start awareness towards sustainability from them because they are the central pillar of the company change and even the society as a whole. Examples of business references included in the paper show us that change intended by this new theory is not far from reaching it, but it is necessary to become aware, mainly from companies because they are who first-hand can contribute and make a turn in the direction of the current trend. These are responsible for developing themselves and demonstrate to society that from responsible and ethical performances, it is possible to progress.

References:


Presentation 13
Public Policy and Anti-consumption by Firms – The Case of Patagonia

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Public policy is a study in imperfection. It involves imperfect people, with imperfect information, facing deeply imperfect choices - so it's not surprising that they're getting imperfect results. - Jake Sullivan

Introduction
Sustainability plays an increasingly important role in consumer society and how businesses do business (Drummond, 2013; Elkington, 1994, 1997; Hockerts & Wüstenhagen, 2010; Kong, Salzmann, Steger, & Ionescu-Somers, 2002; Michaelis, 2003). According to Friedman (1970), businesses only exist to make profits, however, businesses are increasingly expected to do good for society and the environment (McWilliams, 2015). Even though, businesses are expected to change their business practices towards becoming more sustainable, public policy lacks integration of sustainable practices (Jordan & Lenschow, 2010; Lafferty & Hovden, 2003; Triple Pundit, 2008). The most salient adoptions of sustainability practices, by customers and firms, seem to be either voluntary or coerced through actions such as activism or boycotts (Braunsberger & Buckler, 2011; Yuksel & Mryteza, 2009), rather than through adherence to public policy. Parts of the anti-consumption literature (the reasons against consumption) have explored consumers’ reasons forcing firms to change their business practices via for example, boycotts and carrotmobs. Because public policies fall short of addressing sustainability in firm practices, boycotters pressure firms to act differently or change their practices (UN, 2013). To complicate matters, little is known about how firms may shape practices of other firms through developing their own environmentally-oriented policies. Formal codes of conduct that partner firms must comply with, in order to continue doing business with the firm setting these standards. We argue that by setting these policies or firm codes of conduct, companies are promoting their own anti-consumption values and attitudes because firms set clear standards of who or what they want to avoid, reject or reduce. This study focuses on the research question: How does a firm, specifically Patagonia, an outdoor clothing retailer, promote, impose and enforce its anti-consumption values onto its partner firms, in a context where public policy is lacking?

Literature Overview: Consumer and Firm Anti-consumption
Conscious reasons and motivations of consumers to not consume certain products and services, due to their environmental and social concerns have been explored in the anti-consumption literature, including consumer activist behaviour (Black & Cherrier, 2010; Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013; Craig-Lees & Hill, 2006; Hutter & Hoffmann, 2013; Iyer & Muncy, 2009). Firms are facing growing pressure from various stakeholders, including owners, employees, customers, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), activists and governments; as well as from general societal trends and institutional forces to maintain profitability, contribute money to charities, help solve societal and environmental problems and account for social costs (Cormier, Magnan, & Velthoven, 2005; Darnall, Henries, & Sadorsky, 2010; Sheth, Sethia, & Srinivas, 2011).

Firms are increasingly pressured by stakeholders to change business strategies and practices based on changing societal needs and for reasons of environmental protection.
However, public policies do not state, clearly enough, how firms should act towards sustainability (McWilliams, 2015). To avoid and reduce the negative impact of consumer activism behaviour, firms adapt their business practices and strategies, some choosing to adopt anti-consumption values and attitudes to avoid damage to firm reputation and branding (Frooman, 1999; Klein, Smith, & John, 2004; Reid & Toffel, 2009). According to Davis (2011), some customers search for information on how to live more sustainably and expect firms to develop and sell environmentally and socially sustainable goods, which allow customers to adopt lifestyles that minimize environmental impact and contribute to the well-being of customers.

Customers try to influence firms through their anti-consumption behaviour, but firms also influence consumers through their strategies by asking them to either consume or purchase more, or to consume or purchase less; the second strategy being more controversial and less common to firms. However, the marketing literature has discussed strategies that could be identified as firm anti-consumption strategies. De-marketing and social marketing are strategic management and marketing tools discouraging customers from consuming certain products and services. The aim of these strategies can be understood as strategically encouraging or promoting anti-consumption to consumers to reduce consumers’ demand for goods and services. Sharp, Hoj and Wheeler (2010) discussed how consumer behaviour and attitude is modified if customers are encouraged not to consume certain products. The research demonstrated that supermarket customers adapted very quickly to a ban of plastic bags enforced by the government. Customers understood why plastic bags were banned. This demonstrated that, in this case, governments, using social marketing, were able to enforce anti-consumption values and attitudes to consumers to behave more ethically and sustainably by introducing a public policy (Sharp, Høj, & Wheeler, 2010).

Thus, firms, especially large firms, are able to exert influence over other firms, stakeholders, institutions, governments and may also be able to shape public policy (Bakan, 2012; Benton & Maloni, 2005). A firm may be able to elicit the adoption of anti-consumption of stakeholders due to its influence on economy, society and customers (Bakan, 2012). Influence can play a significant role in a firm’s supply chain, because firm influence can have effects on inter-firm relationships (Maloni & Benton, 2000). This influence can be used to encourage desired actions from partner firms along a supply chain. Firms with influence can promote or dictate values and strategies to partner firms, or values and behaviour to consumers, in the form of ‘codes of conduct’; thereby enforcing firm values onto other companies, such as suppliers. This implies that firms can sometimes promote anti-consumption.

**Theoretical Foundation**

A competitive advantage is based on distinctive firm processes and is shaped by firm assets in the form of resources and capabilities. The ‘dynamic capabilities’ strategy development of firms was selected for this study to understand reasons and motivations for firms to engage in, promote, or enforce anti-consumption in stakeholders. The approach provides insights into how firms develop strategies based on their changes in the environment. The concept of the dynamic capabilities approach extends the resource-based view of the firm by looking at the market and firm capabilities that are flexible and dynamic (Teece, Pisano, Shuen, & others, 1997). The figure below demonstrates a theoretical framework to understand anti-consumption by firms through the lens of the dynamic capabilities approach.
Contributions and Motivation

This research is motivated to understand: the increasing importance of sustainability in societies worldwide, and the strategies firms develop and execute based on the demand for sustainability from consumers, the government and society at large. The need for firms to adopt strategies based on sustainability may imply that firms develop their own policies or codes of conduct to promote anti-consumption values to stakeholders.

The research aims to answer the research question: How does a firm, specifically Patagonia, an outdoor clothing retailer, promote, impose and enforce its anti-consumption values onto its partner firms, in a context where public policy is lacking? This research makes contributions to the strategic management literatures by extending the phenomenon of anti-consumption to firms and the development of policies or codes of conduct that influence external stakeholders of the firm and linking it to the dynamic capabilities approach. Further, this work contributes to knowledge of inter-firm relationships relating to the enforcement of anti-consumption values onto other stakeholders.

Method

This study is exploratory in nature. To gather new data to confirm or disconfirm the research question, a qualitative, single case study was utilized to explore the promotion and enforcement of anti-consumption values to stakeholders via a company’s own policies and codes of conduct. A single company case in the slow-fashion industry, was identified to be suitable to explore firm anti-consumption values and its influence on external stakeholders. Slow-fashion focuses on the quality, durability and timelessness of clothing. The fashion industry demonstrates diverse environmental challenges firms have to deal with from fiber dying to disposability of clothing. Firms in the slow fashion industry show strong advocacy towards adopting and developing strategies to environmental challenges quickly and flexibly. Based on the theoretical contribution of this study, the dynamic capabilities approach, the slow-fashion industry is a promising platform in exploring firm anti-consumption values because the industry has sensed the need for change due to issues related to the environment and working conditions. Companies within the industry have selectively chosen not to work with certain suppliers or other firms because of the anti-consumption values of the companies within the industry. Using the dynamic capabilities approach for companies in the slow fashion industry seems to be suitable as the industry is dynamic and changes very quickly. One company in the slow fashion industry has been identified to provide in-depth insights into the promotion of anti-consumption values to stakeholders via developing its own policies.
and codes of conduct. The company selected for this study is Patagonia, an outdoor clothing manufacturer. The company is characterized as a slow fashion firm because of its strong focus on developing long-lasting high quality clothes that do not cause unnecessary harm to environment. Moreover, the company is known for its strong commitment to society and environment, visible in its continuous research and development efforts to change the industry and to protect the environment.

Preliminary Findings and Conclusion

Campaigns like “Don’t buy this jacket” by Patagonia (Patagonia, 2011) promote anti-consumption values to consumers and try to change the consumption patterns of consumers, creating awareness of the environmental impact of consumption (Patagonia, 2011). However, a major challenge for Patagonia to pursue a sustainable development strategy is its supply chain (Fowler & Hope, 2007). Due to the lack of robust public policies on sustainability and the enforcement of these public policies across borders, Patagonia tries to influence its own policies to its supply chain partners by using standards of the Fair Labour Association (FLA) and developing its own formal code of practice for its suppliers (Fowler & Hope, 2007), which enforces internal firm policies onto other external partner firms; who must then comply, if they wish to go into partnership with Patagonia. Patagonia did not create a public policy, rather the company created a policy for themselves as well as other firms that are, or want to be, in partnership with Patagonia. Through Patagonia’s transparency in business practices, the company is able to: (1) manage stakeholder pressures (such as consumers and media); (2) adapt to its dynamic environment, gaining a competitive advantage over other companies; and (3) influence stakeholder actions through implementing policies onto external partners.

