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Welcome

Since the first special issue in Psychology and Marketing (2002) and the inception of The International Centre for Anti-consumption Research (ICAR) in 2005, anti-consumption research has flourished. This interest is evidenced by several special issues, focusing on various aspects of anti-consumption, published by: Journal of Business Research (2009); Consumption, Markets and Culture (2010); Journal of Consumer Behaviour (2010); European Journal of Marketing (2011); Journal of Macromarketing (2013); Journal of Consumer Affairs (2016); and the Journal of Public Policy and Marketing (2018).

Anti-consumption research now encompasses a wide range of phenomena, from specific avoidance of brands (Lee, Motion, and Conroy, 2009; Iyer and Muncy, 2009) through to sustainable resistance of mainstream consumption in general (Cherrier, Black, and Lee, 2011). It is heartening to see that the study of the ‘reasons against consumption’ Chatizidakis and Lee, 2013) has moved beyond fringe dwelling ‘hippy’ and ‘dumpster-diving’ lifestyles (Zavestoski, 2002; Fernandez, Brittain, and Bennett, 2011), to now include a multitude of phenomena where individuals consciously make the decision to reject certain products, brands, organizations, or countries. Indeed, research has documented that ‘regular’ citizens are also capable of performing anti-consumption behaviors (Lee, Motion, and Conroy, 2009). Hence, anti-consumption comprises a plethora of manifestations which differ in terms of actors, goals, targets, duration and intensity. As a consequence, anti-consumption can be researched in different ways, varying the object of analysis, the research purpose, the sample, the methods and analysis employed.

Yet, it is evident that whilst anti-consumption is a mushrooming field of research, the area has predominantly focused on how and why individuals engage in anti-consumption practices, with a marked emphasis on the antecedents and meanings of individual behaviors. We believe, it is now necessary to take a more complete approach to the different phenomena encompassed under anti-consumption. We believe that anti-consumption is worthy of exploration from multiple perspectives, taking into account multiple actors—not only individuals, but also communities, companies, or even nations. Furthermore, the study of the consequences of anti-consumption has been mostly overlooked in previous literature. This is problematic because, although most anti-consumption behavior holds considerable promise for fostering a more sustainable society and diminishing the environmental impact of human activities, there is still very little understanding of how this process will actually unfold. Moreover, although many anti-consumption practices seek to achieve substantial environmental changes in current society, considerable uncertainty remains on the existence of societal or aggregated effects of anti-consumption behaviors; thus, a significant research gap still persists.

Consequently, as organizers of ICAR2018, we felt an opportune moment for the study of anti-consumption to move beyond its ‘product/corporate-centric’ boundary into a broader realm of ‘marketing compatible’ disciplines and topics. In line with this vision we called for anti-consumption research that went ‘beyond boundaries’. The response has been fantastic. This year we are fortunate to host anti-consumption research across a broad range of contexts, from digital influencers to organic food consumption, from macro-ideologically and politically motivated anti-consumption through to introspective moral licensing. From Tourism to precycling. With these
diverse topics in mind, it gives us great pleasure to welcome all delegates to Almeria, a most fitting place when we consider the theme of the symposium. Not only are Almeria’s natural and cultural landscapes diverse, but so too are its commercial enterprises, from horticulture to film to tourism.

Welcome! From your hosts: Jose, Nieves, and Mike

References


Acknowledgements

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Friday 9th November (ICAR Day 1)

Paper 1

“What we Know About Anti-Consumption: An Attempt to Nail Jelly to the Wall”

Katerina Makri and Bodo Schlegelmilch

Introduction
Challenging the doctrine that consumption is good and more consumption is better represents nothing less than a paradigm change for many marketing academics and practitioners. However, there is an emerging interest among marketers in gauging whether, and if so how, consumers are turning away from consumption or moderate their consumption. In fact, over the last decade, the “field of anti-consumption” has generated increasing interest in the marketing literature. Various journals even devoted special issues to anti-consumption and related topics, notably Psychology and Marketing (2002); Journal of Business Research (2009); Consumption, Markets and Culture (2010); Journal of Consumer Behavior (2010); European Journal of Marketing (2011); Journal of Macromarketing (2013); Journal of Consumer Affairs (2016); and the Journal of Public Policy and Marketing (2018).

Despite the burgeoning interest in the topic of anti-consumption, a number of issues prevent research in this field from reaching its full potential. Lack of definitional clarity and overlapping constructs are some of the characteristics of the fragmented anti-consumption research. The authors attempt to redress this and aim to create a firm foundation for advancing knowledge in the field of anti-consumption by (1) undertaking a thorough review of prior, relevant literature; (2) presenting the most influential journals and authors of the field; (3) offering an overview of the scope of anti-consumption literature and attempting to delineate its overlapping areas; (4) providing a discussion toward a conclusive definition of anti-consumption; and (5) suggesting an agenda for future research.

Methodological Approach
Undertaking a comprehensive review of anti-consumption papers published from 1980 until today demands a well-structured research approach. To ensure that all relevant articles were included in the review, we followed a four-step procedure. First, a major database, Google Scholar, was used to search for the terms “anti-consumption”, “anti consumption” or “anticonsumption” anywhere in the article. The initial search resulted in 2.170 articles. Second, we had to decide which journals to include in our analysis. Results from a citation analysis of marketing journals, conducted by Baumgartner and Pieters (2003), offered the sampling framework. Specifically, our initial results were filtered by 58 marketing and consumer behavior journals derived from the above mentioned list of journals. This process allowed us to narrow down the number of articles to 373. In a third step, we read both abstracts and papers to double check whether they were suitable for inclusion in our analysis. In order to be eligible for review, articles had to meet one of the following criteria:
a) Papers have titles, abstracts, or keywords containing the term “anti-consumption.”
b) The research has an “anti-consumption approach”. The latter was operationalized as studies focusing on behaviors or phenomena, which can be considered against the process of consumption; this is in line with conceptualisations by Chatzidakis and Lee (2013), Cherrier et al. (2011), Lee, Fernandez and Hyman (2009b) and Piacentini and Banister (2009), who all view anti-consumption as “against” or “opposed to” consumption.
c) Studies focus on pro-environmental, pro-social or ethical behaviour and the investigated behavior is perceived by the authors as a manifestation of anti-consumption, i.e. as long as the term “anti-consumption” consistently appeared in the text. Including such papers reduces the likelihood of overlooking relevant contributions.
d) Papers had to be academic studies, written in English and published in academic journals. Thus, book chapters, conference papers or unpublished work were excluded.

As a result, 238 of the 384 articles were excluded from further analysis. Finally, once a paper was deemed appropriate for inclusion, the reference lists were reviewed to spot additional published material. This final step ensured the completeness of the literature search and directed us into adding, among others, 13 papers from two special issues about anti-consumption. Both issues were published in 2010 by journals not included in the Baumgartner and Pieters (2003) list, namely Consumption Markets and Culture, and Journal of Consumer Behavior. Thus, the process finally resulted in a total of 159 relevant papers on anti-consumption, dating from 1980 to 2017.

A Review of the Research on Anti-Consumption

There is a general agreement that the term “anti-consumption” conveys the meaning of “against consumption”, which denotes a clear opposition to consumption (e.g. Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013; Cherrier et al. 2011; Lee et al. 2009b; Piacentini & Banister, 2009). Nevertheless, anti-consumption should not only be conceived as opposition to consumption in general, but also as comprising actions that are directed against more specific targets, such as brands, products/product categories, companies or nations (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013; Iyer & Muncy, 2009). Hence, in contrast to traditional consumer behavior, which focuses on why consumers decide to buy a certain brand or product, studies on anti-consumption focus on what motivates consumers not to choose or avoid specific products or brands (Lee et al. 2009b; Lee et al. 2009c; Varman & Belk, 2009).

Anti-consumption is conceptualized as a counter movement to mass consumption and a means of achieving societal or personal goals (Iyer & Muncy, 2009). In this respect, it enables consumers to “express their values, ideas, beliefs and overall identities” (Cherrier & Murray, 2007) and is strongly related to the consumer’s subjectivity, including self-interested and socio-environmental concerns (Cherrier et al. 2011). Reflecting the current situation and future consequences of consumption practices, consumers adopt the principle of anti-consumption as part of their lifestyle and as a philosophy of life (Amine & Gicquel, 2011). Literature shows that anti-consumption lifestyles are not directly represented by practices, but by the formulation of identities, which in turn may lead to anti-consumption practices (Cherrier, 2009). Thus, anti-consumption should not be considered a lifestyle per se, however it has to be associated with a life project or philosophy to be considered as such.

So far, definitions of anti-consumption have been too broad and do not clarify whether the term refers to practices, attitudes or behaviors. Instead, the literature often uses the word “phenomena” to describe the scope of anti-consumption (Lee et al. 2011). Extant views of what anti-
consumption comprises are too inclusive and range from acts, through discourses, to lifestyles (Kozinets et al. 2010).

Anti-consumption, or “resistance to, distaste of, or even resentment or rejection of consumption more generally” (Zavestoski, 2002, p.121), assumes a variety of manifestations. In an attempt to construct a perceptual map of research on anti-consumption (Figure 1), we use the papers analysed for the purposes of this review and we classify anti-consumers based on their level of motivation (micro/individual concerns vs. macro/collective, social or environmental concerns) and the intensity level of their manifested acts, ranging from resistance to rejection. In particular, we visualize anti-consumption as a continuum of adverse behaviors and activities, ranging from rejection to resistance. Rejection indicates the exclusion of certain products/brands from consumption. It involves products not purchased and brands not chosen, which all represent rather passive behaviors, and are therefore harder to recognize and counteract. Resistance, incorporates cutting, lowering and limiting consumption. Whilst rejection is about avoiding the consumption of some goods, resistance is about the reduction of certain goods. In this regard, in Figure 1, the horizontal axis is anchored at “rejection” and “resistance”, as a measure of the intensity of the manifested act.

The importance of analysing anti-consumption phenomena stems from the idea that drivers, notions and manifestations are different from those of consumption (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013). Current literature in the field of anti-consumption is mainly occupied by studying the reasons against consumption (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013; Iyer & Muncy, 2009; Kozinets, Handelman & Lee, 2010; Lee et al. 2009c). An individual who decides to perform certain anti-consumption actions is not only lacking motivation to consume (reasons for), but may also have stronger motivations for not consuming (reasons against). Motivations against consumption are distinguished into two general categories, micro-level motivators and macro-level motivators. At the macro-level, there is an abundance of current research supporting anti-consumption induced by pro-social concerns in general (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013; Galvagno, 2011; Lee et al. 2009c) and ecological concerns in particular (Cherrier, 2009; Hutter & Hoffmann, 2013; Iyer & Muncy, 2009). Individuals driven by macro-level motivators are engaged in anti-consumption behaviors for the collective good of the society or even mankind. However, it must be clarified that anti-consumption is not necessarily driven by pro-social motivations (Lee et al. 2009b). On the contrary, anti-consumers may hold oppositional attitudes towards consumption based purely on personal concerns, also known as micro-motivators (Craig-Lees & Hill, 2002; Iyer & Muncy, 2009). These anti-consumers mostly care for their individual well-being. In this respect, in Figure 1 we anchored the vertical axis of map at “collective” and “individual” to denote the level of motivation associated with each anti-consumption activity.

Each paper was assigned to the most relevant category based on its content. In this way, we are also able to observe the size of each category on the perceptual map. Big circles illustrated in the perceptual map represent those anti-consumption subdomains, which have received most research interest, while small circles indicate phenomena, which have attracted scant research focus. The perceptual map presented in Figure 1 also allows us to identify some overlapping conceptual areas, which we will discuss further.

**Figure 1:** A perceptual map of the research on anti-consumption
As Figure 1 shows, the domain of anti-consumption is strongly associated with several research topics such as consumer resistance, voluntary simplicity, brand avoidance, green/sustainable consumption, boycotting, ethical consumption, symbolic consumption and alternative consumption. Results from our analysis indicate that there is a confusion and a level of overlap between some of the above mentioned fields of research. As indicated in the perceptual map, the biggest clusters of theoretical and empirical interest that scholars often subsume under anti-consumption are: consumer resistance, boycotts, ethical consumption, voluntary simplicity and green consumption. Based on the anti-consumption research collected for the purpose of this review, papers associated with these five clusters account for 81% of the total research in the field. Moreover, Figure 1 directs attention to three major overlapping conceptual areas: consumer resistance and voluntary simplicity, boycotts and ethical consumption as well as symbolic consumption and brand avoidance.

Concluding Thoughts
In line with Chatzidakis and Lee (2013), we argue that anti-consumption should be positioned as a distinct perspective by which other, similar topics may be viewed. Murphy and Medin (1985, p.313) contend that “one cannot talk about theories or knowledge representation in a domain without specifying the concepts people have in the domain”. Addressing their concern, we aim to specify the prevailing perceptions of scholars in the field and offer a delineation of the overlapping areas towards the development of a coherent conceptualization of anti-consumption.

The present review aims to contribute to the apparent need for a conclusive conceptualization of anti-consumption by offering a conceptual delineation of the term. Based on contemporary theories of concepts, we argue that there are necessary and sufficient features that define concepts (Murphy & Medin, 1985). In this respect, we aim to point out two features of anti-consumption, which are “defining” the concept, in other words, are most central to our understanding of its meaning, namely “consciousness” and “self-expression”. First, anti-consumption is viewed as a conscious, intentional, deliberate, volitional behavior against
consumption (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013; Cromie & Ewing, 2009; Hogg et al. 2009; Kozinets et al. 2010). Second, self-expression is an individual driver of anti-consumption acts. Particularly, through anti-consumption, individuals aim to distance themselves from their undesired self and communicate the beliefs and values they actually hold (Black & Cherrier, 2010; Cherrier, 2009; Cherrier et al. 2011; Hogg et al. 2009).

Overall, anti-consumption is a conscious and deliberate choice based on decisions that are consistent with one’s values (Kozinets et al. 2010). Consequently, the features highlighted above automatically imply that refraining from consumption as a consequence of financial, legal or other external restriction is not considered an act of anti-consumption (Cherrier et al. 2011). Similarly, the non-purchase of a product that was not part of the consumer’s consideration set in the first place should not be confused with anti-consumption acts. Additionally, expressiveness is what distinguishes anti-consumption acts from other incidental non-consumption cases, for instance from non-consumption for ineligibility reasons or as a consequence of preference for another product (Cherrier et al. 2011).

References


Kozinets, R. V., Handelman, J. M., & Lee, M. S. W. (2010). Don’t read this; or, who cares what the hell anti-consumption is, anyways.


Paper 2

The impact of pro and anti-consumption attitudes on the desire for consumption

Rajesh Iyer and James Muncy

Iyer and Muncy (2016) proposed that anti-consumption attitudes and pro-consumption attitudes are both working in driving our overall attitude towards consumption. In their research, they found that such attitudes can be working at the micro or macro level. Their research broke attitude towards consumption into four components: micro anti-consumption, macro anti-consumption, micro pro-consumption, and macro pro-consumption.

In our current research, we explore the relationship between these four components of people's attitude to consume and certain non-utility based motivations, which buyers may have. To understand the need for such research, it is important to differentiate between the need to consume and the desire for consumption.

**Need to Consume:** When consumers buy to fulfill a specific utilitarian need, the motivation driving that purchase may be more a reflection of the circumstances, which give rise to that need than one's attitude towards consumption in general. It can be quite difficult in many instances to go without products that fulfill an important or even crucial utilitarian need. For example, if one must use an automobile to get to work due to geographical realities and the lack of public transportation, it would be difficult to go without one regardless of what one's attitude toward consumption might be. The person's attitude towards consumption may be subservient to their need to work and provide the basic necessities of life.

**Desire for Consumption:** On the other hand, not all consumption arises out of a utilitarian need to consume. People may instead be drawn to greater consumption for non-utilitarian motivations. There is something about the buying process and consumption process in general that draws some people to consume more, independent of the specific need for the products being consumed. In the current study, we look at three specific desire for consumption variables and how they are impacted by our global attitudes towards consumption.

**Variables Explored and Hypothesized Relationships**
The current study explores how the four components to attitude toward consumption listed above affect the three desire for consumption variables. These three variables and their hypothesized relationships are explained below.

**Materialism**
Materialism tends to reflect the draw of consumption and ownership for consumption itself independent of the needs for the products being consumed. One would expect that those who have more of a positive attitude toward consumption would feel that draw to consume more and those with a more negative attitude to consume would be less drawn to do so. Our first hypothesis reflects that expectation:
Hypothesis 1a: Anti-consumption attitudes (both macro and micro) are negatively related to materialism.

Hypothesis 1b: Pro-consumption attitudes (both macro and micro) are positively related to materialism.

Desire for Unique Products
Consumption is often used as a means to express one's uniqueness. To some, there is utility not just in what the product does for them but purely in the fact that the product is unique. Since this reflects using a product for self-expression, one would expect that a positive attitude towards consumption would create a greater desire for such expression and negative attitudes towards consumption would cause less of such desires. Our second hypothesis reflects those expectations:

Hypothesis 2a: Anti-consumption attitudes (both macro and micro) are negatively related to desire for unique products.

Hypothesis 2b: Pro-consumption attitudes (both macro and micro) are positively related to desire for unique products.

Status Consumption
The third variable we looked at in relation to consumption attitudes was status consumption. Here too, people will receive benefits not just for the functional utility the products provide but also for the status they create. We expected that consumers who have more positive attitudes towards consumption would more likely be drawn to status consumption. Conversely, those with attitudes, which are against consumption, would likely have a more negative attitude towards consumption. These expectations were the basis for Hypothesis 3:

Hypothesis 3a: Anti-consumption attitudes (both macro and micro) are negatively related to status consumption.

Hypothesis 3b: Pro-consumption attitudes (both macro and micro) are positively related to status consumption.

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 886 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 725 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. The four dimensions of consumption of micro and macro anti-Consumption and pro-consumption was measured using the Iyer and Muncy (2016) scale. The desire for unique
products scale was measured using the Lynn and Harris (1997) scale. Status Consumption was measured using the scale developed by Eastman et. al. (1999). Finally, the envy component of Materialism developed by Belk (1985) was used in the study.

Adequacy of the Measures
Following Anderson and Gerbing's (1988) process, the measurement quality of the indicators was evaluated. Anderson and Gerbing (1988) recommended that researchers first refine the measurement model before testing the structural component of the model. The goal was a final set of items with acceptable discriminant and convergent validity, internal consistency, reliability and parsimony. Every factor in this study was submitted to a confirmatory factor analysis and all factor loadings were significant at the 0.01 level and all individual reliabilities were above the required value of 0.4 (Bagozzi & Baumgartner, 1994). Bagozzi et al. (1991) and Bagozzi and Baumgartner (1994) recommended a composite reliability of at least 0.7. This requirement was met. After assessing the individual factors, the reduced set of items was subjected together to a confirmatory factor analysis using maximum likelihood estimation via LISREL 8.5. The study tested for common method variance (CMV) using both the Harman’s One Factor test and the marker variable in the Confirmatory Analysis model. There was no evidence that it was biasing the overall results. The results of the confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) showed that the measurement model is an acceptable fit for the data ($\chi^2 = 761.98; \text{RMSEA}=0.057; \text{TLI}=0.96$ and CFI/IFI=0.97, SRMR = 0.053).

Results
The hypotheses were tested within the framework of structural equation modeling through LISREL 8.5 (Jöreskog and Sörbom 1993) where we found support for all the hypotheses. Our model explained 22% of variance in materialism, 76% variance in need for uniqueness and 60% variance in status consumption. One of the interesting findings from the study was that both micro pro and anti-consumption consumers favored unique products and products that were consumed as motivation for status. However, the macro pro and anti-consumers did not favor unique products or products that were consumed as motivation for status. Similarly, our findings showed that micro pro and anti-consumers had a positive impact on the envy dimension of materialism whereas the macro pro and anti-consumers had a negative impact on the envy dimension of materialism. These findings trigger several questions mainly to explore the importance of motivation, or the need to variety (variety seeking tendencies) while making choice decisions.

Discussion
Though there was some consistency in these results, they did not turn out as expected. Figures 1A and 1B contrast our hypothesized relationships with the ones reflected in the empirical results. All of the relationships were significant but half were significant in the direction opposite of what was hypothesized.

Here is where the data differed from expectations. Our hypotheses were that the difference between consumers on these desire for consumption variables would be along the anti-consumption / pro-consumption dimension. That is, we expected micro and macro anti-consumers to be alike. We also expected macro and micro pro-consumers to be alike. But we expected anti-consumers to be different from pro-consumers. If this were to be explained in
terms of a two-dimensional design, we expected the main effect of anti versus pro consumption to be significant and the main effect of macro versus micro to be insignificant. Actually, the opposite happened. It was the macro versus micro dimensions where the differences were observed rather than the anti versus pro dimensions. Micro anti-consumers were opposite from macro anti-consumers on their relationships with all three variables. Similarly, micro pro-consumers were opposite from macro pro-consumers on all three hypothesized relationships. However, the macro relationships (whether pro or anti) were all the same and the micro relationships (whether pro or anti) were all the same. Thus, the dimension that differentiated our sample on the three desire for consumption variables was not the valence of the person's attitude towards consumption but whether the attitudes were being looked at from a micro or macro perspective. Anti-consumption attitudes were not consistent as expected. Pro-attitudes were not consistent as expected. However, macro and micro attitudes were completely consistent.

Table 1: Hypotheses Results and t-values of the relationships

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<th>Relationship</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>Result</th>
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<tr>
<td>H1a</td>
<td>Micro Anticonsumption - Materialism</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>Not Significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1a</td>
<td>Macro Anticonsumption - Materialism</td>
<td>-2.08</td>
<td>Significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1b</td>
<td>Micro Proconsumption - Materialism</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>Significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1b</td>
<td>Macro Proconsumption - Materialism</td>
<td>-3.28</td>
<td>Not Significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2a</td>
<td>Micro Anticonsumption – Desire for Unique Products</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>Not Significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2a</td>
<td>Macro Anticonsumption – Desire for Unique Products</td>
<td>-2.55</td>
<td>Significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2b</td>
<td>Micro Proconsumption – Desire for Unique Products</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>Significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2b</td>
<td>Macro Proconsumption – Desire for Unique Products</td>
<td>-2.36</td>
<td>Not Significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3a</td>
<td>Micro Anticonsumption – Status Consumption</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>Not Significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3a</td>
<td>Macro Anticonsumption – Status Consumption</td>
<td>-2.73</td>
<td>Significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3b</td>
<td>Micro Proconsumption – Status Consumption</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>Significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3b</td>
<td>Macro Proconsumption – Status Consumption</td>
<td>-2.41</td>
<td>Not Significant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1
Hypothesized and Actual Results

A: Hypothesized Relationships

Micro Anti-Consumption
Macro Anti-Consumption
Micro Pro-Consumption
Macro Pro-Consumption

Materialism
Desire for Unique Products
Status Consumption

Legend
- Positive Relationship
- Negative Relationship
- Different Hypothesis and Results

B: Empirical Results

Micro Anti-Consumption
Macro Anti-Consumption
Micro Pro-Consumption
Macro Pro-Consumption

Materialism
Desire for Unique Products
Status Consumption
Limitations and Future Research
With results this surprising, there is obviously the need for subsequent research. First, we need to make sure that they are not simply an artifact of the scales we employed or the way they were administered to the sample. If the results do hold up, then we need to explore what makes them occur. Specifically, we need to look for moderating and mediating variables that would explain these findings.

On face value, we would not expect macro pro-consumers to be less materialistic nor micro anti-consumers to be more materialistic. There may be some moderating or mediating variables that could explain why. Neither would we expect the relationships between micro pro-consumption and desire for consumption or status consumption to be negative but they were. Further, we would not expect the relationship between macro anti-consumption and desire for unique products and status consumption to be positive. If these are indeed the relationships that exist and they hold up under further investigation, the reasons they exist need to be uncovered.

It is tempting to see pro-consumption attitudes to be the opposite of anti-consumption attitudes. That may or may not be true. If the current research upholds under further scrutiny, it may turn out that people with stronger attitudes towards consumption, whether those attitudes are for or against consumption, may be more alike in some ways than they are different. The real difference that drives the behavior may actually be the level at which they focus their attitudes. Those whose attitudes towards consumption focus on their own behavior may be quite different from those whose attitudes focus on consumption of society as a whole.

References


I (don’t) consume, therefore I am: Investigating materialism and voluntary simplicity through a moderated serial mediation model

Debasis Pradhan, Abhisek Kuanr, and Himadri Roy Chaudhuri

Introduction

Abjuring the sublunary desires of the quotidian world had ever been an intrinsic part of the socio-religious paradigm of India. Simplicity had been a byword of Indian religious system for ages (Patel, 2014). Renunciation of material possession and worldly belongings; and the consequent attainment of Moksha or Nirvana is the summum bonum of an Indian life. The view that possession is the primary source of misery, and salvation from worldly pangs the end goal of life, is the absolute realization of Indian value system (Ingalls, 1957). Yet, the undeniable presence of modernism and globalization has transmogrified the social fabric of an emerging economy like India (Venkatesh, 1994). Ipsos, a market research firm, observes that Indian and Chinese consumers lead the global rankings on materialism with 58% and 71% respondents, consecutively, espousing materialistic values against a world average of 34% (Panda, 2013). Rampant materialism is in a persistent conflict with traditional values (Eckhardt & Mahi, 2012), especially of simplicity and oneness with nature. This as a consequence has paved the way for gradual acceptance of anti-consumption practices in the developing countries (Khan & Lee, 2016) that the global marketers should take note of. With the globalized world order, consumer dissatisfaction, as noticed in the Indian consumer’s materialist dissonance, anywhere across the globe has both local and global ramifications (Wang, 2005). Anti-consumption scholars have pointed out that developing countries provide the most fertile research avenues to expand the horizons of our understanding of anti-consumption (Izberk-Bilgin, 2010). Responding to the call, this research proposes to move to a discerning understanding of fledgling anti-consumption practices of the developing world, and its holistic implications in marketing discourses and society.

The primary interest in analyzing anti-consumption practices originate from the idea that the sources, meanings, consequences, scope, and size of consumption practices differ from those of anti-consumption practices (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013). For example, individual’s choice of not buying products damaging the environment can be ascribed to the lack of motivation to consume (reason for), or a stronger rationale for not consuming (reason against) (Richetin et al., 2012). Understanding the deductive reasons against anti-consumption provide insights which traditional consumer research has failed to analyze. Anti-consumption can evolve from the personal versus global concerns and can even have an impact at the brand level or at an overall consumption scenario (Iyer & Muncy, 2009). One of the most dominant forms of anti-consumption practices, voluntary simplicity (Lee, Fernandez, & Hyman, 2009), involves “cultivating self-reliance” and taking control over the everyday living by reducing dependence on market and its various offerings (Huneke, 2005). Thus, voluntary simplicity is personal in nature and aims to refine, reduce or reject the overall consumption, in search of a simplified and happier life. It’s more relevant in the context of eastern civilizations like India, where the socio-religious tradition encourages “life through renunciation, in which we covet nothing and therefore achieve real freedom” (Patel, 2014, pp. 327). Though voluntary simplicity has varied motivations, one of the key drivers for it is the concern for the environment (Shaw, & Newholm, 2002). Based on this foundation of environmentally oriented anti-consumption practices (García-de-Frutos, Ortega-Egea, & Martínez-del-Río, 2018) that voluntary simplicity is being increasingly recognized as a means to enable a
transition to a more sustainable consumption of the ecosystem and a solution for aggravating the environmental degradation (Black & Cherrier, 2010).

One of the fascinating lenses to look at voluntary simplicity is materialism. However, prior research investigating the relationship between materialism and voluntary simplicity gives mixed results (Cherrier, 2010). One prevalent stream of research indicates that materialism and voluntary simplicity are conceptually situated at two ends of a continuum (Lee and Ahn, 2014), while the other stream suggests that voluntary simplicity is market-mediated phenomenon (Cherrier, 2009), and may not be driven by rejection of materialism, but can be impelled by a positive drive to lead an “examined life” and regain things which are important (Elgin, 1981). Considering the current culture, it is impossible to escape the market (Arnould & Thompson, 2007) as voluntary simplifiers aim at optimally engaging with the market to increase satisfaction.

While Shaw & Moraes (2009), call for exploring, how voluntary simplifiers negotiate the tension between voluntary simplicity and market engagement in virtual unison, Tang, and Hinsch (2018), draw attention towards exploring how high (vs. low) materialists differ in terms of pro environmental practices. Responding to these explicit calls, current study invokes value-basis theory (Stern and Dietz, 1994) of attitude formation to empirically examine the relationship between materialist values and environmentally oriented anti-consumption practices like voluntary simplicity in a developing country setting.

Recent research in the domain of positive psychology suggests that satisfaction with life engenders sustainable attitudes (Verdugo, 2012) and creativity among individuals, which are key ingredients for a simpler lifestyle. Similarly, practicing voluntary simplicity involves a lot of hardship and stress (Iyer and Muncy, 2010). Satisfaction with life provides positive psychological resources to cope with the stress (Fredrickson, 2001) of a non-material lifestyle. Additionally, voluntary simplicity practices require a high level of commitment and persistence (Alexander, 2013), thus cognitive resource like self-efficacy might be needed to be successful in the endeavor. Considering that materialism may have a positive impact on satisfaction with life (Sirgy et.al., 2013) and self-efficacy (Flouri, 2005) under some boundary conditions, the study proposes that, understanding the role of life satisfaction and self-efficacy will add further clarity in discernibly comprehending the relationship between materialism and voluntary simplicity. Furthermore, due to the influence of globalization and modernization, Indian society tends towards a more individualistic existence (Mathur, 2010). It is discerned from some past studies (Baker, Moschis, Ong, and Pattanapanyasat, 2013), that the mediating, moderating and other conditional variables need to be considered to understand materialism and its consequences better. Acknowledging this as a gap, the current study proposes a moderated serial mediation model involving satisfaction with life, self-efficacy as the mediating variables and individualism as the moderating variable, in the relationship between materialism and voluntary simplicity. This research paper proposes that individualism can positively impact the relationship between materialism and voluntary simplicity as a moderator.

**Analysis and Discussion**

Data was gathered using an online survey in Tier-1 and Tier-2 cities across India using convenience sampling. A total of 520 subjects were contacted to participate in the online survey. The entire data collection process lasted for four weeks. According to the data collected, a total of 315 subjects participated in the study with a response rate of 65%. Most of the respondents were male (69%), with a majority (63%) falling in the age category of 25–44 years and having an undergraduate degree or higher.
A two-step approach was followed for the overall analysis with measurement model being assessed in SmartPLS as a first step followed by conditional process analysis using PROCESS in SPSS 20 (Hayes, 2013) having latent variable scores obtained from PLS analysis as input. This study has empirically validated a moderated serial mediation model, involving satisfaction with life, self-efficacy, and individualism. The study demonstrated direct and indirect effect between materialism and voluntary simplicity. A direct and positive relationship was found between, materialism and voluntary simplicity. Similarly, it evinced positive relationships between most pairs of constructs, taken for study, such as materialism and satisfaction with life, materialism and self-efficacy, satisfaction with life and self-efficacy, satisfaction with life and voluntary simplicity, and self-efficacy and voluntary simplicity. In addition, the mediating effects of satisfaction with life, self-efficacy, and both in tandem were found to be significant, thus confirming a complementary mediation (Zhao, Lynch Jr, and Chen, 2010) or a partial mediation.

