ASSOCIATION FOR CONSUMER RESEARCH

ICAR/ NACRE 2010 PROCEEDINGS

Anti-consumption and Consumer Resistance: Concepts, concerns, conflicts, and convergence.

Euromed Management, Marseille

June, 25-26 2010

Les Docks atrium 10.3 RDC
10 place de la Joliette,
13002 Marseille

Foreword by Professor Bernard Cova

Consumer resistance and anti-consumption are without doubt topics of growing interest not only in consumer behaviour studies but also in the fields of sociology and cultural studies. Marseilles and the whole Mediterranean Basin appears to be a relevant place to discuss these topics. Indeed, as Thierry Fabre a major thinker from Marseilles coined, "the American way of life, which defines a consumption standard that exists at a global scale, is not our destiny. Markets and exchanges may have always been at the heart of Mediterranean societies, but money has never been our main value. Trading things involves first and foremost trading with other people, and we feel that the economic domain continues to be subordinated to the human one". The Mediterranean way of life has not surrendered to this new world order. In the wake of the late Michel de Certeau, we can state that whereas certain pundits assert that an economic logic is the best way to organise life, assigning everyone and everything a place and a role, Mediterranean people react by silently extracting themselves from this conformist equation. They seek to invent their own daily lives through the way they do things, using subtle ruses and tactical resistance to divert products and codes for their own benefit, re-appropriating space and the utilisation thereof.

The mission of Euromed Management takes into account of this Mediterranean way of thinking. Euromed Management not only has a vision of a business school, but it has indeed rather an understanding and interpretation of an economic reality. The Euro-Mediterranean history and tradition, that is one of multiple appearances and different truths, gives today a rich perspective to what is identified as the Euro-Mediterranean region. Marseilles and its region, crossroads of different worlds and a European capital city, has acquired a truly European sociology with a typical managerial and social thinking.

The purpose of this first symposium hosted by Euromed Management is to provide a forum for international researchers sharing interest on Anti-consumption and Consumer Resistance, in order to identify redundancies and differences between these two topics. While they are still in the early stages of a growing interest, scarce research has examined their various conflicts and/or convergences in accounting for consumers' ways of opposing, escaping or altering consumption. Concepts, frameworks, theories and fields settings that can advance their study and fresh examination of their tensions will be debated.

Conference Chairs and Guest Editors of the European Journal of Marketing (EJM)'s special issue on "Anti-consumption and Consumer resistance"

Michael S.W. Lee, The University of Auckland Business School, New Zealand
Dominique Roux, University Paris-Sud 11
Hélène Cherrier, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia
Bernard Cova, Euromed Management, Marseille, France

Competitive paper Session Reviewers

Abdelmajid	Amine	IRG - University Paris-Est
Zeynep	Arsel	Concordia University, Canada
Soren	Askegaard	University of Southern Denmark, Denmark
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Russ	Belk	Schulich School of Business, Canada
Mike	Beverland	University of Bath School of Management, UK
Gaël	Bonnin	Edhec Business School, France
Sami	Bonsu	Schulich School of Business, Canada
Janice	Brace-Govan	University of Melbourne, Australia
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Denise	Conroy	The University of Auckland, New Zealand
Daniele	Dalli	Pisa University, Italy
Denis	Darpy	University Paris Dauphine, France
Lenita	Davis	Culverhouse College of Commerce, USA
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Michael	Ewing	Monash University, Australia
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Isabelle	Fontaine	IRG - University Paris-Est, France
Margaret	Graig-Lees	Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand
Amir	Grinstein	Ben-Gurion University, Israel
Denis	Guiot	University Paris Dauphine, France
Patricia	Gurviez	AgroParisTech, France
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Paul	Harrison	Deakin Business School, Australia
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Kim	Humphery	The Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Australia
Michael	Hyman	New Mexico State University, USA
Sara	Jaeger	The New Zealand Institute for Plant & Food Research Limited, New Zealand
Robert	Kleine	Ohio Northern University, USA
Susan	Kleine	Bowling Green State University, USA
Rob	Kozinets	Schulich School of Business, Canada
Jayne	Krisjanous	Victoria University, New Zealand
John	Lastovicka	Arizona State University, USA
Diane	Martin	University of Portland, USA
Stella	Minahan	Deakin Business School, Australia
Jenny	Mish	University of Notre Dame, USA
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Liz	Parsons	Keele University, UK
Maria	Piacentini	Lancaster University, UK
Sobh	Rana	Qatar University, United Arab Emirates
Simona	Romani	University of Sassari, Italy
Özlem	Sandıkcı	Bilkent University, Turkey
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Lionel	Sitz	EM Lyon, France
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Isabelle	Szmigin	Birmingham Business School, UK
James	Taylor	The College of New Jersey, USA
Marc	Vanhuele	HEC Paris, France
Richard	Varey	Waikato Management School, New Zealand
Ekant	Veer	University of Canterbury, New Zealand
Cleopatra	Veloutsu	University of Glasgow, UK
Luca	Visconti	Universita' Bocconi, Italy
Gianfranco	Walsh	University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany

PROGRAM Friday 25th June (Morning)

Time	Room
8:30	*(Axa Mare Nostrum)*
8.45 -10:30	**Session 1 (Chair: Dominique Roux)** **Brief Welcoming speech** **Paper 1. The intellectual structure of the anticonsumption and consumer resistance field: An author co-citation analysis** **Marco Galvagno,** University of Catania, Italy **Paper 2. Anti-consumption and consumer resistance: A conceptual review** **Meng-Kuan Lai,** Business Administration Department, National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan **Bayu Aji Aritejo,** Business Administration Department, National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan **Paper 3. Consumer Resistance and/or Anti-Consumption? An Analysis of Non-consumption in Sustainable Practices** **Helene Cherrier,** Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia **Iain Black,** The University of Sydney, Australia **Michael S W Lee,** The University of Auckland Business School, New Zealand
10:30-11:00	**Break**
11:00- 12:30	**Session 2 (Chair: Mike S W Lee)** **Paper 4. Consumer resistance in ordinary interactions: Some lessons from Friends** **Lionel Sitz,** EM Lyon, OCE Research Center, France **Paper 5. "Have you Heard that…" Anti-Consumption Morals of Urban Legends** **Stefano Pace,** Università Bocconi, Milan, Italy **Paper 6. Privileging Localism and Visualizing Nationhood in Anti-Consumption** **Rohit Varman,** Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, India **Russell W. Belk,** Schulich School of Business, York University, Toronto, Canada
12:30-1:30	**Lunch**

PROGRAM Friday 25th June (Afternoon)

Time	(Axa Mare Nostrum)
1:30-3:00	**Session 3 (Chair: Hélène Cherrier)** **Paper 7. Learning to resist: the challenges faced by beginner voluntary simplifiers** **Paul W. Ballantine,** University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand **Paula Arbouw,** University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand **Lucie K. Ozanne,** University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand **Paper 8. The Freegan Phenomenon: Anti-Consumption or Consumer Resistance?** **Iryna Pentina,** University of Toledo, USA **Clinton Amos,** Augusta State University, USA **Paper 9. Dumpster divers: resisting by consuming the market** **Amanda J. Brittain,** Aromatherapy Company, Auckland, New Zealand **Karen V. Fernandez,** University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand
3:00-3:30	**Break**
3:30-5:00	**Session 4 (Chair: Sharyn Rundle-Thiele)** **Paper 10. Consumer Resistance between Conflict and Cooperation. The *Extreme* Case of Orphan Drugs** **Isabelle Chalamon,** Groupe ESC Dijon-Bourgogne, CEREN, Dijon, France **Paper 11. A forage into Deliberate Self-persuasion within Anti-Consumption and Consumer Resistance** **Louise M. Hassan,** School of Management and languages, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, UK **Edward M. K. Shiu,** Strathclyde Business School, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, UK **Paper 12. Ideology, Evidence and Anti-Consumption: A Rhetorical Analysis of Responses to Obesity Prevention Measures** **Janet Hoek,** Department of Marketing, University of Otago, New Zealand **Rachael McLean,** Department of Medicine, University of Otago, New Zealand **Andrea Insch,** Department of Marketing, University of Otago, New Zealand
5:00	
5:30	
6:00	
6:30	
7:00-onwards	**Event Dinner: Meet at the Docks to depart by Bus.**

PROGRAM Saturday 26th June (Morning)

Time	Room	
Time	*Room*	
8:30	*(Axa Mare Nostrum)*	
9:00-10:30	**Session 5 (Chair: Bernard Cova)** **Paper 13. Anti-Consumption as a Means of Saving Jobs. Why Consumers Boycott Companies that Close Down Factories** **Stefan Hoffmann,** Technical University of Dresden, Dresden, Germany **Paper 14. Consumption Expressions of Ideological Resistance** **Cristel Antonia Russell,** University of Auckland, New Zealand **Dale W. Russell,** University of California, Berkeley, USA **Paper 15. Resistance to advertising and boycott: An international comparison** **Patrice Cottet,** University of Reims and Champagne School of Management (REPONSE), Reims, France **Jean-Marc Ferrandi,** ONIRIS, France **Marie-Christine Lichtlé,** University of Burgundy, CERMAB-LEG, Dijon, France	
10:30-11:00	Break	
	(Pénélope)	*(Kalliste et Cassandre)*
11:00-12:30	**Session 6 (Chair: Mike S W Lee)** **Paper 16. Deviance, Resistance and Consumption** **Yohan Gicquel,** IRG - University Paris-Est **Abdelmajid Amine,** IRG - University Paris-Est **Paper 17. Consumer cynicism: from resistance to anti-consumption in a disenchanted world?** **Philippe Odou,** Faculté de Finance Banque Comptabilité, Université Lille Nord de France, France **Pauline de Pechpeyrou,** Institut de Management de le la Distribution, Université Lille Nord de France, France **Paper 18. Inter-relationships between desired and undesired selves and anti-consumption** **Katerina Karanika,** Lancaster University, Lancaster, UK **Margaret K. Hogg,** Lancaster University, Lancaster, UK	**Session 7 (Chair: Iain Black)** **JCB special issue workshop**
12:30-1:30	Lunch	