Overall, gaining and sustaining a competitive advantage seems to be more difficult than ever for firms. Patagonia’s ability to focus on its overall goal and mission in making the best product possible without causing unnecessary harm, allows the firm to innovate and reduce the environmental harm caused by other companies in the industry. To be able to make changes in the industry and solve the environmental problems associated with the industry, it is necessary to have policies, so that all firms within the industry have the same goal or standard to solve environmental issues existing in the industry. However, current policies lack teeth, particularly when business traverses international borders. Therefore it is important for firms like Patagonia to be able to promote, enforce and impose their own anti-consumption values onto other companies through their own policies and codes of conducts. And to adapt to changes within the industry and environment quickly, which, ironically, would be far more difficult if stringent public policies were in place.

References


Extending End-stage Consumption: The Effect of Product Warranty and Repairs on Second-hand Purchases

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Extending End-stage Consumption: The Effect of Product Warranty and Repairs on Second-hand Purchases

Using experiments this study explores how the end-stage of consumption cycle may be extended. The study investigates the effects of product warranty status on second-hand purchases. Specifically, we propose that the effect of the presence of an expired warranty on likelihood to buy (as well as expectation to use longer/and willingness to pay a higher price) is moderated by the effect of the repair status of the product.

Keywords. End-stage consumption, warranty, second-hand products and markets

Not only does waste have hazardous effects on the environment but disposing of waste also has negative impacts, causing severe ecological problems. Most waste is buried in landfill sites, which then may rot, smell badly and generate explosive methane gas, responsible for the greenhouse effect and pollution. Some ill-managed landfill sites may attract vermin and cause litter. Burning waste is also not a solution as toxic substances such as dioxins emerge when waste are burnt. Also, burning waste produces air pollution as gas from burning may lead to acid rain and the leftover ash holds heavy metals. Beyond these hazardous repercussions of waste disposal, simply throwing them away means wasting resources, such as raw materials, energy used in producing them in the initial process and financial resources. Yet, reducing waste may significantly reduce negative impacts.

As a form of reducing waste, one of the possible solutions to overcome societies’ problems of environmental pollution and waste management, may be extending the life of products by developing and enhancing the market for second-hand products (SHP). The practice of extending end-stage of consumption cycle, via establishment and improvement of second-hand markets, will prove a responsible sustainable approach which may reduce the depletion of the earth’s natural and energy resources. In order to boost the existence of second-hand markets, the importance of extending the life of products should be of concern to public policy makers (Stewart 2014).
Despite the role it plays in reducing waste, there is limited consumer research focusing on how the end-stage of consumption cycle may be extended. Specifically, much of the anti-consumption research focuses on the initial stages of consumption instead of the end-stage. Yet, investigating what happens once people are finished with consumption is worthwhile as this may result in useful insights that may help promote reducing, reviving, or reclaiming of products, previously considered being at the end of their life (Brosius, Fernandez, and Cherrier (2013).

**Second-hand Products and Warranties**

A brand new product that is used by the initial buyer and then sold on to a second buyer is referred to as a SHP. A used good can also simply mean it is no longer in the same condition as it was when transferred to the current second owner. Alternatively, when the purpose of the used product still exists, and thus the item is working and usable, it may be transferred to another user (consumer) by re-selling. In some cases the re-selling practice needs to be controlled by governments via polices. Such policy measures may include leasing policy, buy-back policy and warranty policy (Schiraldi 2009). Also, governments may require SHPs that relate to safety or legal issues, such as cars, weapons, to be sold through regulated markets, either for security and safety or for sales tax revenue purposes.

A warranty is a voluntary, mostly written promise of products to a buyer, offered by a provider for a reasonable time-span; when one buys a warranted product, the assurance becomes an entitlement that can be enforced. Warranties may relate to 1) the quality, condition, performance or features of the product, 2) what the product can and should do, 3) and for how long, and 4) the availability of servicing, provision of parts or identical products. Warranties assure that if products (or part of them) are defective, the provider will either repair or replace products, or provide services, or offer compensation to the buyer. Manufacturers, suppliers or sellers are expected to comply with that warranty. If the product does not meet the promised standard, it is a consumer right to bring an action against the provider of the warranty. Most warranties against defects are commonly limited by time. Warranties do not last after the time period as the warranty has expired. As warranties are promises, they assure consumers that the producer will repair or replace a product if needed within a particular period of time. Warranties have a specific binding period for which they are valid, such as a dishwasher that comes with a two-year warranty. After expire date of the warranty, no promise of repair, refurbishment, or replacement remains, should the product become faulty after that specific period. Clearly, an existing and valid warranty coverage on products will raise the market value of used goods whereby a warranty may increase either the price or the quality perceptions of a used products, if the used product is still within the warranty period (Schiraldi 2009).

**Consumer Perceptions of Warranties**

Economic signaling theory examines consumers' perceptions of warranties. Sometimes, it may be difficult to assess how reliable the item is when comparing product features. This holds true for products with unknown brand names or, in general, for some particular types of products or services where prices are similar, such as PCs. Price is an important indicator of perceived quality. In such instances, warranties function as a useful tool to reflect quality as they signal product reliability (Wiener 1985). Research suggests that “a longer warranty signals a better product” (Boulding and Kirmani 1993, 176), and thus, allows consumers to make inferences about the quality of products. This is because the warranty length depends on the producer’s expectation of its products’ lifetime: the longer the warranty period the more the company’s confidence in the quality of their products.
Based on literature, it is reasonable to anticipate that consumers who buy brand-new products that come with a warranty expect to use these for a longer time than those who buy brand-new products that come without a warranty. As a next step we can assume that people who buy brand-new products that come with a warranty are more likely to re-sell these as a SHP than those who buy brand-new products that come without a warranty. Supported by research, it is also feasible to expect that people who buy SHPs that come with a valid warranty would be willing to pay higher prices than those who buy SHPs that come without a warranty. Yet, it is interesting to know what would happen when product warranty of the SHP expires before it is re-sold. We believe that presence of an expired warranty or the lack thereof would affect second-hand purchases. Further we presume that the perceived promise of a product warranty would be so strong that even when the warranty expires, people would prefer a SHP that come with an expired warranty over a SHP that never came with a warranty at the initial stage of production and purchase. Based on early research, we hypothesize the following:

H1a: Individuals are more likely to buy a SHP with expired warranty than a SHP that was never under warranty.

H1b: Individuals expect to use a SHP with expired warranty for a longer period of time than a SHP that was never under warranty.

H1c: Individuals are willing to pay more for a SHP with expired warranty than a SHP that was never under warranty.

H2: The effect of the warranty status on willingness to buy is mediated by quality expectations of consumers from the SHP product. As opposed to SHPs with no warranties, SHPs with expired warranties will cause higher levels of consumer quality perceptions, which in turn increases consumers’ willingness to buy. Thus, as the perceived quality increases, so does the willingness to buy. (Mediation)

**Repaired products and warranties**

Purchase decision are arguably based on consumers’ assessments of the likelihood of a product defect. Such assessments emphasize the importance of warranties in consumers’ eyes, as they cover the risk of future replacement or repair cost should product breakdowns incur (Chen, Kalra and Sun 2009). Not surprisingly, consumers refer to the price of the product and the length of warranty as cues for the quality when evaluating product reliability (Boulding and Kirmani 1993; Erdem, Keane, and Sun 2008; Purohit and Srivastava 2001).

When a product fails during the warranty period, it is either replaced with a brand-new one, or refurbished and replaced, or repaired (Kijama 1989). Products that are replaced with a repaired one come from a refurbished items supply, at no cost to the buyer, with a new full warranty (Chien 2008). Refurbishment and replacement may make the product younger, but not necessarily as good as new (Kijama 1989). Thus, a product that is repaired or replaced restores to somewhere between good as new, and bad as old (Blischke and Murthy 1992) in consumer minds (Boulding and Kirmani 1993). Thus, “the failure potential of the repaired product is inferior to that of a new product; that is, the repaired product is less reliable” (Chien 2008, 125). When warranty is considered as a replacement of a failed product with a repaired one, then the repaired product would be considered less reliable than a brand-new product. This is called imperfect replacement or maintenance strategy (Nguyen and Murphy 1989).

Consistent with the literature, we expect that products repaired with no warranty would lead to more favourable consumer responses than products repaired with warranty. This is because products with warranty would be expected to have higher quality than products
without a warranty. In fact, due to an expectation of higher quality from a product that originally had a guarantee, the fact that it was repaired, implies lower quality.

On the other hand, when a new product has no initial warranty it may indicate that the manufacturer perceives the product as unreliable and prone to breakdowns, and thus avoid providing warranty because a (likely) product failure would prove too costly. Thus, these products signal low quality to consumers. Then again, when a product with no initial warranty is repaired, it may suggest that the condition of the product has somehow been improved or not changed. Given consumers have in any case low quality expectation of these products to begin with, a repair status would make no change in their opinion. In line with this view, people’s quality expectation of products that come without an initial warranty should remain unchanged even when the product is repaired.