**Research Contributions**
This study aims to make several contributions to the materialism and anti-consumption literature. First, leveraging value basis theory of attitude formation (Stern and Dietz, 1994), the research demonstrates that materialists with self-interest values, develop egoistic environmental beliefs, which in turn leads to voluntary simplicity attitude formation in long-term oriented cultures. While there is some anecdotal evidence of relationship between materialism and voluntary simplicity, current research is first to empirically evaluate the relationship in a developing country setting. Second, building on positive psychology paradigm, this research examines the mediating roles of satisfaction with life, self-efficacy and moderating role of individualism, using a rarely used moderated serial mediation model. Thirdly this research identifies the boundary conditions that affects the positive relationship between materialism and satisfaction with life. This is contrary to the prevalent view in consumer research, which posits a negative relationship between materialism and satisfaction with life, a counter-intuitive finding. Thus, understanding these phenomena bears important implications for international marketers and public policymakers.

**Marketing and Policy Implications**
An important finding of the current research is that anti-consumption attitudes are not only limited to Western cultures, but find relevance in emerging economies such as India, where over-consumption is already having telling impacts on traditional values, cultures, and most importantly the way of life. The anti-consumption attitude is slowly but pervasively capturing the imagination of the people in emerging economies as it has done in the developed world. Though not manifested in alarming proportions and unlikely to cause significant trouble for companies in the short run, this provides early warning signs and valuable insights into the unique anti-consumption behavior and helps to identify strategic antidotes to tackle the same. À la standardization/adaptation theory (Morgeson, Sharma, & Hult 2015), the current study suggests that mitigating strategies for anti-consumption do not work with the same efficacy in all the countries. Moreover, firms operating across the globe need to tailor their anti-consumption mitigation strategy based on the cultural composition of the country concerned. One of the important contributions of this paper is to provide insights that will help social marketers manage voluntary simplicity attitudes.

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Paper 4

The Role of Producers in Anti-Consumption: the case of small organic producers

Marlon Dalmoro, Celso Augusto de Matos and Marcia Dutra de Barcellos

Anti-consumption has been largely adopted to describe forms of resistance, distaste, resentment and to explain reasons against consumption of brands, products and organizations in both macro perspective (consumption in general) and micro perspective (specific acts against specific consumption) (Zavestoski, 2002; Lee, Fernandez & Hyman, 2009; Cherrier, Black & Lee, 2011). More recent extension of anti-consumption field comprises the inclusion of distinct actors to understand the ‘reasons against’ in consumers decision making and as part of emerging collective discourses and practices directed to a specific target (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013; Dalpian, Silveira & Rossi, 2015; García-de-Frutos, Ortega-Egea & Matínez-del-Rio, 2018).

In specific, anti-consumption theorization has prominently explored environmental sustainability as a target. Previous studies contemplated that consumers can choose not to consume products/brands that damage the environment or mismatch with their environmental preservation ideology (e.g. Sandikci & Ekici, 2009). These studies typically describe anti-consumption in terms of consumer subjectivity, involving self-interested and motivations in fostering a more sustainable society (e.g. Black & Cherrier, 2010). However, environmental sustainability practices involve also social and cultural antecedents and meanings produced by multiple actors that stimulate and support anti-consumption (Dalpian, Silveira & Rossi, 2015). Recently, Garcia-de-Frutos, Ortega-Egea & Matínez-del-Rio (2018) claim that multi perspectives should be adopted for understanding environmentally oriented anti-consumption, going beyond consumers’ individual decision-making. It requires recognizing the role of distinct actors involved on environmentally oriented anti-consumption practices.

In this sense, we go beyond consumers’ boundaries to highlight other relevant actors in environmentally oriented anti-consumption. Particularly, this study aims to describe the role of organic farmers discourses and practices against the conventional food production and consumption. The conventional model of food production is described both as an economic/strategic rationale and a technological intense mechanism to maximize efficiency (Morgan & Murdoch, 2000). Following governmental and multinational efficiency discourse, farmers came under considerable pressure to adopt the most productive technologies and intense use of chemicals, even though they could represent environmental risks (Morgan & Murdoch, 2000). The combination of the efficiency discourse and chemical promotion practices was extremely effective during the last fifty years, dictating the food production rhythm. In opposition, principles and standards employed in the agroecological production approach propose a radical break in such conventional format (Altieri & Toledo, 2011). Following the principles of agroecology, organic food production involves co-existence with natural system, avoiding the chemical usage and minimizing pollution and environmental damage. The wider social and ecological impact of agricultural systems must be considered (Altieri & Toledo 2011; Goldberger, 2011).

Despite some uncertainties, organic market has been growing as a sustainable alternative to face conventional food systems (Morgan & Murdoch, 2000; Goldberger, 2011). In search of a more environmental friendly and sustainable production mode, organic affirmative action’s involves rejecting the conventional food system in robust activism
campaigns (Morgan & Murdoch, 2000; Lockie, 2009). However, any food anti-consumption attempts’ are restricted to the individual consumer capacity in finding alternative modes of feeding (Guthman & Brown 2016). In these terms, we propose that environmentally oriented food anti-consumption involves both product/brand rejection and adoption of alternative modes of consumption. By describing the role of organic farmer’s discourses and practices, we introduce in anti-consumption studies’ the notion that producers are also important actors in supporting consumers’ anti-consumption behavior.

In order to address this notion, this study adopts an interpretative approach through qualitative interviews with 29 Brazilian organic farmers from the south of the country. These farmers are small local producers, mainly oriented by agroecological mode of production. Data was collected during pre-scheduled visits in their farms and performed by the research team. Each interview took around 60 minutes and were all conducted in Portuguese, recorded and then transcribed. Data were analyzed and interpreted in a series of interactions involving the research team. Finally, four categories emerged and were grouped in two themes.

The first theme involves two discursive mechanisms, operating at the ideological level. Firstly, we found that organic farming requires rejecting conventional food production. In most of the cases, farmers converted their conventional production modes to organic, because they no longer wanted to produce through the conventional mode: “Either I changed or I would stop producing” (Interview 1). Second, we identified that farmers’ beliefs were an important mechanism to promote anti-consumption. As one of our informants stated during the interview: “God gave us hand to work and not to poison ourselves” (Interview 2). In building consistent ideological support to organic farming in counter position to the conventional one, producers encourage consumers to believe that more sustainable food production forms are possible. Therefore, organic farmers anti-consumption discourses’ contribute to the general idea that conventional food is ‘unhealthy’ to consumers and the environment and that organic food is a ‘healthy’ alternative under a dialectical position, manifested in terms like ‘escaping from the poison’. Denying conventional food as an option works not only as a driver to the choice of organic food, but mainly as an argument to reject the conventional one.

In addition, our second theme highlights producers’ practices that are able to transform anti-consumption discourses into actions. We found that producers’ practices supported alternative modes of commercialization. Most part of our informants rejected traditional market orientation that guides conventional farmers. For instance, several informants affirmed to refuse demand oscillation as a form to maximize their profit, operating with more stable prices. They also prefer to explore direct sale channels to consumers, avoiding grocery and retail intermediation as a form to preserve their autonomy. As a consequence, farmers establish a close relation to consumers, turning, in some cases, a friendship. This relation reinforces the trust between consumers and producers, creates bonds and mainly aligns the interest of both actors around conventional food refusal. Second, organic farmers’ practices support the organic as an alternative – but possible – environmentally oriented system. The construction of the organic market involves a pool of actors forming an alternative system. Farmers assume a protagonist position in encouraging consumers to abandon conventional food consumption and supplying consumers with an alternative food system.

Overall, our findings support the relevance of small organic farmers in providing an alternative mode of feeding, making it possible to position consumers against conventional food. Results from this study contribute with the argument that producers can be a relevant actor in anti-consumption. Even though previous literature have considered the importance of multiple actors in anti-consumption (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013; Dalpian, Silveira & Rossi,
Following Lee et al. (2011) distinction between resistance and anti-consumption, results also highlight that organic food producers are not resisting food production as a market structural force (as a capitalist force of domination). This resistance phenomenon can be clearly observed in social movements, like voluntary self-provisioning (Kosnik, 2018). Organic farmers’ discourses are against the conventional food production modes. In this sense, although organization of alternative modes of food production can be described as a resistance movement, e.g. Community Supported Agriculture (Coskuner-Balli & Thompson, 2007), organic farmers’ individual discourses and practices operate at an anti-consumption level, supporting consumers ‘go against’ the conventional products. While Shaw, Newholm & Dickinson (2006) described anti-consumption as a powerful means of consumer empowerment to influence producers to find sustainable solutions, we highlight the role of producers in influencing consumers and giving conditions to their activism and to face the conventional food market. Environmentally oriented food anti-consumption can be expressed through participation in social arrangements against conventional food rather than a dichotomy perspective of consumers against producers and brands. In line with previous studies which identify numerous social movement, organizations and government as a potential actor for enabling environmentally oriented anti-consumption (Lockie, 2009; Dalpian, Silveira & Rossi, 2015), our results manifest the individual role of small organic farmers in enabling anti-consumption through practical and discursive mechanisms.

Our main theoretical contributions involve the recognition that producers’ discourses and practices impact on the support for alternative ideologies in consumer society. This view is buttressed by organic production-engaged consumers, who question conventional food production as inadequate to nature. We problematized for a fluid perspective about anti-consumption that goes beyond the current ‘individual consumer-centric perspective on anti-consumption’ considering the notions of producers and consumers interrelationships in ‘anti’ discourses and practices in food consumption. In doing that, we expand the anti-consumption boundary highlighting the role of producers in environmental oriented food anti-consumption.

Finally, it is important to note that while organic food is represented as an alternative to the risky, damaging and uncertain conventional food, it is subject to the conventionalization pressing (Goldberger, 2011). In this sense, we recognize as study limitation the possible interest of producers in redirecting consumption not only in terms of environmental anti-consumption, but also looking for profit opportunities. Even though our informants did not manifest a market/profit orientation, it is important to note that there has been a pressure for a capitalist orientation, as the organic market evolves. Further research can discuss producers’ uncovered goals in supporting anti-consumption.

References


Unhealthy food choices: A psychological consequence of poverty?

Dominic Thomas

Obesity is an epidemic that is targeting every country be it developed or developing countries. More than one in two adults and nearly one in six children are overweight or obese in the OECD area (OECD, 2017). One critical way of countering this is to identify and target groups at high risk for obesity with interventions (Karnani et al., 2016). Prior population-based studies have shown evidence to indicate that Poverty is a risk factor for obesity (Drewnowski and Specter, 2004; Lee, Haris, & Gordon-Larsen, 2009). These studies can be broadly classified into two distinct streams. The first stream focuses on how the individual characteristics of the poor, such as lack of education and low income (e.g., Devaux et al., 2011; Devaux and Sassi, 2011), contribute to the development and maintenance of obesity. The second stream linking poverty and obesity focuses on the environments in which the poor live (Levine, 2011). These environments promote the consumption of energy-dense foods, less physical activity participation (Hill, & Peters, 1998), a high concentration of fast-food restaurants (Reidpath et al., 2001) and a paucity of parks and other recreational facilities (Booth et al., 2013).

However, recent studies have linked poverty with psychological factors that lead to poorer choices (Voh, 2013; Mani et al., 2013; Haushofer & Fehr, 2014). Especially, poverty can lead to certain psychological consequences that may lead to economic behaviors that make it difficult to escape poverty. The evidence indicates that poverty causes stress and negative affective states (Haushofer & Fehr, 2014), impair cognitive capacity (Voh, 2013), saps attention and reduces efforts (Mani et al. 2013) which in turn may lead to short-sighted and risk-averse decision-making. Extending this stream of literature, the paper examines whether people in poverty are more likely to select unhealthy food choices due to psychological consequences related to poverty. Specifically, we examine the role of stress, depression, and self-esteem on respondent’s food choice. In two online experimental studies, one measuring poverty of respondents and classifying them as poor and non-poor and the second manipulating respondent to be poor and non-poor, we show that the poor suffer from greater psychological consequences than the non-poor individuals. In a third field study, focusing on the homeless, the mediating effect of chronic stress on the relationship between poverty and unhealthy food choice is investigated.

Experiment 1

Design: In study 1, a 2 (Poor vs. Non-Poor) × 1 (Psychological consequences) between subject design was used. Both “the rich” and “the poor” participants were presented with a hypothetical scenario and were told to answer a series of questions. I hypothesized that the poor participants would be more likely to report greater psychological reactions than the non-poor. Both participant groups were then asked several self-reported questions, regarding their level of psychological reactions, self-control behaviours, a series of demographic questions, as well as questions about their perceptions of poverty, based on their satisfaction of current level of household income.

Subjects: 97 participants (55 percent female, the mean age of 28-37), all members of M-Turk, completed this online study. The majority of participants were Caucasian (74 percent). This study encompasses a sample with a diverse income range, by including an income-screening question at the beginning of the survey. In the income-screening question, participants were
asked their level of entire household income in the previous year before taxes. Participants who were in the middle-income range (household median income between US$20,000 to US$69,999) were excluded from the study, while eligible participants, ‘the poor’ (household median income less than US$19,999) and ‘the non-poor’ (household median income more than US$70,000) continued the study.

Results: Manipulation check – Perception of poverty: The result showed that the level of income satisfaction was significantly lower for “the poor” (Mpoor = 2.24, SE = 0.174) than for “non-poor” (Mnon-poor = 3.94, SE = 0.11, t (94) = -8.87, p < .01), revealing that participants with a low household median income felt that their income was inadequate in relation to their expenses.

Negative Psychological Reactions: The results showed that “the poor” reported a greater level of stress than the non-poor (Mpoor = 2.99 vs. Mnon-poor = 2.56; F (1,94) = 7.39, p < .05). Similarly, “the poor” also reported a higher mean of depression and self-esteem than the non-poor (Depression: Mpoor = 2.05 vs. Mnon-poor = 1.65; F (1,94) = 8.16, p < .005; Self-esteem: Mpoor = 3.49 vs. Mnon-poor = 2.38; F (1,94) = 12.59, p < .001). As hypothesised, participants who were living in poverty conditions experienced a higher level of stress, higher level of depression and lower self-esteem, when compared to the non-poor group.

Experiment 2
Design and Subjects: 92 participants (54.3 percent female, 65.2 percent were between the age of 18-37), all members of M-Turk, completed this study. A 2 (Poor vs. Non Poor) × 1 (Psychological consequences) between subject design was used. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions, Poor (unemployed) or Non-poor (employed). In the ‘unemployed’ condition, it was designed to induce participants to image an immediate and anxious financial situation, similar to the poor. Contrarily, in the ‘employed’ condition, participants would have felt they have adequate financial resources and thus triggered less monetary concerns as the non-poor. As in study 1, both participant groups were then asked several self-reported questions, regarding their level of psychological reactions, self-control behaviours, a series of demographic questions, as well as questions about their perceptions of poverty.

Results: A strong main effect of the manipulation of the perception of poverty on negative psychological reactions was found. As predicted, participants who experienced “unemployment” reported a significantly higher level of stress and depression than participants who did not. (Stress: Mpoor = 4.29 vs Mnon-poor = 3.27, F (1, 90) = 16.47, p < .001; Depression: Mpoor = 3.98 vs Mnon-poor = 3.08, F (1, 90) = 12.65, p < .002). The result revealed a marginal positive effect of a lower level of self-esteem on “employment” (Mpoor = 3.54 vs. Mnon-poor = 2.97, F (1, 90) = 3.56, p < .06). A strong association between negative emotions and “unemployment” was also shown. The result exhibited that “unemployment” provoked higher levels of negative emotions (Mpoor = 5.26 vs Mnon-poor = 4.18; F (1, 90) = 10.18, p < .003).

Discussion: Study 1 and 2 aimed to provide evidence for the relationships between poverty and psychological reactions. Prior literature has found that living in persistent poverty damages one’s mental health (Santiago, Wadsworth, & Stump, 2009). Study 1 employed a cross-sectional design in which participants were from distinct income groups. Poverty was associated with negative psychological reactions. People living in poverty experienced higher levels of stress and depression, as well as a lower level of self-esteem than the rich. Also, this study found that “the rich” participants reported a greater level of internal locus of control than “the poor”. Study 2 employed an experimental design using manipulation of poverty.
Participants were randomly assigned either to an “unemployed” condition, in which they were primed to experience poverty; or to an “employed” condition, in which participants were expected to evoke little to no poverty-related concerns. The findings of study 2 provided evidence to reinforce the findings from Study 1. Both studies supported findings from previous literature (Belle, & Doucet, 2003; Banyard, Graham-Bermann, 1998; Lund et al., 2010) that poverty is associated with stress, self-esteem, and depression.

However, the findings from these studies did not test whether poverty elicited unhealthy eating behaviours (Drewnowski, & Darmon, 2005; and Everson et al., 2002). Therefore, the goal of study 3 was to explore the underlying causes of unhealthy eating behaviours amongst the poor. In particular, I wished to examine if poor well-being provoked a higher chance of making unhealthy food choices.

Field Study 3

Subjects, Procedure, and Design: 78 participants were recruited from a community kitchen meal service provided by a leading charity organisation in Melbourne, Australia. This community kitchen provides pre-prepared meals to the homeless, usually at parks in various locations in the city. At the end of the dinner, the homeless and the volunteers were invited to participate in the study. The research assistants spent a week visiting four different locations to recruit these participants. The participants were paid $20 as an honorarium to participate in the study. A 2 (Poor vs. Non-Poor) x 1 (Unhealthy Food choice) between subject design was used. They were told that the study was about food choice and asked to make a series of eight food choices. Later, they responded to several self-reported questions regarding their level of psychological reactions, self-control behaviours, a series of demographic questions, as well as questions about their perceptions of poverty.

Results:

Manipulation check - Perception of Poverty: The result showed that the level of income satisfaction was significantly lower for “the poor” (M_poor =2.15, SE= 0.15) than “non-poor” (M_non-poor =2.90, SE= 0.23, t (76) = -2.85, p < .01). As in previous studies, a strong main effect of poverty on negative psychological reactions was found. As predicted, participants who were in poor condition reported a significantly higher level of chronic stress. (Chronic Stress: M_poor = 4.80 vs M_non-poor = 3.51, t (76) = 2.62, p < .05).

For the dependent variable, we summed up all eight categories of food choices. The effect of poverty on unhealthy food choices was not significant (M_poor =3.82 vs. M_non-poor =3.06, t (76) = 1.55, p > .1). To test whether chronic stress mediated the effect of poverty on the number of unhealthy food choices, a bootstrap estimation with 10,000 samples was conducted (PROCESS model 4; Hayes 2013) with chronic stress as the independent variable, number of unhealthy food choices as the dependent variable, and chronic stress as the mediator. The indirect effect was significant (B = - .31, SE = .21; 95% CI = - .03, -.94), indicating mediation.

General discussion

This research aimed to provide evidence for the relationships between poverty, negative psychological reactions, and unhealthy eating behaviours. However, insufficient literature has explored the mediation role of the negative psychological reactions between poverty and unhealthy eating behaviours. Therefore, the goal of this study was to explore the underlying causes of unhealthy eating behaviours amongst the poor. In particular, we show the effect of chronic stress on the relationship between poverty and unhealthy food choices.

References


Paper 6

The effect of nationalism and consumer animosity on reluctance to buy foreign products: The case of the conflict between Turkey and France

Betul Balikcioglu and F. Akin Kocak

Introduction

When countries come into political conflict, consumers’ may reluctant to buy products associated with conflicting countries. For instance, the cartoon crisis in 2005 due to religious feelings, have resulted in boycott of Danish and Norwegian products across Muslim countries. The research on country of origin indicates that consumers develop stereotyped images of countries and use these images while evaluating products (Han & Terpstra, 1988). Consumers may think that some countries' products have poor quality and therefore may decide not to buy those products (Han, 1988). In addition, consumers may be hostile to some countries due to political reasons, as well as history, and thus may boycott the products of that country (Klein, Ettenso & Morris, 1998). Likewise, consumers can be proud of domestic products with strong patriotic feelings. As a result, the purchase of foreign products is not morally appropriate (Shimp & Sharma, 1987). Animosity is one of the constructs based on explaining negative attitudes towards foreign products. This construct, conceptualized as consumer animosity, described by Klein et al.’s (1998) as a phenomenon that affects consumers' purchasing behavior and antipathy towards a certain country due to past military or political and economic relations. The negative attitudes towards foreign products may turn out to be consumers’ boycott and stop consuming the foreign products.

It is generally accepted that consumers purchase behavior is mainly based on some product attributes such us price and brand name. However, consumers’ product preferences are also affected by emotional factors. Beside emotional factor, socio-psychological factors play crucial factor on consumers’ foreign product preferences. As Klein et al. (1998) argue, it is possible that a product's origin will affect consumers' buying decisions. For example, if there is international tension or conflict between two countries, it will affect reluctance to buy products produced in or by firms from that country (Klein et. all. 1998). Therefore, it is stated that animosity by itself affects product judgments and willingness to buy (Shoham et al., 2006). Moreover, product's origin is vital factor for nationalist consumers. Likewise, nationalism represents one's belief in the 'superiority' of one's own country and individual with these attitudes is often perceived the country that has conflict with own country as a threat and this perception influence the willing to buy decision (Jackson, 1993; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989).

Therefore, the aim of this study is to explain how nationalism and consumer animosity shape consumers behavior in international market. Although there are sufficient number of researches on the effects of ethnocentrism, nationalism, patriotism and animosity in the literature, research on determine the effects of nationalism and consumer animosity at the same time is hardly seen in the literature. Therefore, the current study is contributing to enhance of understanding about the impact of both nationalism and consumer animosity on reluctance to buy foreign products. Moreover, in the study, it is argued that product judgments mediate the relationship between both the factors and reluctance to buy foreign products. Therefore, the second contribution of study is to determine the mediating role of product judgments. We believe that the effects of animosity vary from cultures. The current study considers the political conflict between Turkey and France based Armenians issue. Thus, the
third contribution of this study is to show how consumer animosity and nationalism affect consumer buying behavior in the specific case.

Conceptual Framework

In recent years, consumer animosity, which is examined as one of the negative attitudes towards foreign products, has started to attract attention as an important determinant of reluctance to buy foreign products in international marketing literature (Nakos & Hajidimitriou, 2007; Shoham et al., 2006; Etenson & Klein, 2005; Nijsen & Douglas, 2004; Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999; Klein, Etenson & Morris, 1998; Bilkey & Nes, 1982). There are some studies found that consumer animosity was positively influenced by nationalism (Yang, Snell, & Tsai, 2015; Ishii, 2009; Guido et al. 2010; Shoham et al. 2006). Also, the literature has well documented the negative effects of consumer animosity on willingness to purchase foreign products (Lee & Lee, 2013; Ishii, 2009; Riefler & Diamantopoulos, 2007; Etenson & Klein, 2005; Klein et al. 1998).

Based on consumer animosity literature the research question of this study is how animosity can be extended by nationalism and product judgments. Proposed research model of the current study (Figure 1) is examined how Turkish consumers evaluate French products in the given situation, by using Klein et al.’s (1998) and Shoam et al.’s (2006) conceptual framework. Political tension is escalated between Turkey and France, in 2006 and 2015, because of the Armenian issues. Related to escalated tension, Turkish consumers were reluctance to buy French products.

Figure 1. Proposed Research Model

Research methodology

The data was collected from 380 university students, who were conveniently sampled, by self-administered surveys in Antioch, Turkey. The participants mainly aged between 18 and 25 years old and the majority of the participants were 55.4% females and 44.6% males.

The scales that used in Klein et al.’s (1998) research, which are animosity, product judgments, and reluctance to buy foreign products, were modified to the Turkey context and used in this study. Consumer animosity against France was measured by using five items and reluctance to buy French products was measured by two questions. The participants, evaluated French products based on six quality features. Nationalism was measured through the scale developed by Kosterman & Feshbach (1989) that includes seven items. All items were
measured with a five-point Likert-type scale where 1 stood for “strongly disagree” and 5 for “strongly agree”. Descriptive statistics of the constructs and the correlations are provided in Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construct</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>PA</th>
<th>PJ</th>
<th>RB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism (N)</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer animosity (CA)</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>.460**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product judgments (PJ)</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>.232**</td>
<td>-.254**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reluctance to buy (RB)</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>.306**</td>
<td>.433**</td>
<td>-.236**</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: **: Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Analyses and Results

The reliability and validity of the scales was tested by using Hair et al.’s (2006) procedure via Cronbach Alpha, composite reliability (CR), convergent and discriminant validity. A structural equation modeling (SEM with AMOS 24) based a maximum likelihood confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was used to test the theoretical model. Because of the data was self-reported, we first assessed a common method variance via Harmon’s one factor test (Podsakoff & Organ, 1986) as loading all of the observable items on a single factor using CFA. The results of the test revealed a poor fit for the sample, ($\chi^2 = 1887.221$, $df = 170$, $p \leq .000$, GFI = 0.60, CFI = 0.44; NFI = 0.42; TLI = 0.38, RMSEA = 0.16). Therefore, this results indicating that CMV was absent.

The CFA results of the modified measurement model provided in Table 2. Although the model fit has a significant chi-square ($\chi^2 = 173.373$, $df = 97$, $p \leq .000$), other fit indices demonstrates good statistics (NFI = 0.94, TLI = .97, GFI = .95, CFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.04).

Cronbach Alpha and CR values indicate that all variables are reliable (Table 2). In this research, all factor loadings are greater than 0.50, with dimensions’ AVE values ranging from %50 to %70, provide of scale reliability and convergent validity (Hair et al., 2006). All of the AVEs are greater than the shared variance between each pair of factors in the sample. Thus, this test doesn’t suggest problems with discriminant validity (Fornell & Larcker, 1981).

All hypotheses were tested through structural equation modeling (Table 3). At first, the hypothesized model analyzed only with direct effects and the test shows good fit statistics ($\chi^2 = 88.538$, $df = 40$, NFI = 0.95, TLI=.96, GFI = .96, CFI = 0.97, SRMR = 0.05, RMSEA = 0.05). Than the mediator is added to the model. Also, the test demonstrates good fit statistics ($\chi^2 = 173.373$, $df = 97$, NFI = 0.94, TLI=.97, GFI = .95, CFI = 0.97, SRMR = 0.05, RMSEA = 0.04).
Table 2. CFA results and measurement model psychometric properties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Observed</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>AVE</th>
<th>CR</th>
<th>Cronbach’s Alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N5</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N4</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>1.138</td>
<td>.083</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N3</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>1.002</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>.741</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Animosity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA1</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA2</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>.850</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA3</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1.042</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA4</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>.527</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA5</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>.629</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product Judgments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJW</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJT</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>.947</td>
<td>.082</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJQ</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>1.335</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJR</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>1.180</td>
<td>.084</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJD</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>1.061</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reluctance to buy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB 1</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB 2</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>.910</td>
<td>.087</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlations (variances)

| N     | PA     | .39 (0.15) |
| N     | PJ     | -.25 (0.06) |
| N     | WB     | .31 (0.10) |
| PA    | PJ     | -.24 (0.06) |
| PA    | WB     | .49 (0.24) |
| WB    | PJ     | -.27 (0.07) |

All coefficients are significant at $p < .001$

$H_1$ and $H_2$ posited that nationalism is positively related to consumer animosity and reluctance to buy French products, respectively (Table 3). With ($β = 0.43, p < .001$), $H_1$ was supported. $H_2$ was also supported with ($β = 0.14, p < .05$). For $H_3$ hypothesized that consumer animosity is positively related with reluctance to buy French products ($β = 0.43, p < .001$), providing support for $H_3$. However, nationalism ($H_5$) and consumer animosity ($H_4$) is negatively related with French product judgments ($β = -0.19, p < .01$, and $β = -0.16, p < .01$, respectively), providing support for $H_5$ and $H_4$. $H_6$ proposed that product judgments is negatively related to reluctance to buy French products ($β = -0.15, p < .01$) was also supported. Therefore, $H_1$, $H_2$, $H_3$, $H_4$, $H_5$, and $H_6$ were supported.
Table 3. The structural equation model estimates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Standardized β</th>
<th>Unstandardized B</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>C.R.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct effect</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism → Reluctance to buy French products</td>
<td>.14*</td>
<td>.16*</td>
<td>.068</td>
<td>2.300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer animosity → Reluctance to buy French products</td>
<td>.43***</td>
<td>.42***</td>
<td>.060</td>
<td>7.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct effects with mediator</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism → Consumer animosity</td>
<td>.39***</td>
<td>.44***</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>6.384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer animosity → Product judgments</td>
<td>-.16**</td>
<td>-.10**</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>-2.624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism → Product judgments</td>
<td>-.19**</td>
<td>-.13**</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>-2.940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer animosity → Reluctance to buy French products</td>
<td>.41***</td>
<td>.39***</td>
<td>.060</td>
<td>6.595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism → Reluctance to buy French products</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>1.846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product judgments → Reluctance to buy French products</td>
<td>-.15**</td>
<td>-.22**</td>
<td>.086</td>
<td>-2.589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indirect effects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer animosity → Product judgments</td>
<td>.03*</td>
<td>.02*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism → Product judgments</td>
<td>.20**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total effect</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer animosity → Product judgments</td>
<td>.44**</td>
<td>.42**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

***p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05

We hypothesized the mediating effects of product judgments as stated in H7 and H8. It was found that the relationship between consumer animosity and reluctance to buy French products (H7) is partially mediated by product judgments. However, it was found that product judgments fully mediated the relationship between nationalism and reluctance to buy French products (H8). We used bootstrapping (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) approach to see if the mediation effect is statistically significant or not. Therefore, H7 and H8 were supported.

Discussion

Nationalism were always present in Turkey, even if not as strongly displayed as they have been in recent years as well as animosity against France due to Armenian issue has been a fact of life for decades. In this context, one of the interesting findings of this research, which is the positive relationship between nationalism and animosity, can be linked to outside consumer events that increased in a negative way in Turkey. Thus, it can be say that animosity manifest itself by nationalism. Therefore, it can be say that the nationalist interpretation of the consumer conflict may create a hostility in the interior.

The results of this study show that, animosity, nationalism and product judgments all predicted reluctance to buy French products. Further in contrast, Klein et al.’s (1998) research findings this study showed that animosity toward a target country is related to consumers’ product judgments and their association reluctance to buy products from that nation. An interesting finding of this research, in contrast to the findings of Klein et al. (1998) and Klein...
(2002), is the significant negative relationship between animosity and product judgments, similarly to the findings of Shoam et al. (2006) and Ishii (2010). This result demonstrates that hostility toward country does lead to the denigration of product quality as well as reluctant to buy foreign products.