PROGRAM Saturday 26th June (Afternoon)

Time	(Pénélope)	(Kalliste et Cassandre)
1:30-3:00	**Session 8 (Chair: Giana Eckhardt)** **Paper 19. The Boundaries of Anti-consumerism: Breaking the Glass Floor** **Mathilde Szuba,** University of Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris, France **Nil Ozcaglar-Toulouse,** University Lille Nord de France, Lille School of Management Research Center (LSMRC), Lille, France **Paper 20. Consumer resistance to green innovations: the case of natural gas vehicles** **Klaus-Peter Wiedmann** **Nadine Hennigs** **Lars Pankalla** **Martin Kassubek** **Barbara Seegebarth** Institute of Marketing and Management, Leibniz University of Hannover, Hannover, Germany **Paper 21. Differences in the Ideologies of Slow Food Supporters** **Miranda Mirosa,** Marketing Department, University of Otago, New Zealand **Rob Lawson,** Marketing Department, University of Otago, New Zealand **Ben Wooliscroft** Marketing Department, University of Otago, New Zealand	**Session 9 (Chair: Sharyn Rundle-Thiele)** **Journal of Social MKTG discussion**
3:00-3:30	Break	

PROGRAM Saturday 26th June (Afternoon)

Time	(Pénélope)	(Kalliste et Cassandre)
3:30-4.30	**Session 10 (Chair: Hélène Cherrier)** **Paper 22. The (post-human) consumer, the (post-avian) chicken and the (post-object) Eglu: towards a material-semiotics of anti-consumption** **Shona Bettany** **Ben Kerrane** Bradford University School of Management, Bradford, UK **Paper 23. From consumer resistance to anti-consumption? Insights from downloaders' careers** **Renaud Garcia-Bardidia,** Université Nancy 2, IUT Epinal, CEREFIGE, Epinal, France **Jean-Philippe Nau,** Université Nancy 2, IAE, CEREFIGE, Nancy, France **Eric Rémy,** Université Rouen, IAE, NIMEC, Rouen, France	**Session 11 (Chair: Michal Carrington)** **Paper 24. Resistance to Ritual Practice: Exploring Perceptions of Others** **Pete Nuttall,** School of Management, University of Bath, Bath, UK **Julie Tinson, Marketing Division,** Stirling Management School, University of Stirling, Stirling, UK **Paper 25. Parents' resistance to marketing influence attempts on their children: identification of motivations and manifestations** **Lydiane Nabec,** Université Paris-Sud, Paris, PESOR, France, **Isabelle Fontaine,** IRG - University Paris-Est, Paris, France
4.30- 5:15	*(Axa Mare Nostrum)* **Panel on consumer tribes, Anti-consumption and Consumer resistance** **Bernard Cova,** Euromed Management, Marseille, France **Robert Kozinets,** Schulich School of Business, York University, Toronto, Canada	
5:30		
6:00		
6:30		
7:00		
7:30- Onwards	**Dinner own arrangements**	

Session 1
Chair: Dominique Roux

Paper 1. **The intellectual structure of the anticonsumption and consumer resistance field:**
An author co-citation analysis

Marco Galvagno, University of Catania, Italy
mgalvagno@unict.it

Introduction

Over the past two decades, studies regarding anti-consumption and consumer resistance have gained increasing attention in academic literature. Although most of the contributors to this field of inquiry share the broad underlying idea that today consumers are more capable to resist corporate marketing actions and have greater expertise in terms of their consumption, there is still much confusion about the differences and similarities between anti-consumption and consumer resistance, and a great degree of heterogeneity with regard to the approaches followed and the theories used as conceptual building blocks. The present study is an attempt to overcome the aforementioned limitations in a more formal manner, to examine the intellectual structure of the field, and identify its main research trends, as well as its boundaries and the core subject matters treated within it.

The first basic research question thus becomes:

1. Is there evidence—from the citers' perspective—of groups of authors developing themes of research that characterize and define the anti-consumption and consumer resistance field of enquiry?

More specifically, we seek to:

1.1 identify groups of anti-consumption and consumer resistance authors whose work is characterized by similar topics;

1.2 explore the specialized area or approaches that characterize and define anti-consumption and consumer resistance in terms of the formal publication record.

The second research question focuses on studying the diversity, if any, between the two concepts and the related literature.

2. Is there any difference between anti-consumption and consumer resistance concepts and their use in the minds of the citers?

Method

The analysis has been conducted following the author co-citation method (White and Griffith, 1981) applied to the literature regarding anti-consumption and consumer resistance present in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) of Thomson-ISI. In co-citation analysis, a set of authors is selected to represent a research area. Relationships between these authors are then analyzed using co-citation counts, as similarity measures, and multivariate analysis techniques, as analyzing tools, in order to study the intellectual structure of a research field and to infer some of the characteristics of the corresponding scientific community. In general, two authors are considered as being co-cited when they appear together in the same reference list of a subsequent article.

Sample selection

In order to ensure that only influential authors who had a significant impact on the field were included in the study, two different subsets were created. For the first subset we looked at the reference section of every article published in the earlier special issues on anti-consumption and consumer resistance of *Psychology & Marketing* (2002) and *Journal of Business Research* (2009), and constructed a list of those authors cited at least three times. For the second subset, we constructed another list with authors who have written articles whose title, abstract, or keywords contain the terms "anti-consumption" and "consumer resistance". The sample for analysis was created by selecting those authors present in at least one of the two subsets. The initial list was of 124 authors, which were reduced to the most cited by filtering authors by 30 citations (Culnan, 1986). The Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) of Thomson-ISI, with a time span from 1986 to 2009, was used for this purpose. The filtered sample contained 47 authors.

Data analysis

A cross-citation frequency matrix of 47 by 47 was created by pairing each author with every other author, where the cells represent the number of times each pair of authors has been cited. For subsequent analysis, in order to standardize the data and avoid possible scale effects, as well as reducing the number of zeros in the matrix, the raw co-citation matrix was converted into a matrix of Pearson's correlation coefficients (Rowlands, 1999). Three complementary multivariate analyses were conducted to display the inter-author relationships in our correlation matrix (Culnan, 1986; McCain, 1990): (1) non-metric multidimensional scaling was employed to map relationships between the authors; (2) cluster analysis was used to group the authors in terms of similarities; and (3) factor analysis was used to associate single authors with a given factor.

Results

To address the first concern of this study (RQ 1.1), which is the identification of groups of anti-consumption and consumer resistance authors whose work is characterized by similar topics, the correlation matrix was subjected to multidimensional scaling (MDS) and hierarchical cluster analysis. MDS consisted in projecting the authors on a two-dimensional map. The result of this analysis was obtained using the ALSCAL routine of the SPSS statistical program. The hierarchical clustering algorithm (using Ward's hierarchical method) was applied to group significantly-related authors. Results of the analysis are depicted in Figure 1, in which the six groups of authors obtained by performing the clustering procedure were superimposed on the MDS graph.

To address the second objective of this study (RQ 1.2), which is to reveal the specialized area or approaches that characterize and define anti-consumption and consumer resistance in terms of the formal publication record, factor analysis of the co-citation matrix was used to identify those authors making significant contributions to a theme. If cluster analysis showed six, well unconnected, groups representing researched themes, factor analysis is of use to interpret the intellectual connections among authors and their schools of though. Table 2 shows the results of this analysis. As can be observed, all of the information is summarized in nine factors. The six authors that loaded heavily on more than one factor (Kozinets, Thompson, Holt, Belk, Penaloza, and Markus) are the bridge authors that influence multiple research approaches and indicate a strong interest in their work by authors working in two otherwise distinct specialized areas.

To answer to the third question of this study (RQ 2), we retrieved from the SSCI of Thomson-ISI all papers with titles, abstracts, or keywords containing the expression "anti-consumption" and all papers containing the expression "consumer resistance". This yielded two different sets of works: one set of 21 contributions on "anti-consumption" and another set of 39 contributions on "consumer resistance". Afterwards, we counted and recorded the total number of citations received from each of the 47 authors in figure 1 inside the reference section of every article in the two subsets.

In order to clarify the origins and the ideas the two literatures built on, two lists were prepared, one referring to the authors that have been cited in the "anti-consumption" literature and the other referring to the authors that have been cited in the "consumer resistance" literature. Figure 2 shows how the articles within the two literatures of anti-consumption and consumer resistance are distributed among the nine research approaches identified by the co-citation analysis.

The considerations are two-fold. On the one hand, and not surprisingly, Consumer Culture Theory and Postmodern Consumer Research approaches are quite relevant to both anti-consumption and consumer resistance literatures. On the other hand, anti-consumption studies are more multi-disciplinary and founded on Voluntary Simplicity, Social Economics and Organizational Psychology approaches, whereas consumer resistance studies have a strong background in Cultural Studies. Evidences seem to show that anti-consumption is more an individual activity (though it could be seen at the community level, too) that results from, and is related to, a consumption act. For example, the unorthodox uses of standardized objects in antagonism to manufacturers, advertiser, or other consumers require a previous consumption action. It is possible to resist to consumption and consumption objects not by reject them, but by transforming them or using them in different ways (Penaloza and Price, 2003; Gabriel and Lang, 2006). From this point of view, alternative consumption, file sharing or illegal downloading over the Internet and consumers production activities could be seen as practices of anti-consumption. The consumption object becomes a means to act against consumption itself, from within the system.
On the contrary, consumer resistance could be seen as a sort of "response to structures of domination" (Poster, 1992; p. 94), and related to some general motivation (e.g. environmental, political or economic) and collective action. Resistance occurs, as Weber and Marx claim (Cherrier, 2009), in opposition to a constraining system, and outside of the system.