Thus, we expect that a repaired product that originally came with a warranty would lead to lower quality expectations than a repaired product that never came with a warranty. Accordingly, we anticipate that, the effect of the repair status would reverse or mitigate the effects of the warranty status. As such, we propose that the effect of the presence of an expired warranty, or the lack thereof, on likelihood to buy (as well as expectation to use the SHP longer/and willingness to pay a higher price) is moderated by the effect of the repair status of the product (e.g., repaired vs. not repaired; Fig.1). Specifically, when the product had a warranty originally that is expired, individuals are expected to be more likely to buy a SHP when the product is not repaired, as opposed to repaired (H3a). Yet, when the product never had an initial warranty, individuals are expected to be more likely to buy a SHP when the product is repaired as opposed to not repaired (H3b). Thus,

H3a: Under an expired warranty, consumers will be more willing to buy a SHP that has never been repaired over a SHP that has been repaired.

H3b: Under no warranty, consumers will be more willing to buy a SHP that has been repaired over a SHP that has never been repaired.

Figure 1. Conceptual Model: The Effect of Warranty on Purchase Likelihood

Studies, Results and Conclusion
To test our hypotheses we conducted two experiments with postgraduate business students of an Australian university. In the main study (study 2), the experiment is a 2(warranty, no) x 2(repaired, not) between subjects factorial design. We also explain the underlying mechanism in both studies: the effect of the presence of an expired warranty on likelihood to buy (expect to use longer/buy at a higher price) is mediated by quality expectations (or disappointment) of consumers from the SHP product (H2).
Study 1, is a simple experiment. Students read scenarios about 1) a 2-year-old, second-hand product sold on eBay, which used to have a one-year warranty that expired a year ago, or 2) a 2-year-old, second-hand product sold online on eBay, which never had a warranty. Participants were asked which product they would favour if both products will be drawn in a lottery where they have 10% chance to win. They were also asked about the quality expectations about these products and how disappointed they would feel, should the product fail soon after their purchase. As expected participants preferred the SHP with warranty (M=5.95) and had high quality expectations (M=5.20) and how disappointment (M=6.02) should the product fail over the one without any warranty (preference: M=2.15, quality: M=3.25, disappointment: M=4.05).

In Study 2, participants read scenarios about 1) a 2-year-old, second-hand product, sold on eBay, which used to have a one-year warranty that expired a year ago, and was never repaired (M=4.95), or 2) a 2-year-old, second-hand product, sold on eBay, which used to have a one-year warranty that expired a year ago, and was repaired recently (M=2.80), or 3) a 2-year old, second-hand product, sold on eBay, which never had a warranty, and was never repaired (M=3.90), and finally, 4) a 2-year old, second-hand product, sold on eBay, which never had a warranty, but was repaired recently (M=4.05).

Evidently, understanding the effects of out of warranty products on second-hand purchases is worthwhile. The results show that consumers prefer SHPs that come with an expired warranty over those that never came with a warranty. Importantly, the presence of an expired warranty on likelihood to buy (as well as expectation to use longer/and willingness to pay a higher price) is moderated by the effect of the repair status of the product (e.g., repaired vs. not repaired). Under expired warranty, consumers are more willing to buy a SHP that has never been repaired over a SHP that has been repaired. However, under no warranty, this effect changes. Consumers are more willing to buy a SHP that has been repaired over a SHP that has never been repaired.

There is no doubt that the consumerism apparent in many western countries has many negative externalities such as environmental pollution during production and end of product life waste. Therefore, the reduction of waste and pollution in general are of the interest of policy makers and society at large (Stewart, 2014). Extending the life of products can be achieved through mandatory warranty policies (Schiraldi, 2009). However, the second-hand market arguably resets the life of an already-used product once it changes hands, as opposed to simply extending the life of a product. Accordingly, investigating public policy changes that may increase the appeal of second-hand products to consumers may yield insights that increase the circulation of second-hand products. Specifically, this research examined and found out that warranty policies which may be forced on producers by governments via regulations will positively affect second-hand purchases.

References


Presentation 15

Pioneers Confidential:
Tools for Policy Intervention in Selected Anti-consumption Patterns

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Keywords: Sustainability, Voluntary Simplicity, Collaborative Consumption, Consumer Citizenship, Consumer Education
Research Question

For the sake of sustainable development, strategies to reduce the quantitative level of material consumption catch the attention of researchers, activists and policymakers in the evolving anti-consumption discourse (Cherrier 2009; Black and Cherrier 2010; Ozanne and Ballantine 2010; Chatzidakis and Lee 2013; Seegebarth et al. 2016, Lee and Ahn 2016). Keeping the aim of practice-oriented sustainability transition research in mind, we wonder: What lessons for public policy interventions can be learnt from the every-day experiences of those who actively implement and promote anti-consumption patterns? To explore the broad range of possible policy interventions and their interrelations, we conducted a qualitative study asking consumer educators, voluntary simplifiers and collaborative consumption innovators to share their ideas for better anti-consumption policies. According to Stewart (2015), public policy is not necessarily executed through government decision making, but private interventions could be successful as well. Therefore, we argue for complementary action between governance strategies, bottom-up initiatives and consumer behavior, highlighting the specific potential of marketing expertise. The results are valuable to researchers, marketers and policymakers who seek to enhance their understanding of anti-consumption and sustainable consumption based on experiences of practitioners from diverse backgrounds, whose voices, to our knowledge, are often underrepresented in academic contexts.

Theoretical Background

For a holistic understanding of consumers’ daily sustainable (non)-purchase decisions, the economic dimension of consumer behavior is substantial. It is thus far most elaborately studied in Balderjahn et al.’s (2013) Consciousness for Sustainable Consumption (CSC) concept as question of “whether or not a product should even be purchased” (183), the core question of anti-consumption decisions. In their concept of sustainability-rooted anti-consumption (SRAC), Seegebarth et al. (2016) show that two aspects of the economic dimension of consumer sustainability, voluntary simplicity (Ballantine and Creery 2010; Alexander and Ussher 2012) and collaborative consumption (Botsman and Rogers 2010; Belk 2014) are part of anti-consumption. Complimentary, we also include the third dimension of consciously handling financial resources to have a more holistic image of consumers’ (non)-purchase decision making in our exploratory study.

Method and Findings

We conducted 17 semi-structured interviews with spokespersons of consumer unions, initiators of grassroots projects, entrepreneurs, consultants, bloggers, activists and scientists. They represent a vast spectrum of practical experiences in voluntary simplicity, collaborative consumption, as well as consumer education about managing personal finances. We used the software MAXQDA 12 for a deductive-inductive analysis of the interview data. Based on the interviewees’ multi-faceted backgrounds, we derived a diverse set of recommendations for encouraging anti-consumption patterns. The quoted statements are either particularly representative for the sample or contradictory to prevalent opinions.

Municipal Infrastructure

Many interviewees are active in innovative grassroots projects to reduce their levels of consumption (Seyfang and Smith 2007). Scientist Melanie demands infrastructural support of already existing grassroots innovations: “Alternatives need to be more visible, to gain attention, to appear more normal and as part of consumers’ daily lives.” A social network like the Foodsharing community not only provides necessary material and skills to share, but also emotionally motivates to resist consumption. “Municipalities actually look for sufficiency strategies for their regional development programs”, simplicity activist Corinna knows.
Andreas emphasizes the commercial potential of “communities as sharing platforms” and should be interested “in keeping the wealth, creating the sharing system themselves instead of international corporations.” This is why our interviewees ask municipalities to support already existing initiatives with infrastructures for the benefit of their citizens.

**Entrepreneurship**

Some forms of collaborative consumption in the sharing economy allow consumers to use products beyond the conventional market system, making it a pattern of anti-consumption (Botsman and Rogers 2011; Belk 2014). It is represented in our sample by entrepreneurs for diverse product lending services. Francesca, representative of a sharing platform, says, “The state should support projects which look at the core of sustainability in a long-term perspective, because economic survival is harder for them.” Nikolai, cofounder of a peer-to-peer lending shop, one of those long-term projects, says “When we started, we just said ‘Let’s do it.’ That is how companies with an actual business model are ahead of us. That is where we should get better.” His suggestion of business coaching targeted at grassroots initiatives could help professionalizing their efforts to create a more sustainable economy based on less material consumption. Some experts actually call for better marketing und branding of sharing initiatives, to make alternatives to the conventional market system more salient for consumers.

**Communication and Culture**

Some interviewees identified a public climate favoring excessive consumption as threat to sustainability. Simplicity activist Christiane proclaims “It all gets down to advertising, it unnecessarily pushes greed and social competition.” At the beginning of her experiment to live without money, Jennifer was confronted with the social perception “If you want to have fun, you need money”. Later, “People responded positively towards my simpler lifestyle, probably because I was never dogmatic or judging about it.” The statement suggests that within the societal pressures to consume and spend money, pioneers making themselves more independent from these pressures raise positive attention as exception within the rule. Many interviewees desire a transformed consumer culture, like simplicity pioneer Christoph: “It needs a cultural change, that wearing vintage clothes is cool and chic, that being skilled in repairing stuff instead of throwing it away or buying something new is cool.” To achieve that, some demand a more positive depiction of anti-consumption lifestyles. Even as barrier towards political action: “Strategies for more sufficient consumption are usually not deliberated by politicians, because it is treated synonymously with abstinence, and that is the knock-out criterion.” Instead, “Sufficiency should be communicated as a ‘cool thing’, (...) as reduction of responsibility for your possessions, and being more independent,” Melanie declares. She also adds that “economically, you gain financial opportunities by living simpler, and more time.” This makes simplicity attractive to a wide audience, dismissing associations of abstinence and social exclusion, but highlighting individual benefits (Black and Cherrier 2010). Authentic role models are seen as most important carriers of that cultural transformation, whether in families, peer groups, education or public sphere. This is where marketing expertise could help promoting the idea of ‘consuming less’ more positively.