This study have some of limitations. Firstly, the model focuses on Turkish consumers’ evaluating of France and French products with a cross-sectional data. Because of that, this political manifestation of animosity may be situational as well as stable, in question. For respond this question, future research should extended the given research model with a longitudinal study. Also, the young students sample may impact findings. Finally, the research is limited to a single country without product categories.

References


Informing Anti-consumption Choices: Introducing Life Cycle Analysis

Iain Black and Gillian Menzies

Anticonsumption is defined as “a resistance to, distaste of, or even resentment or rejection of consumption” (Zavestoski, 2002, p. 121) and focuses on the reasons against consumption (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013). Neither of these suggest that anticonsumption should focus exclusively on the consumer but work to date has almost entirely examined anticonsumption practices and contexts, such as voluntary simplification, boycotting, complaining behaviour, product avoidance, non-consumption, de-consumption and anti-brand websites, from individual or family perspectives rather than from an organisational, business or governmental one (Hennigs & Seegebarth, 2015; Krishnamurthy & Kucuk, 2009; Kucuk, 2008; Sandikci & Ekici, 2009).

Despite its relatively new status as an acknowledge field of study, anticonsumption practices and choices are widespread and commonplace with a broad range of consumers groups, for example mothers (Black & Cherrier, 2010) or older consumers (Sudbury-Riley & Kohlbacher, 2018) engage in it in some form as well its active counterparts such as ethical purchasing (Megicks, Memery, & Williams, 2008). Across its varied set of practices (and behaviours) anticonsumption choices are thought to be made for essentially three main reasons; experiential avoidance, symbolic incongruence or ideological/moral imperative (Lee, Motion, & Conroy, 2009).

A major context for anticonsumption for moral imperative reasons, are the impacts that consumption has on others and our planet, with these spheres seen as intertwined and indivisible by some (Roberts, 1995). The moral case for avoiding damage to the environment may be taken from a self-regarding perspective where it is rejected because of the damage it will do ultimately to society and oneself; where an obligation of guardianship of the natural world, is felt or indeed whether the value of the natural worlds is regarded for its own sake.

Anti-consumption based on concerns for the environment (Black & Cherrier, 2010; García-de-Frutos, Ortega-Egea, & Martínez-del-Río, 2018; Seegebarth, Peyer, Balderjahn, & Wiedmann, 2016) have examined individuals and families consciously deciding to reduce their own consumption for the purpose of supporting ecological goals, perhaps in part due a desire to resist mass consumption (Cherrier, 2009).

The power of rejecting or avoiding consumption, in comparison to recycling for example, as a tool for reducing human demand for finite natural resources and controlling waste production, has led to it being promoted as a key mechanism for avoiding the apparently ever worsening climate change scenarios (Cook et al., 2016). Though considering these warnings, understanding why we avoid products or services is perhaps now more important for governments, as they turn their focus on planning and implementing the increasingly radical action required (Cook et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2017). For example, for Sweden to achieve its target of net zero carbon emissions by 2045, it has identified decarbonising its transport system as a priority (Wong, 2018). Understanding why consumers may already have rejected car ownership and usage, may help them better focus their interventions to achieve this target, in part by providing advice as to what behaviours (including purchases) to avoid. Though the importance of furthering understanding anti-consumption from the consumers perspective or that of business, perhaps so they can use it to gain competitive advantage (Kavaliasuksė & Simanavičiūtė, 2015) remains.

How anti-consumption decisions are made and upon what information, remains an area requiring detailed understanding, particularly as consumers are more likely to act if they expect the action to solve the target problem (Cherrier, Szuba, & Özçağlar-Toulouse, 2012).
Ultimately, this can be linked back our underlying information processing systems (Shiv & Fedorikhin, 1999). Examining the impact of information and different forms of knowledge on these processes is a well-worn path (see, for example, Raju, 1995) though the branch relating to cognitive information has more often been the focus of work.

Irrespective of context, decisions tend to be made with incomplete information (Kivetz & Simonson, 2000) and despite rational choice theory (Goode, 1997) holding sway for many years, significant amounts of research highlights that humans are poor users of objective information. Instead, they tend to rely on heuristics (Gigerenzer & Gaissmaier, 2011) such as the status quo or default bias (Pichert & Katsikopoulos, 2008).

However there remains a significant debate on how knowledge and information can be used to influence pro-environmental behaviour, with some authors showing that greater environmental knowledge does have an effect on actions (Vicente-Molina, Fernández-Sáinz, & Izagirre-Olaizola, 2013). Though much of this work relies on self-reported behaviour and therefore whose external validity can be questioned (Auger & Devinney, 2007; Devinney, Auger, & Eckhardt, 2010). Others conclude that, irrespective of how it is presented and used, for example through competition or as rewards, presenting information on the benefits of pro-environmental behaviour does not lead to significant, long term change (Diamantopoulos, Schlegelmilch, Sinkovics, & Bohlen, 2003; Stern, 1999). A further set of voices acknowledge a role for information provision but question the size of its influence on behaviour (for example, Bartiaux, 2008) including research placing this within the wider context of the many and diverse barriers to consumers acting out their stated intentions (Carrington, Neville, & Whitwell, 2010; Carrington, Neville, & Whitwell, 2014).

A fair summary would be that knowledge is an important part of pro-environmental behaviour change, including anti-consumption for environmental reasons, but simply increasing decision maker’s levels of it is not a panacea, nor is it simple.

Overall, consumers try to make better decisions whilst at the same time reducing or limiting their search efforts (Lynch Jr & Ariely, 2000). As part of the many biases highlighted above, if information is presented in a way that makes it easier to process (such as using graphics) then it will be weighed more heavily when the decision is made (Kivetz & Simonson, 2000). This effect has been replicated in studies of pro-environmental decision making (Napolitano et al., 2010) where these authors highlighted that providing consumers with readily understandable information regarding a product's sustainability, increased the salience of these attributes.

Flowing from this, information has a stronger influence on pro-environmental behaviour when greater consideration is given to what is provided, where it comes from and how it is presented. For example, tailoring it to the consumer (Abrahamse, Steg, Vlek, & Rothengatter, 2007), tailoring it to the specific target behaviour (Steg & Vlek, 2009), providing it from a trusted (Brom, 2000), or credible source (Costanzo, Archer Aronson, & Pettigrew, 1986) or having it modelled by people similar to the target audience (Schultz, Nolan, Cialdini, Goldstein, & Griskevicius, 2007).

Other work, examining how to present information to influence sustainability, highlights the importance of full disclosure of environmental information. Meise, Rudolph, Kenning, and Phillips (2014) showed how this level of openness lead to preferences for higher priced, more sustainability based value-differentiated products.

Despite the evidence regarding the format and source of information consumers’ use more readily to make decisions, what is currently available has been described as opaque and of dubious provenance (Marucheck, Greis, Mena, & Cai, 2011). Hence it is the opposite to what Brom (2000) or Costanzo et. al., (1986) highlighted above, suggest is likely to be used to support pro-environmental behaviour.

Taken together, if consumers want transparent specific, targeted information and companies are not seen as providing this, then what needs to change in order for anti-consumption decisions to be supported so that they have a desired pro-environmental effect?
This question leads to others: First, who should provide the information? What information do they want and what methods can be employed to produce it?

The answer to the first question may involve governments. Considering the need for immediate and widespread action (Rogelj et al., 2016), supranational, national and local governments may move to mandating information as to the environmental impact of goods and services. Whilst this cannot, as described earlier, be expected to be a golden bullet to improve consumers pro-environmental actions (including rejecting or avoiding consumption or taking part in alternate anti-consumption lifestyles) this information could provide an important basis for their decision making.

To help answer the third question above- the remainder of this paper will introduce different techniques for understanding the environmental impact of products across their full lifecycle. In doing so it brings to the anti-consumption literature, for the first time, methods by which open, comprehensive and high quality information of this type can be produced and upon which more informed anti-consumption decisions can be made.

Life Cycle Assessment

The assessment of environmental impacts of products, buildings or other services throughout their lifetimes is known as Life Cycle Assessment (LCA) (International Standards Organization, 1997). The assessment includes the entire life cycle of a product, process or system including the extraction and processing of raw materials, manufacturing, transportation and distribution, use, reuse, maintenance, recycling and final disposal (Guinée, 2002).

The International Standard for LCA describes a number of scopes which may be used to frame an LCA study and help understand the impact of the product at different stages. The first is Cradle to Gate, which describes the impacts associated with products, materials or processes up to the point at which they are ready to leave the manufacturing or processing site. Hence it includes calculations of whether goods are packaged and ready for delivery to the point of sale or point of use. Building from this, Cradle to Site, describes the impacts associated with suppliers (raw materials), transportation to manufacturing centres, manufacturing, packaging, and transportation to site.

The next, and more familiar in marketing literature (Belz, 2006), is Cradle to Grave, which examines all the processes which a product or set of products go through from raw material extraction through obsolescence to final disposal. A key issue here is that it assumes no residual value at the End of Life (EoL). Finally, Cradle to Cradle assumes that an obsolete product does in fact have a residual value at the end of its first life (van Dijk, Tenpierik, & van den Dobbelsteen, 2014). It assumes that waste can be recycled and used to provide raw materials for the same product manufacture, or new and different products. This scope is slowly gaining interest in the sustainable marketing literature (Belz, 2006; Scott, Martin, & Schouten, 2014) and through work developing the circular economy. The circular economy is an economic system where waste products from one process provided the feedstock (technical or biological) for a new product or service (Stahel, 2016) and hence value is retained and circulated.

Key figures in LCA’s include Embodied Energy (EE) which measure the energy inputs relating to raw material extraction, transportation, processing, manufacturing, and packaging only. Embodied Carbon (EC) converts this embodied energy from MJ to tonnes of CO₂. Frequently embodied CO₂ is given as CO₂e or equivalent Carbon Dioxide (CO₂e). This describes how much global warming a given type and amount of greenhouse gas may cause, by using the functionally equivalent amount or concentration of carbon dioxide (CO₂) as a measure. This is required as the global warming potential (GWP) varies, for example CO₂ has a GWP of 1, Methane has a GWP of 2 and Nitrous Oxide possessing a GWP of 298. This conversion highlights the potential to provide consumers with meaningful, accessible
information from technical analysis and the likely difficulties of being able to communicate this simply.

A holistic LCA goes beyond carbon and energy, and includes many different environmental impacts, for example those included in the BRE Green Guide to Specification (Anderson & Shiers, 2009) are: Climate change, water extraction, mineral resource extraction, stratospheric ozone depletion, human toxicity, ecotoxicity to fresh water, nuclear waste, ecotoxicity to land, waste disposal, fossil fuel depletion, eutrophication and photochemical ozone creation and acidification. Hence, LCA can help broaden understanding of environmental damage away from the dominant paradigm of climate change. So rather than making decision to avoid purchasing a new car based on the fossil fuel depletion required to build it, LCA might highlight that the best way to protect the environment, when stratospheric ozone depletion and toxicity to humans are also considered, is to reject this and continue with ones existing petrol car.

LCA refers to a wide category of methods that can provide potential anti-consumers with credible targeted information and includes Life Cycle Energy Analysis (LCEA) and Life Cycle Carbon Analysis (LCCA). LCEA focuses on energy as the only measure of product environmental impact. Emerging in the late 1970s (Boustead & Hancock, 1979), its purpose is to present a more detailed analysis of energy attributable to products, systems or activities. It was not developed to replace LCA but to compare and evaluate the initial and recurrent embodied energy in materials, energy used over their lifecycle, and during recycling and disposal. For example, to present, across its lifecycle, the energy used to produce the metals, plastic, upholstery, petrol and oil (amongst the wide range of inputs required) use to manufacture, assemble, use and dispose of a car.

LCEA original purpose was to guide decision-making strategies concerning energy efficiency and environmental protection primarily by manufacturers. It is often used to estimate the energy use and savings over a product’s life, and more importantly, to find out the energy payback period (the time spent for the initial embodied energy to be paid back by energy savings during operational and disposal/recycling stages). This might easily be applied to a building or a transport system. For example, making the decision whether to invest (or not) in a more expensive petrol efficient engine which takes more energy to produce than the current technology. The embodied energy from its production can then be compared to its expected usage characteristics (time spent driven and how fast) and understand when (or indeed, if) the additional energy spent during production will be offset by the reduced energy consumption during the use phase. Information upon which to base these types of payoff calculations are particularly useful when considering replacement cycles. Life Cycle Carbon Assessment (LCCA) is likened to LCEA, and relies on prevailing energy structures to convert mega joules of energy to kilograms of CO2.

**Methods**

Having considered the overall processes and types of information, the paper now turns to introducing the methodologies used in LCA.

*Process analysis*

The process analysis method (also called conventional or traditional method) is the oldest and still most commonly used approach, and involves evaluation of direct and indirect energy inputs to each product process, such as extraction, transportation, manufacturing, use, recycling and disposal. Typically starting with the final product, it essentially works by deconstructing it in to its components and then materials and then continuing to work backwards until it reaches raw materials extracted. There are significant difficulties and restrictions with this method, primarily from difficulties in obtaining data (for example what energy source-coal, wind, or hydroelectric?) was used in the extraction of the iron from the iron ore (and how much) and the skills, expertise and laboratories required to understand the full process are not readily available (Menzies, Turan, & Banfill, 2007). It is also extremely
time and labour intensive. Together, these result in compromises to system boundary selection (which are generally drawn around the inputs where data is available). Furthermore, it is likely to ignore some of the processes such as services (banking and insurance, finance), inputs of small items, and ancillary activities (administration, storage) that still contribute to the product (Lenzen & Dey, 2000). The size of these potential errors varies with the type of product or process and depth of the study, but can be 50% or greater (Lenzen & Treloar, 2002). Regarding is accuracy, Process analysis results are found to be consistently lower than the findings of other methodologies (Lenzen & Treloar, 2002). Indeed, Nill (2002) found that it could underestimate the burdens associated with the production of power from photovoltaic systems by about 40%. Hence, this method can be impracticable to use on its own (Trusty, 2004) and is often conducted along with input-output analysis (see below).

**Input/Output analysis**

Developed by Leontief (1936), as a technique capable of representing financial interactions between the industries of a nation, Input/Output analysis can also be used in inventory analysis to overcome the limitations of process analysis. This commonly used method (Brizga, Feng, & Hubacek, 2017; Lenzen, 1998) is based on Input/Output (I/O) tables that represent monetary flows between sectors, and which can be transformed to physical flows to capture environmental fluxes between economic sectors. I.e. if you know that £100 million UKP in steel flows between the primary extraction industries to component manufacturers, then knowing the price of steel per kg paid, allows you to work out how much steel is being transferred. Knowing how much the primary industries sector spends on electricity and the mix of sources this comes from, then forms the basis of understanding how much electricity is used to produce a kg of steel and hence how much CO₂e is released.

The main advantage of this method is that the data is complete. This is possible as the system boundaries are known and being represented, typically because through GDP measurement, the entire economic activities of a nation is understood. Despite this, I/O analysis is still subject to uncertainty. This is mainly due to the high level of aggregation of products (i.e. the tables allow you to calculate how much CO₂e was produced in the metal used by a manufacturer but does not tell you as accurately how much was used in each model). Beyond this, many dissimilar commodities may be put into the same category and assumed to be identical. Other issues lead from the assumptions used to apportion monetary and physical flows and in some countries I/O tables are not updated frequently.

Unsurprisingly, considering the methods they follow, LCAs based on process analysis and those based on I/O analysis yield considerably different results (Lenzen & Treloar, 2002). Considering their strengths and weaknesses, I/O-LCA is most suitable for strategic policy making decisions (for example comparing sectors) and providing complementary data on sectors not easily covered by Process analysis. Process-LCA is best used to assess or compare specific options within one particular sector. Therefore these mechanisms are of most use for governments looking to guide anti-consumption practices toward sectors (and options within sectors) which will have the most beneficial long term impact.

**Process based hybrid analysis: An accurate compromise?**

The disadvantages of the previously reviewed methods are reduced if a hybrid method, combining both P-LCA and I/O-LCA methodologies is employed as in Process based hybrid analysis. Here, some of the material requirements (often higher in contribution or direct and first order requirements) are assessed by Process analysis and then the remaining requirements (generally upstream such as material extraction and manufacturing, which are smaller in contribution) are covered by Input–Output analysis. By doing this, the advantages of both methods (completeness of the input/output method and process specificity of Process analysis) are combined (Treloar, Fay, Love, & Iyer-Raniga, 2000). However, these techniques are at risk of double counting, possible subjectivity, and are time consumed to generate results. Alcorn and Wood (1998) calculate that this method generally accounts for over 90%
of the total figure, but without the excessive amount of time required to calculate the these last few percent. The method is criticised for lacking transparent estimates for the completeness of studies (Treloar, Love, & Faniran, 2001).

**Discussion and Conclusions**

This paper is built on the idea that anti-consumption decisions are made on available information and that engineering methods exist by which to generate data on a complete range of environmental impacts. Considering the beneficial (though admittedly limited) impact of providing this sort of information and what we know about how to present it in order to improve its uptake and use, hybrid process LCA is highlighted as a mechanism by which transparent, trustworthy information can be produced.

This paper argues that for governments looking to make more informed policy decision, and crucially to guide greater rejection or avoidance of consumption, LCA data should be mandated before goods or services can be sold. Mandating information from manufacturers of consumer and industrial products is not a new idea. Patient safety data is required for healthcare or pharmaceutical products and information highlighting how a product conforms to customs requirements is needed before import licences are granted. Indeed, labelling requirements, including ones designed to assist pro-environmental and sustainable decisions are commonplace.

Clearly there is much work to do regarding how to present such potentially complex information, though perhaps considering the dire warnings of climate scientists, those products failing to meet standards should be banned from sale. Further research might examine which sub categories of information influence anti-consumption in comparison to pro-environmental choice.

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Alternative consumer practices and anti-consumption attitudes for sustainability: The perspective of organic food consumption

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Introduction and Literature review
Currently, high levels of production and consumption, excessive exploitation of natural resources, and overly materialistic lifestyles, have been identified as the main causes for ecological degradation and social injustice (Alcott, 2008; Aslanbay & Varnali, 2014; Visconti, Minowa, & Maclaran, 2014). The possibilities of helping the planet, anti-consumption practices have been presented as a way to promote environmental sustainability, even though the literature on this is still scarce (Black, 2010; Cherrier, Black, & Lee, 2011; Egea & Frutos, 2013). As a relatively new field of research (García-de-Frutos, Ortega-Egea, & Martínez-del-Río, 2016), anti-consumption is an important part within marketing and consumption, and has led to a growing interest in the academic community, as well as among managers and consumers (Lee, Conroy, & Motion, 2009; Portwood-Stacer, 2012).

The research on anti-consumption had initially focused on market activists and anti-loyal consumers (Iyer & Muncy, 2009), and the term ‘anti-consumption’, from a macro perspective, can be literally understood as an attitude against consumption in general (Black & Cherrier, 2010; García-de-Frutos et al., 2016; Lee et al., 2009). From a micro perspective, it may represent an opposition directed at specific targets such as “products, brands, companies, or nations” (García-de-Frutos et al., 2016, p. 2). This implies that the phenomenon focuses “on specific acts against consumption” (Cherrier et al., 2011, p. 1758), leaning on localized and subjective aspects of consumer practices, represented by identity projects or even a philosophy of life (Cherrier, 2009). Thus, according to the literature, anti-consumption can assume a position of antagonistic active resistance, as it is the case of consumer resistance (Cherrier et al., 2011). More recently, Heath, Cluley and O’Malley (2017) have analysed various forms of consumer resistance, where consumers, through their daily acts, challenge the rules of the market.

Resistance may be expressed through consumption of a good or service and simultaneously avoiding others (Chatzidakis and Lee, 2012) like, for instance, preferring organic products and refusing to purchase conventional ones. Shaw et al. (2006) presented two key positions of resistance manifestations: (1) boycotting and protest, punishing companies, producers and suppliers that show unethical behaviours; and, (2) through boycotting or positive buying, rewarding, by their choice, those who manifest behaviours and ethical credentials.

The emerging question is why consumers adopt anti-consumption practices?

The literature shows that through the act of non-consumption individuals find non-material ways to re-establish feelings of authenticity in their lives (Cherrier et al., 2011; Zavestoski, 2002). Anti-consumption can thus be driven by the desire of living better or improving the levels of happiness by adopting a voluntary lifestyle of simplicity. Under these circumstances, anti-consumption is strongly rooted in the discourse on green consumption and can be perceived as a way to oppose to the Western consumption culture (Huttunen & Autio, 2010). In the context of ethical consumption, a clear relationship between a controlled consumption and ethical issues has been identified. This relationship is based on aspects such as environmental awareness that affects the levels of consumption (Zavestoski, 2002). Cherrier et al. (2011) found that non-consumption practices adopted by environmental aware consumers could manifest itself both as a way of expressing protest within the consumption...
system and in terms of personal reflection and individual fulfilment. Thus, Cherrier's et al. (2011) analysis shows that the act of anti-consumption helps to develop consumers’ identity. Black and Cherrier (2010) conceptualized anti-consumption and green or environmentally friendly consumption as a means to live a more sustainable lifestyle. These authors argue that “practices of anti-consumption for sustainability are constructed through the collaboration between the needs of the individual and the needs for environmental preservation” (p. 437), attempting to integrate and balance these principles with simple, daily practices (of anti-consumption), getting pleasure and personal fulfilment. Black and Cherrier (2010) call this group of consumers 'ecological citizens', those who share a sense of commitment to sustainability and act to reduce their impact on the environment.

With regard to the actions directed against consumption based on strong convictions and environmental motivations, García-de-Frutos et al. (2016) conducted a review of the literature about “Environmental Oriented Anti-Consumption” (EOA). From the individual’s point of view (micro-level), those who support environmental anti-consumption positions expect that their actions have macro-level impacts in terms of the environment and also hope that their actions would carry over some impact on to the market (García-de-Frutos et al., 2016). According to García-de-Frutos et al. (2016), EOA considers the acts (consumption reduction, avoidance, or rejecting) driven by environmental concerns, and directed against any form of consumption with the specific aim of protecting the environment.

Anti-consumption can also assume a symbolic role. Hogg et al. (2009) propose a conceptual framework stressing that the interaction between avoidance, aversion and abandonment can take such a symbolic meaning. In the same vein, in Shaw, Newholm and Dickinson's (2006) ethical narratives research, consumers engage in a ‘voting metaphor’, reflecting their values by choosing whether or not to consume as an ethical or political manifestation. Zamwel, Sasson-Levy and Ben-Porat (2014), however, argue that voluntary simplicity should be above all understood as a political attitude where individuals try to exert influence by making use of alternative consumption channels.

To carry out this study and explore the anti-consumption practices, the perspective of Shaw and Newholm (2002) was employed, in the sense that we look for a group of ethical consumers (deep organic food consumers) in order to understand why they deliberately chose to change certain aspects of their consumption and lifestyles, and to explore their sustainable alternative practices. Therefore, this paper aims to see how anti-consumer practices influence the sustainability discourse and how those practices contribute to the well-being and satisfaction of consumers.

**Methodology**

To address the research objective, an inductive approach was adopted. The methodology is positioned in the interpretative paradigm to address, in depth, the narratives of 31 frequent organic products consumers, motivated by issues that affect the environment. The narratives were collected through via interviews. According to Connolly and Prothero (2003), this type of approach is most appropriate to explore the real meaning of the phenomenon linked to the ideographic subjective nature of each consumer’s discourse.

Participants were selected from several contexts such as environmental groups, eco-villages, organic and permaculture farms, organic food co-ops and organic stores. The first participants were intentionally selected from personal contacts and the remaining ones were recommended or suggested by previous participants. Therefore, this resulted in a snowball technique (Trost, 1986). The main selection criteria was based on the frequent consumption of organic products and the adoption of a voluntary simpler lifestyle (Craig-Lees & Hill, 2002).

During the interviews, particular attention was given to frequency, emotion and intensity of how participants expressed their position regarding consumption (Heath and Chatzidakis, 2012) and were encouraged to tell their own experiences (Shaw and Riach, 2011). Each
interview lasted on average one hour and were recorded. Next, followed a verbatim transcription of the interviews and field notes (Black & Cherrier, 2010). Privacy was discussed with all participants and anonymity was ensured.

In this article, content analysis and a thematic analysis was used, following a phenomenological approach (Thompson, Locander, & Pollio, 1989, 1990) to explore organic consumers narratives, which resulted in a total of 500 pages of research notes and transcriptions.

**Summary of Findings**

The qualitative analysis of the interviews conducted among a group of organic consumers revealed that they have strong environmental convictions, which inform and guide their consumption practices and lifestyle. Therefore, environmentalism and social justice values, constitutive of a discourse of sustainability, are present in the consumption convictions of these participants and seem to enact the change to an alternative consumption paradigm. Consequently, in their daily lives, these individuals develop environmentally friendly consumption practices, which are compatible with their beliefs, where organic consumption has a main role in all the participants’ practices. Therefore, through a reflexive process, organic products contribute to environmental sustainability by supporting a responsible agriculture that is closer to the ‘localism’ concept (DuPuis & Goodman, 2005; Goodman & Goodman, 2007; McEachern, Warnaby, Carrigan, & Szmigin, 2010). Concerning identity formation, it also has a direct impact on the lifestyle of these consumers and on the formation of an ethical consumption identity (Black & Cherrier, 2010; Cherrier & Murray, 2007; Cherrier, 2009; Moisander & Pesonen, 2002).

An important contribution of this research was to demonstrate that the process of life simplification begins when these individuals decide to consume organically. Therefore, they become ethically more responsible, committed to the environmental cause and pursuing a simple lifestyle with a concern for the consequences of their consumption. Simultaneously, in this transformation process, consumption of organic products strengthens anti-consumption practices. Consequently, in this research, one may see a proactive adoption of a lifestyle oriented towards simplicity and voluntary sufficiency and a deliberated change of life habits, fundamentally based on environmental values, involving consumption reduction and a fundamental desire of well-being. As in the research of Zamwel et al. (2014), these organic food consumers can be seen as political agents, trying to influence the system by using alternative market channels and by eating entirely organic. In this sense, the political action of these consumers exceeds the individual and isolated consumption action, longing for a greater impact in terms of community.

Mariana’s and Sonia’s statement is representative of the results of this study:

I am very critical about what I consume. First of all, I see if it is organic and even if it is organic I try to see if it is Portuguese. A criteria is to be rational! If possible local but, well… the things I buy, are things that I don’t produce! Or that I cannot have right now. And what I don’t produce is what cannot be cultivated here. Otherwise, I would look for a producer that would have it. I try to see… organic, among the organic the nearest possible to have less environmental impact… I always try to buy the minimum possible and even when I buy I try to think if I really need it. When we talk about organic consumption, we are not just talking about food. We are talking about everything: cleaning products, for example, which are even more difficult than food products. When I talk about organic consumption, I cannot refer only to food. It’s everything! Starting with the clothes I wear, right? Where does cotton come from?… It is difficult to talk about organic consumption because it cover a large range of things! (Mariana)

I think that people are addicted. Simply addicted in consumption and we grow addicted. I see this in myself! When I am here in contact with Nature, I do not need anything else! I just need to be warm. So, I am glad to have warm clothes, being inside the house and feel warm myself. I need to be fed. I don’t need anything else! If I go to a mall for a couple of hours… “this is interesting!...” we go there and they take everything from us… all the atmosphere is conceived to: “give me this, I can only be complete when I have this and that”... (Sonia)
To sum up, findings suggest that the consumption of organic products act as a transformative catalyst that, by reducing consumption based on voluntary sufficiency and simplicity values, leads to increased individual well-being. This research demonstrates that sustainability rooted in anti-consumption (Seegebarth, Peyer, Balderjahn, & Wiedmann, 2016), as a political manifestation, is an essential element to change people’s lives and to construct an alternative consumer identity. Furthermore, for the responsible consumer, pursuing a sustainable environmentalist lifestyle is a stepping-stone in the transition to reaching sustainability in terms of the wider community.

Contributions
With this research, we intend to contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between environmental concerns, anti-consumption, alternatives practices of consumption and subjective well-being among deep organic consumers’ products community.

The findings enhance the understanding of the relationship between anti-consumption practices and sustainable discourse, and contribute to the discussion on how, by reducing consumption and adopting alternative practices, a contribution can be made to increase the subjective well-being.

This study confirms that the consumption of organic products acts as a driver for the promotion of healthy habits in terms of the environmental and the adoption of new lifestyles. In this sense, the findings also suggest that by reducing consumption levels, there will be an increase of individual well-being and a greater feeling of satisfaction. From the perspective of political authorities, one could promote a culture where consumers should become “consumer-citizens” (Hong & Vicdan, 2016, p. 135), by promoting organic consumption and encouraging small changes in their personal lives.

References


Is it possible to mitigate the reluctance to buy through emotional feelings? The effect of consumer affinity in the consumption of foreign products

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Introduction
International marketing literature has drawn its attention to several types of attitudes towards sourcing companies in order to analyse consumers’ consumption decisions. Several studies have analysed the effects of unfavourable attitudes towards foreign-made products in general (i.e., ethnocentric tendencies; see, for example, Siamagka & Balabanis, 2015; Chryssochoidis et al., 2007) or even a specific country (i.e., consumer animosity; see, for example, Abraham, 2013; Cher Min et al., 2014). In turn, several researches have focused on positive attitudes towards foreign countries in general such as xenocentrism (Balabanis & Diamantopoulos, 2016), world-mindedness (Nijssen & Douglas, 2011) or internationalism (Balabanis et al., 2001). In recent years, there has been a growing interest in positive attitudes headed for specific foreign countries, defined as ‘consumer affinity’ that is considered as “emotional feelings” (e.g., Naseem et al., 2015; Nes et al., 2014). Some researchers have focused on understanding the effect of affinity on consumers’ overall willingness to buy products from the affinity country (Cakici & Shukla, 2017; Oberecker et al., 2008). In this sense, it is reasonable to think that consumer affinity influences on consumer’s perceptions (e.g., perceived risk and perceived value), which will likely determine foreign products evaluations and willingness to buy. Furthermore, consumer affinity might be affected by product-country image (Ettenson & Klein, 2005).

Despite the importance of affinity in the analysis of consumer behaviour, research devoted to achieving a consistent theoretical framework of consumer attitude related concepts in the field of foreign-made products has proceeded apace. Moreover, the analysis of consumers’ reluctance to buy regarding foreign-made products as a consequence of consumer affinity of a particular country is virtually unexplored. Thus, the purpose of this study is to contribute to the literature by investigating the formation of non-consumption responses to products of specific foreign origins. In particular, this research provides an insight into the underlying sources of consumer affinity as well as its behavioural impact on anti-consumption decisions. This paper also contributes to existing literature by integrating the concepts of ethnocentrism, product-country image, perceived risk and perceived value in a conceptual framework and in a set of propositions describing consumer preference for –or resistance to buy– foreign products. From a managerial point of view, it is essential to be informed about underlying feelings and perceptions that explain why local consumers will not make an investment in foreign products.