Conclusions

In this paper we attempted to determine the latent structure underlying the different streams of research originating the anti-consumption and consumer resistance studies. As such, our findings can help scholarly community interested in these topics to identify the key literatures which may serve as central sources of inspiration in order to formulate new research questions and in building new analytical perspectives. The analysis performed has provided some indications on the former and present structure of research that has focused on anti-consumption and consumer resistance. The results obtained reveal a number of distinct traits, which characterize the anti-consumption and consumer resistance field of research. Firstly, the analysis performed vividly illustrate the richness of themes treated - which range from individual to collective forms of anti-consumption and consumer resistance, from the cultural and social role of communities, tribes, and minority groups to symbolic consumption and consumer boycotts. Secondly, the position of the different authors within the clusters along the axes of the map also illustrates that the different themes are often further enriched by a variety of approaches according to which each one is considered, which range from CCT to Cultural Studies, and from Social Psychology to a Postmodern approach. This array of themes and approaches, which characterize the field, may be considered positively, as the interface and confrontation between different stances often fosters a more through explanation of phenomena than single monolithic approaches. However, in order to take advantage of the richness of perspectives within the field there is the necessity to avoid excess fragmentation, whilst facilitating mutual fertilizations between diverse approaches. Finally, the analysis also provides some degree of confirmatory evidence to a number of specific characteristics of the intellectual structure of the field.

Figure 1 – Conceptual structure of anti-consumption and consumer resistance research field
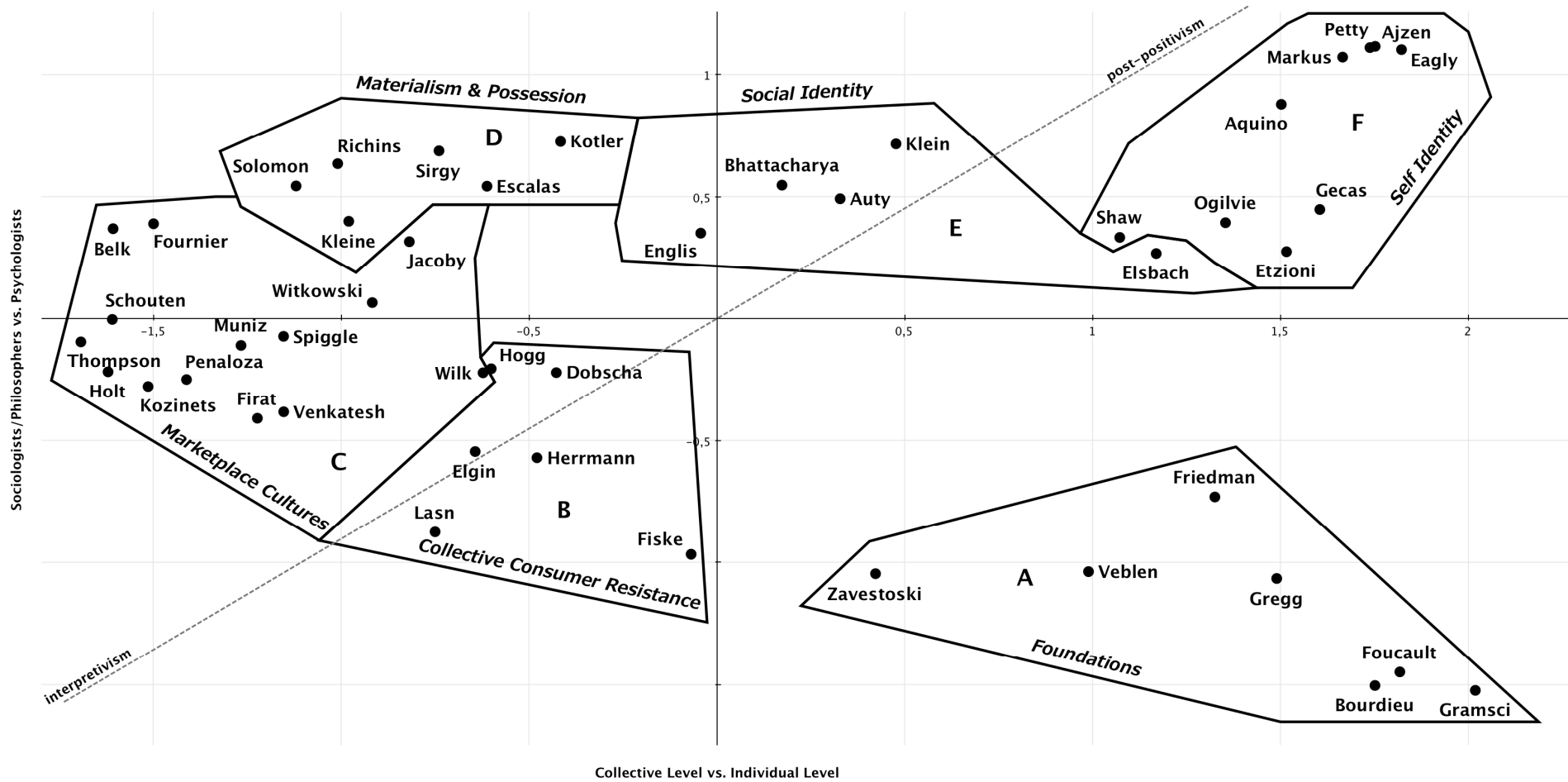
Table 1 – Research approaches by author factor loadings[a]

1 Consumer Culture Theory		2 Postmodern Consumer Research		3 Social Psychology		4 Advertising Theory (Persuasion)		5 Cultural Studies		6 Social Economics		7 Personality Psychology (Self-Concept)		8 Organizational Psychology		9 Voluntary Simplicity	
Muniz	.84	Firat	.81	Ajzen	.96	Solomon	.85	Foucault	.96	Friedman	.89	Gecas	.82	Elsbach	.90	Zavestoski	.77
Schouten	.81	Venkatesh	.81	Petty	.96	Englis	.78	Gramsci	.88	Veblen	.88	Ogilvie	.81	Bhattacharya	.89	Elgin	.75
Fournier	.79	Penaloza$_2$	.71	Eagly	.95	Sirgy	.75	Fiske	.82	Etzioni	.68	Markus$_2$	.71			Gregg	.59
Kozinets$_1$	.79	Herrmann	.71	Shaw	.72	Richins	.70	Bourdieu	.81								
Jacoby	.78	Lasn	.65	Markus$_1$	.66	Kleine	.64										
Thompson$_1$	.71	Witkowski	.64	Klein	.65	Auty	.63										
Holt$_1$	.66	Holt$_2$	.61	Aquino	.65	Kotler	.61										
Belk$_1$	.61	Thompson$_2$	.56			Belk$_2$	.61										
Escalas	.59	Kozinets$_2$	.53														
Spiggle	.55																
Wilk	.55																
Dobsha	.53																
Penaloza$_1$	.51																

Total variance explained: 77.5%

[a] Subscripts: 1=first appearance; 2= second appearance

Figure 2 – Distribution of citations by research approaches and literatures (%)
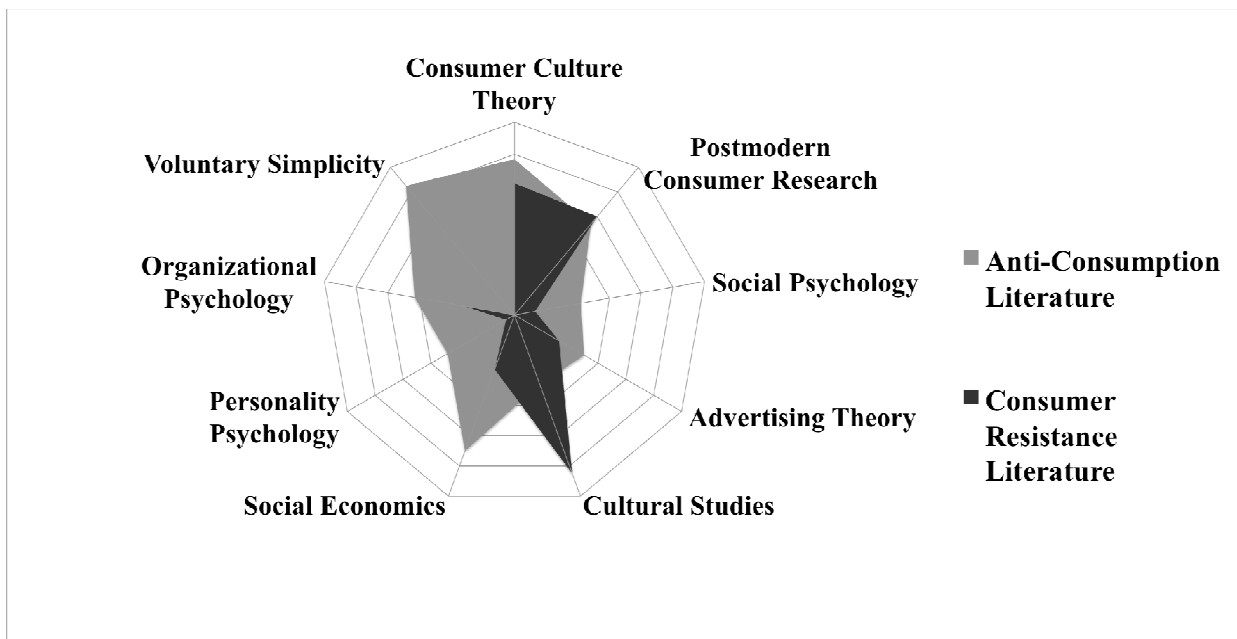
These include the ongoing convergence of the anti-consumption and consumer resistance research areas, tough the difference in their roots, the growing influence of cultural perspectives, and the value of getting soon to a unitary framework in order to advance in the field.

Inevitably, the findings of our analysis are limited by certain caveats that deserve mention. First, the citations analyzed represent only articles published in scholarly journals indexed into SSCI of Thompson ISI, which indexes only journals (not books) and all references from those journals (whether to journal articles or books). Second, the inability to distinguish between 'good citations' and 'bad citations'. 'Bad citations' are those citations that do not provide any contribution to an article. For example, this may happen when an author cites one another not so much because he has used the other's work as because he wants to butter him up (often senior colleagues), or because he is asked to do so by reviewers (after the research has already been completed), or because he wants to impress readers (with a lengthy reference list), or because he wants to attack the work of someone else, to discredit its validity, or to deny its importance.