**Consumer Citizenship**

The rights and duties of consumers as citizens in the context of sustainability and anti-consumption are widely discussed by scholars (Hansen and Schrader 1997, Thøgersen 2005; Arnould 2007; Trentmann 2007) and in our interviews. A campaigner argues for the potential of responsible consumers as activists: “There is the political, more difficult process to change things. As a consumer, you are in direct control of your behavior, which is a good point to start taking action” campaigner Christiane thinks. Simplicity consultant Kati shares the same opinion: “I often see people relying on politics to just do it right. That is a crucial point, to be
self-aware and not having to rely upon someone else taking the responsibility.” Her colleague Ragnar suggests because “simplicity is not a guiding concept in society yet (...) we need to act on a micro-level, to create more favorable conditions for actual policy tools like tax allowances” – an argument for the shared responsibility of consumers, citizens and authorities.

**Education**

In accordance with research (Sandlin and Milam 2008; Prothero et al. 2011; McGregor 2015), consumer activism and anti-consumption are taken into relation with consumer education in the interviews. Vera (expert in a national consumer protection agency) wants to see “consumption and its conditions more tangible in school education.” Enabling reflection on personal consumption preferences to make students understand the opportunities and boundaries they have as a consumer citizen is seen as important: “…the idea of consumer citizenship (...) it should be a part of consumer education,” says Christoph. The “Shopping diet”-blogger Nunu doubts that at the age around 14 years, children are approachable for anti-consumption education in school: “All the Youtube stars, shopping hauls. That is what they like.” “They often seek for guidance to shape their characters, that is why are easily influenced by advertising,” Christoph agrees. In another critical stance, Christiane states that “Schools are not preparing kids to change the world, they only prepare them for living within the dominant economic paradigm.”

Kati suggests a counter strategy: “Education creates consciousness. And should strengthen self-confidence, which is important to stand up the economic paradigm and to realize and decide what is good for you by yourself.” She emphasizes “Beauty, a positive body image, health, that is what appeals to teens” and thereby suggests better nutrition as topic to sensitize them for consumption issues. Corinna supports the idea: “The experience of self-efficacy is crucial: teach them to get in contact with local resources, create something on their own, they love it.” More interviewees see a lost feeling for the value of resources and material products. Therefore, they approve traditional re-skilling for self-sufficient consumption in education and practical experiences. Felix had students visiting his social entrepreneurship project and recommends “to show them how things can really be changed, and that their small action is part of something bigger (...) to make them see and feel the result of their changes.”

Educated consumers are able to understand the individual and societal consequences of overconsumption and can make responsible (non-)purchase decisions, potentially favoring qualitatively increased, but quantitatively reduced consumption. Self-determination and education are also seen as the basic preventive tool to avoid overindebtedness. Nevertheless, Vera draws a complex picture highlighting the importance of concerted policy tools: “Education is often seen as cover-up, like it is going to fix everything and there will be responsible consumers if we only invest a little money here and there. I do not see it that way, we always need a combination of policy instruments. (...) It is a shared responsibility of companies, politics, the civil society and consumers.”

**Key Contributions**

Due to the scope of our study, our aim was not to deliver a full policy agenda for anti-consumption, but find out what practitioners of anti-consumption recommend as policy tools to promote more sustainable consumption patterns and detect their interrelations. Top-down regulatory policies are rarely seen as desired tool. The interviewees rather welcome infrastructural support for already existing grassroots projects, especially on a municipal level. Communication and education are the most prominent prospects. The ideas presented
are examples for desired synergies of governmental top-down policies and bottom-up initiatives by consumer citizens, calling for concerted action of all affected by sustainable development.

We observed that while some experts resent marketing as pushing overconsumption, most of them argued for more positive communication of simplicity. Entrepreneurs with resource-saving business models like lending shops actually hope to attract a greater audience for their cause through marketing tools. Most voluntary simplifiers in our sample, while seeing themselves as pioneers trying to (re-)create a desirable lifestyle within an economic system they oppose, also call for better communication to promote their ideals – a classic treat of marketing. Might the end justify the means for them? The marketing discipline should take these calls as inspiration to broaden its scope and look for opportunities to serve public interests. It may be a valuable challenge to do marketing for the idea of consuming ‘less’. The character of our sample may be interpreted as limitation: with all of them working in Germany, their recommendations focus on national conditions. Few of them are trained in policy matters, probably biasing their statements. Yet, their perspectives from within a pioneer movement are authentic and should be respected by authorities. Their heterogeneous professional backgrounds allowed us to detect a very broad set of policy tools in the explorative approach. Potentials and challenges of interrelating those tools for a policy agenda to reduce overconsumption are subject for further research.

References


Anti-Consumption: Is This the Solution for Environmental Concern?

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Economic growth around the world is occurring at an astounding pace. Despite the positive aspects of this growth, many are concerned that, if not managed properly, this rapid growth could have a devastating effect on the world's ecosystem (Holdren and Ehrlich, 1974; Arrow et al, 1995; Stern and Oskamp, 1987; Pawlik 1991). Resource depletion, environmental degradation, and global warming are all potential undesirable consequences of rapid economic growth and the mass consumption that accompanies it. For this reasons, nations around the world are trying to identify ways to best manage economic growth in an ecologically responsible way (Mishan and Mishan, 1967; Holtz-Eakin and Selden, 1995; Galli et al, 2012).

Any plan to mitigate the effects of economic activities on the environment requires acquiescence by those affected by such plans. This is true whether we are trying to get people to voluntarily engage in more environmentally friendly behavior or a government is implementing policy decisions that force such behavior. People must be willing to pay the personal and economic costs of environmentally healthy behaviors when they do so as part of their personal consumption behavior. The same is true when they do so through supporting political actions which bring forth such pro-environmental behavior (Dwyer et al., 1993; Deitz, Stern and Guagnano, 1998; Dunlap, Van Liere, Mertig and Jones, 2000; .

It is for this reason that researchers have long been interested in those factors that may bring about pro-environmental attitudes, behaviors, and political activities. In the classical approach, it is assumed that people do so because of their concern for the environment. Indeed a huge body of literature exists which studies the impact of various factors on environmental concern, attitudes, and behavior. What has emerged is a plethora of variables impacting people's willingness to accept either voluntary or public policy changes to their consumption as it impacts the environment. Most of this research has focused on people as human beings in general but not specifically in their role as consumers. If we are expecting people to willingly change their behavior as consumers, it would be very useful to look at them specifically in that context.
The current research studies consumers in such a way. The overriding research question we explore is whether a person's attitude towards consumption affects his or her pro-environmental attitudes, behaviors, and political advocacy. Iyer and Muncy (2015) have identified that consumers can have a range of attitudes about consumption ranging from anti-consumption attitudes to pro-consumption attitudes. It seems plausible that those whose attitudes towards consumption are more negative would be much more willing to constrain consumption voluntarily or through public policy initiatives. On the other hand, those who are very pro-consumption would likely be more adverse to what they might perceive as limits being placed on their activities as consumers.

To explore this question, we looked at three competing models to understand what might affect people's pro-environmental attitudes, behavior, and public policy advocacy. The first model takes more of a classic approach. It assumes that, since people are making sacrifices in their roles as consumer due to environmental concerns, the greater such concerns, the more willing consumers will be to accept such sacrifices. The second model does not look at environmental concerns at all but simply explores whether people's attitude towards consumption (anti or pro) impacts their environmental attitudes, behavior, and political advocacy. We then test a combined model to see if the extent to which environmental concerns and consumption attitudes together impact consumers environmental attitudes, behavior, and political advocacy.

**Methodology**

To gather information on the variables of interest, a non-probability regional sample was contacted. In order to ensure adequate diversity among respondents, the current study used a quota sample based on gender (male and female) and age (under 40 and 40 or older). A total of 837 questionnaires were completed and received. The researchers then reviewed the completed questionnaires to identify and delete surveys from participants who identified themselves as students and also for any missing data. This procedure led to a final sample of 528 usable responses. The sample for the study comprised of females (50%) and the average of the respondents was 40 years.

All measures were adapted from established scales that have been successfully used in other research. Anti-Consumption and Pro-Consumption were measured using the Iyer and Muncy (2015) scale. The Cordano, Welcomer and Scherer (2003) scale was used to measure pro-environmental political attitudes, pro-environmental political actions and pro-environmental behavior. The revised New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) scale by Dunlap, Van Liere, Mertig and Jones (2000) developed to improve the original NEP scale to measure pro-environmental orientation was modified to measure environmental concern. Finally, awareness of consequences of dangers to the environment was measured using the Deitz, Stern and Guagnano (1998) scale.

Following a process recommended by Anderson and Gerbing (1988), the measurement quality of the indicators was evaluated. All the measurement properties (such as individual reliabilities for the items used in the study be greater than 0.4 and composite reliability of the constructs of 0.7 or higher) were met. The chi-square value for the measurement model is significant (1545.03 with 428 d.f, $p < 0.001$), other goodness-of-fit measures indicate a good overall fit of the model to the data: RMSEA = 0.07 (see Baumgartner and Homburg 1996), NNFI = 0.94, IFI/CFI = 0.95. Finally, construct validity (convergent and discriminant) were tested by checking if each of the items exhibited acceptable loadings (path estimate $>0.50$) and is significant ($t$-value $> 2.0$). This criteria was met, thus indicating acceptable convergent validity. As evidence of discriminant validity,
none of the confidence intervals of the phi matrix included 1.00 (Anderson and Gerbing, 1988). In addition, the amount of variance extracted for each construct was compared with the squared phi estimates (Fornell and Larcker, 1981) and the estimates for all constructs was greater than the squared phi estimate, further supporting sufficient discrimination between the variables. Based on these results, the measures have sufficient validity and reliability and so allow testing the proposed structural relationships.