Literature review and conceptual framework
This study goes back to the conceptual roots of consumer affinity as outlined by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982) and Druckman’s (1994) social psychological perspective to specify alternative antecedents of consumer behaviour. Both perspectives make a clear distinction between a person’s behaviour toward in-group (i.e., country of origin), out-groups (i.e., foreign countries), and the potential inclusion of out-groups in people’s in-groups (i.e., consumer affinity). Specifically, as a result of positive affinity, which is expected to be driven by direct or indirect experiences with a product of a country of origin, consumers might
consider the foreign country-specific a part of their in-group, eventually leading to a greater willingness to buy products from the affinity country (Goldberg & Baumgartner, 2002).

An alternative perspective to consumer affinity is the Unified Theory approach (Greenwald et al., 2002), whereby a foreign country could be linked to two opposed nodes, involving negative feelings toward the country and positive feelings due to the “differentiation of the out-group into negatively and positively valenced subcomponents” (Greenwald et al. 2002, p. 19). Thus, the affinity country can be conceived as a (highly) positively valenced out-group (Oberecker & Diamantopoulos, 2011). Whereas consumer ethnocentrism mainly focuses on bias against (products from) out-groups to explain consumers’ preferences for their country’s products (Zeugner-Roth et al., 2015), little is known about its relative influence if other predictors of pro-out-group or anti-out-group behaviour are considered.

Therefore, we propose a conceptual model (Figure 1) that assess, under social psychological perspective, some traits of consumer behaviour, by examining the predictive power of a pro-out-group construct (i.e., consumer affinity) and an anti-out-group construct (i.e., ethnocentrism) to analyse reluctance to buy foreign products. In this sense, we also analyse the relationship of these constructs with other perceptual variables, such as product-country image, perceived risk, and perceived value.

**Figure 1. Conceptual model**

The country of origin (COO) concept, also known as the “made in” concept, has been broadly defined as the positive or negative influence that a product’s country of manufacture may have on consumers’ decision making and choice behaviour (Roth & Diamantopoulos, 2009). COO research have shown that a product’s national origin acts as a signal of product quality, affects perceptions of risk associated with a purchase, and influence consumer preferences (Herz & Diamantopoulos, 2013; Papadopoulos & Heslop, 2003).

Recent research has linked the COO effect to levels of consumer ethnocentrism (Pentz et al., 2017). By definition, consumers with strong consumer ethnocentrism tend to have a more favourable perception of domestic than foreign products (Singh & Kewlani, 2013). However, the assessment of foreign nations and their products is not based on unbiased processing of the information available, but on stereotypical images of these nations and products (De Nisco et al., 2016). Product-country image (PCI) effects refer to the extent to which the origin of a particular product influences its evaluation. Previous research has demonstrated that consumer ethnocentrism is negatively related to foreign PCI (Jin et al., 2015; Kaynak & Kara, 2002). According to this background, the following hypothesis is put forward: **H1**: Consumer ethnocentrism has a negative effect on product-country image of foreign products.
On the other hand, consumer ethnocentrism can influence in consumer-perceived risk (Wang et al., 2018). Perceived risk has been considered as a relevant facet of consumer behaviour, and more specifically as “evaluations of the probability as well as the consequences of an (negative) outcome” (Sjöberg et al., 2004, p. 8). Consistent with prior research (Jung & Khau, 2006), consumer ethnocentrism increases the level of perceived risk. Therefore, it is proposed that: **H2:** Consumer ethnocentrism has a positive effect on perceived risk of foreign products. Moreover, consumer ethnocentrism was found to influence assessment of the perceived quality and perceived value of both domestic and foreign products (Laksamana, 2016; Chryssochoidis et al., 2007). Hence, we propose the following hypothesis: **H3:** Consumer ethnocentrism has a negative effect on perceived value of foreign products.

Previous researches also suggest that consumer ethnocentrism can be positively related to consumers’ reluctance to buy products from a specific foreign country (Siamagka & Balabanis, 2015). Anti-consumption has been defined as the “phenomena that are against the acquisition, use, and dispossession of certain goods” (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013, p. 2). Anti-consumption research identifies the causes and motives why consumers reject specific products (Lee et al., 2009). Therefore, we propose: **H4:** Consumer ethnocentrism has a positive effect on reluctance to buy foreign products.

Consumers’ attitude to a specific product will be favourable or unfavourable depending on the perceived PCI (Brijs et al., 2011). Consumer affinity implies a consumer attitude related to foreign countries and their products (Jaffe & Nebenzahl, 2006). Previous studies have analysed the existence of an indirect effect of consumer affinity in purchasing decisions through PCI (Nes et al., 2014). This effect is a result of PCI, which can includes elements related to affinity dimensions, such as culture, nature, landscape and people. By connecting products with national themes that seek to improve the feelings of consumer affinity, associations can take advantage of those feelings, boost their marketing communications and improve PCI (Oberecker & Diamantopoulos, 2011). Thus, the proposal that arises is: **H5:** Consumer affinity has a positive effect on product-country image of foreign products.

According to Campbell and Goodstein (2001), consumers might rely on extrinsic cues (e.g., country of origin of a product) to reduce their uncertainty about consequences arising from a product purchase. Moreover, consumer will prefer familiar (i.e., affinity country and their products) options to unfamiliar when it comes to risky consumption decisions. From this perspective, Oberecker and Diamantopoulos (2008) consider an unfavourable relationship between products (from the affinity country) and perceived risk. Thus, the following proposal is derived: **H6:** Consumer affinity has a negative effect on perceived risk of foreign products.

In addition, the level of perceived risk is not influenced solely by feelings of affinity, but also by the perceived image of products from a given country (Oberecker & Diamantopoulos, 2011). Therefore, it is expected that a positive PCI can help attenuate consumers’ perceived risk. That is why the pursuing proposal is contemplated: **H7:** Product-country image has a negative effect on perceived risk of foreign products.

Previous research has determined that country of origin of a product forms perceptions of risk and can be a risk-relieving information (Aqueveque, 2006), which in turn, leads to form perceived value (Beneke et al., 2013). Consumer considers quality, price and performance of the product a component of risk when developing perceived value (Sweeney et al., 1999). Snoj et al (2004) have demonstrated that perceived risk is an important antecedent of perceived value. Hence, consumers form assessments about product value based on risk associated with purchasing the products (Agarwal & Teas, 2001). It is therefore proposed that: **H8:** Perceived risk has a negative effect on perceived value of foreign products.
However, it is expected that a consumer affinity and a favourable perceived value being some consequences of reduced reluctance to buy foreign products of a given country (Rice & Wongtada, 2007). Consequently: **H9**: Consumer affinity has a positive effect on perceived value of foreign products; and **H10**: Consumer affinity has a negative effect on reluctance to buy foreign products. In the meantime, general beliefs toward foreign products, or value judgments, could be used here as a representative construct for product-related attributes influencing the buying decision of foreign products (Suh & Kwon, 2002). Moreover, consumer perceived value has a strong impact on consumer preference formation and consumption behaviour (Maina et al., 2015). Thus, the following hypothesis is: **H11**: Perceived value has a negative effect on consumers’ reluctance to buy foreign products.

**Methodology**

Food products have been deemed appropriate for this study. In particular, Spanish horticultural sector has been chosen as a setting for this research. This sector has suffered the effects of recurring crises (i.e., environmental, social and food crisis). These crises together with the raising of environmental consciousness and consumers’ food safety concern have damaged its perceived image. Main target markets for Spanish horticultural products (Germany, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom) are selected as host countries. To accomplish such an objective, a causal cross-sectional research will be designed through a survey aimed at consumers. After a previous qualitative analysis of the scales, their psychometric properties will be ascertained by a confirmatory factorial analysis. Subsequently, a structural equation modelling will be applied using Lisrel 9.30 software, which will allow us to test relationships between latent constructs, as they have been raised in the conceptual model of this research.

**Conclusions**

From a theoretical perspective, our study contributes to international marketing literature by refining the conceptualization of the country of origin image and consumers’ consumption decisions. In particular, we analyse consumer affinity, product-country image and consumer ethnocentrism in a conceptual model, as well as their impact on perceived risk, perceived value and reluctance to buy foreign products. The use of a model based on the study of these variables, from the consumer’s point of view, offers an innovative vision for the particular case of the analysis of the Spanish horticultural sector at European level. If the results are as expected, this research will help professionals of this sector to have a better understanding of the attitudes and perceptions of consumers about their products and production processes. As well, they will be able to develop appropriate marketing strategies that will allow companies and exporting associations mitigate or avoid reluctance to buy these products and, in turn, to improve the product-country image and the positioning in the European destination markets of this sector.

**References**


Beyond national boundaries: The impact of anti-consumption and personal values on subjective well-being

Alexandra Hüttel, Ingo Balderjahn and Stefan Hoffmann

Introduction
Although researchers around the world have started to explore the anti-consumption field, empirical studies have neglected a cross-cultural perspective. As a result, it remains unclear, if the meanings and consequences of anti-consumption practices are universally the same or different across cultures, i.e. if they represent emic or etic concepts (Luna & Forquer Gupta, 2001). Specifically, this leads us to the following questions: a) how do consumers’ different cultural value systems affect their consciousness for anti-consumption, and b) how is anti-consumption consciousness linked to personal well-being across nationalities?

To come to grips with these research questions, we scrutinize the interplay between anti-consumption, personal values, and consumer well-being in a cross-country/cross-cultural context. More specifically, we examine if culture moderates a) the relationship between personal values and consciousness for anti-consumption and b) the relationship between anti-consumption and subjective well-being. Drawing on Schwartz’ value theory (1992; 2001), we assume that anti-consumption consciousness mediates the effects of personal values on subjective well-being. Besides, we posit that the pursuit of distinctive values directly affects well-being. By means of a structural equation modeling multiple group analysis, we compare the hypothesized continguities between an American and a German large-scale, representative sample.

To account for the multi-faceted nature of anti-consumption, this study integrates two rather dissimilar modes of anti-consumption: voluntary simplicity and collaborative consumption. Whereas voluntary simplicity expresses a broad approach to anti-consumption (Iyer & Muncy, 2009), collaborative consumption is described as moderate form of anti-consumption (Ozanne & Ballantine, 2010). Collaborative consumption enables consumers to reduce purchases without having to abstain from product usage (Akbar, Mai, & Hoffmann, 2016; Botsman & Rogers, 2011).

Hypotheses
Only about a dozen of studies have empirically challenged the assumption that anti-consumption enhances subjective well-being. Considering that the majority of them supports a positive relationship between anti-consumption and well-being (Boujbel & d'Astous, 2012; Chowdhury, 2016; Iyer & Muncy, 2016; Khan, 2017; Lee & Ahn, 2016; Nepomuceno & Laroche, 2014), we hypothesize:

H1a: Voluntary simplicity relates positively to subjective well-being;
H1b: Collaborative consumption relates positively to subjective well-being.

Human values serve as guiding principles in peoples’ lives (Schwartz, 1994). Schwartz’ popular value framework distinguishes ten basic values: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, security. Empirical studies have linked these values to both, voluntary simplicity and collaborative consumption.

With respect to power values, there is strong evidence for a negative causal relationship to voluntary simplicity and collaborative consumption (Khan, 2017; Martin & Upham, 2016; Pepper, Jackson, & Uzzell, 2009; Piscicelli, Cooper, & Fisher, 2015; Piscicelli, Ludden, & Cooper, 2017). In contrast, for universalism, the studies cited highlight a positive relationship. Therefore, we derive the following hypotheses:
H2a: power values relate negatively to voluntary simplicity;  
H2b: power values relate negatively to collaborative consumption;  
H2c: universalism values relate positively to voluntary simplicity;  
H2d: universalism values relate positively to collaborative consumption.  
Empirical findings further support that self-direction values, aiming at independent thought and action, creating, and exploring (Schwartz, 1994), are antecedents to voluntary simplicity and collaborative consumption (Hüttel, Ziesemer, Peyer, & Balderjahn, 2018; Khan, 2017; Martin & Upham, 2016; Piscicelli et al., 2015; Piscicelli et al., 2017). Consequently, we assume:  
H2e: self-direction values relate positively to voluntary simplicity;  
H2f: self-direction values relate positively to collaborative consumption.  
As regards the impact of security values on voluntary simplicity and collaborative consumption, empirical studies provide ambiguous results (Hüttel et al., 2018; Martin & Upham, 2016; Pepper et al., 2009; Piscicelli et al., 2015; Piscicelli et al., 2017; Schaefers, 2013; Todd & Lawson, 2003). While anti-consumption practices are linked to improved financial security (Nepomuceno & Laroche, 2014), a number of personal risks are involved in collaborative consumption practices (Hofmann, Hartl, & Penz, 2017; Hüttel et al., 2018; Möhlmann, 2015). Therefore, we posit:  
H2g: security values relate positively to voluntary simplicity;  
H2h: security values relate negatively to collaborative consumption.  
Moreover, empirical studies using the Schwartz’ value framework suggest that stimulation values can be accomplished via collaborative consumption practices (Martin & Upham, 2016; Piscicelli et al., 2015; Piscicelli et al., 2017). Hence, we assume that  
H2i: stimulation values relate positively to collaborative consumption.  
For the remaining Schwartz values, we do not assume any relationships to voluntary simplicity and collaborative consumption. In most cases, the literature supports weak, none, or ambiguous causal links with anti-consumption practices.  
Human values are rooted in social experience, general attitudes, and cultural background (Schwartz, 1992). Hence, culture may influence how personal values translate into consumers’ anti-consumption consciousness. Moreover, consumers’ different worldviews may affect whether they perceive well-being from anti-consumption. Strikingly, from a research point-of-view, few is known about the interplay between culture and anti-consumption. This leads us to the following research questions:  
RQ1: does culture moderate the relationships between anti-consumption and well-being?  
RQ2: does culture moderate the relationships between human values and anti-consumption?  

Data and Measures  
We chose to embed our study in two developed, yet culturally diverse countries with different historical roots: Germany and the US. By filling out an online survey, 1,075 German and 1,070 US-American panelists participated in our study. Data is representative for age and sex in both populations. The mean age is equal to 44.77 years (SD = 15.05) with a range from 18 to 89. 52.4% of the Germans and 48.9% of the US-Americans are female. All measures were adapted from existing scales. The constructs for voluntary simplicity and collaborative consumption were obtained from the Consciousness for Sustainable Consumption (CSC) scale of Balderjahn et al. (2013). Subjective well-being was measured using the Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS) (Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999). Schwartz’ values were assessed using the corresponding items of the short version of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PCQ) (Cieciuch & Davidov, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2001).  

Data Analysis and Results  
Confirmatory factor analysis of our measurement models showed a good. All construct loadings were significant and exceeded the required threshold. In support for convergent
validity, the latent constructs’ composite reliability (CR) and their average variance extracted (AVE) also exceeded the required thresholds. Moreover, all constructs met the requirements for discriminant validity (Fornell & Larcker, 1981).

To evaluate our hypotheses and research questions, we performed a structural equation modeling multiple group analysis. Demographics were included in the model as controls. Using chi-square difference tests, we located country differences as regards the relationships between human values and anti-consumption, and anti-consumption and well-being. As prerequisite for the multiple group analyses, we assessed measurement invariance for the two samples. The results obtained from multiple group confirmatory factor analyses undermine full metric invariance as sufficient precondition to conduct meaningful group comparisons (Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthén, 1989).

In support for hypotheses H2a and H2b, for both country samples, the analysis reveals a positive and significant relationship between voluntary simplicity and subjective well-being and between collaborative consumption and subjective well-being. As regards the relationships with well-being, the analysis does not reveal significant differences between the US and Germany. Accordingly, to answer RQ1, culture does not moderate the relationship between anti-consumption and well-being.

Confirming hypotheses H2c, H2e, H2g, and H2i, the analysis reveals significant and positive relationships between universalism, self-direction, and security and voluntary simplicity and between stimulation and collaborative consumption in both countries. Contrary to our expectations, we find significantly negative relations between self-direction and collaborative consumption, and no significant links between security and collaboration consumption (rejection of H2f and H2h).

Whereas there are no significant relationships between power values and individuals’ consciousness for anti-consumption in the German sample, these effects are positive in the US sample (rejection of H2a and H2b). Moreover, in the German sample, we find a significant and positive relationship between universalism and collaborative consumption whereas in the US sample, this relationship remains insignificant (partial rejection of H2d). Referring to RQ2, we observe moderating effects of culture with respect to the relation between power and universalism values and anti-consumption.

**Discussion**

The analysis results undermine the importance of personal values for individuals’ anti-consumption consciousness. As an unforeseen result, in the US, power values link positively to collaborative consumption. From a theoretical viewpoint, individuals’ striving for control over people and resources (as expressed by power value orientations) contradicts sharing practices, as these evolve social dependencies (Belk, 2010) (which also explains the missing link to self-direction values). An explanation for this unexpected finding is that consumers with high power orientations value collaborative consumption as means to signal status. Sharing practices can enable individuals to access resources they can otherwise not afford to purchase (Tinson & Nuttall, 2007).

Interestingly, power values constitute the strongest predictor for collaborative consumption in the US sample. Instead, Germans with a high consciousness for collaborative consumption more likely share universalism values. These findings hint at culturally distinct, i.e., emic meanings of anti-consumption practices, expressed also by the more pronounced relationship between voluntary simplicity and power values in the US sample.

The observed positive relations between voluntary simplicity/collaborative consumption and well-being highlight that anti-consumption yields positive consequences for the individual. Echoing previous studies (Rich, Hanna, S., Wright, Bradley J., & Bennett, 2017), we observe rather weak relationships between anti-consumption and subjective well-being. However, it should be noted that various factors affect overall well-being (Myers & Diener, 2016). In this vein, the study also emphasizes human values’ contribution to personal well-being.
The results of the multiple group analyses reveal that culture does not moderate the relationship between anti-consumption and well-being. This finding gives rise to the interpretation that independently of culture or nationality, individuals perceive well-being from anti-consumption practices. Accordingly, beyond national boundaries, anti-consumption practices yield a promise for enhanced well-being.

Conclusion
Following this study’s results, the impacts of personal values on anti-consumption consciousness are different across cultures, but the positive effects on subjective well-being are culturally invariant. Although these findings provide preliminary insights into cultural specifics regarding the meaning and nature of anti-consumption practices, the study rests on the analysis of only two countries, the US and Germany. For a broad-based assessment of the interplay between culture, well-being, and anti-consumption, future research is advised to take more samples as representatives of different cultures into account.

References


Spillover effects on environmentally oriented anti-consumption behaviors: A cross-national longitudinal study

José Manuel Ortega-Egea and Nieves García-de-Frutos

Introduction
The environmental problems currently faced by humankind are complex and challenging, and require a change on mainstream lifestyles that are able to cover all domains of action. The literature on environmental spillover has attempted to discover when environmental actions are able to lead the adoption of subsequent environmental behaviors (Thøgersen, 1999). However, the available evidence offers room for improving the understanding of the mechanisms that underlie such environmental spillovers (Truelove et al., 2014). Among the potential factors connecting different environmental behaviors, the literature has investigated the role of behavioral similarity, settings, environmental impact, or frequency (Thøgersen, 2012). Yet, there may exist additional factors that individuals consider in order to organize their environmental performance. Following this, consumption and anti-consumption can be considered as alternative paths of environmental action worth of separate analysis (Black & Cherrier, 2010). Current work aims to explore the potential explanatory role of the distinction between consumption and anti-consumption paths on spillover, placing the focus on the latter. In addition, the work employs a longitudinal database that comprises data from 30 European countries. The cross-national character of the database will provide interesting insights about country differences on behavioral spillover.

Background
Positive spillovers appear when engaging in one pro-environmental action increases the likelihood of performing additional different pro-environmental actions (Thøgersen, 1999). Theories for explaining positive spillover comprise consistency—i.e., dissonance, self-perception—learning, and goal theories (For a review see Nash et al., 2017). The postulates of goal theory assume that individuals pursue a certain set of broad goals which may vary on perceived relevance (Margetts & Kashima, 2017). Usually, there is not a unique way to accomplish a goal, but a wide array of behaviors from which individuals can choose (Lanzini & Thøgersen, 2014). It is of special relevance to discover what makes individuals select one behavior—or a set of them—over other possibilities. Margetts and Kashima (2017) propose that behaviors that require the same resources are more likely to be performed together. This explains why the literature has attempted to group environmental behaviors according to different taxonomies, which would share common resources, such as knowledge and skills (Thøgersen, 2012).

In line with that, the differentiation between anti-consumption and consumption behaviors may represent another taxonomy of environmental actions. In fact, recent research suggest that consumers engage on trade-offs between these two paths of action (i.e., McCoy & Lions, 2017). It seems safe to state anti-consumption behaviors may require substantially different sets of resources than those required to perform consumption acts. Imagine that for example an individual engages on a certain anti-consumption behavior for environmental reasons, it is likely that such individual learns how to satisfy their needs while resisting material consumption in different settings. Hence, the following research question is proposed:

RQ1: Will there be positive spillovers between intent-oriented behaviors regardless of their consumption/anti-consumption perspective, or will the latter distinction influence spillover effects?
Also in an exploratory manner, this work aims to analyze the role that different countries exert on EOA behavior. Past research has found how even between countries from the same region—i.e., the European Union, there are significant differences that affect their environmentally oriented behavior in both consumption (Gregory-Smith, Manika & Demirel, 2017) and anti-consumption (Ortega-Egea & García-de-Frutos, 2013) paths. This leads to the following research question:

**RQ2: Will there be differences in EOA adoption patterns among European Countries?**

**Data**

We look at European citizens’ self-reported behavioral responses to climate change (i.e., consumption and anti-consumption ones) from 2009 to 2017. Data are drawn from five Eurobarometer surveys conducted biannually in each of the EU member states. Stratified multistage probability sampling is used to guarantee the reliability of national and European estimates. In each survey wave, approximately 1000 people per country were interviewed face-to-face in their homes. Access to the Eurobarometer datasets was provided by the GESIS Data Archive for the Social Sciences (Cologne, Germany).

Respondents already engaged in some form of climate change-motivated activity were asked to report, on a binary nominal scale (1 = yes; 0= no), whether they had undertaken 11 types of environmental actions (see Table 1). These activities entail different levels of difficulty, impact, and frequency in the behavioral domains of domestic energy/water conservation, waste reduction, eco-friendly transportation, and eco-shopping. Participants’ country is a nominal variable, with categories ranging from 1 to 30.

**Results**

*Shifts in aggregate behavior in response to climate change*

Percentages of engagement in each of the 11 consumption and anti-consumption actions taken in response to climate change are relatively stable over the considered 2009-2017 period (Figure 1). As expected, reducing waste and regularly separating for recycling is the most frequent behavior undertaken by Europeans (2009-2017 average=68,3%), followed by cutting down on consumption of disposable items (average=51,1%) and buying local products to avoid products that come from far away (average=40,1%). An increasing trend is observable for these latter two actions in the household domain (see Figure 1). Overall, although not shown in Figure 1, considerable variation exists across EU-countries in the different behaviors being examined.
Figure 1. Actions in response to climate change over time (2009-2017)

Testing spillover effects on EOA behaviors
To examine the potential of spillover effects on the four EOA behaviors selected as outcomes of interest, we test separate logit models using the \textit{xtlogit} command in Stata v12. Each model considers one of the four EOA actions as a dependent variable and the rest of behaviors plus the respondent’s country as predictors—in addition, country is specified as the panel variable. For each of the models, fixed-effects (FE) and random-effects (RE) model specifications are compared, with results showing the preference of the random-effects ones. Next, the results obtained for each of the four EOA actions are discussed in detail (Tables 1 to 4).
Table 1. Spillover effects on avoidance of short-haul flights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dep.: Avoid short-haul flights</th>
<th>Coef.</th>
<th>s.e.</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchase a fuel-efficient car</td>
<td>.228</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>7.70</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce car use through alternative modes of transport (AC)</td>
<td>.615</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>26.83</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switch to energy supplier with greater share of renewable sources</td>
<td>.373</td>
<td>.032</td>
<td>11.51</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce waste and regularly separate for recycling (AC)</td>
<td>.291</td>
<td>.032</td>
<td>8.99</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut down on consumption of disposable items (AC)</td>
<td>.636</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>23.16</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy local products (to avoid products that come from far away) (AC)</td>
<td>.926</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>37.31</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Install home equipment to control and reduce energy consumption (e.g. smart meter) (AC)</td>
<td>.229</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insulate home better (AC)</td>
<td>.257</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>10.06</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy low-energy home</td>
<td>.361</td>
<td>.051</td>
<td>7.09</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Installed energy-efficient home appliances</td>
<td>.273</td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>11.50</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Country effects were tested and significant, but are omitted in this table for simplicity.

The results from Table 1 support the idea that engagement in a high impact and low frequency EOA action, such as avoiding short-haul flights is significantly and positively influenced by all other actions, particularly by anti-consumption ones. Country effects on avoidance of short-haul flights were significant and positive for most EU-countries, except for Spain, Portugal, Latvia, Malta, Poland, and Bulgaria.

Table 2. Spillover effects on reduction of car use through alternative transport

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dep.: Reduce car use through alternative transport</th>
<th>Coef.</th>
<th>s.e.</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchase a fuel-efficient car</td>
<td>-.081</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>-3.56</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid short-haul flights (AC)</td>
<td>.583</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>25.43</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switch to energy supplier with greater share of renewable sources</td>
<td>.330</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>12.48</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce waste and regularly separate for recycling (AC)</td>
<td>.255</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>13.78</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut down on consumption of disposable items (AC)</td>
<td>.431</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>26.36</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy local products (to avoid products that come from far away) (AC)</td>
<td>.520</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>33.45</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Install home equipment to control and reduce energy consumption (e.g. smart meter) (AC)</td>
<td>-.051</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>-1.73</td>
<td>0.084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insulate home better (AC)</td>
<td>.190</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>10.73</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy low-energy home</td>
<td>.203</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Installed energy-efficient home appliances</td>
<td>.527</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>33.83</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Country effects were considered and significant for most countries, but are omitted in this table for simplicity.

The model for reduction of car use again shows significant and positive effects of most actions, particularly of other transport-related, anti-consumption actions. An exception to this trend is the non-significant effect of installing home equipment to control and reduce energy consumption. Interestingly, purchase of a fuel-efficient car is negatively related to reduction of car use, which may reflect a trade-off between these two behaviors. Country effects (France was the reference category) showed a mixed pattern of associations with reduction of car use.
Table 3. Spillover effects on buying local products (to avoid products that come from far away)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dep.: Buy local products (to avoid products that come from far away)</th>
<th>Coef.</th>
<th>s.e.</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchase a fuel-efficient car</td>
<td>.180</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>7.96</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce car use through alternative transport (AC)</td>
<td>.520</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>33.35</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid short-haul flights (AC)</td>
<td>.914</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>36.79</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switch to energy supplier with greater share of renewable sources</td>
<td>.235</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>8.58</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce waste and regularly separate for recycling (AC)</td>
<td>.631</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>37.46</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut down on consumption of disposable items (AC)</td>
<td>.813</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>55.06</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Install home equipment to control and reduce energy consumption (e.g., smart meter) (AC)</td>
<td>.078</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insulate home better (AC)</td>
<td>.347</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>20.21</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy low-energy home</td>
<td>.062</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>0.110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Installed energy-efficient home appliances</td>
<td>.683</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>46.31</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Country effects were considered and significant for most countries, but are omitted in this table for simplicity.

The third model (for avoiding products that come from far away) again shows significant, positive effects of most other behavioral mitigation responses to climate change (except for buying a low-energy home). Results show stronger evidence of spillover effects among anti-consumption predictors. Country effects showed negative effects for practically all EU-countries, except for Latvia (positive effect), and Austria and Bulgaria (non-significant effects).

Table 4. Spillover effects on installing home equipment to control and reduce energy consumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dep.: Install home equipment to control and reduce energy consumption (e.g., smart meter)</th>
<th>Coef.</th>
<th>s.e.</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchase a fuel-efficient car</td>
<td>.324</td>
<td>.034</td>
<td>9.53</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce car use through alternative transport (AC)</td>
<td>-.024</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>-0.80</td>
<td>0.422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid short-haul flights (AC)</td>
<td>.200</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switch to energy supplier with greater share of renewable sources</td>
<td>.493</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>13.09</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce waste and regularly separate for recycling (AC)</td>
<td>-.063</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>-1.80</td>
<td>0.072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut down on consumption of disposable items (AC)</td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>.031</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy local products (to avoid products that come from far away) (AC)</td>
<td>.086</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insulate home better (AC)</td>
<td>.851</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>29.66</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy low-energy home</td>
<td>.764</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td>15.55</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Installed energy-efficient home appliances</td>
<td>.492</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>16.74</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Country effects were considered and significant for most countries, but are omitted in this table for simplicity.

The fourth model, tested on installing home equipment to control and reduce energy consumption (e.g., smart meter) shows positive and significant effects of actions within the same, home/household behavioral domain, regardless of their consumption or anti-consumption characterization. Non-significant effects are found for more frequent actions from other behavioral domains. Country effects showed a mixed pattern.
Conclusion
This work shed light on the existence of spillover effects from climate change mitigation actions to anti-consumption behaviors differing in terms of frequency, impact and setting. Overall, the findings suggest that positive spillovers on EOA can be expected from anti-consumption actions (compared to consumption ones) and actions within the same behavioral category (rather than cross-domain spillovers). Thus, the answer to RQ1 would be “Yes”. Frequency and (climate change) impact similarities between predictors and outcome seem to play a less of a role in spillover effects on EOA mitigation behavior. The analysis of a longitudinal cross-national allowed exploring the existence of country-effects on each of the four EOA actions being analyzed. The findings confirmed RQ2 which posited such effects, while showing different country-patterns depending on the specific EOA action. Such findings warrant further study of macro-country variables (which can be considered as additional country-level regressors using the random-effects, \textit{xtlogit re} method) to clarify the nature of the identified country-effects and improve understanding of individual EOA behavior aimed at mitigating climate change.

References


Sin Tax – How Governmental Regulations to Foster Anti-Consumption Backfire

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The negative ecological effects of extensive meat consumption are evident (Carlsson-Kanyama and Gonzaléz, 2009; McMichael et al., 2007; Stehfest et al., 2009). Reducing meat consumption can significantly decrease carbon emissions, and therefore help limit the damaging effects of climate change (Hedenus et al., 2014; Steinfeld et al., 2006). Governmental regulations might help to reduce global meat consumption and to achieve and to conserve environmental sustainability. Anti-consumption research (Lee et al., 2009, Zavestoski, 2002) has yet focused on how and why individuals might engage in anti-consumption activities (Chatzidakis and Lee, 2013; Cherrier et al., 2001). The potential role of governments is still not well known in this field of research. The current article explores the critical role that governments can play, and the potential threats that governments need to be aware of when trying to foster anti-consumption on an aggregate level.