References

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Penaloza, L. and Price LL. (2003), "Consumer resistance: a conceptual overview", *Advances in Consumer Research* 20(1): 123-128.

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Paper 2. Anti-consumption and consumer resistance: A conceptual review

Meng-Kuan Lai, *Business Administration Department, National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan*
mklai@mail.ncku.edu.tw

Bayu Aji Aritejo, *Business Administration Department, National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan*
R4895701@mail.ncku.edu.tw

Although companies invest considerable resources in attempting to persuade consumers to purchase their products, these attempts are often resisted. In the literature this is discussed in terms of *consumer resistance* or *anti-consumption*. However, these two concepts, as well as the distinctions and redundancies between them are not clear. Thus, this paper intends to shed some light on both consumer resistance and anti-consumption, and to propose a conceptual framework that describes the development of consumer attitudes and behaviours that work against marketing efforts.

Based on the concept of *resistance* (e.g., Poster, 1992), research on consumer resistance are primarily related to consumer attitudes and behaviours which are directed against the dominant forces in the marketplace with the intention to gain more equal distribution of power (Dobscha, 1998; Penaloza and Price, 1993). While the discourse of consumer resistance initially focused on more active and collective actions aimed at changes in company marketing practices and rectifying larger social injustices, it may also include individual and more benign actions against mainstream consumer culture (e.g., Penaloza and Price, 1993). Fournier (1998) characterized consumer resistance behaviours as a continuum that range from active rebellion, to minimization behaviour, to mere avoidance behaviour. Active rebellion behaviours, such as consumer boycott (e.g., Kozinets and Handelman, 2004), culture jamming (e.g., Cherrier, 2009), and holding events or protests (e.g., Kates and Belk, 2001); as well as minimization behaviours such as voluntary simplicity (e.g., Dobscha, 1998), coping strategies (e.g., Roux, 2008), and creative or alternative consumption (e.g., Close and Zinkhan, 2007, 2009; Cova and Pace, 2006; Holt, 2002; Thompson, 2004) are generally viewed as responding to exploitation. Avoidance behaviours due to "distaste" toward others' preferences (e.g., Richardson and Turley, 2006) and consumer decision to not adopt new innovations (e.g., Bagozzi and Lee, 1999) can be considered as the least intense behaviours, which may or may not be directly related to market power imbalance.

A closely related concept to consumer resistance is *anti-consumption*, which literally means "against consumption" (Lee *et al.*, 2009a, p. 145). The term has been conceptualized as a broad one that includes both attitudes and activities (Cherrier, 2009; Sandikci and Ekici, 2009), that can be expressed by consumers either individually or collectively (Funches *et al.*, 2009; Sandikci and Ekici, 2009), and which can be quite shallow in intensity, such as an expressed preference for one brand over another, but which can also involve deeply held sentiments against consumption in general (Zavestoski, 2002). The discourses of anti-consumption are mainly related to the "reasons against consumption" or "reasons for avoiding a product or brand" (Lee *et al.*, 2009a, p. 145); or "why individuals fail to consume" or "actively choose not to consume" (Close and Zinkhan, 2009, p. 200).

A considerable number of studies (e.g., Cherrier, 2009; Close and Zinkhan, 2009) suggest that consumer resistance can be regarded as a type or manifestation of the broader (and perhaps

newer) concept of anti-consumption. Likewise, the International Centre for Anti-Consumption Research (ICAR) website (www.icar.auckland.ac.nz) also includes consumer resistance as one of the topics that is relevant to anti-consumption. More specifically, the term *resistance* has been considered as "a more profound type of anti-consumption attitude" (Zavestoski, 2002, p. 125) or a form of anti-consumption in which the behaviours are more active and visible (e.g., boycotts, ethical consumption, and voluntary simplicity) in contrast to more passive and invisible ones (e.g., brands not bought, services not accessed) (Fournier, 1998; Hogg *et al.*, 2009). In addition, stem from its definition, consumer resistance may be regarded as a part of anti-consumption which is mainly directed against dominant forces in the marketplace. Given that the term anti-consumption can be considered as an umbrella for more specific concepts (including topics related to consumer resistance), for simplicity the term will be used in this work to describe the development of consumer attitudes and behaviours against marketing.

Based on the cognitive-emotive literature (e.g., Lazarus, 1991; Stephens and Gwinner, 1998), it is proposed that anti-consumption development flows from *stimulus situation → cognitive appraisal → negative affect → anti-consumption behaviour*, and which includes feedback loops between the parts. At first, anti-consumption attitudes and behaviours are likely to be caused by certain events or situations that are considered *inappropriate*. The situations may be related to marketing practices or ideologies, product country of origin, product or service performance, and product or reference group symbolic image (Lee *et al.*, 2009b). Through cognitive appraisal processes, consumers will examine the significance of the situation and the coping options that they could undertake (Lazarus, 1991). Specifically, they will assess whether the negative situations are personally relevant, may inhibit their goals, and evaluate the level of ego involvement (e.g., self-esteem and moral values). Consumers are also likely to assess whether the other parties (i.e., the product or company) should be blamed for the negative experience. In addition, consumers may also evaluate possible coping options and the persistency of the problems. These evaluations will determine the type and intensity of the resulting affects and behaviours.

Anti-consumption attitudes depict the negative affects associated with the situations, which may be relatively weak, such as simply an unfavourable feeling or dislike, but quite often are very intense, such as strong abhorrence coupled with intense emotion of anger (Funches *et al.*, 2009; Zavestoski, 2002). The cognitive assessment and the resulting affects are likely to motivate an individual to engage in various kinds of coping behaviours (Stephens and Gwinner, 1998). For example, a consumer who experiences product failure that is considered as significant and attributed to the manufacturing process may feel anger toward the company and be motivated to ask for a refund or to engage in negative word-of-mouth about the product.

At the behaviour level, scholars have categorized anti-consumption into covert and overt (Close and Zinkhan, 2007), specific and general (Iyer and Muncy, 2009), and individual and collective (Penaloza and Price, 1993). As consumers' anti-consumption attitudes become more intense, the level of their efforts and the scale of anti-consumption behaviours related to the issues are also likely to be intensified. Furthermore, consumers are likely to evaluate the outcomes of their actions, providing feedback loops for subsequent behaviours. If a small scale act of anti-consumption cannot successfully achieve the individual's goals, he or she may subsequently engage in higher scale of actions. Without appropriate handling by the opposed companies, anti-consumption behaviours that are initially passive and covert can be transformed into more active and overt behaviours; those that initially directed toward specific brands can eventually directed at consumption in general, and those that initially individual in nature may become collective acts.

To date, anti-consumption research has not clearly described how consumers develop anti-consumption behaviours, and instead tends to focus either on a specific stage of anti-consumption

development or specific anti-consumption behaviours resulting from some incidents. Therefore, establishing a framework of anti-consumption development could provide insights for marketing practitioners to design strategies to reduce anti-consumption behaviours. Following the cognitive-emotive literature, we propose a four-stage model of anti-consumption development. Although the model may seem to be monotonous, various personal and situational factors, as well as the complex interactions among the elements may influence the process. For marketing scholars, the framework could be a guideline for future research to identify the existing gaps within the process of anti-consumption development.

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Paper 3. Consumer Resistance and/or Anti-Consumption? An Analysis of Non-consumption in Sustainable Practices

Hélène Cherrier, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia
hcherrier@aud.edu

Iain Black, The University of Sydney, Australia
iain.black@sydney.edu.au

Michael S W Lee, The University of Auckland Business School, New Zealand
msw.lee@auckland.ac.nz

1. Introduction

Consumers' attempts to live more sustainably can take place through the rejection of particular products, brands, or activities. The motivation driving these non-consumption practices is that the consumer is concerned about "the effects that a purchasing choice has, not only on themselves, but also on the external world" (Harrison *et al.*, 2005, p. 2).

This study aims to understand how and why consumers choose *not* to consume products or brands, or perform damaging consumption activities, in order to live more sustainably. To this end, we utilise a conceptual framework based on anti-consumption and consumer resistance, and interview 16 women, who had made a conscious effort to change their consumption practices in order to live more sustainable lives. In addition to helping us understand practices of non-consumption, this research also reveals that viewing non-consumption practice through *both* consumer resistance and anti-consumption frameworks, simultaneously, can lead to subtle yet valuable insights. Therefore, this research offers anti-consumption and consumer resistance as two interrelated theoretical frameworks that are equally useful for understanding consumption activities that occur outside the ideology of consumerism.

2. Conceptual Framework:

2.1. Anti-consumption for Sustainable Development

Even though the term anti-consumption literally means 'against consumption', seminal work defines anti-consumption as "a resistance to, distaste of, or even resentment of consumption" in general (Zavestoski, 2002, p. 121). Thus, in conceptualising anti-consumption as a "resistance to consumption", this influential definition does not question consumption, consumer culture and the market. Therefore, anti-consumption is a phenomenon that may be practiced within these systems. For example, research into voluntary simplifiers shows anti-consumption as a lifestyle driven by a desire to live the good life. Typically, simplifiers refuse to purchase items that do not improve their level of happiness or correspond to their self-concept (Cherrier and Murray, 2007, Elgin, 1981). Here, consumers adopt anti-consumption practices not as a 'weapon' against a particular antagonist but rather in terms of individual fulfilment and desired self. As a practice, anti-consumption operates inside, rather than against, the system. Conceptually, it is driven by self-interested and socio-environmental motivations (Lee, Motion and Conroy, 2009).

2.2. Consumer Resistance for Sustainable Development

In contrast, scholars researching consumer resistance conceptualize the phenomenon as a "resistance *against* a culture of consumption and the marketing of mass-produced meanings" (Penaloza and Price, 1993, p. 123). Here, consumers are conscious agents fighting/struggling against a well-defined antagonist, which can be a brand, organization, marketing images, or consumer cultural in general. The underlying idea is that the antagonist represents a system of

domination and consumer resistance is "a reaction against" this system (Ritson and Dobscha, 1999). Using this perspective, it appears that consumer resistance is defined by an 'us versus them' framework.