Testing the three Models

Testing the three Models was conducted following the guidelines provided by Anderson and Gerbing (1988). The Combined model acceptably fits the data: CFI = 0.95, NNFI (TLI) = 0.94, standardized RMR = 0.061, RMSEA = 0.07, p-value for test of close fit (RMSEA <0.05) = 0.00, and 12 of the 18 hypotheses paths are significant (67%). The Classical Model also fits the data acceptably: CFI = 0.93, NNFI (TLI) = 0.92, standardized RMR = 0.078, RMSEA = 0.08, p-value for test of close fit (RMSEA <0.05) = 0.00 and five of the six hypotheses are supported (83%). The Consumption Model also fits the data acceptably: CFI = 0.94, NNFI (TLI) = 0.93, standardized RMR = 0.066, RMSEA = 0.072, p-value for test of close fit (RMSEA <0.05) = 0.00 and eight of the twelve hypotheses are supported (67%).

Selecting the Final Model

Selecting the Final Model was conducted according to Joreskog and Sorbom (1993) an appropriate basis for choosing among competing models is to consider both model parsimony and fit. They suggest the use of three measures – AIC, ECVI, and CAIC – each of which are functions of model chi-square and degrees of freedom to assist in choosing from among competing models. While primarily considering the substantive knowledge of the subject area, the model with the smallest value of these measures should be chosen. In addition, the Parsimony Normed Fit Index (PNFI) is also useful when choosing from among competing models; using this measure, the model with the greatest value should be chosen.

Based on our findings, it was clear that the combined model, which holds that consumption along with the concern for the environment is directly associated with pro-environmental attitudes, political actions and behavior. In addition, the combined model explains a greater amount of variance in pro-environmental attitudes (31% vs. 25% for the classical model vs. 29% for the consumption model) and pro-environmental political actions (36% vs. 28% for the classical model vs. 34% for the consumption model) and pro-environmental behavior (80% vs. 54% for the classical model vs. 80% for the consumption model).

Discussion

The results of this research are quite promising in understanding how to help individuals become more willing to accept more environmentally friendly consumption patterns. As expected, we found a very strong relationship between consumption attitudes and pro-environmental attitudes, behavior, and political advocacy. Surprisingly, this effect was actually much stronger than even the effect of environmental concerns on such attitudes, behavior, and political advocacy. The model where environmental concerns was the independent variable showed a consistent and moderately strong relationship. The model where consumption attitudes was the independent variable showed a much stronger relationship. Placing both environmental concerns and attitudes towards consumption in the model actually had minimal explanatory power beyond the model with attitude towards consumption only.
This research indicates the need to start looking at people in their specific role as consumers when they are being asked to make sacrifices for the purpose of greater environmental responsibility. The attitude they have towards consumption appears to have a larger effect on their pro-environmental attitudes, behavior, and political advocacy than even their concerns with the environment has. People who might be labeled as anti-consumers seem to be very open to the idea of adjusting their behavior to provide greater benefits to the environment. In contrast, activists and policy makers should expect great resistance by those who might be labeled as pro-consumption in their attitudes.

Our research indicates the strong need to understand what impacts people's attitudes towards consumption as we are discussing marketing and public policy initiatives to create more environmental friendly consumption. What causes people to embrace anti-consumption? This is currently being explored in the growing field of anti-consumption research. What causes people to reject anti-consumption in favor of a more pro-consumption position? This too needs to be explored in greater depth. As these two questions are answered, more effective strategies for encouraging people to voluntarily engage in pro-environmental behavior should emerge. Additionally, these question should help policy makers in their efforts to gain greater public acceptance of the needed policy decisions which affect the environment.

References


Presentation 17

The Environmental Impact of Anti-Consumption Lifestyles and Environmentally Concerned Individuals

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Our findings indicate that certain anti-consumption lifestyles (i.e. voluntary simplicity and tightwadism) have lower environmental impact than being concerned with the environment, suggesting that resisting consumption offers an alternative way towards more sustainable consumption. Voluntary simplicity has the lowest environmental impact of the lifestyles studied, while frugality has the highest.

It has been argued that anti-consumption lifestyles might contribute to achieve sustainability goals (Black & Cherrier 2010; García-de-Frutos, Ortega-Egea, & Martínez-del-Río, in press). Anti-consumption lifestyles are voluntarily adopted by individuals who reduce the acquisition, use and disposal of commoditized goods and services (Lee et al. 2011). Because anti-consumers are motivated to reduce their overall consumption, it has been suggested that their impact on the environment is considerably reduced (Nepomuceno & Laroche, in press). This study investigated whether anti-consumption lifestyles lead to lower environmental impact, and whether this impact is lower than the one of environmentally concerned consumers. We considered three anti-consumption lifestyles: frugality, voluntary simplicity and tightwadism. Frugal consumers resourcefully use material goods and services and avoid waste, as they feel pleasure when saving (De Young 1986; Lastovicka et al. 1999; Rick, Cryder & Loewenstein 2008). Voluntary simplicity is adopted by those who reduce spending on goods and services to live a simple life and to obtain satisfaction by cultivating...
non-materialistic values (Iwata 1999; Nepomuceno & Laroche 2015). Tightwad consumers are strongly attached to money and reduce consumption to avoid the pain of paying (Rick et al. 2008). Environmentally concerned consumers are those who make their purchasing decisions based in part on social or environmental criteria (Dunlap et al. 2000). Environmental concerned consumers often find themselves in the dilemma of what to do to reduce their environmental impact, as they base their decisions on sometimes contradictory information, which demotivates them from sustainable consumption (Moisander 2007). However, they may also be very effective in reducing their environmental impact, as they are well informed about the impact of consumption on the environment (Bord, O’Connor & Fisher 2000).

The United Nations identified unsustainable consumption patterns, especially in developed countries, as one of the main threats towards the environment (United Nations 1992). At the same time, Craig-Lees and Hill (2002) find that people (in the United States) are starting to look for alternative ways of living, which will increase their personal satisfaction and health while at the same time reduce one’s own impact on the environment. This makes the topic of anti-consumption and sustainability relevant on a micro- and macro-level.

The data was collected by an online survey available in English and German. A sample of 245 participants (average age 26.3 years), most of them of German nationality (80%) and female (68%), took part in the study. Participants were asked to answer the adapted voluntary simplicity scale (Nepomuceno & Laroche 2015), frugality scale (Lastovicka et al. 1999), tightwadism scale (Rick et al. 2008), and the environmental concern scale (Dunlap et al., 2000). Participants were asked for the frequency of consuming 27 products and services taken from a total of 283 reported in the EIPRO study (Tukker et al. 2005). The criteria used to choose the categories were the contribution to environmental impact, feasibility of quantification, and comparability of answers. Examples of products selected were sausages and meat products, apparel, driving with motor vehicles and heating. To compare the environmental impact of each product or service, we calculated a factor (\(EI_{pi}\)). \(EI_{pi}\) is quantified as percentage of its relative contribution to global warming, acidification, photochemical ozone formation, eutrophication, abiotic depletion, ozone layer depletion, human toxicity and ecotoxicity (Tukker et al. 2005).

We first correlated the frequency of consumption of products with the scores on anti-consumption lifestyles and the environmental concern scale. For all product categories that correlated significantly (\(p<.05\)) with the respective scale, the correlation coefficient \(r\) value was multiplied by \(EI_{pi}\) and the resulting values were aggregated to an EI index for each scale. Therefore, the stronger the correlations between the scales and the consumption of products, the larger were the EI index obtained for each lifestyle. This method allowed us to have rough comparisons between the scales.

Only two categories correlated significantly with frugality: washing with household laundry equipment \((r=-.138; n=239; p=.033; EI_{pi}=1.7\%)\) and the use of household audio and video equipment \((r=-.201; n=239; p=.002; EI_{pi}=0.9\%)\), resulting in an EI index of -0.41.

For voluntary simplicity, eleven product categories were found to correlate significantly negative. The strongest correlations were for sausages and other prepared meat products \((r=-.233; n=237; p<.001; EI_{pi}=2.4\%)\), use of household audio and video equipment \((r=-.256; n=236; p<.001; EI_{pi}=0.9\%)\), apparel \((r=-.197; n=235; p=.002; EI_{pi}=2.4\%)\) and driving with motor vehicles \((r=-.210; n=238; p=.001; EI_{pi}=13\%)\). Further correlations were found for poultry & eggs \((r=-.133; n=236; p=.041; EI_{pi}=0.6\%)\), bread, cake and related products \((r=-.167; n=237; p=.010; EI_{pi}=1.2\%)\), prepared fresh or frozen fish and seafood \((r=-
.153; n=237; \( p=.019; \) EI\(_{pi}=0.5\%), washing with household laundry equipment (\( r=-.179; n=236; \) \( p=.006; \) EI\(_{pi}=1.7\% \)), automotive repair shops and services (\( r=.204; n=237; \) \( p=.002; \) EI\(_{pi}=1.3\% \)), beauty and barber shops (\( r=-.150; n=238; \) \( p=.020; \) EI\(_{pi}=1.5\% \)), resulting in an EI index of -5.20.