One suggestion that aims at reducing global carbon emissions through consumption reduction is to increase the tax for meat products. It is believed that a tax increase would lead to a weaker demand and a switch to more environmentally friendly products (e.g., meat substitutes like tofu, tempeh, etc.), ultimately leading to declining supply. This linear effect however, is highly debatable and governments need to be aware of potential backfire effects that could mitigate the demand-decreasing effects of environmental taxes. While for some consumers (e.g., market activists who actively and consciously decide to avoid using or consuming a product (Iyer and Muncy, 2007)), a tax on meat products might be a small nudge to create awareness and engage them in anti-consumption, others might even feel licensed to continue with their meat consumption. We argue that moral licensing effects (Blanken et al., 2015; Merritt, Effron, and Monin, 2010) could hamper guilt-induced consumption reduction or even evoke backfiring effects as they reduce consumers’ moral obligation towards the environment and relieve individuals from their obligation. Moral licensing states that consumers who engage in licensing believe that their previous good deeds liberate them and justify behaving unethically in subsequent situations.

The present paper suggests that due to moral licensing, consumers who feel morally obliged to contribute to conserving the environment, do not restrain from buying meat products and do not switch to substitutes. Conversely, a tax partly liberates consumers from their obligation and enables them to continue their consumption patterns without feeling immorally. In addition to this, the paper adds to the discussion in the moral licensing literature in two ways. Firstly, it addresses the differences between voluntary and mandatory actions (Bradley-Geist et al., 2010; Khan and Dhar, 2006) and suggests that highly morally obliged consumers are prone to intrinsic (or voluntary) appeals to compensate for their ecologically dubious actions, whereas less morally committed consumers can only liberate their obligations through extrinsic (taxes as mandatory actions) appeals. Secondly, the paper describes the possibility to establish credentials within one single action (rather than in a sequential order).

To test these hypotheses, we conducted a first study on the effects of internal and external possibilities of compensating individuals’ own carbon emissions by manipulating the mode in which the compensation is executed. Results show that consumers with high commitment tend to relieve their obligation though voluntary compensations, whereas consumers with low levels of commitment relieve...
themselves more effectively through externally forced compensations. The conference paper concludes with future research implications that leave room for additional studies that analyze possible boundary conditions and underlying mechanisms of this effect.

**Conceptual Background - The Concept of Moral Licensing**
Moral licensing is observed if an individual’s past behavior entitles him or her to act less altruistically, less ethically or to subsequently show morally questionable behavior that otherwise would be avoided for fear of feeling or appearing immoral (Merritt, Effron, and Monin, 2010). In the past few years, moral licensing has been examined in various social phenomena, including political incorrectness (e.g., Effron, Cameron, and Monin, 2009), job hiring (e.g., Cascio and Plant 2015), prosocial behavior (e.g., Sachdeva, Iliev, and Medin, 2009), donations to charity (e.g., Conway and Peetz, 2012), cooperations (e.g., Weber and Murnighan, 2008), and consumer research (e.g., Kivetz and Simonson, 2002). Moral balancing mechanisms build either on moral credentials or on moral credits (Merritt et al., 2010). “Moral credentials establish one's virtue and license one to act in morally disreputable ways with impunity.” (Monin and Miller, 2001). The moral credits model posits a moral self-concept that fluctuates according to an individual’s history of good and bad deeds. Good deeds boost one’s moral self-concept whereas bad deeds deflate it (Jordan et al., 2009; Sachdeva et al., 2009; Zhong et al., 2009). Processes that involve moral credits metaphorically relate to an internal bank account. Individuals save good deeds which they can withdraw to pay for bad future actions. Unlike moral credits, moral credentials do not affect the dynamics of the moral self-concept as individuals reduce their concern with appearing prejudiced.

Most of the current literature on moral licensing focuses on sequential behavioral patterns (Blanken et al., 2015). To the best of our knowledge, this study is one of the first attempts to test moral licensing within one single action.

**Internal and External Effects and Voluntary and Mandatory Actions**
Bradley-Geist et al. (2010) showed that the establishment of moral credentials is contingent on the possibility to act voluntarily. Choosing freely to describe positive experiences lead to the establishment of stronger credentials than being forced by researchers to remember positive experiences. Stronger credentials lead to moral licensing whereas being forced to establish a license does not evoke a licensing effect.

Khan and Dhar (2006) also showed that licensing effects are weaker if the actual licensing task (e.g., being forced to do community service as punishment for speeding) is not done voluntarily and therefore linked to external attribution. However, without external attribution, participants showed licensing behavior and more frequently chose hedonic over utilitarian products. The authors attributed this difference to the failure to boost one’s self-concept by increasing the preference for subsequent indulgent choices when the participants could not voluntarily perform the prior virtuous act. The possibility to act according to your own free will and choice seems to be a crucial factor in establishing moral credentials and performing licensing behavior, such that only voluntary behaviors (as determinants of internal motivations) can establish moral credentials.

**Hypotheses Development**
Being aware of the negative ecological consequences of meat consumption, consumers feel guilty of their past consumption behavior and perceive a high moral obligation towards changing the current situation. Consumers both feel obliged to pay for their own ecological footprint and challenge the government to address this problem. Depending on consumers’ predominant commitment towards ecological considerations, consumers are able to meet their obligations by an either voluntarily or mandatorily charged compensation of their carbon emissions. A high level of guilt indicates a strong commitment
to environmental problems and amplifies individuals’ will to actively engage in activities that contribute to achieving their own specific goals. However, consumers with a low level of commitment are less prone to moral relief through their own actions, such that they shift their responsibility to other authorities. Based on this, we suggest that the level of guilt influences the effectiveness of extrinsic and intrinsic appeals to compensate the negative environmental effects of consumption choices. Synthesizing the results of the studies on moral licensing and specifically on external and internal attributions, we further suggest that extrinsic (or external) attributions lead to the establishment of weaker moral credentials, such that participants do not license their environmentally dubious behavior with good deeds. Conversely, intrinsic attributions establish stronger credentials, leading to licensing behavior and reduced perceived obligations.

**H1**: Consumers with high (low) levels of guilt are prone to intrinsic (extrinsic) appeals to reduce their perceived moral obligation to compensate for the negative effects of their consumption choices.

**Participants, Procedure, and Stimuli**

A total of 177 students (56% female, M age = 28.7) participated in an online-experiment. In an one-factor between-subjects design, the participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions (intrinsic vs. extrinsic vs. control).

Participants first read a news article about food-related emissions and the negative ecological consequences of meat consumption. The article suggests that emissions related to agriculture and food production account for a considerable share of the world’s environmental record. Immediately after having read the article, we operationalized the participants’ internal commitment by asking them for their feeling of being guilty (Allard and White, 2015: “To what extent does this news article makes you feel guilty?”). Next, the respondents indicated their perceived moral obligation (Afterwards, participants were introduced into a scenario in which the following situation was described: standing in front of the meat counter the participant considers three options, planning to spend 10 USD for food. He/she can either buy 1 lb. of meat (e.g., ground beef, chicken breasts, sausage), or 1 lb. of meat substitutes (e.g., tofu steaks, seitan). Next, we manipulated the moral tax choice option in three levels (intrinsic, extrinsic, control group). The participants were displayed three (manipulated) choice options, indicating that the participants could choose between the meat and the meat substitute (control group), or additionally were obliged to pay an additional compensation of 25% when choosing meat (extrinsic group), or could pay a voluntary carbon emission compensation of max. 10USD when deciding to purchase meat (intrinsic group). To account for simple price effects, the amount of offered meat in the extrinsic group was reduced by 25% while the price was held constant. Afterwards, we asked participants again for their moral obligation (α = .92).

Finally, the respondents indicated their demographic information as control variables. After asking the participants if they guessed the purpose of the study (none of the participants did), we debriefed them.

**Results**

The analysis examines whether the perceived moral obligation of participants changed after their decision, dependent of the choice options (intrinsic, extrinsic, control), and whether this change is moderated by the individual’s commitment (guilt). A median split of the guilt scores created two groups with low (M = 1.47, SD = .50) and high feelings of guilt (M = 3.81, SD = .97) after having read the article. A repeated-measures ANOVA with the guilt and choice factors as well as moral obligation (measured before and after the choice) as dependent variable confirmed the proposed three-way interaction effect (F(2, 170) = 3.40, p < .01). The interaction effect remained stable after including the control variables (F(2, 159) = 2.98, p < .05). Finally, we tested whether perceived moral obligation and guilt correlated with each other, as both factors are considered to be strong indicators for the respondent’s commitment.
towards ecological compensation ($r = .64$, $p < .00$). The results of our analysis are depicted in Figure 1.

**FIGURE 1**

**CHANGE OF PERCEIVED MORAL OBLIGATION**

![Bar chart showing change in perceived moral obligation](image)

Notes. The present figure displays participants with low moral obligation ($M = 1.92; SD = .77$) and high moral obligation ($M = 4.37; SD = .74$).

For those individuals who show a high commitment, sampled paired t-tests reveal a significant decrease of perceived moral obligation in the intrinsic-group ($d = 2.29$, $p < .05$) whereas the extrinsic intervention did not evoke a significant change of moral obligation ($d = .54$, n.s.). For those individuals with a low commitment, sampled paired t-tests reveal a significant decrease of perceived moral obligation in the extrinsic group-group ($d = 1.63$, $p < .05$) whereas the intrinsic intervention did not evoke a significant change of moral obligation ($d = -.32$, n.s.). In the control group, moral obligation did not drop significantly.

**Discussion**

We outlined the conditions under which carbon-related compensation lead to a decrease of moral obligation when individuals purchase meat and when knowing the negative environmental consequences. Specifically, for consumers with a low commitment, perceived moral obligation dropped in case of an externally charged tax. By contrast, consumers with low commitment undergo moral relief effects (decrease of moral obligation), only when they were provided with the opportunity to voluntarily pay an addition compensation when purchasing meat.

**References**


Introducing Two Avenues of Social Moral Licensing.

Wassili Lasarov and Stefan Hoffmann

Introducing Two Avenues of Social Moral Licensing.

Observations of daily life and empirical findings indicate that individuals often violate their own moral standards and they resolve contradictions between moral standards and behavior by rationalizing away the transgressions (e.g., moral reasoning: Tsang 2002). Individuals grant themselves a moral license through prior good deeds, in order to justify actual or planned immoral behavior (moral licensing: Merritt et al. 2010). In this vein, individual motivations and inhibitors of anti-consumption behavior (e.g., Lee, Motion, and Conroy 2009; Cherrier, Black, and Lee 2011; Chatizidakis and Lee 2013) can be also explained from a moral licensing perspective: As anti-consumption is considered as moral behavior it might lead to an elevation of an individual’s moral self-identity and therefore serves as a moral license for succeeding moral acts that evoke internal goal conflicts (e.g., the individual avoids buying products or services from a certain brand and provides himself/herself with a moral license that liberates to act in a unfashionable way in a preceding moral decision). Moreover, preceding good deeds might liberate individuals to abstain from anti-consumption when they face goal conflicts that are related to it (e.g., an individual previously donated money to a charitable organization and uses this moral license to buy products from a brand that he/she actually uses to boycott).

This paper builds on previous research on moral licensing and combines it with or links it to research on intergroup phenomena, so as to initiate a new research stream on social moral licensing. Merritt et al. (2010, p. 344) defined the process of moral self-licensing as: “When under the threat that their next action might be (or appear to be) morally dubious, individuals can derive confidence from their past moral behavior, such that an impeccable track record increases their propensity to engage in otherwise suspect actions”. Despite this definition, the aspect of appearing immoral to others has not been examined in previous research. In fact, the moral licensing literature has mostly ignored group influences and intra-group interactions. To close these gaps, the current paper develops a conceptual framework for the interplay of moral licensing and group effects. Our intention is to stimulate a new research stream on social moral licensing and to guide future research in this promising field of business ethics.

In order to formalize our predictions, we develop a conceptual framework with the four agents of individual self, collective self, out-group, and group-of-others to provide a systematic set-up. We apply two approaches to develop our propositions. First, we build on social psychological theories to discuss moral licensing processes from a group-related perspective. Second, we examine the boundary conditions of social moral licensing, by reassessing the moderators of moral licensing, which were validated empirically in an individual setting (Miller and Effron 2010; Mullen and Monin 2016; for an overview see the Blanken et al. 2015 meta-analysis of 91 studies). Our model is also dynamic, as it considers relationships between deeds and observations at different points in time.

Developing a Conceptual Framework of Social Moral Licensing

The present paper extends moral licensing theory by including intergroup influences. In order to formalize the predictions, we distinguish between moral deeds [MD] and immoral deeds [ID]. The conceptual framework considers four main groups of agents: the individual...
self, collective self, out-group, group-of-others. The individual self [IS] is the primary form of self-definition referring to the internal values and the identity of an individual. The collective self [CS] represents the individual’s perception of the in-group and is related to attributes shared in the in-group. The out-group [OG] is a well-known group from which the individual dissociates him/herself or vice versa they may reject him/her. Finally, the group of others [GO] consists of all members of the society who are neither part of defined in-groups nor out-groups. We develop propositions on how these agents interact. Our model is dynamic; it considers relationships between deeds and observations over the course of time.

We propose two avenues of social moral licensing in our conceptual framework. In the first avenue, “the conspicuousness of moral licensing“, we consider how the individual [IS] ensures that moral deeds [MD] are perceived by the social environment (i.e., [CS] or [GO]) as a license for immoral deeds [ID]. In the second avenue, “the relativity of moral licensing”, we describe how the individual [IS] receives the desired license from the social environment. He or she uses his/her own moral deeds [MD] or the immoral deeds [ID] of others ([CS] or [OG], respectively) to license his/her own immoral deeds [ID]. Our framework is depicted in Figure 1.

Avenue 1: The Conspicuousness of Moral Licensing

Our first avenue, the conspicuousness of moral licensing, extends moral licensing theory by means of group observations. Individuals generally behave differently in private and social contexts, if they know that others observe their behavior. To date, only a few studies (e.g., Kristofferson et al. 2014; Greene and Low 2014) have examined how public and private contexts influence moral licensing processes. We propose the following avenue:

Avenue 1. If the individual self [IS] engages in a publicly observable immoral behavior [ID], he or she might try to license the transgression in the eye of the observer (the collective self [CS], or group of others [GO]) by a moral deed [MD], which then also has to be publicly recognized by the observer.

Observed Licensing Effect

Proposition 1. If the individual self’s [IS] preceding moral behavior [MD] was observed by the group of others [GO], the others will be more likely to grant a moral license for the subsequent immoral act [ID].

Strategic Conspicuous Licensing Effect

Proposition 2. The individual [IS] strategically behaves morally [MD] in an observable way to grant him/herself a license for a planned transgression [ID] in the eyes of the observers [GO].

Status Licensing Effect

Proposition 3. Social standing (substitute for [MD]) in their in-group [IG] can enable individuals [IS] to behave immorally [ID] in certain situations. Their standing is based on the position of an individual in the group which is defined through previous moral acts (towards others or the in-group).
Figure 1. Avenues of Moral Licensing

### Avenue 1: Conspicuousness of Moral Licensing

**Observed Licensing**  
![Diagram](image1)

**Strategic Conspicuous Licensing**  
![Diagram](image2)

**Status Licensing**  
![Diagram](image3)


### Avenue 2: Relativity of Moral Licensing

**Intergroup Licensing**  
![Diagram](image4)

**Group Hypocritical Licensing**  
![Diagram](image5)

**Free-Riding License**  
![Diagram](image6)


**Avenue 2: The Relativity of Moral Licensing**

The following sections focus on the individual use of in-groups and out-groups as reference points for moral self-perception and ultimately, moral (licensing) behavior. We propose that
individuals evaluate their own moral self-concept based on a combination of personal aspects (individual moral licensing) and comparisons with the in-group or others (social moral licensing).

**Avenue 2.** In order to license a transgression, the individual self [IS] may balance a personal immoral deed [ID] with moral deeds [MD] of the collective self [CS] or with immoral deeds [ID] of the out-group [OG].

**Intergroup Licensing Effect**

**Proposition 4.** Individuals [IS] are more likely to undergo moral licensing processes if they use downward contrasts with the out-group [OG]. Individual morality, which is aligned with the group morality, is elevated, whereas the perceived morality [ID] of the out-group is reduced.

**Group Hypocritical Licensing Effect**

**Proposition 5.** Individuals [IS] can evoke moral licensing processes if they use upward assimilation in social comparison, i.e. comparing it with their in-group [CS], which is (to some attainable extent) morally better than themselves. Moreover, individuals belonging to moral in-groups are more likely to hypocritically (type of [ID]) assess their own moral behavior [MD] than individuals without a salient group affiliation.

**Free-Riding License Effect**

**Formal description.** In an economic context, the term free-riding refers to a tendency of individuals not to pay for public goods or services, but to benefit from them anyway (Kerr and Bruun, 1983). Adapting the free-rider problem to moral licensing in a group-context, we consider group morality as a positive externality, i.e. a public good available to uninvolved parties. The group contributes to a prosocial cause and enhances its moral self-perception, which is then transferred to the group members, leading to individual moral self-enhancement (upward group comparison, [R4]). Accordingly, the introductory example demonstrates the free-riding license effect. We make the following formal proposition:

**Proposition 6.** If the in-group [CS] displays moral behavior [MD], individuals [IS] are more likely to deviate from the group’s behavior and from their own moral standards by devoting less effort to the moral act [ID]. The individual has to devote effort beyond a certain threshold, as otherwise, he or she would not benefit (free-ride) from the perceived group morality.

**Discussion**

The aim of this paper is to highlight several important issues that could be investigated and extended in further research. Scholars should propose and empirically test further boundary conditions at the interface of moral licensing and social psychology, which have not yet been examined. For example, guilt and feelings of responsibility have been identified as crucial mechanisms underlying moral decision making. Many studies on the concept of social proof have reported ambiguous results, indicating that in some cases, individuals either adhere to the communicated group norms or deviate from the group behavior (e.g., Goldstein et al. 2008; Schultz et al. 2008). Thus far, knowledge is sparse about underlying mechanisms and conditions that cause contradictory results. Social moral licensing effects may contribute to solving these contradictions.

**References**


Recognizing consumerism as moral dilemma: a Catholic morality perspective

António Azevedo

Introduction
This paper discusses the critical vision of consumerism released by the Catholic Church. Christian consumers are invited to be more sensitive to moral issues in the buying decision context, which will increase the propensity to engaging moral and altruistic behaviors and the adoption of anti-consumption behaviors. There is an increasing number of adherents to some alternative shopping styles, such as frugality, defined as the “degree to which consumers are both restrained in acquiring and in resourcefully using economic goods” (Lastovicka et al, 1999, p.88). Alternatively, voluntary simplicity or downshifting is seen as the degree to which an individual selects a lifestyle intended to maximize his/her control over daily activities and to minimize his/her consumption and dependency (Lastovicka et al., 1999; Craig-Lees & Hill, 2002). Five basic values underlie these lifestyles: material simplicity, self-determination, ecological awareness (recognition of the interdependency of people and resources), desire for institutions and technology at the human scale and the desire for developing the inner life (personal growth).

The critique of consumerism is a very popular subject among Catholic and Personalist authors (Beabout & Echeverria, 2002). Schlag (2018, p.49) analysed the Catholic Social Thought posed by Pope Francis who in the Evangeli Gaudium describes consumerism as the “illness of an empty soul, that brings desolation and anguish born of a complacent yet covetous heart, the feverish pursuit of frivolous pleasures, and a blunted conscience”.

According to Laczniaik, Santos, & Klein (2016, p.4), the “common good” can be defined as “the sum total of social conditions which allow people, either as groups or as individuals, to reach their fulfillment more fully and more easily. Good goods and services “should meet authentic human needs . . . [that] have clear social value” while bad goods and services that are “detrimental to human wellbeing”.

The Catholic morality based approach
Ethics, morality or personal norms are concepts that are viewed as interchangeable. Consumer ethics is “a system of moral principles that covers activities that are considered importantly right or wrong” (Fullerton et al., 1996). On other hand, Christian morality or moral theology, is the “study of the implications of faith for the way people live–both for the sorts of persons we become (virtue) and for the actions we ought (or ought not) to perform” (Nairn, 2001, par.4). Probably the influence of religious morality is even stronger for consumers of other religions like the Judaism (Hirschman, 1981), the Islam or the Hinduism (Iyer, 1999), as they have stricter rules or precepts (e.g., the restrictions in eating certain kinds of meat or in the consumption of alcoholic beverages).

However, there is a wide range of latent moral implications present in all buying decisions even if we do not recognize them in general media. So, questions such as: “Is this product/service free from moral issues caused by environment contamination, earth resources wasting problems or human being exploitation?”; or “does this product causes any harm to my physical, mental or spiritual health?” should also be relevant among researchers.

Conclusions: consumerism perceived as an ethical issue and the model of the Christian morality activation
Several researchers have conducted empirical research on the ethical predisposition of the consumer, reacting within a common experience frame of reference, by using scenarios representing some ethical/non-ethical situations (Fullerton et al., 1996; Muncy & Vitell, 1992). Whilst Al-Khatib, Vitell, & Rawwas (1997), Hunt and Vitell (1986, 1992), and Muncy & Vitell (1992) proposed normative and descriptive models of “consumer ethics”.

An alternative model of consumer morality decision-making (at an individual level), also designated in literature as ethical decision-making model (EDMM) is proposed in Figure 1. The process begins when a moral issue is elicited during the decision-making process in buying/using context, namely during the problem recognition, information searching and advertising processing stages. The recognition of the moral issue is a critical step in this process. The moral intensity of the problem can be measured by the construct Perceived Importance of an Ethical Issue-PIE (Robin et al., 1996) and is related with the relative degree of amorality.

Figure 1- A new ethical decision-making model (CMD-EDMM) for the recognition of consumerism as a moral dilemma.

At this moment, this study will assume that consumerism is an unethical behavior that all Christians must be aware since the Catholic Church criticizes it as it harms the human happiness and physical health (Himes, 2007). The activation of moral norms is moderated by the influence of demographic and psychographic dimensions such as: age (Rawwas & Singhapadkdi, 1998), gender (Segal & Podoshen, 2013), parental education/moral literacy (Bennett, 1993), income (Engelland & Engelland, 2016), culture/geographic location.
(Rawwas, 2001), personality (Malinowski, 2016), locus of control (Lefcourt, 1982), values (Ferrell & Gresham, 1985; Todd & Lawson, 2002), materialism (Muncy & Eastman, 1998), or the social variables like altruism (De Peyrelongue, Masclef & Guillard, 2017), influence of peers and significant others (Granitz, 2003), social acceptability (Fitzmaurice & Comegys, 2006).

The emerging theories of ethical decision-making also recognize some personal characteristics or individual factors as important determinants of various aspects of an individual’s moral decision-making process (Ferrell & Gresham, 1985, Hunt & Vitell, 1986, 1992). For example, the cognitive moral development is an individual variable that accommodates the thesis designated by philosophers as ethical relativism, a theory defended by Harman (1975), which is also related with the concept of particularism studied by Scroth (2003). According to this theory, the ethical principles or judgements are relative to the individual or culture (Rawwas, 2001; Robertson and Crittenden, 2003). Related with spirituality, the cognitive religiosity or self-ascribed religiousness is defined as the degree to which the members of a religion accept the major beliefs of their religion (Hayes, 1995; Malinowski, 2016).

Furthermore, as suggested by Engelland & Engelland (2016) the model should also acknowledge the influence of the weaknesses of human nature (pleasure, ease or convenience, desire to outdo others and superficial enjoyment) and the anti-consumerism cardinal virtues (moderation, courage, justice and prudence). The effect of experience, according to Kiesler, Collins, & Miller (1969) quoted by Dodge et al. (1996), is a limitation in measuring ethical attitudes, because participants with less experience tend towards no commitment rather than a definitive position on the acceptance or unacceptance of a potential unethical situation. Grix et al. (2004) propose origin as an important measurement dimension, which differentiates the moral approaches held by the individual itself (internal) or imposed by others (external). This determinant may also correspond to the concept of locus of control, defined as a “personality variable manifested by the extent to which individuals believe events are contingent upon their own behavior or characteristics” (Granitz 2003, p.106). Then, it is interesting to confirm the hypothesis suggested by Trevino & Youngblood (1990), according to which individuals with an internal locus of control are more likely to act ethically.

This potential behavioral deviation to the Christian moral doctrine depends always of sensitivity (degree of religiosiity), the moral development level related to the information available about the Christian moral doctrine and the knowledge stored in previous experiences. Considering all this individual determinants, new propositions may arise. Christian consumers are more likely to adopt anti-consumerism behavior if they fulfill the following conditions simultaneously:

\[ P1 \] more ability to comprehend and apply moral standards (like postconventional individuals), i.e. high cognitive moral development;
\[ P2 \] high level of self-ascribed Catholic religiousness, i.e. the accept the Catholic Church moral guidelines because they believe on them;
\[ P3 \] high level of Christian doctrine knowledge;
\[ P4 \] internal locus of control, which means a certain degree of consciousness and rationality about the reasons why acting morally;
\[ P5 \] struggle for the dominance of anti-consumerism cardinal virtues (moderation, courage, justice and prudence) over weaknesses of human nature (pleasure, ease or convenience, desire to outdo others and superficial enjoyment).

At this stage, if the consumer moral involvement is high, then the likelihood of activating the elaboration of the moral approach is also high. Then consumer develops a conscious and extensive process, designated by central way, which takes into account the deontological norms and the teleological reasoning. After that, the consumer evaluates the moral dilemma and makes a moral judgement, establishing the moral intent and partaking in the associated behavior. The decision making process is influenced by the interaction of the rule-based
reasoning style with the *cost/benefit-based* style as suggested by Bateman, Fraedrich, & Iyer (2003). On the other hand, if the moral involvement is low, the consumer may neglect the importance of the moral issue, following the *peripheral way*, which eventually may consider the moral judgment as additional information, weighting it in the normal decision-making process.

The moral activation leads to short-term consequences such as a critical attitude toward the advertising and the brand, the refraining of the purchase intention and other negative implications in terms of willingness to pay, brand equity, loyalty and word-of-mouth.

In the end, consumers may adopt a negative attitude toward consumerism or a more radical lifestyle (frugality/ voluntary simplicity).

This anti-consumerism activism may urge consumers to try to influence producers using their wallet as a weapon (refraining purchasing, conveying their dissatisfaction through negative electronic word-of-mouth or boycott the brand). Ultimately, these actions could produce changes in the brand positioning, brand identity and marketing mix. Thus, two more propositions are suggested:

*P6* - *Christian consumers who are more likely to recognize consumerism as moral dilemma will engage with a moral intent that will refrain the purchase intention, willingness to pay, loyalty and word-of-mouth.*

*P7* - *Consumers may adopt a radical lifestyle (frugality/ voluntary simplicity) and ultimately influence brand managers to introduce changes in the marketing mix.*

This paper provides some research directions for the study of the consumer decision process according to the catholic moral restraints. It also provides important insights into a better understanding of “frugality” and “voluntary simplicity”, as consumers may seek a different shopping style and try to minimize the dependency of the consumption of some type of products. Brand managers should wish to accommodate this sensitivity to moral issues, by monitoring and evaluating their strategic and marketing mix decisions, adopting a transparent, responsible and ethic corporate behavior.

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When too many anti-consumption opportunities lead to anti-consumption of anti-consumption.

Michael SW Lee, Ulku Yuksel, Nguyen T Thai

A petition is a document signed by numerous people, announcing a demand that requires a corporation or public entity to take an action to remedy a transgression via essential course of practices. Signing a petition to support a positive cause or a boycott call, as an upshot of a negative cause worth boycotting, may be less taxing for consumers than partaking in boycotts organized by boycott organizers. Thanks to the internet and social media, hundreds of thousands of online petitions are created worldwide each year with millions of signatures supporting various causes (Antonetti & Manika, 2017; Wright, 2016). This raises a question as to whether such increases in requests to boycott positively or negatively impact consumers’ willingness to enact anti-consumption. This study explores the effect of choice overload on consumers signing a petition in support of a boycott call.

Boycotts are mostly provisional acts of consumers departing from a relationship with an organization that has caused a disapproval due to a misconduct. Boycotts provide an assurance of re-building the relationship once some specified conditions have been met by the company (Hirschman, 1970). Boycott practice involves stopping or limiting consumption with the transgressing company (Friedman, 1999; Yuksel & Mryteza, 2009). Since the cost of boycotting is a predictor of participation (Sen, Gürhan-Canli, & Morwitz, 2001), asking customers to sign an online petition supporting a boycott is not only less costly for participants, but also important for two other reasons. First, it demonstrates their support for the cause, providing word-of-mouth about the boycott, which may increase overall participation. Second, as established by cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1962), consumers who publicly announce support of a boycott will be more likely to participate in the actual boycott. In spite of the importance of signing e-petitions, boycott research has not yet introduced this outcome variable to boycott studies. This study introduces ‘petition signing’ as a new way to measure boycott likelihood and thus allow boycott scholars to benefit from the strength of this popular method of protest.

When consumers are exposed to many product or service options, they suffer from negative choice overload effects, resulting in regret, dissatisfaction and/or deferring of choice (Chernev, Böckenholt, & Goodman, 2015). This is because, when faced with more options, consumers need to make difficult trade-offs or comparisons among the alternatives that may all be equally attractive. Thus, a choice process involving more options is sometimes harder and more agonising, resulting in greater conflict, than a decision involving smaller choice sets (Xu, Jiang, & Dhar, 2013; Chernev et al., 2015). Likewise, people exposed to many important causes that are all asking for them to support a boycott may also feel overwhelmed, given most of these issues may seem similarly important and worth supporting. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that individuals presented with numerous significant causes and calls asking them to sign a petition may be reluctant to do so and end up not signing any of these petitions. In contrast, being exposed to a limited amount of causes that require support may enhance choice-making. Thus, we hypothesize that individuals exposed to many (few) boycott calls are less (more) likely to sign a petition to support a boycott.
A between-subjects experimental design was used to address the proposed hypothesis. The experiment was conducted online and the participants (181 females, 126 males, and 6 participants did not report this information) were recruited from Amazon M-Turk. By random assignment, 161 participants saw the boycott calls for three brands (i.e., small choice-set condition) and 152 participants saw the boycott calls for 15 brands (i.e., large choice-set condition). The use of three and 15 as representatives of small choice-sets and large choice-sets is consistent with previous studies in choice overload literature (Haynes, 2009).

Participants were first introduced to the general topic of the study, namely, boycotting. To ensure that all participants understood the term correctly, a definition of consumer boycotts was provided: “Boycotts are consumers’ reactions such as stopping buying or stopping using a company’s products or services because the company has done something wrong or unethical. As boycotts directly threaten sales and revenues, they are taken seriously by businesses. Any concerned group or individual can call a boycott.”