Under consumer resistance, green consumers who reject particular products or activities do so to resist a particular antagonist that does not conform to their environmental ideology. Here, similar to consumers performing anti-consumption, both are understood to be conscious decision-makers, however, resistant consumers differ in their use of an overarching ideological framework (Richardson and Turley, 2006) when evaluating what to buy or reject. Such a framework is always large in scale, stemming from beyond the consumer's micro-social experiences.

Based on the notion of anti-consumption as a self-interested or environmentally motivated act located within the system of consumer culture, and on the notion of consumer resistance as an act against a system of domination, we explore whether non-consumption for sustainable development should be understood as an act of consumer resistance, an act of anti-consumption, or both.

3. The study

Sixteen in-depth interviews were conducted with women attempting to live more sustainable lifestyles. Participants were sourced from the database of a sustainable living workshop run by the Australian Conservation Foundation, or by a professional fieldwork agency with instructions to only recruit participants who had modified their consumption practices toward sustainable living within the last 3 years.

To capture a range of experiences, ten participants had less than three years incorporating sustainability in their lifestyle while six participants had more than three years experience. Participants were aged between 28 and 64 years, and household incomes above $60,000 AUD.

Following Thompson et al.'s (1989) seminal methodology, interviews were conducted in informants homes, lasted between 1.5 and 3 hours, revolved around avoided products or activities, and were audio taped then transcribed. A hermeneutical approach was then used to analyse the data (Thomson, 1997).

4. Findings

As participants express their sustainable consumption practices and discuss the importance of not consuming, we identify two major themes: *Claiming resistance without stigma* (a consumer resistance theme) and *the environmental significance of mundane practices* (an anti-consumption theme).

4.1. Claiming resistance without Stigma

In practicing non-consumption for sustainable development, informants sometimes position themselves against antagonists who are unaware of environmental issues and careless in their activities. Most narratives informing this theme offer a clear picture of "me" versus "them". For example, Rachel (50) explains that she is different to her colleagues. The discourse surrounding her act of not driving to work seems to hold her at higher moral standard, above and beyond, her colleagues whom do not even "consider" practicing non-consumption of their cars. She delimits her sustainable practices by differentiating herself from others who do not incorporate sustainable consumption in their daily lives.

Apart from resisting "others", where the antagonist is a group of individuals and their consumption activities, none of the informants describe resistance against particular antagonists such as a specific corporation, brand, ideology or the capitalist market in general, as is typically described in the literature. Therefore, our informants' practice of non-consumption reflects their consciousness, care and sense of responsibility. Furthermore, they utilise a "me versus them" framework to claim a sustainable consumer identity that is in opposition to the careless/unaware masses who continue to live unsustainably.

4.2. The environmental significance of mundane practices

While some studies position non-consumption practices as life changing acts that transform consumers' identities leading them to enlightenment (Kozinets, 2002), our informants carry out their non-consumption practices on a more mundane level.

Simple actions of non-consumption that were well-integrated in to the informants' life narratives include; not using the microwave to defrost meat or not turning on the air conditioning (Lisa, 25) or turning off lights (all informants). As non-consumption is carried out regularly and includes trivial acts suffused into the informants everyday ordinary practices, such acts are more in line with resistance to consuming (anti-consumption) rather than resistance against consumption (consumer resistance).

This normalization of non-consumption activities is achieved as participants prioritize their personal circumstances over environmental issues. Specifically, the narratives show that informants' concerns for environmental responsibility and sense of being a good person were never described as superior to every day personal motives. For example, Francis (43) practices car-pooling and limits the use of her washing machine to save fuel and power, but she also links these acts of sustainable living to her personal circumstances. While environmental issues might be important for Francis, she does not consider them to be any more important than other elements of her self-concept. Instead, environmental concern shares a space with other aspects of her self-concept such as being a mother, a wife, and a financially responsible woman. Thus, for Francis, the aforementioned acts of non-consumption were also driven by self-interested concerns. In her own words, it is important to act in a way which '*helps the environment*' but she also values practices that are '*economically better*'.

All narratives showed that anti-consumption practices are shaped by the myriad of interrelated concerns encountered in everyday life and by the informants' micro-level circumstances that are interconnected with their multiple everyday roles. As non-consumption for sustainable development is a response to environmental *and* self-interested concerns, it operates within the capitalist system that nurtures rational decision making and self-expression.

This second theme shows non-consumption for sustainable development being performed as a range of day to day acts. These sometimes mundane acts were described with references to modern rational values as well as post-modern values of self-expression.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

This study shows that non-consumption for sustainable development can be understood as an act of consumer resistance against the dominance of other consumers as well as an act of anti-consumption motivated by self-interested concerns and modern values. Using both these frameworks we see that sustainable non-consumption enables consumers to resist against an opponent whilst nurturing modern values of progress and efficiency where the opponent is a mainstream consumer who does not consume in a sustainable manner. In addition, we show that sustainable non-consumption is not only driven by universal and transcendental norms, but that self-concept and everyday circumstances are just as powerful in motivating the practice of non-consumption.

The theoretical implications of this study are important. It suggests that non-consumption for sustainable development is best understood when using both anti-consumption and consumer resistance. We see both representing forms of non-consumption; consumer resistance acts occur outside the market and some non-consumption is a resistance against the system of consumer culture. Anti-consumption takes place within the market and can be a resistance to the act of consumption that occurs within consumer culture. We argue that acts of consumer resistance stem from the outside-in and are reactive or defensive in nature. We use the metaphor of a person who finds themselves in a situation where they must fight against an adversary because they have been backed into a corner or because it is the 'right' thing to do ideologically. In such circumstances

there is no question of what must happen and resistance against the antagonist is the most important act. In contrast, acts of anti-consumption flow from the inside-out, they comprise a pro-active choice by the individual to practise non-consumption as a means of defining one's self concept or fulfilling individual goals. Here, the individual seems to have more able to strike a balance between ideology and the mundane aspects of their individuality. We find that informants used both anti-consumption and consumer resistance when enacting the desire to live a more sustainable lifestyle and practice non-consumption.

Overall, this research helps to clarify the similarities and differences between anti-consumption and consumer resistance by suggesting that individual acts cannot be categorised as the one or the other, i.e. brand avoidance can be an act of consumer resistance or an act of anti-consumption. It is the motivation for that act, the repetition of the act and the subsequent site of the action that differentiates them.

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10:30 - 11:00 BREAK

Session 2
Chair: Mike S W Lee

Paper 4. Consumer resistance in ordinary interactions: Some lessons from Friends

Lionel Sitz, EM Lyon, OCE Research Center, France
sitz@em-lyon.com

Consumer resistance and anticonsumption behaviors have become holly debated questions and are presently on the consumer researchers agenda. However, most researches have been conducted on consumers' attitudes and representations. Whiles interesting, this focus tends to overlook the praxeological dimension of both resistance and anticonsumption. To extend existing research attempts to examine a market resistant behavior *in situ* from an ethnomethodological perspective. It discusses the dialogical link between power and resistance. Adopting a concept of power as a contingent outcome in a social transaction, this research emphasizes that power is gradually institutionalized through the course of ordinary social transactions. From this perspective, a resistant act is apprehended as a non-conformist behavior that questions the legitimacy of the established commercial order.

To reach its goals, this research relies on ethnomethodology to analyze an episode of a famous TV show: Friends. Ethnomethodology is inspired by social phenomenology and is focused on micro-sociological analyses. It considers that the symbolic order is performed and constructed by and is in continuous (re)negotiation among the various actors. Taken-for-granted procedures are negotiated and performed simultaneously by those who follow them. Thus meaning is indexical by its very nature. In other words, meaning is locally displayed and remains indecipherable outside the local contexts of its production, distribution and consumption. However, context does not contain univocal information fixing stable meaning. Instead of "social facts" or a group integrated by common values and moral constraints, it is the cognitive order of sensemaking and sensegiving which constitutes the main topic of study for ethnomethodologists.

The research uses a cultural product (i.e. the 'Friends' TV show) as its primary source of data. After carefully screening, we chose an extract from 'Friends', a well-known TV show, depicting the daily life of six thirty years old New Yorkers. The chosen extract presents two characters of the show trying to resist a gym club and a bank. This choice permits the researcher to study consumer resistance in its contexts and to apprehend resistance as a process rather than the outcome of conflicts between competing ideological discourses.

The analysis of the data shows that resistance is a change-oriented and socio-discursive process encompassing phases of sensemaking and sensegiving. They emphasize the role of interpretive procedures in the development of resistance and suggest that resistance is enabled and collectivized by sensemaking processes that "uncover" taken for granted commercial structures.

This research highlights the role of narrating resistance as a resource for action. By narrating moments of resistance, actors extend individual acts of resistance and have the opportunity to assign meaning to their practices. This research also underlines the tactical use of categories by social actors in the course of the resistant act. Categories, references, and descriptions are not

neutral referents and serve as rhetorical resources in the course of consumer resistance. Resistant consumers attempt to increase the rhetorical value of categories as resources while the power agents strive at discounting their significance.

This research also emphasizes resistance symmetry in that it indicates the possibility, for commercial institutions, of resisting the resistance. Power agents are not powerless and retaliate whenever they locate consumer resistance. To retaliate, they use both institutionalized and original "dispositifs". These "dispositifs" aim at confining resistant consumers in a symbolic remote space and modifying the pertinent interactional frameworks.

Resistance does not suddenly appear out of a vacuum but is inserted in process. It gets progressively naturalize through the course of social interactions. Social interactions ascribe meanings to a situation and gradually naturalize these meanings. Therefore, constructed meanings appear as "grounded facts" for understanding lived situations. "Understanding" the situation gradually naturalizes the interactional framework, which becomes pertinent and self-evident. Following this perspective, negotiated meanings serve as resources consumer resistance which they display as self-evident.