Tightwadism correlated negatively with 13 categories. Again, some of the strongest correlations were found for meat products (\( r=-.205; n=241; \) \( p=.001; \) EI\(_{pi}=2.4\% \)), apparel (\( r=-.189; n=239; \) \( p=.003; \) EI\(_{pi}=2.4\% \)), beauty and barber shops (\( r=-.252; n=242; \) \( p<.001; \) EI\(_{pi}=0.9\% \)) and use of household audio and video equipment (\( r=-.264; n=239; \) \( p<.001; \) EI\(_{pi}=1.3\% \)). Other correlations were found for poultry and eggs (\( r=-.173; n=240; \) \( p=.007; \) EI\(_{pi}=0.6\% \)), bread, cake and related products (\( r=-.137; n=241; \) \( p=.034; \) EI\(_{pi}=1.2\% \)), prepared fresh or frozen fish and seafood (\( r=-.168; n=241; \) \( p=.009; \) EI\(_{pi}=0.5\% \)), washing with household laundry equipment (\( r=-.184; n=239; \) \( p=.004; \) EI\(_{pi}=1.7\% \)), use of household cooking equipment (\( r=-.158; n=239; \) \( p=.015; \) EI\(_{pi}=0.6\% \)), driving with motor vehicles (\( r=-.145; n=242; \) \( p=.024; \) EI\(_{pi}=13\% \)), automotive repair shops and services (\( r=-.157; n=241; \) \( p=.015; \) EI\(_{pi}=1.3\% \)), automotive rental and leasing (\( r=-.141; n=240; \) \( p=.029; \) EI\(_{pi}=0.6\% \)) and hotels (\( r=-.138; n=241; \) \( p=.033; \) EI\(_{pi}=0.6\% \)). The EI index for tightwadism was -4.59.

Environmental concern correlated negatively with seven categories. Amongst these, a strong relationship was found for sausages and other prepared meat products (\( r=-.269; n=241; \) \( p<.001; \) EI\(_{pi}=2.4\% \)) and poultry and eggs (\( r=-.291; n=240; \) \( p<.001; \) EI\(_{pi}=0.6\% \)). Further correlations were found for prepared fresh or frozen fish and seafood (\( r=-.165; n=241; \) \( p=.010; \) EI\(_{pi}=0.5\% \)), apparel (\( r=-.128; n=239; \) \( p=.049; \) EI\(_{pi}=2.4\% \)), automotive repair shops and services (\( r=-.163; n=242; \) \( p=.011; \) EI\(_{pi}=1.3\% \)), air transportation (\( r=-.151; n=240; \) \( p=.019; \) EI\(_{pi}=0.3\% \)) and hotels (\( r=-.136; n=242; \) \( p=.035; \) EI\(_{pi}=0.6\% \)). Interestingly, the product categories with highest EI\(_{pi} \), namely driving with motor vehicles (EI\(_{pi}=13\% \)), eating and drinking places (EI\(_{pi}=8.3\% \)) and heating (EI\(_{pi}=4.4\% \)) did not correlate significantly with environmental concern. Overall, their EI index was negative at -1.53.

Our study shows that tightwadism and voluntary simplicity lifestyles have a lower environmental impact than a strong concern for the environment. As no significant correlation was found between tightwadism and environmental concern (\( r=-.110; n=239; \) \( p=.090 \)), tightwads' spending behavior is unlikely to be based on environmental concerns, but rather on their perceived pain of spending. However, voluntary simplicity correlated with environmental concern (\( r=.181; n=235; \) \( p=.005 \)). The strong anti-materialistic nature of voluntary simplicity and the intrinsic motivation of its followers to reduce material consumption to a minimum and live more independently from the market place combined with a considerable concern for the environment and the desire to live a socially, financially and ecologically sustainable life support the findings of this study that voluntary simplicity is the lifestyle with the lowest environmental impact.

Our study also supports the argument that environmentally concerned individuals are demotivated to follow a green consumption behavior due to lack of reliable information about the environmental impact of certain products or services and the resulting uncertainty about their consumer choices (Moisander 2007). Finally, the limited reduction of environmental impact by frugality might be explained by the motivation to resourcefully use goods they acquire – but not necessarily to acquire fewer goods (Lastovicka et al. 1999). The significant and positive correlation (\( r=.192; n=239; \) \( p=.003 \)) of a frugal lifestyle with environmental concern suggests that frugal consumers are concerned about the environment, but it does not show in their purchasing behavior, but probably rather in their post-purchasing usage of goods.
It is shown in this study that a high environmental concern is not sufficient for people to reduce the environmental impact of their consumption behavior (cf. also Black 2010). Although green consumption is better than consumption without any regard to the environment, an expanded agenda is needed to get closer to a sustainable consumption. This should include a reduction of consumption, consideration of the full product and consumption cycle and an expanded scope of consumption research (Prothero et al. 2011).

Following studies should research possible moderators of anti-consumers’ consumption behavior and its environmental impact, such as civic status and income level. A differentiation between countries of residence and income groups with more respondents would test the generalizability of our findings and allow for more concrete suggestions for policy makers and practitioners. Promoting a simpler way of life could convince people to change their lifestyle towards a more environmental respectful way of consuming, which is a crucial element for a more sustainable development worldwide.

Developing sustainable consumption can be supported by promoting anti-consumption as a lifestyle with more opportunities for self-expression, personal well-being and at the same time a positive contribution to the environment. Marketers and policy makers have to encourage this reduction of consumption and shift of focus away from materialism towards community engagement and meaningful work as a path to higher quality of life. This reduction of consumption is a necessary step towards a more sustainable development worldwide.

References


Presentation 18
Controlling Marketing and Making Space for Alternative Hedonism: A Policy Agenda

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Key words: Anti-consumption, Alternative Hedonism, Controlling Marketing

Chatzidakis and Lee (2013) talk about anti-consumption research as examining the reasons for being against consumption, whereas more specifically Zavestoski defines it as “a resistance to, distaste of, or even resentment of consumption” (2002, p.121). Inherent in both these broad and more specific definitions, is the notion that consumption (or at least the consumption practiced in developed or “Western” countries) is in some way bad, destructive or negative. Indeed authors from a range of disciplines have produced a long list of evidence, dating back many years showing the environmental, social and personal damage caused by the types of materialistic and consumer consumption that is encouraged and practiced currently (Dolan et al 2006; Hobson 2004; Kilbourne et al 1997; Piacentini et al., 2014; Redmond 2005; Stocker 2014). Marketing as a discipline has been rightfully criticized for its role in this damage as it can stimulate novel, repeated, damaging and wasteful consumer consumption (Badot and Cova 2008; Piacentini et al 2014; Sims and Potts 2012).

In this conceptual and policy paper, the authors examine Kate Soper’s ideas on alternative hedonism (2007, 2008, 2009) which suggest ways to reconnect humans with the pleasures of consuming differently whilst continuing to challenge the dominant ideas of what a ‘good life’ is (Jackson 2010, Soper 2010). These ideas of a different form of consumption (perhaps one that is less bad and there is less to be against?) are coupled with Cova and Badot’s ideas on Marketing as societing to represent a different form of marketing that can facilitate stronger relations between citizens, build community and reduce environmental damage. Finally, rather than just call for these changes, a series of national and local government level policy ideas are presented which look to control marketing as currently practiced and to create space for participation where alternative hedonism can be explored.

Marketing as Manipulator

It can be argued that Marketing as currently practiced across a range of for-profit industries sanctions the expansion of consumption. It develops an invidious materialism (Page 1992) where social interactions are imbued with spending and that status and group membership are defined by what, where, how and with whom you consume (Schukla 2008) rather than your intrinsic relationships, the skills you have and what you do. It also helps create and support cycles of consumption by supporting a culture of continual change through product differentiation, new spaces of consumption and celebrity trend-setting which create new reasons for consumers to spend more (Black, Shaw and Trebeck 2015).
Marketing and the consumption it supports has been criticized for its role in damaging the environment (Black & Cherrier 2010), as well as damaging social and individual wellbeing by, for example leading to high levels of dissatisfaction and regret (Wilkie & Moore 2012) and decreasing quality of life (Redmond 2005). It's manipulative role partly comes from the disparity between the happiness and fulfillment promised by consumer goods (Hastings & Saren 2003) and the outcome, with research highlighting how this `stuff’ does not make us happy (Csikszentmihalyi 2000).

**Marketing as Facilitator**

**Alternative Hedonism**

In exploring different forms of consumption which can lead to marketing being conceptualized in a facilitative role, Kate Soper's work on alternative hedonism is offered here. This work calls for a reconsideration of the dominant understanding of the ‘good life’ and points to a means to reconnect humans with the pleasures of consuming differently (Soper 2007, 2008, 2009). Distinct from messages to limit consumption (Connolly and Prothero 2003), alternative hedonism seeks a refocusing to the intrinsic pleasures of consuming differently, such as slowing down, contemplation, relaxation, sharing and doing (Soper 2008). It calls for individuals and groups to look beyond quick and easy consumer fixes, to be reflexive of the limits of the market in terms of fulfilling personal pleasure and collective well-being (Soper 2013) and to consider the civic dimension of the label ‘consumer’ (Soper 2005).