They were then told that they were about to see a list of calls for boycotts. They were made aware that the list was not in any particular order. More importantly, they were told that the boycott calls were solicited from their local newspaper. This information was aimed to increase participation’s motivation to take part in the study and to ensure that findings were not confounded with participants’ low motivation. The brands and their associated negative causes are selected from the current boycott calls from Ethical Consumer’s website (www.ethicalconsumer.org). For participants in the small choice-set condition, three brands were randomly and evenly selected from the list of 15 brands that participants in the large choice-set condition saw.

After reading the information about the brands and related negative causes in the assigned choice-set, participants were asked questions about their perceptions of the size of the assigned choice-set, support for a boycott call, and demographics information. To check whether the choice-set size manipulation was confirmed, participants were asked two questions (adapted from Hadar & Sood, 2014): “How much choice do you feel you were offered in terms of the number of brands and related causes?” (1 = not enough choices, 7 = a lot of choices), “When initially given the task to pick one brand or organization to boycott from the choice-set, what did you think about the choice-set size? (1 = I had too few options to choose from, 7 = I had too many options to choose from).

To measure participants’ support for boycott, a behavioural measure of signing the petition to support a boycott call was used. Specifically, after reading the information from the assigned list of brands to be boycotted, participants were presented an open-ended question: “If you agree to sign a petition against one of the brands/organizations that you just read, please write below "Yes" and explain in a sentence why. This will automatically be stored in the change.org website. If you are not willing to sign the petition, then skip this question.” If participants responded to the question by typing “Yes” and explaining the reason, their responses were coded as 1. If participants skipped this question, their responses were coded as 0.

Manipulation check questions \( r = .620 \) confirmed the success of the choice-set size manipulation, such that participants in the large choice-set condition perceived their choice-set as larger than what participants in the small choice-set condition perceived (\( M = 5.48, SD = 1.30 \) vs. \( M = 3.42, SD = 1.29, t = −14.075, p < .001 \)). To test the proposed hypothesis 1, a chi-square test was used. Results revealed that the number of participants choosing from the large choice-set condition who signed the petition (28.3%) was less than the number of
participants choosing from the small choice-set condition who signed the petition (39.8%, $\chi^2(1, n = 313) = 4.566, p = .033, \Phi = -.121$). Thus, our hypothesis was supported.

This study establishes that individuals who need to make a choice from many anti-consumption causes are less likely to sign a petition to support the boycott than individuals who need to make a choice from a small number of causes. Contributing to both boycott and choice overload literature, this study introduces the notion that being exposed to too many brands to sign a petition to support a boycott will actually decrease the likelihood of anti-consumption. This is the first study establishing that the number of alternatives asking for anti-consumption will influence consumers’ decisions to support a cause or doing nothing. Indeed, given there are so many causes in the Internet and social media that ask customers to sign a petition, it is very important for boycott organizers or initiators of petitions to know whether the number of current calls will have an impact on their targets. Boycott organizers, therefore, should be selective in terms of choosing which brand they prioritize to be boycotted. A timeline that splits up different boycott campaigns to be promoted at different periods is recommended as it is less overwhelming and people are less likely to perceive themselves as “too” small to make a difference.

References


Being Green in a Materialistic World – Consequences for subjective Well-Being

Pia Furchheim, Christian Martin and Felicitas Morhart

In recent times, repeated calls of marketing action for environmental issues have been made (e.g., Kotler, 2011). These calls are also mirrored in consumer researchers’ and environmental psychologists’ attempts to encourage more sustainable behavior in individuals (e.g., Kronrod, Grinstein, & Wathieu, 2012) as well as in the emerging field of anti-consumption research. Accordingly, consumers have become more aware of the need to protect the environment and to incorporate this aspect into their daily consumption habits (National Geographic, 2014).

While this growing green conscience seems promising, Western societies are still dominated by materialistic values (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2012; Twenge & Kasser, 2013). Taking into consideration that values, such as materialism develop over the course of a lifetime and, therefore, are not easily changed (Rokeach, 1973), increasing attempts to transform materialistic consumers into green consumers might have led to an increase in value conflicts that individuals may hold over a long period of time leading to unintended negative psychological consequences.

The aim of this paper is to discuss consequences for consumer well-being of such a potential value conflict. Across two studies, it is demonstrated that consumers who simultaneously prioritize conflicting values in the form of green and materialistic values report higher levels of psychological tension and lower well-being. In addition, the paper adds to the value conflict theory by showing the underlying process by which a value conflict reduces well-being in consumers. We demonstrate that higher levels of value conflict are associated with confusion about the own self-concept (i.e., diminished self-concept clarity). We also propose and test a boundary condition to the theoretical model. We show that the green values – materialism value conflict (VC) is associated with self-concept clarity particularly (less) strongly in high (low) preference for consistency consumers.

Theory

Green consumption values and materialism are both prominent in many contemporary societies. Extant research suggests that materialism and green consumption values are conflicting. Materialism is symptomatic of a “culture of consumption” (Kasser, Ryan, Couchman, & Sheldon, 2004) and is negatively related to environmental attitudes and behavior (Hurst, Dittmar, Bond, & Kasser, 2013). Materialists consider money and the things it can buy as the important source for happiness (Richins, 2004). Accordingly, they pursue major life goals through consumption which contributes to overconsumption and in turn negatively affects the environment (Kilbourne & Pickett, 2008, Crompton & Kasser, 2009). Research proposes that the pursuit of conflicting values leads to psychological tension and eventually to diminished well-being (Emmons & King, 1988). Consumers who strongly endorse conflicting values might often face situations where they have to make tradeoffs and where they have to decide which goal to pursue and which goal to forgo. Given the growing importance of sustainability aspects in a materialistic society, we propose that consumers who strongly endorse green and materialistic values will experience psychological tension that will lead to diminished well-being.

Moreover, we propose that consumers who pursue conflicting materialistic and environmental goals might get confused about their own self (i.e., display low self-concept clarity). This idea is in line with prior research. For example, Usborne and Taylor (2010) show that consumers...
who have different cultural identities can experience a diminished sense of personal identity clarity. This is because conflicting cultural identities that are not well integrated lead to a confusion about who one actually is. When consumers cannot pursue identity relevant goals that they deem important, their sense of their own self-concept becomes fuzzy. The situation of value conflicted consumers is similar. These consumers cannot necessarily always pursue their environmental goals because of their materialistic strivings and vice versa. Accordingly, we suggest that a value conflict negatively influences a person’s self-concept clarity. A lack of self-concept clarity has been linked to negative psychological outcomes. For example, extant research reported associations between self-concept clarity and stress (Constantino, Wilson, Horowitz, & Pinel, 2006) and neuroticism (Campbell et al., 1996). In sum, we predict that Value Conflict (VC) is negatively related to Self-Concept Clarity (SCC), which in turn is associated with an increased perception of stress. However, as of yet, it is not clear whether Value Conflict affects all consumers in the same way. There might be consumers who show a stronger association between VC and SCC than others. We propose that the VC – SCC relationship might be especially pronounced for consumers who have a strong preference for consistency in their life. Preference for consistency (PfC) is defined as the tendency to inform and align present behavior and attitudes with one’s past behavior and attitudes (Cialdini, Trost, & Newsom, 1995). In other words, low PfC consumers seem to showcase spontaneity, and unpredictability in their interactions with other consumers or in their reaction to contextual variations. High PfC consumers observe their past behavior and strive to behave similarly again in similar interactions or situations (Guadagno & Cialdini, 2010). Accordingly, consumers high in PfC who hold a high (low) VC might experience difficulties (no difficulties) in replicating their past behavior since their past behavior was driven by two conflicting (only one) value orientation. These difficulties might lead to a confusion about the own self-concept (i.e., low SCC) in high PfC consumers. Low PfC consumer, on the other hand, do not experience such difficulties to the same extent as they do not rely on their past behavior to inform present behavior to the same extent as high PfC consumers. These consumers might therefore not be as aware of their own inconsistency and might not experience confusion about the self (i.e., low SCC). This reasoning is in line with extant research on attitude ambivalence. In that literature, it was reported that the link between potential ambivalence and an actual feeling of ambivalence was strong (weak) among high (low) PfC consumers (Newby-Clark, McGregor, & Zanna, 2002). Taken together, we predict that high (low) value conflict is associated with lower (higher) SCC and that SCC in turn impacts experienced stress and eventually satisfaction with life. The VC – SCC link is thereby moderated by consumers’ PfC.

**Empirical Part**

Study 1 (N = 118, 59.4% male, mean age: 21 years) addressed the consequences of simultaneously hold value profiles. Results of a mediation analysis showed that the relationship between value conflict and satisfaction with life (SWL) is mediated through psychological tension (i.e., stress). Participants with a higher value conflict experienced higher levels of stress than those with lower levels of value conflict. Participants with higher degrees of stress reported lower satisfaction with life. The indirect effect was significant, as the bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect did not include zero. There was no evidence of a direct effect of value conflict on SWL beyond its indirect effect through stress.

Study 2 (N = 415, 60.1 % female, mean age 35.7 years, SD = 12.6 years) had several objectives. First, it served as a replication study to test the general model. As in study 1, the relationship between a value conflict and SWL was mediated by psychological tension (i.e. stress).
In a second step, study 2 aimed at testing the role of Self-Concept Clarity. Results of a serial mediation using the SPSS macro PROCESS (Model 6, 10000 bootstrap sample, Hayes, 2013) revealed that participants with higher value conflict expressed lower levels of Self-Concept Clarity, and participants who experienced lower Self-Concept Clarity reported higher levels of stress. Self-Concept Clarity fully explained the VC-psychological tension relationship.

In a third step, a moderated mediation analysis was administered using the SPSS macro PROCESS (Model 7, 10000 bootstrap sample, Hayes, 2013). Stress served as dependent variable, Self-Concept Clarity (SCC) as the mediator, value conflict (VC) as the independent variable, and mean-centered preference for consistency (PfC) as the moderator of the effect of VC on Self-Concept Clarity. Providing support for moderated mediation, the VC x PfC interaction had a significant effect on self-concept clarity. Self-concept clarity, in turn, had a significant negative effect on stress. Figure 1 illustrates the interaction effect of VC x PfC on self-concept clarity. Consumers who are high on PfC are most susceptible to the general negative effect a conflict of values has on one’s self-concept clarity and thus experienced elevated levels of stress. In contrast to that, low PfC seems to inhibit this negative effect. A different picture emerges for people with no underlying value conflict (i.e. either green or materialistic consumers). Here, preferring consistency and holding only one dominant value profile (i.e., materialistic or green values) seems to help to foster self-concept clarity.

**Figure 1: The moderating Role of PfC on Self-Concept Clarity**

![Figure 1](image)

**General Discussion**

A popular strategy in social marketing is to persuade consumers to care about the environment and to reduce their level of consumption. However, the consequences of this trend for consumer well-being are not well established. Recent research showed that negative attitudes towards consumption are related to increased well-being (Iyer & Muncy 2016). Likewise, Brown and Kasser (2005) found that ecological responsible behavior is related to higher levels of subjective well-being.

Starting from the observation that Western societies are still dominated by materialistic values (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2012), the present paper takes a different perspective and indicates that the tension between two important contemporary value orientations (i.e., materialism and green values) reduces consumers’ well-being. Instead of enhancing consumer well-being by motivating a greener lifestyle, the findings show that these attempts could actually cause reduced well-being to the extent that they might cultivate green values, at least in consumers.
who hold materialistic values as well. This research therefore fills an important research gap in sustainability research by investigating potential negative side-effects of the sustainable consumption movement on consumer well-being.

Furthermore, the paper shows processes through which such a value conflict produces its negative effect, namely through lowered self-concept clarity. However, this effect only holds for consumers who prefer consistency in their life (PfC). By the same token, the findings identify value conflicts as a potentially important antecedent of self-concept clarity.

This research has looked at the consequences of a conflict between materialistic values and green values on a general level. It is not yet clear how different consumption practices reinforce or diminish such a value conflict. In this vein, sustainability-rooted anti-consumption practices (Seegenbarth, Peyer, Balderjahn, & Wiedmann, 2016) might affect conflict-related negative outcomes more than practices such as substituting green products for non-green products. As such, research has shown that buying green products can be associated with higher social status (Burroughs 2010; Griskevicius, Tybur, & Van den Bergh 2010). Hence, substituting green for a non-green product might help to resolve the value conflict for materialistic consumers. In contrast to that, reducing one’s own level of consumption might be truly threatening to a materialistic person who considers possessions as a central source of happiness (Richins, 2004). Future research should address those different forms of consumption practices in the context of value conflict as well as its consequences on consumer well-being.

Considering the importance of both (green and materialistic) value profiles and the ongoing attempts to convert materialistic consumers into green consumers seems to make it more important than ever to consider potential negative side-effects of promoting sustainability in largely materialistic societies. Our finding has therefore implications for social marketers and policy makers. It might be necessary to carefully plan and test sustainability campaigns to avoid unintended negative consequences for consumer well-being. However, more research is needed to identify how this can be best achieved.

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Anxiety and social identity threat – how they shape consumer preferences for unique products and group-linked products

Dariusz Drążkowski, M. Behnke, L. D. Kaczmarek, R. Trepanowski and Adam Mickiewicz

Previous research demonstrated that the drive to differentiate oneself from others is a fundamental human need (Snyder and Fromkin, 1980). At the same time, people strongly desire to be similar to others and put much effort to join social groups (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). These conflicting needs (differentiation vs. assimilation) are reflected in consumer behavior. For instance, individuals satisfy their need for uniqueness purchasing unique products (Tian, Bearden, and Hunter, 2001). Furthermore, individuals make consumer decisions that are consistent with their reference groups to express their social identity (Escalas and Bettman, 2005).

According to the affect-as-information framework (Schwarz and Clore, 1996), anxiety triggers a preference for safe options that reduce risk and uncertainty. Anxious consumers prefer products that are of low-risk (Raghunathan and Pham, 1999). Thus, we expected that anxiety has a negative impact on the preference for high risk, unusual and novel products, in other words, unique products. Based on the theory, we propose the following effect of anxiety on the differentiation processes:

**H1:** Consumers decrease their differentiation in response to anxiety.

Furthermore, Gino, Brooks, and Schweitzer (2012) demonstrated that anxiety lowers self-confidence, which in turn increases advice seeking and reliance upon advice. It might suggest that one way to reduce uncertainty and anxiety is to strengthen social bonds. Thus, we expected that:

**H2:** Consumer increase assimilation in response to anxiety.

Another factor than anxiety which determines both differentiation and assimilation processes is personal self-construal (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Independent self-construal goals focus on differentiation, whereas interdependent self-construal goals focus on enhancing assimilation with others (Aaker and Schmitt, 2001). Thus, consumers with independent self-construals have a greater need for uniqueness and have a higher preference for unique products than consumers with interdependent self-construal (Kim and Markus, 1999). White et al. (2012) showed that when social identity is threatened, independents (in contrast with interdependents) demonstrate decreased preference for a group-linked product. This finding suggests that self-construal moderated responses to threat and that threat increases differentiation for independents and decrease differentiation for interdependents. We expected that self-construal would produce meaningful interactions:

**H3:** Self-construal moderates responses to anxiety.

Social identity threat generates affectively charged physiological arousal (Blascovich et al., 2001). Anxiety operates as a mediator between threatening particular aspect of identity and changes in consumer behaviors (Angle and Forehand, 2016). Moreover, reduction of anxiety (e.g., by exposing participants to vanilla scent that produces soothing effects) is likely to block consumer response to identity threat (Lee, Kim and Vohs, 2011). We expected the following effect:

**H4:** Down-regulation of anxiety after social identity threat inhibits consumer responses to threat.
Two studies were designed to test these hypotheses. The aim of Study 1 was to test if anxiety influences assimilation and differentiation and, in turn, manifest in preferences for group-linked products and unique products. Moreover, in Study 2 we investigate whether social identity threat would further enhance the assimilation-differentiation process after anxiety reduction.

**Study 1**

**Methods**

In the study 1, 110 participants were assigned to one of the four conditions: 2 (anxiety induction: anxiety-provoking vs neutral movie clips) × 2 (self-construal priming: independent vs. interdependent). After experimental manipulation subjects evaluated six different pairs of products (three products had a unique design, and other three were a group-linked; the remaining products were neutral). Physiological markers of anxiety (i.e. blood pressure, stroke volume, cardiac output) were recorded continuously.

**Results**

Results confirmed the effectiveness of the procedure of anxiety induction in physiological responses. We observed a greater increases on heart rate, systolic blood pressure, stroke volume, cardiac output, and greater decrease on total peripheral resistance in the threat clip than in the neutral movie, \( p < .02 \).

Anxiety influenced uniqueness needs for independents \( (F(3, 106) = 7.12, p < .01) \) but not for interdependents, \( p > .05 \). Independents reported lower uniqueness needs in exp. condition. Participants who watched the anxiety-provoking movie clips had lower relative preference for unique products \( (F(1, 106) = 8.18, p < .01) \) and lower intention to purchase unique products \( (F(3, 105) = 1.41, p > .05) \) than participants who watched the neutral movie clips. Independents had higher relative preference for unique products \( (F(1, 106) = 4.73, p < .05) \) and had higher intention to purchase unique products \( (F(1, 105) = 3.76, p = .055) \) than interdependent.

In response to anxiety, participants had higher belongingness needs than the neutral controls \( (F(1, 106) = 6.17, p < .05) \). Independents reported a lower relative preference for the university products in response to anxiety compared to independents in the neutral condition \( (F(1, 106) = 6.28, p < .08) \). Interdependents did not differ in their level of relative preference for university products between study conditions, \( p > .05 \). Independents had lower relative preference for university products than interdependents \( (F(1, 106) = 8.41, p < .01) \).

**Discussion**

Consistent with H 1, consumers decrease their differentiation in response to anxiety. However, anxiety negatively affect the uniqueness needs only for independents. Lack of such dependency for interdependents may be due to their initial low level of the uniqueness needs. The results also supported the H 2, showing an increase assimilation expressed in the growing belongingness needs for anxious consumers regardless primed self-construal. Nevertheless, taking into account type of primed the self-construal shows that independents feeling anxiety react by differentiation manifested in decreased relative preference for university products. The findings of study 1 in general support the idea (H 3) that the consumer reactions on anxiety feelings may be moderated by the accessibility of different self-construal. Moreover, results of the study 1 replicated effects observed in the previous studies (e.g. Markus and Kim, 1999) and showed that consumer primed with independence preferred unique products significantly more than those primed with interdependence. Thanks to the use of physiological indicators of arousal, it is very certain that the effectiveness of inducing anxiety with movie clip can be determined.

**Study 2**
A greater insight into incidental factors influencing assimilation and differentiation processes should result in an attempt to separate the social identity threat from the anxiety. If anxiety is indeed an underlying factor in the social identity threat process, then reducing anxiety should mitigate social identity effects. On the other hand, demonstrating that blocking anxiety in a situation of experiencing social identity threat will also block reactions to it, will show that anxiety is a necessary and sufficient factor (as shown by study 1) leading to changes in assimilation and differentiation processes. Consequently, there are theoretical reasons to examine if a reduction of anxiety that arises as a result of social identity threat inhibits assimilation and differentiation responses to identity-linked and unique products and whether it blocks changes in the level of self-worth, belongingness and uniqueness needs. In order to reduce the anxiety arousal, the vanilla scent was used, which in previous research effectively blocked consumer reactions to identity threat (Lee et al., 2011).

**Methods**

In the study 2, 102 participants experienced social identity threat. Next, they were assigned to one of the four conditions: 2 (anxiety reduction: vanilla scent vs unscented) × 2 (self-construal priming: independent vs. interdependent). Finally, participants evaluated the same products as those used in the study 1. Physiological markers of were recorded continuously.

**Results**

Participants responded to the identity threat with strong increases in systolic and diastolic blood pressure, stroke volume, cardiac output and skin conductance level (ps < .001). The vanilla intervention did not have any effect on physiological responses, all ps > .05.

Independents have higher self-worth concern (F(1, 98) = 5.73, p < .05), higher uniqueness needs (F(1, 98) = 4.44, p < .05), higher relative preference for unique products (F(1, 98) = 3.90, p = .05) and have higher intention to purchase unique products (F(1, 98) = 3.81, p = .05) than interdependent. Participants have lower uniqueness needs in the vanilla-scented condition than in the unscented condition (F(1, 98) = 4.44, p < .05, η² = .04). Participants have lower relative preference for unique products in the vanilla-scented condition than in the unscented condition (F(1, 98) = 4.02, p < .05). All others effects were non-significant for both variables (ps > .65).

**Discussion**

Physiological data showed that the manipulation of the social identity threat increased sympathetic arousal. Yet, contrary to prior research (Lee et. al., 2011), we did not observe any soothing effects of vanilla scents on reactivity. However, we observed that participants exposed to the vanilla scent reduced differentiation as expressed by lower uniqueness needs, lower preference for unique products, and lower intention to buy unique products. These results indicate that we were able to influence consumer preferences and intention, yet these effects were not related to physiological soothing mechanism.

In Study 2 interdependents demonstrated stronger assimilation with their group and showed a higher level of the self-worth concerns than interdependents. Finally, the results of Study 2 also suggest that in general, the self-construal moderates reactions to the social identity threat and for interdependents increases assimilation and for independents intensifies differentiation, which is in line with previous findings (Vohs and Heatherton, 2001; White et al., 2012).

**General discussion**

This research aimed to examine how anxiety influences self-expressive processes of assimilation and differentiation among consumers.
Supporting H 1, consumers decreased their differentiation in response to anxiety. In Study 1, individuals decreased their relative preference for unique products and decreased intention to purchase unique products after anxiety elicitation. However, anxiety suppressed the uniqueness needs only for independents. The absence of such effects among interdependents was likely to result from the initial low level of the uniqueness needs among interdependents. It provided little room for further decreases with a possible floor effect. The results of Study 1 also supported the H 2. We observed an increase of assimilation because anxious consumers escalated their belongings needs regardless. This effect was independent of the primed self-construal. Nonetheless, independents who experienced anxiety responded by differentiation, i.e., they decreased relative preferences for their Alma mater university products. The findings of Study 1 support the idea (H 3) that the consumers’ responses to anxiety may be moderated by the accessibility of different self-construal. Noteworthy, we used several physiological indexes to ascertain that the elicited affective responses were considerable and valid beyond self-report.

The results of the study 2 are in line with previous findings (White et al., 2012). We observed that the type of primed self-construal under social identity threat moderated the evaluation of group-specific products. Taken together, the results of both studies have also provided evidence that consumers who were primed with an independent self-construal had a greater need for uniqueness and had a higher preference for unique products (Kim and Markus, 1999). The Study 2 showed that social identity threat increased physiological arousal. Contrary to our expectations, we did not observe any soothing effects of the vanilla scent. Consequently, we were not able to test whether reduction of sympathetic arousal would inhibit responses to threat. However, we observed cognitive and behavioral differences between the vanilla intervention group and the control group. This suggests that the scent of vanilla affected consumer preferences via cognitive rather than physio-emotional pathways.

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Anti-consumption: Transforming Experiences and on Well-being of Volunteers in an Ecological Conservation Project

Renata Domingues Barros, and Leticia Moreira Casotti

Introduction
In consumer behavior studies, psychology-based perspectives dominate, based on logical, rational, cognitive and learning abilities, or even on hedonic and aesthetic aspects that essentially value the individual to the detriment of their social context (LEVY, 2006; HOLBROOK and HIRSCHMAN, 1982; HIRSCHMAN and HOLBROOK, 1982). However, sociocultural, experiential, symbolic and ideological characteristics are beginning to gain strength and space in consumer studies (CASOTTI and SUAREZ, 2016; BELK and CASOTTI, 2014; ARNOULD and THOMPSON, 2005; MOREIRA, CASOTTI and CAMPOS, 2018).

We highlight here two perspectives that inspire our research path: the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), a family of theoretical perspectives concerned with "addressing the dynamic relations between consumer actions, the market and cultural meanings" (ARNOULD and THOMPSON, 2005, p. 868); and Transformative Consumer Research (TCR), focused on supporting research that leads to improved well-being and quality of life for the consumer and society (MICK, 2006; OZANNE, 2011; MICK et al., 2012).

Based on the perspectives of the CCT and TCR, this research aims to contribute to the field of anti-consumption investigations (CHATIZIDAKIS and LEE, 2012; LEE et al., 2011) by investigating meanings, practices and transformations reported by volunteers at the end of their experience as volunteers in ecological conservation project, eco village style. The project, here called Eco Brasil, is described on its website as an accommodation space, holistic retreats and artistic residences, built to preserve nature through eco-friendly and sustainable practices. In this way, and backed by permaculture principles, the location directs consumption practices in its territory. Abdala and Mocellin (2010) describe permaculture as the harmonious integration between man and nature. Permaculture involves the design, implementation and maintenance of productive ecosystems that maintain the diversity, resilience and stability of natural ecosystems, promoting energy, housing and human nutrition in a harmonious way with the environment (MOLLISON, 1999).

With the support of field notes obtained in participant observation, the analysis of the reports indicates personal transformation and well-being effects in an environment of consumption restrictions. Next, we describe the Eco Brazil project, the stages of the study, the main findings and reflections that indicate future research paths to be covered.

The Eco Brasil project
Eco Brasil was founded by a zoologist and permaculturist call here M. and is located in a mystical city of natural beauties, in the heart of Brazil.
The enterprise, which operates according to the principles of permaculture, was created with the purpose of protecting (through occupation and conservation) the valley in which it is located. In addition to serving as tourism and lodging spaces - offering experiences aimed at fostering intimate contact between people and nature, such as sleeping in a tree house, at 25 meters high, in the middle of the dense forest, in the Brazilian Cerrado. The site also hosts artistic, cultural and educational projects.

In such way, it can count on the help of people from different parts of the world, who accept to work as volunteers, for short periods of time, to experience the local lifestyle. Volunteers, who normally spend between one to six months, are involved in such tasks as cleaning, gardening, and organizing. Only those who commit to stay for more than three months receive assistance with costs and food. Some, who dedicate little time to the project, even pay to stay. Most of them are young Europeans, some Americans and a few Latinos. They learn about opportunities through websites.

The venture is also configured as a true community, as is clear from the following excerpt from the Eco Brasil website:

“There is a strong sense of teamwork here. In addition to daily tasks, we participate in weekly group activities, which are optional. This includes practices such as yoga, parties, movie nights, and even a day spent in silence. These activities are important in strengthening group unity, developing the human connection, and creating an environment of encounters and well-being”.

However, according to L., a person who worked there for one year and granted us informal conversations, volunteers' lives are not always easy. Their accommodations are not always comfortable, and a differentiation exists among them in the uses of common spaces, such as the kitchens.

“Most can only use the volunteer kitchen, while a few can eat in the main kitchen where food is better.” L.

Eco Brasil directs different consumption practices in its territory, both supporting the adoption of sustainable actions through the teaching of techniques and concepts, as well as restricting consumption by means of regulations of stay where volunteers and guests are advised in advance. There is a seven-page agreement containing guidelines and rules that is sent by email. Among other things, such rules establish, for example, that hygiene and cleaning products must necessarily be biodegradable; and that repellents should be natural and without chemical pollutants, because "our water is pure and is returned from our permaculture systems to the earth and vegetable gardens".

As an example of consumption practices institutionalized on site, the consumption of the organics planted on the land to attend the practice of vegetarian diet and the pursuance of use and reutilization of foods like the production of jams using fruits of the season and of hamburgers made from banana peels. There is also guidance for total recycling of materials prohibiting the use of conventional cleaners, which are replaced by natural alternatives such as vinegar and baking soda. The use of solar energy and the adoption of dry toilets with the subsequent use of manure as fertilizers are part of Eco Brasil's bioconstructions.

**The study**

This is an exploratory research, based on the following qualitative methods: 1) analysis of writing testimonies, and 2) participant observation (Belk, Fischer and Kozinets, 2013). The testimonies were collected in two memory books, created by Eco Brasil so that the volunteers could register, at the time of their departure, not only experiences that they had there, but also any other issues. According to the owner, all the testimonies were written voluntarily, through free writing, without any question to dictate them.

We analyzed 107 reports, totaling 110 pages. The records were analyzed through coding with guidelines from Saldaña (2009). All the pages were photographed with permission of the manager under the condition that the volunteers, as well as the space, were not identified.
The first author, who spent four days on the site, made the participant observation. The field notes record experiences and impressions, as well as informal conversations with volunteers and manager. These last data, considered by the research as supporting data, help to better contextualize some testimonials collected in the notebooks.

First findings
The first findings are divided into two parts. The first one analyzes the experience of volunteers characterized as "magic" and "of light" and the second focuses on the transformation and well-being from the experience lived in Eco Brazil.

About the experience
In the farewell reports, the positive experiences lived in Eco Brasil are also described as "ephemeral" and "utopian", distant from the previous reality experienced by volunteers who originate predominantly from large cities. Utopia emerges when the experience appears connected to the idea of something "sacred", "magical", "fantastic", an "almost fantastical opportunity" capable of "saving" and awakening feelings and sensations asleep in them, such as "happiness", "gratitude", "completeness" and "freedom", as exemplified in the following account: "The last five months have brought me more knowledge, happiness, love and light than I have received in five years. What a truly magical place." A.

The experience is characterized in some testimonies based on tangible aspects linked to people and the environment of nature. Eco Brasil is "integrative" and provides a "community coexistence" in a space "full of colors and life", which "radiates calmness, beauty and inspiration". The place is also characterized as a space of self-knowledge that offers "unique experiences", "intense" and "intimate" originated from the connection with the environment, that provides "a time rich in surprises and adventures."

About transformation and well-being
The magical experience capable of producing self-knowledge originates processes of transformation and well-being that were also counted in the analyzed reports. Eco Brazil can be a "healing experience", "liberating", "salvation". The time that volunteers in the eco-village is seen as a "time of transition," "unforgettable time," "of constant movement." The transformation and well-being after the experience is described in one of the accounts as "a dream come true."

The elements remembered as inputs for this transformation of well-being are the following leanings, which have three main origins, remembered in the written documents and that are also present in the field notes: 1) the more formal knowledge acquired from lectures and teachings, such as permaculture practices; 2) the group socializing dynamics with shared practices; and 3) the constant and intense relationship with nature.

"I thank everyone for the experience, the exchange of knowledge and the possibility of being more in touch with nature, as well as the chance to experience new opportunities to think differently." R.

"I learned about permaculture, vegetarian cooking, living in a community, who I am, and more." M.

Experienced mishaps, such as those raised by L. in the description of Eco Brazil appear, in a light way, also in some reports, such as the following:

"It was only a few days, but they were incredibly intense and wonderful days. Sadness, fear, a little anger, but mostly joy. A rainbow of feelings in the midst of this paradise. A learning curve, showing that life is sustainable and in harmony with nature is possible (it only takes a little effort and work). K

One of the testimonies also draws attention to the fact that, in addition to reporting the transformation, it also brings the idea of transforming or continuing the process of change initiated in Eco Brazil.
"You changed me. In this place I connected with very special people and gave all my love to a cause that I believe and want to spread around the world." L.