These results show that consumer "liberation" or "emancipation" cannot be thought in terms of a transgression in a world of freedom in which the consumers' identities are fully liberated. Rather, it should be seen as involving specific forms of bricolage that seek to undermine and/or transform prevailing power relations so as to make them more acceptable and less oppressive. It is generally recognized that resistance stems from the consciousness of being less powerful in a power relationship. From this perspective, consumer resistance is based on the consciousness of a power asymmetry between commercial counterparts. This research shows that the process is recursive because consumer resistance simultaneously relies on and leads to this consciousness. This research also suggests that consumer resistance is not – at least not always – enacted under the full control of will and consciousness; rather, it should be understood as a node and an accumulation of many unanticipated sets of agencies that have to be disentangled in order to be understood. Consumer resistance requires the discovery of an opportunity to resist. This discovery depends on resources furnished by the market itself. In other words, consumer resistance has a dialogical relationship to marketing and should be studied as a direct consequence of the natural functioning of the market. These results are heuristic in nature in that they bring to light the complex processes of mundane consumer resistance and open avenues for future research. Future researches should investigate more carefully the link between individual, mundane resistance and collective, organized resistance to understand their co-construction.

Paper 5. "Have you Heard that…". Anti-Consumption Morals of Urban Legends

Stefano Pace, Università Bocconi, Milan, Italy
stefano.pace@unibocconi.it

Urban legends

Folklorists often refer to urban legends as contemporary legends, modern legends, urban tales, or urban myths (Brunvand, 2001). A urban legend is a story that is believed to be true by the individual and then passed it on to another individual, spreading the tale. From conversation to conversation the urban legend slightly changes itself and it adapts to the listener. The speaker unconsciously adds details and features that make the story more credible. To be a urban legend, the tale must be a the edge of what is real and what is fantastic, but it has some features that make the tale plausible and thus worthy of being recounted as a true or plausible story. A urban legend is apocryphal and untrue. It might have a factual nucleus, but that core is drastically changed and distorted, maintaining the believability.

The typical features of a urban legend are (Allport and Postman, 1947; Brunvand 1981; Donovan, Mowen, and Chakraborty, 1999):

- The story has a typical narrative structure, with plot, characters and final lesson. The urban legend conveys a symbolic meaning, usually with an ironic twist
- The original author is unknown. In fact no single author can be pinpointed
- The facts reported cannot be verified. In Popperian terms, the urban legend is not falsifiable
- The content is credible, although sensational, but untrue
- The FOAF rule applies: the source is said to be a Friend-Of-A-Friend. The source is not so far away to make the legend vague, nor too close to really make it verifiable
- The legend has different variants due to the accumulation of slight variations introduced by those who report the tale

A urban legend cannot be considered an intentional entity. It can be seen under the lenses of traditional functionalism (Brunvand 1998; Dundes, 1980). A urban legend has the typical feature of a social, function, which are to serve the society for a given effect and to be unintentional. A urban legend plays some functions for the society, that Bascom (1954) synthesizes into four: to escape form social rules, to validate social rituals and norms, to educate people about the same rituals and norms, to re-assert the social control. . Also the second feature of the function — lack of intentionality — is applied to urban legend. A urban legend has no author, it does not bring an intentional purpose. It may be considered a sort of self-sufficient and virulent narratological entity. The urban legend adapts itself like a "narrative virus" to keep its credibility. That adaptation assures the spreading around of the core lesson contained in the legend. Compared to stories reported in traditional mass media, a urban legend is a more sophisticated entity, because it is more credible and it is embedded directly in the face-to-face conversations. An individual "hit" by a urban legend feels compelled to recount that story to friends and other people. Consumption and brands are likely target of urban legends. Donovan and colleagues (1999) conduct a review of the urban legends collected in the seminal works by Brunvand (1981). The authors report that 45% of urban legends refer to products, 10% refer to brands. Therefore consumption seems a preferred subject for urban legends.

Anti-consumption between ideology and identity

Anti-consumption may be conceived at social and psychological level (Zavestoski, 2002). As to the former, anti-consumption may be interpreted as an ideology, that is a set of beliefs, of "do and

don't". At the individual level, the subjective identities (Cherrier, 2009) translate anti-consumption ideology into actual thoughts and behaviours. The same process seems to apply to anti-consumption and resistant consumers. Resistant consumers interpellate the ideology of anti-consumption and translate it through the lenses of their specific identity, whether political or creative (Cherrier, 2009). For instance, individuals opposing consumption in the Valentine's Day (Close and Zinkhan, 2006) can select various assets in the anti-consumption ideology, such as the excessive influence of companies in the market of romantic gifts (flowers, cakes, restaurants), or the lack or real sentiment in the celebration of that single day.

The connection between anti-consumption and ideology has been recently explored by Varman and Belk (2009). The two authors argue that the literature on anti-consumption mainly refers to "the individual psychological level of consumer attitude and actions" (Varman and Belk, 2009, 686). Therefore, in their study they relate an anti-consumption movement in an Indian village to the local nationalist ideology (*swadeshi*, in India).

The role of urban legends in anti-consumption

Urban legends participate to the debate on the relation between anti-consumption and consumer resistance. Consumption-based urban legends play a mediating role (together with other mediators) between the ideology of anti-consumption and the identity projects of resistant consumers. Any ideology needs materialization to be real and effective (Varman and Belk, 2009). Anti-consumption as ideology needs this materialization and actualization too, taking form or real social practices. Urban legends are detailed and close to the real life of the consumer. Therefore urban legends can be tangible expression of the anti-consumption ideology, showing to the consumer actual examples of the threats brought by companies, consumption, or market forces. For instance, a detailed rendition of who, how, when and where an odd object was found in a can of food is an actualization of the anti-consumption tenet that food manufactures are unreliable or that food is unsafe. The identity of the consumer listening to this tale can then decide her/his behaviour, through the lenses of her/his consumer-resistant identity.

The aim of this work is to analyze consumption-related urban legends to discover some recurring themes that would help define the ideology of anti-consumption.

Methodology

Urban legends are stories, therefore a viable method to approach them is narratological (Bal, 1997). Dundes (1980) distinguishes texture and text of an item of folklore. Texture refers to "the language, the specific phonemes and morphemes employed" (Dundes, 1980, p. 22). Rhyme and alliteration in jokes, for instance, are texture. Text is the essence of the folkloric item, its core meaning. As Brunvand posits, "variation is the hallmark of folklore" (Brunvand 2001, XII). Any individual rendition of a urban legend differs from other versions. However, the core story and moral of the urban legend are maintained. That inner core is the part that can be caught and analyzed through a narrative analysis.

This research relies on the main online repository of urban legends: Snopes.com, founded by Barbara and David P. Mikkelson. This website is considered by Brunvand (2010) as "the best of the urban legend sites". A set of around one hundred urban legends were collected and analyzed. Each urban legend was analyzed along three basic narrative dimensions: the actor, the action, the consequences of the action over a target The urban legends were included in the analysis if they referred to some brands or marketing activities.

Results

The recurring leading characters of the consumption-related urban legends are companies, depicted as almighty organizations. Corporations are depicted as big powers that can decide the fate of the world.

- Super-Power

  In urban legends, companies have a power that goes well beyond the imagination. For instance, according to the legend, McDonald's restaurants are so diffused worldwide that only exceptional circumstances stop the company to open a new restaurant. Cities in war regions becomes the only place without McDonald's restaurants.
- Hidden agendas and conspiracies

  Companies have a hidden agenda. They are powerful conspirators that try to impose needs to consumer or to trick them in any manner. In some cases, the conspiracy is so deep that companies really are a part of alternative explanations of history beyond consumption issues. For instance, according to the legend, a Harley-Davidson motorcycle was named "Fat Boy"' to represent and possibly celebrate the atomic bomb dropped on Japan; the dolls manufactured by Cabbage Patch, according to a legend, were designed to get American familiar with the alleged aspect of a human exposed to radioactivity of a nuclear bombing
- Hidden symbols.

  Products' packages and advertisements would hide subliminal messages that deceitfully persuade people: according to legends, some cans of the Renuzit air freshener included erotic symbols; other stories recount the reality of subliminal experiments in movie theatre (usually increasing the sales of popcorns or Coca Cola bottles). These symbols may be neutral and not necessarily devilish: the white colour was introduce in the packages of Lucky Strike cigarettes to aid the war effort, according to the stories.

Discussion

Urban legends confirm the idea of fear as a basic feature of our society (Bauman, 2006). Consumers in urban legends are at the mercy of marketing and big corporations, just like the consumers studied by Cherrier, who feel "subject to power and domination of uncontrollable "global" producers" (Cherrier, 2009, 184). The more frequent moral that consumers can draw from urban legends is to stay vigilant against big corporations.

Some of the legends join consumption issues to wider conspiracy theories. The basic lesson of these tales is that some companies are a threat not only to the market, but to the whole world. In their study on the *swadeshi* anti-Coca Cola movement, Varman and Belk (2009) show that "anticonsumption movements involves a diffused set of ideas used to broaden the base of the movement against its corporate adversary" (Varman and Belk, 2009, 686). Similarly, consumption-based urban legends appeal to a wide sets of fears that goes beyond the strict consumption realm. Urban legends extends the area of the anti-consumption ideology beyond the sub-culture of resistant consumers. Resistant consumers already form a discursive sub-culture where narratives of the threats of consumption are produced and actively discussed. Urban legends touch also those consumers who are not concerned about anti-consumption issues. Through urban legends, anti-consumption discourses are adopted and spread by common consumers too.

Consumers emerge as victims and urban legends seem to emphasize the "innocence" of consumers. This emerging result would show that the society is not self-reflexive on the role that consumers may play in the damages brought by consumption.

Thanks to their peculiar nature, between ideology and subjectivity, urban legends may emerge as a third actor in the "I versus We" polarization of future anti-consumption studies (Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman, 2009).