Whilst it is not suggested that such changes will be without sacrifices in terms of current notions of pleasure and convenience, it argues that gains will outweigh losses both individually and collectively. A contrast between this approach and more common current market offering can be seen in where solutions to a lack of time are offered (e.g., fast food, gyms) but in doing so inexpensive pleasures are sacrificed such as preparing and sharing a meal and walking (Soper 2008). In other examples of this alternative form of consuming, public spaces given over to public art works can invite pleasure and relaxation without the requirement for market based purchasing, so encouraging people to slow down and reflect.

**Marketing as Societing**

Badot, Bucci & Cova (1993) introduced a reformulation of marketing through the concept of societing. ‘Societing’ means either to ‘put in the society’ or ‘to make society’ (Badot & Cova 1992, 2008). In societing, ‘the company is not a simple economic actor who adapts to the market, but a social actor embedded in the societal context’ (Badot et al. 1993, p. 51). The logic of ‘marketing to’ is replaced by the logic of ‘marketing with’ and in practice terms this may mean for example, pricing to constrain rather than to stimulate sales or adapting legal frameworks to privilege socially-orientated companies and investment in sustainable production.

This approach invites both companies and citizens to consider collaborative consumption practices which promote exchange and the circulation of value among consumers. It attributes relevance to sharing and giving and highlights the significance of production created by consumers. Through collaborative and societal practices such as sharing, gifting and prosumption, alternatives are provided to traditional forms of buying and ownership (Botsman & Rogers, 2010) where the relations with possessions becoming more liquid (Bardhi, Eckhardt, & Arnould, 2012) and increase feelings of solidarity (Botsman & Rogers, 2010).

**Creating Space**

The different forms of consumption and marketing described have the potential to reduce negative impacts on the physical environment, society, and individuals. The paper
now offers local and national policy interventions designed to provide some of the resources (physical and psychological space, time, skills) that could enable alternative hedonism and control current marketing practices and encourage marketing as societing.

**Controlling Marketing**

There is a need to control marketing as manipulator and encourage its use as a facilitator. Part of this can be for marketing educators to change what is taught as the definition of marketing, its logic and goals. This redefinition will place ‘societing’ as a central concept and with the goal of marketing being to help ‘make society’ (Badot & Cova, 1992). By accepting societing and its forms of collaborative consumption, materiality will be put back in goods (better quality goods are typically required for rental) so that it is better value for both the company and the consumer. These changes are also designed to help reduce the insecurity and status anxiety created by steep inequality and intensified by marketing when it focuses selling novel possessions. Additional ways of controlling these practices are structured using marketing mix headings.

**Promotion**

This would involve a complete ban on the marketing and advertising of goods and services to children and other vulnerable groups, including in-game advertising and sales offers widely used in computer games. Sponsorship arrangements between sporting, cultural and community groups and socially and personally damaging products like alcohol, gambling and high sugar drinks should be mandated against. Control should also be enacted over the amount and size of advertising allowed in civic and shared spaces. Sao Paulo in Brazil provides an excellent example of how this can work and subsequently reclaim these spaces as areas of cultural and social participation. In countries such as the United Kingdom and Australia where advertising is, or is in part, self-regulated, fully co-regulated systems should be investigated. This change should also include adding ‘Does not undermine sense of personal or social self” as a key principle to which that marketing communications must adhere.

**Products**

Material input labelling should be mandated so allowing consumers full access to information about what resources are used to make a product and the waste produced and how lean the production is (waste to output ratio). Packaging waste should be treated as a design flaw which is the producer’s responsibility not that of the consumer or the municipal council who currently deal with the rubbish it creates. To encourage packaging return, reuse and remanufacture, uniform bottle and container sizes should be mandated. Germany has for example, container deposit legislation that stipulates the use of uniform beer bottle designs and sizes, making them more easily reused and recycled.

**Place**

Local and national planning regulations should prioritize local and urban centres as places to shop and live and priority should be given to local, circular economies where local multiplier effects are seen in terms of economic and relationship benefits. The sales of individually and socially damaging goods should be banned from schools, libraries and other community owned spaces.

**Price**

Prices must include the full cost of producing, maintaining and disposing of goods throughout their life cycles. This will crucially involve fully costing the price of the pollution created across this lifecycle, it will go beyond just carbon emissions and include charges pollution and environmental remediation work required to clean our land, air and water. Fresh impetus must be given to an international, GHG pollution cap and trading schemes.
Bulk buy food deals should be restricted as they encourage faster and more mindless consumption and favour better off consumers with the resources to take advantage of these offers (Black & Areni 2016).

**Making participation desirable**

To move from a consumption based life to one based on participation in society, participation needs to be more desirable for all sections of society. This has to include creating spaces that are seen as safe (physically, socially, culturally and psychologically) and do not constrain by reinforcing gender roles. Increasing participation where different forms of hedonic and participative experience can be consumed required barriers in terms of costs, accessibility, time and skills to be addressed.

**Making participation cheaper**

Community participation should be cheaper than, or comparable to, participation in passive isolating activities such as watching television. For families on lower incomes, television is one of few affordable leisure activities when compared to the high cost participation in sporting, cultural or artistic activities. In Scotland for example, some cultural venues are free and previously council run swimming pool entry were subsidized for children, leading to higher visitor numbers (BBC 2016). This paper suggest that such schemes are expanded.

Participation often requires expensive equipment and different forms of ownership and availability need therefore to be examined and supported. For example, by sharing mountaineering equipment via a library rather than owning, costs can be reduced. This also reduces the risk of starting new hobbies as good quality, well maintained equipment is readily available without significant initial outlay.

To facilitate shared ownership community owned goods should not attract sales based taxes such as the UK VAT or Australian GST. Tax deductions are used to encourage economic activity - why shouldn’t they be used to encourage social and environmental activity as well? Hence this paper calls for tax incentives (such as an additional amount in tax free allowances) for community volunteerism.

**Making participation space available**

Land and facility availability is critical for participation though access to it varies across and within countries. A presumption of local ownership for all unused local government owned land should be discussed. If it is not being used, the local community should have the right to develop land or building in a way that benefits that community – for example, via use by local football clubs or community gardens. Indeed, restraining the latter in the UK, many community gardens experience a general lack of security of land tenure (Crossan et al. 2015).

**Developing the Skills**

Participation often requires skills. This may be the skills needed to run a building, manage and maintain a club or the skills to take part. This may require greater investment in part-time college places and evening classes, but this might also be provided and facilitated by local, regional and national skills databases where those with skills can make them available to those requiring them.

**Summary**

This paper has outlined ideas on different forms of consumption and participation which may address the many negative environmental, social and personal impacts invidious materialism.
currently creates. By highlighting a different form of marketing to be taught and understood, it highlights how the tools and skills of this discipline can be put to work to build society rather than drive individualism. These messages are then supported by governmental interventions designed to allow people psychological and physical space to explore these different ways of consuming and in particular to increase participation in society building activities. Therefore this paper provides anti-consumption policy interventions whilst simultaneously promoting a different form of consumption, a view that there might be less to be against.

References


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Regulation is defined as “any constraint imposed upon the normal freedom of individuals by the legitimate activity of government” (Brown-John 1981, p. 7). Because regulation involves government activities that limit the choices available to individuals within society, it is often controversial (Meier 1985). The regulation of tobacco marketing and promotion, with an objective to reduce consumption, is no exception. To what extent can and should the government intervene in the lives of citizens? Moreover, which government activities should be regarded as legitimate? Tobacco control policies aim to reduce tobacco use and nicotine addiction and thereby serve as instruments or acts against consumption (Chatzidakis and Lee 2012).

In Canada, the Tobacco Act (Bill C-71) was adopted to protect an important marketing segment (i.e., youth) that is considered particularly vulnerable to persuasive and manipulative advertising. The Tobacco Act, which was implemented in 1997, places a ban on tobacco “lifestyle” advertising, whereas “brand preference” advertising remains permissible. The Tobacco Act defines lifestyle advertising as “advertising that associates a product with, or evokes a positive or negative emotion about or image of, a way of life such as one that includes glamour, recreation, excitement, vitality, risk or daring.” Tobacco brand sponsorship is classified as a form of lifestyle advertising (Dewhirst 2004); amendments were made to the Tobacco Act (i.e., Bill C-42) that imposed a tobacco brand sponsorship ban in Canada, effective October 2003. Brand preference advertising, meanwhile, is described in the Tobacco Act as factual, informational tobacco advertising – on the basis of the product’s characteristics, price, or availability – that is permissible if it is placed in adult establishments, in trade publications, or in mailings addressed to adults by name.

Canada has also signed and ratified the World Health Organization’s (WHO) Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), which is legally binding for those countries that ratify the treaty. The FCTC stipulates a comprehensive ban of all tobacco promotion directed toward consumers, in accordance with each country’s respective constitution. The Tobacco Act faced a constitutional challenge from Canada’s three major tobacco firms – Imperial Tobacco Canada Limited, Rothmans, Benson & Hedges Inc., and JTI-Macdonald Corp. – but the policy was upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada during 2007. Nevertheless, the information/lifestyle distinction remains unclear for determining “allowable” promotion. Despite the Tobacco Act being upheld, tobacco control groups have called for a full tobacco advertising ban in Canada to be consistent with the stipulations of the WHO FCTC (Makin 2007).
In this paper, a focus is placed on the stipulations of the Tobacco Act that are relevant to tobacco advertising and promotion. We utilize a public policy analysis framework, adapted from Pal (1992), to account for the determinants, the content, and the implementation of the Tobacco Act. In doing so, the objectives of our research are three-fold. First, our aim is to identify and examine the key determinants of the Tobacco Act. Second, we provide an overview of the Tobacco Act’s content, giving particular attention to its purpose, regulations pertaining to promotion (i.e., Part IV, Section 18 to 33), and enforcement stipulations. Third, we consider the implementation of the Tobacco Act, and examine the challenges that the federal government faces.