Final Considerations
The analysis of the written speeches suggests that, despite difficult moments, the volunteers, mostly, lived positive experiences at Eco Brazil. The stories suggest positive meanings and experiences that transform and bring well-being even in an environment with consumption restrictions. These findings are in line with the so-called Lee and Hoffmann (2016), on the special issue of the Journal of Consumer Affairs, as well as Lee and Ahn (2016), for a new perspective of studies on anti-consumption that map out possible effects of such practices to the involved, linking anti-consumption with well-being.

A respect for things and nature, as well as an idea of promoting changes in consumer practices and the very imposition of strict rules of stay were constant during the immersion period lived there. Experiences such as Eco Brasil bring activist ideas and ideologues of promoting changes in the consumer culture (KOZINETS and HANDELMAN, 2004). The call for papers of the symposium ICAR 2018 (ORTEGA-EGEA, GARCÍA-DE-FRUTOS and LEE, 2018) "Anti-Consumption - Beyond Boundaries" also suggests that experiences such as the Eco Brazil that supports anti-consumption practices in collective settings can contribute to reduce, or even abandon conventional types of consumption, which cause damage to nature. As a volunteer wrote in the farewell book: "Eco Brasil is a place where we are free to wear or not to wear without being observed."

As the material analyzed deals with the experience of Eco Brazil as a whole, this research emphasizes that the raised effects can refer not only to consumption restriction practices carried out there, but also to other issues, like: a) the very ephemerality and intensity of the experience obtained; b) the idea of a challenge to be overcome; c) the sense of community/collaboration that is established among visitors; d) the idea of altruism / care in helping to build a better world; e) the feeling of freedom to live in the middle of the forest; and so on.

In this way, the present study suggests a second stage of research to analyze how these transformations materialize, or are lost, after an experience like this, that is, a differentiated experience with nature, with community and differentiated and restrictive forms of consumption, when volunteers or tourists return to their routines in large centers (PHIPPS and OZANNE, 2017). The image below, which shows the main findings of the present study, also suggests that the second stage of research analyzes the main triggers that lead people to seek this transformative experience.
Figure 1: Experiences and transformations lived at Eco Brasil.

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The Ethical Underpinnings of Non-Materialistic Values and Voluntary Simplicity Behavior in the United States

Jared L. Peifer, Sunaina Chugani Marquez and J. Micah Roos

Overconsumption represents a substantial threat to the environment. The United States consumes more than its fair share of the world’s resources and many have suggested the limitation of consumption is necessary in order to avoid catastrophic environmental damage (Human Development Report, 1998). While many scholars agree overconsumption is a serious ethical problem because of its adverse effects on the environment, empirical research on the ethical factors that help shape individuals’ anti-consumption values and behavior is lacking. Morality can powerfully shape an individual’s attitudes and behavior (Etzioni, 1988) and better understanding the ethical underpinnings of anti-consumption can help create interventions that reduce consumption and help preserve the environment.

Ethical decision-making can be characterized as stemming from a rules-based ethical ideology (i.e., deontology) or a consequences-based ethical ideology (i.e., consequentialism) (Vitell, Singhapakdi, & Thomas, 2001). The authors borrow this framework to investigate which of these ideologies drive two particular components of anti-consumption: non-materialism and voluntary simplicity. Non-materialism refers to the lack of importance consumers place on material possessions for defining their sense of self, success, or happiness (Richins & Dawson, 1992; Shrum et al., 2013), while voluntary simplicity refers to the behavioral limitation of the ownership and acquisition of material goods out of one’s free will (Etzioni, 1998; Huneke, 2005; Shaw & Newholm, 2002). Non-materialism is one example of an anti-consumption value while voluntary simplicity is an example of anti-consumption behavior. These are distinct concepts. For instance, one consumer may not place much value on products internally while still consuming a great deal, and another consumer may place considerable internal value on possessions while not actually consuming much. The importance of making this distinction between non-materialism and voluntary simplicity, though not often made in extant literature, is highlighted by the present findings that each expression of anti-consumption is based on a commitment to a different ethical ideology.

In Study 1, the authors use Structural Equations Model to analyze survey data that is representative of the United States from the 2010 Science of Generosity study. Findings indicate that consumers seem to reject materialistic values (i.e., non-materialism) based on universal principles of right or wrong (i.e., rules-based ethical ideology), and those who report reduced consumption behavior (i.e., voluntary simplicity) are those who more strongly consider the other-oriented consequences of their actions (i.e., consequentialist ethical ideology). This research is the first, that the authors are aware of, to illustrate that non-materialism and voluntary simplicity are distinct concepts with unique ethical motivations, thus contributing to the theoretical understanding of the anti-consumption constructs. The positive correlation between rule-based ethical ideology and non-materialism suggests that in the United States, non-materialism is driven by an internal “rule book” of what personal values are considered morally acceptable. Study 1’s positive correlation between other-oriented consequentialist ideology and voluntary simplicity confirms existing literature claims that voluntary simplicity is driven by a concern for how others are affected by one’s consumption behavior, or the lack thereof (Alexander & Ussher, 2012; Egea & de Frutos, 2013; Kahl, 2012; Leonard-Barton & Rogers, 1980; Shaw & Newholm, 2002).

Because voluntary simplicity refers to an actual reduction in consumption behavior, a follow-up experiment investigates which particular consequentialist environmental concerns...
are more likely to induce voluntary simplicity. Study 2 employs a four-condition between-subjects experimental design with voluntary simplicity as the dependent measure. Online participants who reside in the United States and were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk read the following vignette:

*Imagine you are walking past a store and happen to see an attractive pair of casual shoes in the window. They cost about as much as you’d expect them to. You already own a good pair that you are happy with, but you love the style of the new ones you see.*

Participants were instructed to imagine that they were considering buying the shoes and then they were randomly assigned to a control condition or one of three treatment conditions (i.e., natural resources, climate change, or landfill waste). In the control condition, participants reported their intention to buy the shoes across four outcome measurement items (e.g., “I would buy the shoes.”). Those who report less intention to buy the shoes are conceptualized as voluntary simplifiers. Participants in the treatment conditions reported their intention to buy on the same scale but after being reminded that overconsumption can have negative consequences on the environment. In the natural resources condition, participants were reminded that they’ve “heard that the earth has limited natural resources and buying lots of stuff can reduce those natural resources.” Participants in the climate change condition were reminded that they’ve “heard that manufacturing and transporting products uses fossil fuels, so buying lots of stuff means contributing to climate change,” and those in the landfill waste condition read that they’ve “heard that manufacturing products makes considerable waste, so buying lots of stuff means contributing to the waste that builds up in landfills.” Before the conclusion of the study, participants reported basic demographic information and completed Penner’s (2002) six-item moral reasoning scale (e.g., “My decisions are usually based on my concern for other people,”) which captured their degree of ethical consequentialism.

The authors hypothesize that making salient the effect of consumption on others and the environment will induce voluntary simplicity for consumers who have a consequentialist ethical orientation. Indeed, consumers with higher degrees of ethical consequentialism express greater voluntary simplicity intentions when reminded that buying shoes can contribute to the 1) depletion of natural resources or 2) the buildup of waste in landfills. On the other hand, voluntary simplicity is induced across consumers (regardless of their level of ethical consequentialism) when they are reminded that consumption can contribute to climate change. This means climate change is a particularly compelling environmental concern that induces a wide range of consumers to engage in voluntary simplicity.

Interestingly, Study 2 results also suggest that under certain circumstances, other-oriented consequentialists may drift away from anti-consumption. The authors find a negative relationship between ethical consequentialism and voluntary simplicity when a link between the consumption opportunity and the environmental impact on others is not made salient (i.e., the control condition). This unexpected result is consistent with the fact that possessions and consumption are an effective strategy in securing one’s position in the eyes of others (Belk, 1988; Richins & Dawson, 1992) and consumers who are oriented toward others may be motivated to employ such strategies. In other words, we surmise that perhaps their “other-orientation” also compels them to consume in order to impress others with their possessions. Future studies will need to more carefully differentiate other-orientations that pertain to promoting social welfare (i.e., ethical consequentialism) on the one hand and a concern for what others think about the self on the other.

Overall, these results suggest organizations that wish to encourage reduced consumption cannot assume that consumers will automatically make the connection between their consumption decisions and the environment. Instead, public education is needed to make the link explicit and salient. The current article’s findings indicate that reminding consumers about the effect of consumption on others induces voluntary simplicity among other-oriented consumers, so public education may be a good place to start.
In conclusion, popular discussions surrounding anti-consumption often contain an unavoidable ethical dimension. This article borrows two foundational schools of ethical thought and applies them to two important aspects of anti-consumption, non-materialist values and voluntary simplicity behavior. By highlighting their unique ethical foundations and identifying messages that can decrease overconsumption, we advance our understanding of the ethical underpinnings of anti-consumption and provide insights into how to best curb the harmful environmental effects of overconsumption.

References


Interrogating ethical consumption in community food growing – an anti-consumption perspective

Andreea Camelia Bocioaga

Introduction

Food production and consumption are a main culprit of environmental damage (Hedenus, Wirsenius, & Johansson, 2014; Notarnicola et al., 2017) – past studies have suggested that as much as 29% of all consumption derived green house gas emissions are food related in the EU (Tukker, Huppes, & Guinée, 2006). Some consumers are engaging with these pressing issues by taking various forms of actions such as rejecting current forms of consumption. Consumers’ rejection of current patterns of consumption has sometimes been described as anti-consumption (Black & Cherrier, 2010) which can be understood as avoidance of specific brands (Lee, Motion, & Conroy, 2009) but also as a rejection of the consumerist ideology (Kozinets, 2002). Kozinets and Handelman (2004) study into consumption communities suggests that consumers engage in anti-consumption activities to challenge the culture of consumerism. Khan (2010)’s study supports this, suggesting that anti-consumption and materialistic attitudes are opposite to each other. Moraes et al. (2010), however, criticises the assumptions of anti-consumption as a challenge against consumerism and argues that even when anti-consumption happens within the realm of symbolic consumption, it still relies on the dominant code of consumption to achieve its outcomes. Moreover, the focus of existing consumer research has been on self-identified individuals engaging in ethical consumption (Cherrier, 2009) and anti-consumption (Hall, 2011; 2015). Research so far suggests that ethical and anti-consumption behaviors are inconsistent, context dependent and socially determined (Cherrier, 2012; Papaoikonomou et al., 2011). A new approach to consumption needs to happen at a wider social level (Jackson, 2005; Middlemiss, 2011). Consumers and communities can be key players in challenging current consumption levels (Middlemiss, 2011). Moraes et al. (2012) argue communities can ‘normalise’ ethical consumption and Kozinets’ (2002) describes anti-consumption communities as empowering and corrective. Anti-consumption and ethical consumption have been increasingly researched in the past decades (Garcia de Frutos, 2016; Cherrier, 2009) however, with regards to ethical communities, the focus has on communities of self-identified and existing ethical consumers (Moraes et al., 2012; Carolan, 2007). Communities of ethical consumption need further exploration if we are to understand how consumers who currently don’t engage in ethical and anti-consumption make sense of these communities. This is where this research will make its contribution. This study will explore how consumers develop forms of anti-consumption through learning and participating in community gardens as ethical communities. It will do so by considering how participation in ethical communities intersects with food practices beyond these ethical communities.

Theoretical background

This study builds on the literature on ethical consumption which shares some common consensus with the research on anti-consumption as Craig-Lees (2009) argues that both are underpinned by environmental sustainability and equity. In order to explore how anti-consumption manifests through food growing, community gardens were chosen as a site where consumers can engage with knowledge about ethical consumption in a social context. Glover (2005, p. 264) defines a community garden as an “organised initiative(s) whereby
sections of land are used to produce food or flowers in an urban environment for the personal or collective benefit of their members who, by virtue of their participation, share certain resources such as space, tools and water”. Community gardens are used for a variety of reasons, including ethical and anti-consumption purposes but not limited to (Turner, 2011; Guitart et al., 2012). They are also sites of ethical consumption practices (Holland, 2004; Meyericks, 2015). For example, the role of community gardens in developing new skills and as a space for learning about food ethics has been widely documented (Crossan, Cumbers, McMaster, & Shaw, 2016; Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011; Guitart, Pickering, & Byrne, 2012; Holland, 2004; Turner, 2011; Walter, 2013). Environmental and food ethics are a crucial tenant to activities in community gardens (Beilin & Hunter, 2011; Crane, Viswanathan, & Whitelaw, 2013; Holland, 2004), yet the literature has not considered the link between learning ethical food practices in community gardens and the wider food consumption of individuals who engage with these sites. So far, it remains unexplored how individuals’ learning about ethical food practices in the garden intersects with behaviours and understanding about food in their wider consumption activities. The aim of this study was to understand how participating in food growing in community gardens is made sense of in the context of wider food consumption practices.

**Practice learning**

In order to explore how individuals make sense of their experiences of participation and learning in the garden, a framework for understanding the process of learning and meaning making is needed. To that effect, not only do community gardens facilitate learning ethical behaviours but Bendt et al (2013) also conclude that community gardens are sites of practice learning: a socially situated type of learning. Lave and Wenger (1991) have developed Practice Learning as a social learning theory involving the whole person in a social context and moving away from learning as receiving a body of factual knowledge. Practice learning takes place through engagement, shared repertoires and joint action (Wenger, 2000). By participating in food growing communities, individuals can develop new beliefs and shared understandings through three forms of belonging to these communities: engagement, imagination and alignment (Goulding, Shankar, & Canniford, 2013; Wenger, 2000). However, these forms of belonging are conditioned by and limited to ‘social’ engagement. Consumption is mediated by social interactions, but it is also influenced by individual lived experiences and physical interactions with our environment (Peng, Wang, & Teo, 2018). Practice learning has been criticised for ambiguous socio-spatial dimensions (Edwards, 2005; Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 2004). McGregor especially (2004) criticises the assumptions in practice learning that the space is constituted through the social, with interactions creating social space. According to McGregor (2004), spaces are sources of meaning making themselves. This dimension is vital for understanding the transformative potential of this theory with regards to encouraging ethical consumption.

**Embodiment**

Physical engagement with the natural environment and with food can reconnect individuals with food in a non-abstract way (Delind, 2006). Dutcher’ et al’s findings (2007) supports this, as he argues a sense of connection with the natural environment leads to environmental values. This connection has been described by Carolan (2007) as embodiment, understood also as the lived experience of being in a space. Indeed, we know and produce the world through our bodies (Turner, 2011). The embodied experience helps to instil within individuals a greater sense of relationality with others and the environment (Carolan, 2007). Although it has been demonstrated that embodiment helps develop a sense of connection with the natural environment and food as well, previous research has failed to explain whether people carry their sense of relationality with food and the environment outside of the garden (Turner, 2011) or indeed whether the environmental values translate into ethical consumption at all. As for how a sense of connection correlates with environmental values, research fails to explain
how this sense of connection with the natural environment emerges in the first place (Frantz & Mayer, 2014). This indicated that in order to understand how individuals make sense of the their participation in communities of ethical consumption we need to consider both the social and embodied dimension of learning and engagement.

Considering the previously raised issues, this research seeks to answer the following questions: **RQ: How do forms of anti-consumption manifest in community gardens?**

In order to explore this question, the concept of embodiment is proposed as an addition to the practice learning forms of belonging – engagement, imagination and alignment. This addition can uncover how the social learning environment translates embodied experience into shared understandings and values about food and nature, to create a frame of reference and understandings about food that participants in the garden community of practice can access outside the garden.

**Methodology**

To understand the process of how individuals make sense of learning about ethical consumption behaviors in community gardens this research uses a small-scale longitudinal qualitative study approach. This approach was deemed most suitable as it allows me to gain a better understanding of how individuals make sense of and process new experiences and also how they make sense of change (Thompson & Holand, 2003). In total, three stage of semi-structured interviews were conducted with 15 participants - one at the start their community garden involvement, one several months later in order to explore the learning taking place in the garden and one six months after the growing season to understand how they made sense of the learning in the garden. Each interview has been audio recorded and lasted between forty-five minutes to two hours, depending on the wide range of participants’ views and experiences.

To counter the limitation of interviews (e.g. social desirability bias) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003), this study uses participant observation in order to get a rich understanding of individual’s practices around food consumption in their day-to-day life (Bedford, 1999). In order to uncover how participants reflect on their experiences individuals were asked to complete a diary recording around four instances of food growing over a period of a week to a month (Patterson, 2005). Together, the three methods allow for a comprehensive insight into how individual make sense of their garden experiences in the context of their everyday consumption.

**Discussion**

The analysis phase for this research is in its developing stages but there are some preliminary findings that will be discussed in the following. First, of all, the interview data indicates that participants are participating in forms of rejecting and reclaiming food consumption practices. At the heart of reclaiming food consumption practices is this process of embodied and practice learning that allows individuals to renegotiate their food practices. According to Lee et al., (2013): “whilst reject is about avoiding the consumption of some goods, reclaim represents an ideological shift regarding the process of acquisition, use and dispossession. (p. n.a.)”. To that effect, participants are producing narratives of rejection, such as dissatisfaction and disillusionment with current landscape of consumption:
“I don't like the atmosphere of the supermarket, especially the bigger, I find them overwhelming, how many things there are and I don't like that they have lots of like a huge aisle [...] just filled with different kinds of the same thing like pasta sauce or something, there' so many different kind of ready made pasta-sauce and you're looking for something … just a normal kind of ingredient to use in actual cooking and they just don't have that.” [Riley]

Participants are also reclaiming and recreating their relationship with food. For example, several participants reflected on the importance of “knowing” food; how to grow it or where it comes from as a way to take back control of their food:

“I guess just to know […] where they'd come from, that's always good to know […] how it's been grown and who's grown it, nothing's really been damaged by it and no one's been exploited and it's just been grown.” [Riley]

“It’s not even being about self-sustaining, although that is a part of it. Uhm... for me it's I think [...] sometimes you lose a connection with the food. I don't think I could go out and hunt. I don't think I could even break the neck of a tame chicken so for me if things go badly, if I need to be able to grow stuff…” [Laura]

Participants are recreating relationships with food and reclaiming food through embodied learning of food and food growing and by sharing knowledge and experiences. For example, Rose talks about being able to identify and recognize plants – this came up in several narratives: “At first I didn't even know they were courgettes, that's so embarrassing and I was like ‘what are these?’ , ‘it's courgettes’, just cause they're yellow and I think I know a lot about veg as well cause I’m quite into it but I didn't even know that. That’s so bad […]. So I’d literally be… the first time going [...] I just looked so silly […] shovelling a bit of mud and be like ‘is this deep enough?’ and put something in and pat, ‘is this tight enough?’ pat it down.” [Rose]

Participants also reflected on the social dimension of learning about food and food growing. For example, Paula talks about learning by participating and engaging with others in the garden, sharing knowledge and skills: “There's an age range, a range of ages and abilities at the garden, some people with more experience in gardening and people like me that have just been there for a year, and everyone has something to give like I think even now I've got a one a year's experience but I know a bit more than I did and I can pass it on to say potential new people that have come along and it's this lovely free knowledge that everyone just shares” [Paula].

**Conclusion**

This research explores how participants in community food growing develop a repertoire of ethical food consumption through embodied and social learning. This study contributes to the anti-consumption debate by bringing forward the complex meanings surrounding anti-consumption, looking specifically at forms of food consumption from an embodied and social learning perspective. This research suggests that individuals reject certain forms of consumption motivated by or ethical considerations but they also reclaim their food consumption and develop different ways of consuming such as food growing. The process of reclaiming manifests in community gardens through embodied and practice learning, which allows individuals to develop new connections with food and expand their repertoires of consumption. Community gardens emerge as sites where consumers can find alternative ways of consuming and reclaim their food consumption.
References


The Lifestyle of Precycling: Measuring and evaluating a new form of Anti-Consumption

Katharina Klug and Thomas Niemand

Reducing (packaging) waste is becoming more and more relevant for consumers (Monnot et al., 2017). Consequently, some consumers developed a lifestyle regarding waste reduction to fit sustainable consumption targets. This so-called precycling lifestyle avoids waste by buying in bulk or avoiding excessively packaged products (Elgaaïed-Gambier, 2016; Yaacob et al., 2017). Compared to the lifestyle of recycling and reusing (Yaacob et al., 2017) which focus on post-consumption behavior (e.g., extending products’ lifecycles by repairing or recycling and creating unintended usages for products by upcycling), new strategies were proposed that are deployed before purchase decision (Bekin et al., 2007). Those strategies range between radical anti-consumption behavior by completely reducing or eschewing consumption (e.g., growing own food, sewing own cloth) and selected anti-consumption patterns by prime waste rejecting, reducing and reusing (e.g., reject overpackaging, reduce food mileage, reuse multiple items). In this regard, precycling can be understood as a zero-waste approach of ‘total or almost total avoidance of waste by excessive waste prevention and re-use’ (Bartl, 2014, p. 11) based on the ‘third generation of humanity’ (Bartl, 2014; Palmer, 2009). While the first generation of consumption focuses on immediate satisfaction (producing garbage), the second generation concentrate on short-term targets (recycling of accrued waste) and the third generation is based on long-term targets (prevention of waste by avoidance at its best or rather consequent re-use). Accordingly, precycling is a long-term oriented lifestyle. We thus assume that precycling might be considered as a future trend of enhancing sustainability concepts compared to recycling (reusing of waste material) and upcycling (upgrading of waste material).

As an environmentally ethical behavior (Yaacob, 2007), precycling considers the three practices of anti-consumption for sustainability (Black & Cherrier, 2010): rejection, reduction and reuse. While recyclers and upcyclers (in their post-consumption decision) only selectively apply anti-consumption patterns such as reduce and reuse, precyclers comprehensively consider anti-consumption practices for sustainability: they reject buying superfluous goods, reduce mandatory consumption to a minimum level and reuse what had been acquired. Hence, precyclers prefer residue-free products inducing minimal waste (especially plastic packaging) and reject waste-intensive, highly processed products. While the zero-waste approach might be criticized as unattainable (Greyson, 2007), its manifestation as precycling lifestyle might apply the anti-consumption approach for redundant product elements such as packaging.

The continuously growing trend of waste avoidance is highly visible in an increasing share of bulk shops offering products for self-bottling (Langer, 2012). Specialized shops and supermarkets such as „Unpackaged“ (London, UK) and “in.redients” (Austin, US) occur around the world (Bauer, 2011). Likewise, the number of bulk shops in Germany rose sharply from just 12 in 2014 to 70 in 2017. This trend calls for a deeper view of the precycling lifestyle. To date, the academic literature has not empirically analyzed precycling. Numerous studies investigated recycling behavior at a general level (e.g. Culiberg & Bajde, 2013; Iyer & Kashyal, 2007) as well as specific levels such as textile recycling (e.g. Ekström & Saloonson, 2014) and plastic bags (e.g. Sharp et al., 2010). Upcycling and its impact on sustainable consumption is researched across branches (e.g. Sung et al., 2014; Wilson, 2016) and within branches such as fashion (e.g. Janigo et al., 2017; Park, 2015) as well. Further, the zero-waste
approach has been examined from social perspectives (e.g. Greyson, 2007; Zaman & Lehman, 2011; Zaman & Lehman, 2013), business perspectives (e.g. Hottle et al., 2015; Song et al., 2015), and technological perspectives (e.g. Binnemanns et al., 2015; Curran & Williams, 2012). However, consumer-based studies are scarce. In case a study investigates this highly relevant perspective, zero waste issues are focused on specialized patterns such as post-consumption food waste (e.g. Young et al., 2017). Overall, the lifestyle of precycling is rarely visible in scientific research yet. Even if precycling has been considered (Yacoob et al., 2017), no study focused on a consumer perspective of precycling as waste prevention in the pre-consumption process so far. To close this research gap, we explore precycling as a new form of sustainable (anti-)consumption by setting a theoretical basement, introducing a measure of precycling, and empirically investigating predictors and effects of precycling.

Since this is the first empirical study focusing on precycling, we begin with an explorative, qualitative pre-study to describe the nature of precycling. In several quantitative studies, we then develop and validate a measure of precycling and offer additional insights in the precycling behavior.

Our research program (1) develops and evaluates a measure of consumer precycling and (2) empirically demonstrates its impact on consumer behavior patterns. Several mixed method studies are reported. First, a qualitative pre-study sheds light on the precycling motivation and helps to describe consumer’s insights of precycling. Second, a quantitative study develops a reliable measure of precycling. Third, a subsequent quantitative study proves convergent and discriminant validity and examines the empirical relationship between precycling and anti-consumption practices (e.g., low consumption orientation, local product preference). Forth, predictors and consequences of precycling are investigated in a specific consumption setting to assess nomological validity.

Results of a qualitative pre-study conducting (1) depth interviews with five consumers usually shopping in local bulk shops, flea or farmer markets and (2) content analysis of three selected precycler-Vlogs reveal two central precycling conditions. First, precyclers prefer conscious instead of impulsive decision making in their shopping behaviors. They tend to plan shopping beforehand and use their own containers which they do not consider as an additional effort but as their unpretentious contribution to reduce waste, especially (plastic) bags and packaging (e.g., by buying refillable items, products/packages that can be used again, bulky packs rather than small packs). Moreover, they wish to keep control over quantities (e.g., weighing goods) and qualities (e.g., examining substances and supplements) chosen in bulk shops. Second, precycling is deemed as an expression of simplification with a human factor, preferring contact with sales staff to select, measure, weight or pack products, also to overcome anonymity in the shopping process. Precyclers consider themselves as part of a consumer movement or consumption lifestyle and thus prefer active contribution like creating and implementing solutions to sustainability instead of passive contribution, for instance being obligated to follow sustainable measures introduced by the store (Martin & Upham, 2016). Following these insights from our qualitative research, the lifestyle of precycling is understood as a conscious consumer behavior focusing on avoiding or minimizing waste materials by the three behaviors of reject (what you do not need), reduce (what you need) and reuse (what is possible to reuse, even in creative ways). Hereafter, recycling or upcycling, and finally disposal (e.g., rotting the composed rest) may be seen as subsequent behaviors. Precycling might also be connected to other lifestyles such as minimalism (e.g., Craig-Lees & Hill, 2002), frugality (e.g.; Lastovicka et al., 1999) and slow living (e.g., Parkins, 2004). Similar to precyclers, minimalists and frugal persons tend to reduce superfluous goods in daily life including waste and packaging. Likewise, slow living consumers may elaborate consequences of packaging more deeply thereby increasing consciousness for the consequences of their consumption decisions.
While the preliminary qualitative study helps to deepen consumers’ understanding of precycling, it might be valuable to identify precyclers or rate consumers with regard to their degree of applying a precycling lifestyle. Thus, four quantitative studies were conducted to obtain a measure that is able to quantify precycling. The first study (Study 1) focusses on item generation, scale purification and initial testing. Based on previous literature and qualitative insights, a questionnaire is created with eleven items representing the precycling lifestyle (Table 1). In order to improve content validity and clarity, all items are phrased in concrete behaviors instead of vague statements as much as possible. Face validity for these items is checked among ten consumers familiar with this lifestyle beforehand, confirming a high fit with precycling. All items use a five-point Likert scale ranging from (1) = completely disagree to (5) = completely agree. Data has been collected from a sample of 37 non-student adults (59.5 percent female, aged 18-59, 33.6 years on average, SD 13.8). Exploratory factor analyses (principal component analysis with Maximum Likelihood estimator and PROMAX rotation) indicate two initial dimensions (eigenvalues of 2.42 and 1.10). Items 2, 3, 5, 6 and 10 load highly (loadings ≥ .4) on the first factor, while items 4 and 11 load highly on the second factor. Further, a subsequent one-factor EFA (eigenvalue = 2.58) yield that the same five items load highly on this factor. Overall, these five items illustrate sufficient reliability (Cronbach’s α = .80). Since this initial test is limited in sample size, Study 2 now turns to retest the scale in a second study.

Table 1. Items generated for Study 1 and 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Wording</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I have already shopped in ‘bulk stores’ (stores for self-filling, self-bottling).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I consciously buy unpacked products.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>I buy sustainably produced products (e.g., food, clothes).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>I shop regularly on weekly markets and farm shops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>I’m living according to the zero-waste approach of specifically avoiding (packaging) waste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>I generate comparably few (packaging) waste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>I sometimes produce my own cosmetics (e.g., creams, bath additives).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>I consciously separate my waste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>I reuse product packages multiple times.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>I forego unnecessary (packaging) waste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>I utilize products (e.g., food) as fully as possible and without residues.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes. All items developed and surveyed in German language.

In Study 2, a replication analysis is conducted for scale validation. A questionnaire containing the same items as in Study 1 mixed with other measures (see below) has been distributed to a quota sample (50 percent male / 50 percent female) of 192 non-student adults (aged 18-88, 44.7 years on average, SD = 20.6). Initially, EFA’s have been conducted in the same manner as in Study 1. An identical pattern is found: items 2, 3, 5, 6 and 10 load highly on one factor (RMSEA = .05, eigenvalue = 2.97) and display comparable reliability (Cronbach’s α = .83). Further, a confirmatory factor analysis (Maximum Likelihood estimator) is applied relating the derived five-item measure of precycling with three items measuring minimalism (adapted from Iyer & Muncy, 2009) and two items measuring slow living (adapted from Yurtseven & Kaya 2011) as we perceive these two phenomena to be related (qualitative pre-study). This three-factor CFA fits the data well (Chi-square = 60.35, d.f. = 32, CFI = .95, SRMR = .06) as well as indicates sufficient convergent validity (average variance extracted, AVE = .52) and discriminant validity (Fornell & Larcker, 1981; AVE > squared correlation with minimalism [.20] and squared correlation with slow living [.15]). In a nutshell, the five items reliably and validly measure precycling and are perceived distinctly by respondents compared to minimalism and slow living.
Additionally, we regress the precycling measure with seven consumer preferences for a) consumption orientation, b) frequent shopping, c) shopping abdication, d) environmental protection, e) local products, f) reuse of goods and g) durable (instead of short life) goods. All seven preferences are measured with single items, as they can be perceived as concrete-singular, and binary responses. Applying weighted least squares (bootstrapped with 5,000 replications), results indicate that precycling is negatively related to consumption orientation ($\beta = -.34, z = 5.51, p = .00$) and frequent shopping ($\beta = -.30, z = 4.86, p = .00$) tendencies. Moreover, precycling predicts shopping abdication ($\beta = .26, z = 3.82, p = .00$), environmental protection ($\beta = .43, z = 6.19, p = .00$), local product ($\beta = .16, z = 2.29, p = .02$), reuse of goods ($\beta = .17, z = 2.34, p = .02$), and durable goods ($\beta = .36, z = 5.06, p = .00$) preferences. These findings substantiate that the precycling lifestyle is indeed linked to tangible anti-consumption patterns and behaviors.

Two additional studies (Study 3 and 4) further assess the reliability and validity of the precycling measure so far. Study 3 further identifies minimalism, consumer independence, environmental orientation and materialism as predictors of precycling and finds moderating effects of these orientations on precycling, for instance that frugality and mindfulness only jointly affect precycling. Finally, Study 4 uses the recent ‘coffee-to-go’ movement to assess the nomological validity of precycling. It is found that precycling mediates the positive effect of frugality and negative effect of convenience (orientation) on purchase intentions for coffee served to brought along cups and thereby indirectly influences the willingness to pay for those options.