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Paper 6. Privileging Localism and Visualizing Nationhood in Anti-Consumption

Rohit Varman, Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, India
rohit@iimcal.ac.in

Russell W. Belk, Schulich School of Business, York University, Toronto, Canada
rbelk@schulich.yorku.ca

Product origin imagery and nationalism have intrigued marketing scholars for several decades. Studies on anti-consumption show that objects of consumption are used as markers of patriotism and nationalism (e.g. Sandikci and Ekici 2009; Varman and Belk 2009; Witkowski 1989). Similarly, studies on Product Place Images (PPI) and Country of Origin (COO) effect have highlighted the role of nationalism in influencing product imagery (e.g. Ger, Askegaard, and Christensen 1999; Papadopoulas and Heslop 1993). Yet, little research has gone into understanding how anti-consumption and product origin get intertwined to produce discourses of identity and patriotism in which localism is privileged over nationalism. In examining an anti-consumption movement in India, we offer an understanding of this elided dimension in extant theory.

In a historical analysis of the relationship between anti-consumption and nationhood in India, we show that products are infused with social, economic, and political meanings that emerge from Gandhi's vision of anarchism, a political philosophy that emphasizes anti-authoritarianism, equity, decentralization, and liberty (Gandhi 1997; Godwin 1986; Kropotkin 1970; Wolff 1998). In these movements, meaning laden consumption objects have simultaneously become markers of individual freedom, localism, equality, and anti-statism, which are central to the anarchist conception of nationalism. This helps us to differentiate consumer resistance from anti-consumption, which we interpret as a deeper systemic challenge to consumption lifestyle and to consumer culture. Most significantly, in this research we offer insights into how national becomes anti-national in an anti-consumption movement.

In order to understand the relationship between product-origin imagery and nationalism in contemporary India, we conducted a two-year study of an activist organization called *Apni Banao Azadi* (pseudonym) that has been championing the boycott of multinational goods in the northern part of India. *Apni Banao Azadi* (ABA) with its adherence to Gandhian ideology was founded in 1989 and claims to have stopped multinational firms such as Cargill, Coca Cola, and Pepsi Cola from spreading their operations in the country. Members of ABA regularly hold meetings and rallies, and publish protest material denouncing large corporations. We conducted in-depth interviews with five key activists in the organization. We also conducted content analysis of the last five years of *Nai Duniya*, a journal published by ABA, to develop insights into the discursive practices employed by the organization. In order to understand the role played by consumption objects in the historical construction of Indian nationhood, we conducted a discursive analysis of Gandhi's writings as well. This also helped us to relate the discourse of ABA to the writings of Gandhi that ideologically impel this organization. In addition, we analyzed writings on the Indian freedom movement, consumer boycotts, and nationalism. Our data analysis was ongoing and iterative with simultaneous analyses of historical accounts, interviews, and the journal in a process consistent with emergent design and the constant comparative method (Strauss and Corbin 1990). We continued to simultaneously collect and analyze data until we achieved saturation and redundancy.

In demonstrating the role of anarchism in influencing an anti-consumption movement we highlight a specific emphasis on localism over nationalism which has not been adequately understood in extant marketing theory. We show that Gandhian anti-consumption movements with a particularized vision of nationalism have historically created discursive frameworks for consumer resistance in India. This approach helps us to understand an anti-consumption movement in a Third World society where governance failures, development, globalization, nationhood, large corporations, and private consumption are sutured together in a discourse of protest. This understanding of anti-consumption in the Third World is inextricably linked to product-origin imagery, consumer resistance, and nationalism.

In this research we emphasize the role of nationalist movements in shaping product-origin imagery (POI). In consonance with several studies, we highlight the role of POI in shaping consumption discourses (e.g., Ger et al. 1999; Papadopoulas and Heslop 1993) and also demonstrate that consumption defines and creates national identity (see also Varman and Belk 2009; Wikowski 1989). We add to current understanding of POI in marketing in an important way. We show that a wider interpretation of nationhood is needed to include the sort of localism that we demonstrate in this study. In such localism a dichotomized understanding of national versus foreign is limiting and we find in ABA a more nuanced interpretation in which buying national brands can be perceived as an anti-national act because of its distance from localized spheres of consumption. In this rendering of national as anti-national, we show that extant conceptualization of ethnocentrism offers a limited understanding of boycott and the foreignness of products (cf. Shimp and Sharma 1987). Our findings show that national and international are simultaneously perceived to be distant, unaccountable, and exploitative. Thus, in this discourse, national and multinational are rejected in favor of local alternatives of consumption and production.

In emphasizing the local, Gandhian anti-consumption closely resonates with several accounts of consumer resistance and their emphases on particularized notions of justice, empowerment, and equity (e.g. Lee et al. 2009; Sandikci and Ekici 2009). The anarchist vision of nationhood that influences anti-consumption in this study is a deeper systemic challenge which helps to differentiate between anti-consumption and consumer resistance. It is evident from our findings that the anti-consumption movement examined in this research is not merely looking for localized market based alternatives as Thompson and Arsel (2004) have found and is not creating alternate enclaves of consumption that are otherwise deeply steeped in a market-based capitalist economy as Kozinets (2002) discovered. Both of those anti-corporate engagements involve consumer resistance, but neither is anti-consumption in the sense that ABA poses a challenge to consumption lifestyle and consumer culture. That is, we are taking anti-consumption literally as involving a significant change away from a global mass consumption-oriented lifestyle toward one that is less consumption oriented (see Dobscha 1998; Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman 2009). In envisioning a state-less state, village societies, anti-machine ethos, and economic decentralization, ABA and similar organizations attempt to invoke Gandhian anti-consumption in order to oppose the thrust of neoliberalism enrapturing the Indian economy and to invoke a consumption simplicity that potentially resonates more deeply in India than in any other part of the globe.

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12:30 –1:30 LUNCH

Session 3
Chair: Hélène Cherrier

Paper 7. Learning to resist: the challenges faced by beginner voluntary simplifiers

Paul W. Ballantine, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand
paul.ballantine@canterbury.ac.nz

Paula Arbouw, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand
par97@student.canterbury.ac.nz

Lucie K. Ozanne, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand
lucie.ozanne@canterbury.ac.nz

There are many anti-consumption discourses based on different consumer motivations. For example, Iyer and Muncy (2009) present four main categories of anti-consumers, each of which include people who oppose consumption, albeit for different reasons. These categories include: global impact consumers, market activists, anti-loyal consumers, and voluntary simplifiers; and it is this final category – voluntary simplifiers – who form the focus of this study. To date, the literature on voluntary simplicity has been rather limited, with most articles focusing on either defining or operationalising the term (e.g. Etzioni, 1998; Iyer and Muncy, 2009; Leonard-Barton, 1981), exploring the motivations behind the lifestyle (e.g. Shaw and Newholm, 2002; Zavestoski, 2002), or examining the practices of experienced voluntary simplifiers (e.g. Craig-Lees and Hill, 2002; Huneke, 2005).

Much of the extant literature has also focussed on those people who have fully adopted the voluntary simplifier lifestyle. To address this problem, McDonald *et al.* (2006) recognises the importance of a large consumer segment that displays voluntary simplifier behaviour, but are not committed or fully converted to the voluntary simplifier lifestyle, terming these people beginner voluntary simplifiers. This study is interested in the challenges beginner voluntary simplifiers face when trying to resist the market. The literature suggests that market resistance is a reason why many people adopt the voluntary simplifier lifestyle (Bekin *et al.*, 2005), and that consumer resistance is often a difficult act to undertake (e.g. Cherrier and Murray, 2007; Iyer and Muncy, 2009), so it is of interest to explore the challenges beginner voluntary simplifiers experience when they try to remove themselves from the marketplace. Thus, this study seeks to address the following research question: what challenges do beginner voluntary simplifiers face when trying to resist the market from which they are trying to escape? Given this focus, this study did not explore the reasons for adopting the lifestyle, nor did it examine the activities undertaken while adopting the lifestyle; the focus was instead on the challenges encountered when adopting the lifestyle, and the reasons it may be difficult to do so. This study also explores resistance to the market as a whole, as opposed to resistance to a specific brand (e.g. Lee *et al.*, 2009) or specific

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marketplace behaviour (e.g. Close and Zinkhan, 2009), which has often been the focus of the literature to date.

Fourteen beginner voluntary simplifiers were interviewed for this study using a series of in-depth semi-structured interviews. Each interview was approximately one hour in length. The participants ranged in age from 22 to 58, and they were all in the early stages of adopting the voluntary simplifier lifestyle (i.e. they had made the decision to adopt the lifestyle within the previous three month period). Six participants were male and eight were female. The interviews had a phenomenological focus (i.e. they were from the perspective of the participants). This approach allowed participants to provide thick descriptions, where they were able to articulate their experiences as they perceived them. To analyse the challenges faced by participants when adopting the voluntary simplifier lifestyle, a within case analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994) was used to gain insight, and was undertaken in the form of coding and sorting, which Tesch (1990) describes as decontextualising as the data are separated from their original cases. The data were then recontextualised through the identification of themes present across the cases. The themes were constructed from recurring statements or concepts described by the participants (Bradley *et al.*, 2007).

Six themes emerged from the interviews, and these themes allow us to understand the challenges faced by beginner voluntary simplifiers as they adopt their new lifestyle and try to resist the pressures of the market. The themes include habitual consumption, non-generosity, planning and organising, substitutable consumption experiences, money as an enabler, and maintaining social ties. *Habitual consumption* refers to the finding that all of the participants found adopting the lifestyle most difficult at the start, but easier later on, as they were able to break their habits and change their mindset. Many also felt frustrated and deprived while doing so. *Non-generosity* refers to the challenge faced by many participants in that they were often unwilling to share or give possessions to others. This often manifested itself in not spending money on others, but also included the reduced giving of material items like gifts, as participants felt they needed to look after their own needs first. *Planning and organising* took a substantial effort, and was the result of the increased planning required for participants to reduce their consumption. Homemade lunches, supermarket shopping, homemade gifts, and alternative social activities were common areas where advanced planning was required. Many participants, when adopting the lifestyle, found planning and organising difficult due to the time and effort involved. Participants also realised that consumption was a form of buying time. For example, when buying fast food, the extra money spent was seen as payment for the time saved. In terms of *substitution*, participants found the process of finding alternative solutions for their previous consumption behaviour was often challenging. The substitution of previous consumption behaviours by voluntary simplifiers is discussed in the literature (e.g. Bekin, *et al.*, 2005), and participants came across the dilemma of whether to reduce their consumption in terms of quality or quantity. The role of *money as an enabler* was evidenced when participants realised money acted as an enabler for activities that made them happy. With this, they often struggled to balance their reduced consumption while still participating in the activities they loved. With these activities often being linked to a sense of well-being, participants reported that their expectations played a role in how they maintained their quality of life while still decreasing their consumption in a manner consistent with the lifestyle they had adopted. The final theme centred around *maintaining social activities* while reducing consumption, as much social interaction was based around consumption activities like going out for coffee, movies, or drinks. Thus, they often struggled to find a balance between reducing their consumption and maintaining their social network. To address these issues, participants sought social activities that were either based on cheaper/reduced consumption (e.g. meeting for coffee instead of lunch), or free consumption.