The key research questions of our policy analysis is to examine: (1) to what extent are the Tobacco Act’s goals clearly defined?; and (2) to what extent does the Tobacco Act provide the necessary instruments and means for effectively fulfilling its goals?

In this paper, hermeneutic techniques are utilized, which largely involves a qualitative and interpretive approach to the study of texts. The fundamental method for data collection is a “document review,” in which the Tobacco Act is the text of primary focus. We draw on a public policy analysis framework, adapted from Pal (1992), to account for the determinants, the content, and the implementation of the Tobacco Act. Supplemental or secondary research techniques are also utilized, including literature reviews, a review of tobacco industry documents made public from litigation, and a semiotic analysis of advertisements.

Our account of policy determinants reflects the underlying forces considered responsible for generating the Tobacco Act, and it is anticipated that the identified determinants will have contributed towards the determination of policy goals, content (e.g., wording), and so on. For examining policy determinants, we account for factors such as:

1. **The health consequences of tobacco use (including addiction):** A government regulatory role in the creation of tobacco control policies appears largely justified because cigarette smoking represents the single most important cause of preventable illness and premature death in Canada. Tobacco use is responsible for a greater number of deaths among Canadians than the total caused by motor-vehicle crashes, suicides, murders, AIDS, and illicit drug use combined (Cunningham 1996). The health consequences of smoking may act as an important factor in government deliberations about the role that health-care costs can and will play in the reduction of the federal deficit. A reduction in overall tobacco consumption levels is regarded as a valuable objective toward health-care reform efforts and offsetting ever-increasing health-care costs. For providing insight about this policy determinant, we draw from economic cost-benefit analyses (e.g., Collishaw and Myers 1984; Kaiserman 1997; Single et al. 1998).

2. **The targeting of “at risk” populations, such as youth, through tobacco marketing:** Several investigators have examined tobacco industry documents that are publicly accessible primarily as a result of two sets of court proceedings in Canada—the 1989 federal trial to decide the constitutionality of the Tobacco Products Control Act (TPCA) and the 2002 Quebec Superior Court trial to determine the constitutionality of the Tobacco Act—and they have found that youth are a target of tobacco marketing activities (e.g., Pollay and Lavack 1993; Cunningham 1996; Pollay 1995; 1997; 2000; Dewhirst and Sparks 2003; Dewhirst 2004). This policy determinant carries particular importance, given that youth are identified as a key segment for protection by the Tobacco Act (i.e., one of the Tobacco Act’s purposes is “to protect young persons and others from inducements to use tobacco products and the consequent dependence on them”), and 13 or 14 is the typical age of smoking initiation in Canada (Health Canada 1996).
Deceptive and misleading advertising: Deceptive advertising is considered to be marketing communication that likely results in consumers having information or beliefs that are incorrect or cannot be substantiated (Hoyer and MacInnis 2001). Deceptive advertising may occur if there is misrepresentation (e.g., a company makes a claim that has no validity) or as a result of omitted information (Cohen 1974; Hoyer and MacInnis 2001). For this policy determinant, we draw from internal tobacco industry document reviews that provide summary evidence of the marketing and research agendas of various tobacco firms; as an illustration, we include discussion about tobacco industry advertising for reduced-yield products, in which many consumers have perceived filtered and low-tar delivery products as safer alternatives to regular cigarettes (e.g., see Pollay and Dewhirst 2002).

The failure of self-regulation: Another determinant for regulating tobacco promotion is the demonstrated inability of the tobacco industry to self-regulate effectively. Cunningham (1996) and Dewhirst (2004), for example, discuss breaches of voluntary advertising codes that have occurred in Canada. Interest groups, such as the Non-Smokers’ Rights Association (NSRA) and Physicians for a Smoke-Free Canada, have played an important role in providing evidence demonstrating that the tobacco industry has violated terms of voluntary advertising codes.

The TPCA ruled as unconstitutional: In September 1995, in a five-to-four decision, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the TPCA was unconstitutional. The failure to distinguish between “lifestyle” and “brand preference” advertising was considered, by the majority judgment, to be a crucial flaw of the TPCA; according to the judgment, the Crown did not sufficiently demonstrate whether the goals of the TPCA were achievable through measures that were less intrusive than a total advertising ban (Manfredi 2002). Given that the Tobacco Act was established as a replacement of the TPCA, we interpret the Supreme Court ruling – concerning the constitutionality of the TPCA – and provide insight about how this ruling informed the development of the Tobacco Act.

For the second element of the policy analysis, which involves providing an overview of the Tobacco Act’s content, we give particular attention to its purpose, regulations pertaining to promotion (i.e., Part IV, Section 18 to 33), and enforcement mechanisms. A focus is placed on the stipulations of the Tobacco Act that are relevant to tobacco advertising and promotion.

Finally, for examining the implementation of the Tobacco Act, we account for government jurisdictional issues. According to the Economic Council of Canada, “the growth of government regulatory activity is the growth of the interdependence between the federal and provincial governments… There are few areas of policy making where one government acts alone” (1985, p. 166). Schultz and Alexandroff (1985) observe that as the function of regulation has evolved, intergovernmental conflict has either ensued or increased. This intergovernmental conflict may take the form of federal-provincial or inter-provincial dissent. Issues that are classified as both federal and provincial jurisdiction may result in “duplication, overlap, inconsistency, and confusion in regulatory requirements imposed on individuals and firms in the private sector and in the regulatory activities of the two levels of government” (Economic Council of Canada 1985, p. 166). These arguments certainly have relevance and applicability for tobacco control policies, and our analysis accounts for whether federal and provincial policies are consistent with one another. Provincial legislation, such as Quebec’s Tobacco Act (see Breton et al. 2008), serves as an example of legislation with stipulations also pertaining to tobacco advertising. Moreover, the implementation component of our analysis identifies possible policy loopholes, such as the observation that Canadians continue to be exposed to tobacco advertising that remains permissible in foreign media that is
imported or transmitted into Canada. This exception, noted in the Tobacco Act, is particularly controversial for U.S. printed magazines that are distributed primarily in Canada (notably, the United States has not ratified the WHO FCTC to date). The Supreme Court of Canada’s judgment, regarding the constitutionality of the Tobacco Act, is examined, and issues surrounding Canada meeting its obligations to the WHO FCTC are identified. Some recent and representative tobacco ads are used as illustrations to demonstrate the challenges of distinguishing between lifestyle and brand preference advertising. Semiotics – defined as a “system of signs” – is a research approach for studying advertisements that is utilized (Leiss, Kline, and Jhally 1997).

In summary, policy analysis frameworks are commonly utilized within the disciplines of political science and public administration, yet such research applications seem limited within both marketing and tobacco control. Although a considerable body of research exists relating to the field of tobacco control policy, the aims of most studies have been limited to outcome measures of implemented policies (e.g., see Warner, Isaacs, and Knickman 2006 for an overview of such research), comparative public policy (e.g., see Studlar 2002 for Canada and the United States as the basis of comparative politics and political structures), or legislative hearings and arguments regarding the constitutionality of a given policy (e.g., see Manfredi 2002 and Pollay 2004 for discussion about arguments pertaining to the TPCA and Tobacco Act trials, respectively). Conceptually, our research adds to the existing body of knowledge by applying a public policy analysis framework, in which a comprehensive examination of Canada’s Tobacco Act is provided by taking into account the policy’s determinants, content, and implementation.

References


ICAR

The International Centre for Anti-consumption Research (ICAR) is hosted by The University of Auckland Business School (UABS). It comprises a network of marketing academics and social scientists from various universities around the world. Affiliates come from diverse yet complementary backgrounds and all share a common interest in anti-consumption. ICAR was conceived in 2005 as a strategic response to the growing desire from international academics to collaborate on anti-consumption related research.

With the participation of its valued affiliates and established interest in anti-consumption, ICAR continues to produce quality outputs and has proven its appeal to international research funders such as the Association for Consumer Research. Since its inception ICAR has hosted six symposiums and produced special issues/sections on anti-consumption in the Journal of Business Research; Consumption, Markets and Culture; European Journal of Marketing, and Journal of Consumer Behaviour; Journal of Macromarketing, Journal of Consumer Affairs; and a forthcoming issue in the Journal of Public Policy and Marketing. These special issues combined with regular symposia provide publication opportunities for hundreds of international academics.

ICAR has three main objectives:

1. Investigate all aspects of anti-consumption to understand the reasons underlying its existence. This involves the study of anti-consumption incidents, antecedents, consequences, and related phenomena.

2. Using the wisdom gained to assist practitioners, in certain circumstances, to prevent, alleviate, or, in some cases, even encourage anti-consumption.

3. To determine if our consumption-driven society can benefit from understanding the legitimate philosophies underlying anti-consumption.

It is our belief that knowledge of anti-consumption, derived from these three objectives, is now particularly pertinent as the world becomes more aware of issues regarding financial recessions, corporate social responsibility, climate change, environmental degradation, and business sustainability.

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