Owing to the fact that measuring lifestyles still shows a lack of academic research (Lastovicka et al., 1999), we hope to contribute in two ways: First and from a theoretical perspective, precycling is proposed as a new form of anti-consumption that potentially manifests recent trends such as zero-waste or waste reduction. Second and from an empirical perspective, our results suggest that precycling is a conscious, control-oriented and active pattern of consumer behavior, which can be measured reliably and validly with minimal effort. However, these initial investigations of precycling require a more complete research agenda. Thus, we call for further research focusing on connected concepts especially covering expressions of anti-consumption such as freecycling. Finally, explaining specific behaviors like preferring less frustrating overpackaging may also help to insert precycling into the growing nomological network of anti-consumption and more sustainable consumer behaviors.

References


Conspicuous Anti-Consumption: The Role of Signaling in Green Demarketing Contexts

Catherine A. Armstrong Soule and Tejvir Singh Sekhon

In 2015, REI asked consumers to “Opt Outside” by participating in outdoor activities rather than shopping on Black Friday. These types of strategies have been classified as green demarketing, referring to a brand’s use of environmental appeals meant to reduce overall category consumption while building the focal brand (Armstrong Soule & Reich, 2015). As environmentally-oriented anti-consumption is more sustainable than “green” consumption and as more companies are using demarketing strategies, it is critical to understand how companies can encourage anti-consumption through demarketing while building their brand equity (García-de-Frutos, Ortega-Egea, & Martínez-del-Río, 2018). One possible mechanism to encourage reduced consumption on a consumer level, and green demarketing on a brand level is via conspicuous anti-consumption signals.

Consumers buy and use products not only for functional utility but also for symbolic benefits. Therefore, a possible deterrent against anti-consumption is the lack of any observable signal, which is inherent in traditional consumption activities and can be a strong motivator in luxury (Veblen, 1899) as well as green consumption (Griskevicius, Tyber, & Van den Bergh, 2010). For example, if a person buys a Patagonia jacket, there is badge value when that jacket is worn and observed by others. However, if one decides instead to not buy a jacket at all (as suggested by the famous Patagonia campaign), there is no visible signal. Others can perceive anti-consumption to be motivated by a lack of economic resources resulting in the loss of status (Nelissen & Meijers, 2011). Though both “green” and “anti” consumption can confer status benefits on consumers as both incur personal costs in order to benefit others, absence of any positive signal for anti-consumption (and the possibility of a negative signal regarding one’s financial status) can encourage even environmentally conscious people to opt for green consumption instead of anti-consumption. The motivating nature of status signals (Han, Nunes, & Dréze, 2010) suggests that adding a signal can mitigate the potential unattractiveness of anti-consumption. This paper explores the link between status-signaling and anti-consumption and tests whether a signal of anti-consumption can benefit the consumer as well as the brand engaging in demarketing.

Before turning to empirical testing, we performed exploratory research with data scraped from social media to discover if use of anti-consumption signaling is associated with higher socioeconomic status. Specifically, we considered the use of REI’s #OptOutside hashtag during the 2017 Black Friday period. Refraining from consumption should be more appealing to consumers with lower socioeconomic status, but we suspected that consumers with higher socioeconomic status could be likely to use conspicuous anti-consumption as a new mechanism to signal status. Through partnership with an anonymous firm that works with Facebook and has access to user data, we collected anonymized, aggregated data for a two-month period around Black Friday, which contained approximately 145,000 stories including “#OptOutside”, with almost 50,000 of those occurring on November 24, 2017.

We compared consumers using the hashtag to the general Facebook population. Consumers signaling their anti-consumption using #OptOutside over-indexed on college education (57.28%, compared with the Facebook population baseline of 45.36%) and graduate school (20.48% vs. 6.09%). Facebook Audience Insights categorize users into Lifestyle groupings...
that can act as proxies for socioeconomic status. The top tier is “Summit Estates,” described by Facebook to be the wealthiest users—those who have “good life, luxury travel, entertainment and consumption of every kind within easy reach.” We found that consumers using #OptOutside over-indexed on this category (5.78% vs. 3.58%), as well as the next three tiers of wealth-related Lifestyle descriptions: Established Elites (3.5% vs. 2.29%), Corporate Connected (3.16% vs. 1.69%) and Top Professionals (5.85% vs. 3.23%). This correlational evidence suggested that consumers belonging to a high SES are more likely to use conspicuous anti-consumption signals. Next, we ran three experimental studies to establish causality and understand the underlying mechanisms for this association.

Study 1

We conducted a 2 (presence vs. absence of anti-consumption signal) x 2 (presence vs. absence of information about the signal) between-subjects experimental study on Amazon Mechanical Turk (n = 204; 39% female). All respondents were shown a picture of a consumer wearing an old jacket. Presence (vs. absence) of the signal was manipulated by adding a patch to the jacket indicating it was repaired. The brand’s demarketing initiative and the consumer’s anti-consumption actions were made known (vs. unknown) by providing information that the jacket was repaired under the company’s “repair and reuse” initiative. Respondents were asked to rate the person on 7-point scales (1=not at all and 7=very much) related to status, wealth, attractiveness, warmth, sincerity and environmental-consciousness. Finally, the respondents indicated their attitude toward the jacket, attitude toward the company, likelihood of buying another product from the company and willingness-to-pay for a new jacket from the company.

Using ANOVA, we found marginal effects of signal on perceived status ($F(200, 3) = 3.00, p = .085$) and wealth ($F(200, 3) = 3.19, p = .079$), such that signal presence resulted in more positive evaluations of the consumer. Further, there was an effect of information about anti-consumption actions on perceived environmental-consciousness of the consumer ($F(200,3) = 46.41, p < .001$). There were no differences on warmth, sincerity or attractiveness (all $p s > .22$), suggesting that the signal impacted status-related perceptions alone with no halo effects. Information about anti-consumption actions also had an effect on purchase intent ($F(200,3) = 23.27, p < .001$), attitude toward the product ($F(200,3) = 7.41, p = .007$), attitude toward the company ($F(200,3) = 38.92, p < .001$) and a marginal effect on willingness-to-pay (WTP) for a new product by the company ($F(200,3) = 3.65, p = .057$). Additionally, the signal had an effect on WTP ($F (200,3) = 4.10, p = .044$) and a marginal effect on attitude toward the company ($F(200,3), = 3.15, p = .078$) demonstrating that presence of a signal led to higher WTP and more positive attitudes towards the brand. It appears that observers form positive evaluations of the anti-consumer and the demarketing brand—provided that the anti-consumption actions are made known either through explicit information provision or an observable signal.

Study 2

In this study, we tested whether an anti-consumption signal can make a low status product more attractive to consumers who seek status. We manipulated the presence (vs. absence) of an anti-consumption signal and the status of the brand (pretested as low vs. high) and measured the need for status of the participants. Amazon MTurk participants (n= 404; 45% female) imagined buying bottled water on a hot summer day. They were shown a picture of a disposable water bottle and were asked to rate WTP for the bottle, willingness to reuse (WTR) the bottle and their need for status (Eastman, Goldsmith, & Flynn, 1999; on a scale of 1-7). Based on a pretest, the water was Nestlé in the low-status and Fiji in the high-status conditions ($M_{Nestle} = 3.06; M_{Fiji} = 5.13; t (30) = 6.12; p < .001$). We manipulated the presence (vs. absence) of an anti-consumption signal with a “I pledge to Reuse” sticker on the bottle.
We found a main effect of brand status ($\beta = 0.74, t = 2.5, p = 0.01$) and a three-way interaction effect of presence of signal, status of the brand and need for status of the participants ($\beta = -0.29, t = -2.13, p = .03$) on WTP while controlling for the participants’ income. To examine the three-way interaction, we split the data into two groups based on brand status following the procedure suggested by Fitzsimons (2008) and Spiller et al. (2013). For the high status brand, there were no interaction effects between presence of the signal and need for status. However, in the case of low status brand, we found a significant interaction effect between presence of the signal and need for status ($\beta = 0.19, t = 2.37, p = 0.02$). To identify the range of values of need for status for which the simple effect of signal was significant, we used the Johnson-Neyman technique (Spiller et al., 2013). This analysis revealed that there was a significant positive effect of presence of an anti-consumption signal on WTP for participants whose need for status was higher than 2.48 ($b_{JN} = .22, SE = .11, p < .05$), suggesting that, when need for status is high, presence of an anti-consumption signal leads to higher WTP. We also found main effects of signal presence ($\beta = 1.69, t = 2.79, p = .006$) and need for status ($\beta = 0.40, t = 2.94, p = 0.004$) on WTP.

Study 3

In this study, we tested if 1) engaging in anti-consumption via repairing a product leads to negative inferences about a consumer’s status and 2) if a brand that signals either status or environmental-consciousness/green motivations could mitigate the negative inferences associated with anti-consumption. Amazon MTurk participants (n= 252; 54 % female) read a typical Saturday morning schedule with a list of household activities for a person named Pat and subsequently reported their evaluations of the person (Sadalla & Krull, 1995; Welte & Anastasio, 2009). We manipulated the presence of the anti-consumption action on the schedule and the status inference via brand. In the “control” condition, no repairing activity appeared. In the anti-consumption condition, the repairing activity was described as “10:30 - 11:00 Repair my old jacket.” In the three branded (low, green, high) conditions, it read “10:30 -11:00 Repair my old Walmart (Patagonia, Gucci) jacket.” After reading the activity list, the participants rated Pat on items related to status, likability, and environmental-consciousness (along with some filler items) on 9-point scales (1=not at all and 9=very much). Then, as a manipulation check, participants also rated Walmart, Patagonia and Gucci (along with some filler brands) on familiarity, status and environmental consciousness. As hypothesized, we found a main effect of condition on perceived status ($F (4,247) = 11.11, p < 0.001$). Planned contrasts revealed that perceived status in the control condition (M= 6.02) was higher than the anti-consumption condition (M= 5.35; t (247) = 2.37, p = 0.02), which was higher than the low-status condition (M=4.49; t (247) = 3.08, p = 0.002). This shows that though repairing a low-status brand leads to decreased status perceptions as it clearly signals resource constraint, just the act of repairing without any brand mention is also considered lower status as compared to the control condition. However, perceived status for a person repairing a high-status brand (i.e. Gucci; M= 6.14) was higher than the anti-consumption condition (M=5.35; t (247) = 2.82, p = 0.005) showing that mentioning a high status brand mitigates the negative status perceptions associated with anti-consumption. We found that repairing a Patagonia jacket (M=5.52) did not mitigate the lower status perceptions as compared to the repair condition (M=4.49; t (247) = .59; p = .55). However, the average familiarity Patagonia was low in the sample (M= 4.4 on a 9-point scale), suggesting that Patagonia might not act as signal of environmental consciousness for all participants. Therefore, we compared participants whose familiarity with Patagonia was higher than the scale mid-point (4.5) to the “repair” condition and found that perceived status was higher for in the green condition (M= 6.09) as compared to a generic product (M= 5.35, F(1,75)= 4.62, p =.035). This provides further evidence that a brand that is a known signal of environmental-consciousness can mitigate the negative status inferences attached to anti-consumption.
Overall, this research will 1) provide evidence of conspicuous anti-consumption, 2) show that observers form positive impressions of both the anti-consumers and the demarketing brands/products, and 3) show that brands engaging in demarketing need to provide consumers with observable signals of anti-consumption and imbue those signals with the required meanings which can be easily decoded by observers. The possibility that an anti-consumption signal can reduce consumption is good news for the planet. Further, it can increase equity of the brands using demarketing and improves impressions of the anti-consumers. As status-signaling is a deep-rooted human desire which manifests as unnecessary consumption, separating the signal from actual consumption can be a practical way in which consumption reduction can become a win-win-win for consumers, brands and society.

References


Tourists go home! Barcelona as a site for anti-consumption and consumer resistance?

Eleni Papaoikonomou, Maria Biendicho, Dolors Setó and Matias Ginieis

Introduction
Anti-consumption has been traditionally understood as the voluntary reduction of consumption of certain brands, companies, product categories or overall consumption levels for a number of reasons (Lee et al., 2009; Iyer and Muncy, 2009; Cherrier, Black, & Lee, 2011). According to Zavestoski (2002) anti-consumption may equate to distaste, resentment or resistance to consumption. Anti-consumption researchers have often discussed the boundaries between the concepts of anti-consumption and consumer resistance (e.g. Lee et al. 2011; Hoffman, 2011; Pentina & Amos, 2011; Amine and Gicquel, 2011), whereas the need to consider them simultaneously in order to provide more complete understandings of non-consumption has also been argued (Cherrier, Black, & Lee, 2011). But as explained by Lee et al., (2011) and Chatzidakis and Lee (2012) the two concepts should not be confused since consumer resistance does not always involve anti-consumption. Instead, both frameworks are adequate to study consumer phenomena of opposition to forces of domination. For example, in consumer research, there are numerous instances of activists who protest against certain brands such as the Hummer cars (Luedicke et al, 2009), Starbucks (Thompson and Arsel, 2004) or materialistic lifestyles in general (Kozinets and Handelman 2004).

In this study, we have selected an empirical case that could make use of both the frameworks of consumer resistance and anti-consumption. More specifically we chose to focus on the protests of residents against massive tourism in the city of Barcelona. These protests include various peaceful marches against tourism and price speculation under the motto “Barcelona is not for sale” (Levante el mercantile valenciano, 12/08/2017; El Diario.es, 28/01/2017) or more radical attacks such as the attack to a tourist bus and punctures to tourist bikes (CadenaSer, 01/08/2017; 20minutos.es, 2017). The local government has condemned these attacks and embraces touristic activity as beneficial for the city but at the same time they have taken measures against illegal tourist apartments in the city (e.g. fines to Airbnb) acknowledging that tourism has to be sustainable for the city and its residents (Local Government Barcelona, 2018).

With the aim to broaden research on anti-consumption, we adopt a different perspective to enrich existing understandings of the phenomenon in three ways. First, the study complements existing research by examining a different context, the city of Barcelona as a site for anti-consumption. The city is consumed simultaneously by its residents and the tourists/visitors, although local population’s diversity and activities can also become an item for tourist consumption (Cunin and Rinaudo, 2008). The objective of the protests is to reduce the affluence of tourists to Barcelona or in other words to minimize the consumption of Barcelona as a tourist site. Furthermore, the consumption of a city involves a number of different markets and products that are related to the touristic activity as well as the consumption of public resources and spaces. As such, the study of this context is of interest for the different market actors involved.
Second, in our case, there is a clash between those that consume the city as residents and those that consume it as tourists, where the former through their protests intent to limit the consumption of the city by the latter. Therefore, anti-consumption discourses are not initiated by the consumer of the product, but by other actors. In other words, the research focus is placed not on how anti-consumption is actually practiced but on how it is encouraged by antagonistic consumers of the city. This would constitute a second research contribution that responds to calls in anti-consumption research to go beyond a micro, psychological focus and examine different actors who mobilize anti-consumption (Chatzidakis and Lee, 2012). Certainly, in tourist studies this is not a new phenomenon. Russo (2002), for instance, discusses how tourism in heritage cities can be unsustainable studying the case of Venice as an example. Among the problems mentioned are the fragmentation of the city, the gradual gentrification due to inaccessible housing prices, the ‘occupation’ of the city and of urban facilities by tourists versus the city residents etc. Previously, zoning and applying limits of acceptable change have been employed as governmental strategies to manage tourism in Marine Protected Areas (Roman, Dearden and Rollins, 2007). The Thai government has also limited tourist activities in their islands to protect their natural resources (Marcus, 2016). However, in the case of Barcelona, residents engage in anti-consumption and resistance discourses and performances to encourage placing limits in the consumption of their city. As suggested by Varman and Belk (2009), we also place emphasis on the broader institutional context as to how it may affect anti-consumption and resistance discourses. Third, we adopt a different methodological lens by examining how such discourses are constructed in online media and how the audience responds to them. This methodological approach fits with our purpose to go beyond more individualistic understandings of anti-consumption placing it in a broader context where different market actors can be found.

Methodology and Preliminary Findings
This is a qualitative exploratory study that has been carried out based on the tenets of Grounded Theory. Grounded Theory combines induction and deduction for the generation of theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). It permits the use of a wide range of data sources as long as they fit the study, whereas other qualitative traditions, such as phenomenology, mainly employ interviews and observation (Goulding, 2002). The implications for the research design are various; simultaneous data recollection and analysis, theoretical sampling that lasts until saturation of the emerging themes. The data recollection
consists of two phases. First, Factiva was used to locate all news related to the protests in Barcelona. Even though initially the search was extended for a longer period, the results were not relevant so the search was finally focused on year 2017 because this is when residents’ protests were intensified. Combinations of keywords were employed that each generated a number of news articles (see Table 1). The keywords used were "Tourismophobia; Antitourism; Protests; Barcelona" [in spanish].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keywords</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourismophobia and Barcelona.</td>
<td>2907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antitourism and Barcelona.</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antitourism and Tourismophobia and Barcelona.</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antitourism and Protests and Barcelona.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourismophobia and Protests and Barcelona.</td>
<td>339</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tourismophobia and Antitourism and Protests and Barcelona.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antitourism and Anti-consumption and Barcelona.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tourismophobia and Anti-consumption and Barcelona.</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3404</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The authors wanted to ensure that finally the search would include all relevant news articles. After removing all duplicates finally 3133 news articles were used for data analysis. In total, 48 online national newspapers are represented in the final dataset.

Second, in a later stage in-depth interviews will be carried out with members of Arran, a leftist association who openly criticizes the widespread growth of tourism in the city of Barcelona. At the moment, data recollection and analysis are still in process. Here we present some preliminary findings of the data analysis of online news and comments sections. The data are read by the researchers and emergent themes are identified following the coding procedures suggested by Grounded Theory (open, axial and selective coding).

The emerging categories show i) how anti-consumption discourses are being constructed in online media ii) the reactions they generate to the general audience. Anti-consumption discourses seem to be often associated with extreme leftist parties linked with antiglobalization ideologies and consumer culture critiques. Certainly, in previous research it is seen that besides ethical, symbolic and environmental concerns (Iyer and Muncy, 2009; Chatzidakis and Lee, 2012), anti-consumption may be driven by a more general critique of the free market economy and globalization and/or other political ideologies such as nationalism and religious fundamentalism (Sandikci and Ekici, 2009; Varman and Belk, 2009; Hoffman, 2011). However, the construction of anti-consumption discourses tends to be tainted with negative connotations rendering it as the wrong, irrational and radical option.

“We only talk about tourismophobia where there are extreme leftist parties. The arrival of news options for transport or tourist apartments has allowed us access to new markets.” (News Article, La Opinión de Tenerife, 4/11/2017).

“The 'abertzales' [Basque nationalist/separatist left] join the anti-tourist campaign of the Catalan radicals” (News Article, Araba Press, 03/08/2017).
“The turismophobia of Colau [leftist mayor of Barcelona] threatens the number one industry of the city” (News Article, ABC, 06/11/2016).

Similar connotations can be found the comments section, especially in news about the attack to the tourist bus or about the ongoing campaign to minimize touristic activity. The arguments against minimizing tourism are mostly rational and economic.

What would be the solution according to these people, prohibit tourism? That only the rich travel by plane as it happened 20-30 years ago? How can we pretend that mass tourism does not come to a city like Barcelona?? (Comment to News Article, El Periodico, 30/07/2017).

However, the audience also allies with the anti-consumption discourses emphasizing how massive tourism affects the city.

And what if they start to fine them every time they dirty all our neighborhoods with their trash? I do not believe that absolutely nobody sees them doing it. (Comment to News Article, El Periodico, 30/07/2017).

In Barcelona you cannot live with this tremendous plague that is comparable to that of rats and cockroaches together. We have to endure so much, public transport awful, overcrowded streets, noise whenever and wherever they [tourists] want, if there is a tourist flat next to you, then you're stuck, tourists sleeping on the street, vomiting in the streets. Can there really be someone who is happy with this?? (Comment to News Article, 20Minutes.es, 13/08/2017)

Previous research in anti-consumption has associated it with simpler lifestyles (Black and Cherrier, 2010), meaningful lives (Zavestoski, 2002) and consumer well-being (Lee and Ahn, 2016). Here, the concepts of quality of life and consumer well-being emerge again but not within the context of individual lifestyles. Instead, a relationship is established between massive tourism and the quality of life in the city for any resident.

References


Anti-consumption and pro-consumption content published by online influencers: Which one generates more engagement?

Nieves García-de-Frutos and Antonia Estrella-Ramón

Introduction
People around the world are largely committed and engaged with social media applications, which are involved in the most aspects of life (Alalwan et al., 2017). Social media offer brands the opportunity to reach their target audience in a less obtrusive way than traditional media (Boerman et al., 2017) generating interactions between customer-firm (C2F) firm-customer (F2C), firm-firm (F2F) and customer-customer (C2C) (Yadav & Pavlou, 2014). In this sense, recommendations made by online influencers are considered more reliable and valuable sources of information than brands commercial information (Hsu, 2013). Each social media has unique features that make their users interact with them in different ways (Coelho et al., 2016). YouTube has been selected for current work for being one of the leading social networks (with more than a billion users (YouTube, 2018)) that has received scant attention from academic research (Alalwan et al., 2017 p.1185), especially from the C2C communication perspective. In YouTube, communities of consumers have emerged around different fields, being beauty one of the most relevant ones, with some beauty influencers reaching audiences of millions of subscribers. Knowing their potential, brands have partnered with beauty influencers in different ways, so it is claimed that the beauty community has become quite consumption focused. In latest years, part of the community attempted to break this trend, talking about consumerism and reviewing products that they are not purchasing. However, little is known about the effect of such anti-consumption messages on their viewers.

Current research is focused on C2C interactions and uncontrolled communications generated by influencers in YouTube within the framework of anti-consumption and pro-consumption practices. Previous research about social media content analysis and classification has been mainly developed on Facebook fan-pages (Tafesse & Wien, 2017), Twitter and blogs (Ashley & Tuten, 2015), and even in brands’ YouTube channels (Pirouz et al., 2015). In addition, extant content classifications are mainly based on the dichotomy between transactional and emotional content (Tafesse, 2016; Tafesse & Wien, 2017). Therefore, current research analyses the less explored differences between pro-consumption vs. anti-consumption content published in YouTube by beauty influencers. Results of this research are expected to clarify which kind of content is more or less effective generating users’ engagement.

Literature review
An overview of beauty gurus and (anti)haul videos
YouTube videos made it possible that products that traditionally were privately used at home became public, so this is the case of cosmetics—or beauty products. Among other types of videos (see Choi and Bhem-Morawitz, 2017 for a typology of beauty videos), the haul format is characterized for having “beauty gurus” presenting their latest purchases while evaluating the products (Harnish & Bridges, 2016). Acknowledging the potential of beauty hauls, cosmetic brands attempted to take advantage of such trend by accelerating product launches, which provided beauty gurus with new material to talk about in their videos—and thus create more hauls that encourage more consumption among their followers. On the contrary, anti-haul videos were born as a response to the consumerism-focused content available in YouTube beauty guru’s channels. The origin of anti-haul content traces back to Kimberly
Clark video entitled “What I’m not gonna buy-Holiday 2015” (Clark, 2015), where Kimberly explains it aims to counteract the growing consumerism in the beauty YouTube community. Soon other beauty gurus imitated it. In anti-haul videos, beauty gurus talk about specific products or brands that they are actively avoiding, while providing viewers with an explanation for their rejection. Usually those reasons match the array of motives for brand avoidance depicted by Lee et al. (2009): experiential (i.e., uncomfortable packaging, poor performance), symbolic (i.e. false marketing claims, inadequate celebrity endorsement), and moral avoidance (i.e. unethical practices, unrealistic ethical claims). Attending to Iyer and Muncy (2009) classification, anti-haul videos are mainly manifestations from anti-loyal consumers, since YouTubers often emphasize they talk about their personal perspective and experience.

Theoretical framework and research hypotheses
Following the Stimulus-Organism-Response (SOR) framework, which is based on Social Learning theory, previous academic research about social media can be classified in ‘motives’ (that drive the communication created by each actor), ‘content’ (which actors generate: MGC and UGC), ‘network structure’ (the environment), and ‘social roles and interactions’ (because actors engage in different types of interactions) (Peters et al., 2013). This research is focused on evaluating responses to the different types of content element within the YouTube organism, considering content generated by individuals that play a specific social role within the platform—the influencers.

The extant literature has demonstrated the applicability of Social Learning theories from Bandura (1977; 2009) for explaining the influence of UGC published in social networks on their audience (e.g., Choi-Behm-Morawitz, 2017; Nejad et al., 2014). In particular, research has shown how media models—i.e., individuals that appear in communication channels—are able to influence learning process (Bandura, 1977). In current work, beauty gurus are the media models that exert influence through their YouTube channels. Beauty gurus receive attention and compliments because of showing and using cosmetic products on their videos, which may be perceived as a desirable situation by their audience (Bandura, 1977). On the other hand, when anti-consumption behaviour is encouraged—i.e., in anti-haul videos—beauty gurus may also receive attention and compliments, for being honest and going against the consumerist trend. Such rewards can be also perceived as positive reinforcements for individuals and the anti-consumption behaviour is also likely to become imitated (Bandura, 1977).

It is possible that individuals watching YouTube videos engage in other behaviours reflecting their attitude and commitment to (anti)consumption practices. Such actions, a priori, may consist on liking, commenting or sharing the videos, which comprises engagement (Bonsón et al., 2014)—engagement could encourage future actions of buying (and non-buying) these products. Therefore, the following exploratory hypotheses are tested in this research.

H1: There are differences between anti-consumption (anti-haul videos) and pro-consumption (haul, favourite products and similar videos) content in the different elements comprising users’ engagement.

Empirical research
Research context
To develop the empirical part of this research the fashion and beauty YouTube category has been chosen. YouTube is one of the most important social media channels for beauty and fashion brands. Following this, more than 5.3 million of beauty videos were published on YouTube in 2016 and this kind of content generated more than 55 billion views per month.
alone during that year (Statista, 2018a). Also in 2016, beauty influencers and independent content creators generated about 97.4% of the conversation and buzz on social media about beauty brands on YouTube (Statista, 2018b). All these figures reveal the paramount role of beauty content generated by influencers on social media in general and YouTube in particular.

Data collection process and measurement of variables
Data for this research was manually collected for 166 videos published from July 2017 to January 2018 in YouTube by 83 influencers in their respective channels. Using the YouTube’s search engine from a browser with a clear browsing history, anti-consumption videos were searched using the keywords “anti-haul” obtaining a sample of 83 channels with an anti-consumption video during the specified period of time. Within each channel, the pro-consumption video closest (in time) to the publication of the anti-consumption video was identified and included in the sample. Variables collected for this research include information related to each video, such as publication time (Sabate et al., 2014), video popularity (Chatzoupolou et al., 2010), and video topic (pro-consumption and anti-consumption). Video topic is measured through a binary (“0”: for anti-consumption video; “1”: for pro-consumption video). Video popularity, considered as a subset of the engagement measure (in the current version of YouTube number of shares for each video are not publicly shown) is operationalized as a combination of number of likes, dislikes, comments and views received by each video (adapted from Bonsón et al. (2014) and Coelho et al. (2016); Chatzoupolou et al., 2010).

Analysis and results
The Mann-Whitney U test is applied to identify significant differences between pro-consumption and anti-consumption content published by social media influencers. This non-parametric statistical analysis technique is the most appropriate for the analysis of two independent samples for which the grouping variable is categorical (i.e., video topic) and independent variables (i.e., engagement components, such as number of views, comments, likes and dislikes) do not comply with the assumptions of normality and homoscedasticity (Sheskin, 2000). Descriptive statistics are shown in Tables 1 and 2. Mann-Whitney U test results are shown in Table 3, where significant differences between pro-consumption and anti-consumption content can be observed in terms of number of comments and dislikes. Videos under an anti-consumption framework receive, on average, more comments and dislikes (see Table 2). No significant differences were found for the number of views and likes (see Table 2). Overall, the results are able to provide only partial support for H1.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for the whole sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean (S.D.)</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of views</td>
<td>74,651.64 (251,728.38)</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>2,003,341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of comments</td>
<td>391.35 (804.83)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of likes</td>
<td>2,817.94 (8,206.22)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>64,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of dislikes</td>
<td>92,76 (222,07)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Descriptive statistics by pro and anti-consumption sub-samples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Anti-consumption content sample</th>
<th>Pro-consumption content sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of views</td>
<td>41,904.22 (115,166.75)</td>
<td>41,762.54 (157,230.57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of comments</td>
<td>298.00 (508.12)</td>
<td>251.74 (650.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of likes</td>
<td>1,725.56 (4,920.81)</td>
<td>1,904.16 (7,565.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of dislikes</td>
<td>92.88 (176.05)</td>
<td>45.46 (131.22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Mann-Whitney U test results for video topic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of views</th>
<th>Number of comments</th>
<th>Number of likes</th>
<th>Number of dislikes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mann-Whitney U</td>
<td>2,644.00</td>
<td>2,619.50</td>
<td>2,870.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilcoxon W</td>
<td>5,884.00</td>
<td>5,859.50</td>
<td>6,110.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>-1.90</td>
<td>-1.98**</td>
<td>-1.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < 0.01; ** p < 0.05; *** p < 0.1

Discussion and conclusions
This research is focused on C2C interactions and uncontrolled communications generated by influencers in YouTube within the framework of anti-consumption and pro-consumption practices. Results of this research indicate that there are some interesting differences between anti-consumption and pro-consumption content in terms of total number comments and dislikes. In both cases, the average number of comments and dislikes were higher for anti-consumption framed videos. Given that the anti-consumption framework is employed in contrast to the dominant consumption content, videos under the former category may create a greater controversy on the viewer, generating thus the dislikes result. Being an unusual kind of content for the beauty community can also highlight viewers’ curiosity. In turn, this may rise a debate between pro and anti-consumers, which would explain the higher amount of comments received by anti-consumption framed videos. On the other hand, no significant differences between pro vs. anti-consumption videos regarding the number of views and likes. This may mean that the followers of the channel are going to watch any kind of video posted in the channel, and that “lovers gonna love” the videos of their favourite YouTubers besides their content. In this respect, this paper has important theoretical and practical implications: (1) results support the classification of video content attending to pro/anti-consumption framing; (2) results do not offer clear evidence for stating that engagement with anti-consumption framed-videos is used as subrogate for giving visibility to adherence to anti-consumption practices. However, more research is needed to understand the reasons underlying levels of engagement achieved by anti-consumption and pro-consumption contents published by online influencers (e.g., delve into the comments of anti-consumption videos, consider the potential effect of additional factors, apply a causal research design).

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 seven 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 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.

For more information about ICAR please visit [www.icar.auckland.ac.nz](http://www.icar.auckland.ac.nz)