While choosing to embrace the anti-consumption ethos of the lifestyle, the participants in this study faced many challenges in the journey of becoming a voluntary simplifier. Most of these challenges were based around the participants themselves, and their changing consumption patterns. Perhaps the most challenging aspect of adopting the lifestyle for participants was decreasing consumption while maintaining social ties that were often centred around consumption. In this regard, even though participants held values around lessened consumption, their social network made it difficult for them to resist their previous market behaviours. The literature suggests that beyond basic levels of consumption, one can increase their well-being more with social interaction than with further consumption (Cummins, 2000). However, if one's social interaction is based on consumption activities, and the values of a social group are not open to alternative consumption, then consumption acts as an enabler for social interaction and long-term well-being. A common motivation for voluntary simplification is social influence (McDonald *et al.*, 2006), and if beginner voluntary simplifiers experience social resistance (e.g. social norms that support consumption), then the transition to adopting the lifestyle is made more difficult.

This study suggests that beginner voluntary simplifiers encounter several challenges while in the early stages of adopting their new lifestyle. In his 2002 paper, Kozinets asked whether it is possible to evade the market, finding that if it is possible, it is most likely to be temporary and local. Extending this, Cherrier (2009) suggested that whether anti-consumption is a resistance to dominant powers or one's own domination, it depends on a sense of identity grounded in social positions, empowerment, and a vision of society. Overall, this study suggests that while beginner voluntary simplifiers hold a strong anti-consumption ethic, the way this manifests itself is influenced by both themselves and their existing social network. In this respect, the true challenge for beginner voluntary simplifiers, whose daily activities and social ties are firmly imbedded within the market, is how to resist the influence of that market.

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Paper 8. The Freegan Phenomenon: Anti-Consumption or Consumer Resistance?

Iryna Pentina, University of Toledo, USA
ipentin@utnet.utoledo.edu

Clinton Amos, Augusta State University, USA
clamos@aug.edu

There is a rising interest in anti-consumption movements and subcultures among marketing academics and practitioners. Excessive unsustainable consumption has resulted in deteriorating quality of life as well as the environment around the world. This rising interest has been triggered by the evidence of deterioration and growing consumer power and control permitted by the existing market structures and information technologies. While the dominant theoretical paradigm appears to deny consumer agency in challenging contemporary markets and consumption due to their fundamental role in human life (Arnould, 2007; Baudrillard, 1970/1998; de Certeau, 1984), a growing volume of research on ideologies and practices of consumer resistance confirms the reality of organized movements which attempt to challenge or change the unsustainable consumption practices characterizing many developed economies (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004; Sandlin and Callahan, 2009). Extant research dedicated to culture jamming, boycotting, voluntary simplicity, consumer emancipation, and consumer resistance addresses motivations, ideologies, and practices of these phenomena. However, ambiguities exist regarding redundant terminology and, consequently, the possibility of arriving at a grand theory of anti-consumption (Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman, 2009). Some particular issues in this domain include the ability of consumers to defy markets (Arnould, 2007; Kozinets, 2002a), the overlap of anti-consumption and consumer resistance discourses (Cherrier, 2009), and the collective vs. individual anti-market actions (Cherrier, 2009).

Freeganism is a pertinent context for exploring the above contentions and may serve a vital role in aiding the development of a comprehensive understanding of anti-market movements and activities. Freegan practices such as waste reclamation (dumpster diving), rent-free housing (squatting), working less, and shoplifting challenge the existing cultural norms through market-mediated means by relying on and utilizing market-created artifacts. At the same time, Freegan ideology of avoiding market-mediated transactions and relying on alternative consumption practices to undermine capitalism and create the seeds of a new, community-based society appears to create a new sign system (Baudrillard, 1970/1998) and discourse, aimed at transcending the structuring habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) of the market. This research contributes to the anti-consumption/consumer resistance discussion by analyzing the relationship between Freegan ideology and practice and by comparing Freegan internal discourse to Freegan-related mainstream perspectives. It presents a condensed report of netnographic analyses (Kozinets, 2002b) of the Freegan informational website (Freegan.info), Freegan World listserv posts and discussions, and individual web pages of practicing Freegans comprising five years (2005-2009). We further compare the findings within the Freegan discourse to those of mainstream consumer assessments and arrive at a tentative conclusion, as well as suggestions for future research.

To confirm or refute the possibility of consumer resistance in contemporary consumption-centered society, market-mediated freegan practices were compared with their market-defying radical rhetoric through a netnographic analysis of the Freegan World listserv (1800 members). This forum facilitates information exchange and advice regarding alternative consumption practices,

requests for volunteers in certain areas, calls to join protests and activities worldwide, reflections and discussions regarding Freegan philosophy and ideology, and other related discussions. This venue was selected due to its high traffic of postings, very detailed data supported by photographs, and frequent interactions among the members that represented both freegan ideologues and practicing members at large. The first author became a listserv member in November of 2008, and periodically contributed to online conversations, mainly clarifying and qualifying other members' statements, and posing questions to confirm conclusions and interpretations. The author identified herself as an anti-consumption researcher interested in the freegan phenomenon, which allowed her to both observe the appropriate ethical standards and to contact the listserv contributors for member checks (Kozinets 2002b). In addition, both authors content-analyzed the listserv's postings ranging from January 2004 until December 2009 to trace the development of the movement discourse, and the changes that took place within it. To supplement the netnographic findings obtained in one online forum, and to be able to generalize the findings, as well as to provide corroborative evidence, the following websites were content-analyzed by both authors:

- Freegan.info, a website and a blog created by The Wetlands Activism Collective, a political and environmental New York-based umbrella organization founded in 2000 that represents various social and environmental advocacy working groups. It represents an official portal for the freegan movement, and contains the manifesto, materials for the press, and other official documents. Both authors content-analyzed the full text of the website and all posted blogs, compared notes, and arrived at emerging themes and domains.
- Individual web pages and blogs on E-tribes.net, such as Dumpster Diving, Garbage Liberation Front, Food Not Bombs, Squatting, Thrifting, and others have been analyzed in addition to other personal websites and blogs (funkypunkyg.blogspot.com, freejunkfood.blogspot.com, theburts. wordpress. com). These venues were selected as they represent narratives and reflections of individual freegans, and sites of politically active organizations in order to better understand behavioral aspect of the movement, and arrive at dominant motivations.

To compare internal freegan discourses with external evaluation of the freegan movement and to provide a more objective assessment of online-based findings through data triangulation, we employed a content analysis of 56 essays. The essays were written by students at two U.S. universities who were exposed to popular media and press coverage of Freeganism. The essays were content-analyzed in order to identify dominant mainstream discourses regarding their views as consumers towards the Freegan philosophy and practices.

The analysis of Freeganism as expressed on their official information website, individual blogs and forums, as well as listserv posts, has revealed a spectrum of approaches and attitudes that exist under the Freeganism umbrella which are anchored by two distinct identities. On one side is a radical consumer resistance ideology of defying the capitalist economy and engaging in alternative consumption "beyond capitalism" with the goal of undermining the system and preparing for its demise. This approach is characterized by a more politically active stance, as evidenced by calls to civil disobedience and protests published in member blogs. For this more extremist variation of Freeganism, ideology and philosophy are central, since they provide legitimacy and direction to their protests and alternative consumption strategies. According to one post, "Trying to separate Freegans from Freegan philosophy is like trying to separate religious people from the belief in God. Without their belief in God, they wouldn't be religious. Without our philosophy, we wouldn't be Freegans." (Aug. 3, 2009). From this point of view, such prominent Freegan practices such as dumpster diving and squatting are only temporary, transitory and unsustainable, since they rely on the capitalist economy. Freegan philosophy should be the foundation for developing sustainable

practices that are not dependent on or perpetuate capitalism. Thus, growing community gardens, wild foraging, sharing, and reusing various items are suggested as possible consumption practices independent of capitalism and more consistent with a community-based society. These practices are consistent with attempts to create an alternative cultural sign system by theoretically legitimizing the violation of norms, laws, and conventions of the cultural capital (Baudrillard's 1970/1998), a fashionable middle-class discourse that is sustained by luxurious consumption of time and intellectual assets (Arnould, 2007).The Freegan ideologues remain unperturbed that the lifestyle they advocate provides 5% or less of the essential adult food ration. Their position may be compared to utopian, escapist motifs of anti-consumption rhetoric that do not offer constructive alternative solutions (Arnould, 2007). However, this radical position has stimulated such politically active and prominent organizations as Food Not Bombs, Food Not Lawns, Homes Not Jails, and others that organize political events and actions to create awareness of hunger, homelessness, and ecological problems, achieve visible results, and attract adherents all over the world. The clear goal of transforming society through collective political action engenders the Freegan "hero ethic" of strict commitment and righteousness that is similar to Fournier's (1998) "active rebellion" and Cherrier's (2009) "hero identity" classifications and supports the actuality of consumer resistance action (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995). These more radical Freegans ignite opposing views from mainstream consumers. While some view them as heroic facilitators of change others view them as vagrants who live a scavenger lifestyle.

The other side of Freeganism is represented by individuals who engage in Freegan practices because of lack of resources, sense of adventure, or feelings of personal responsibility for reducing ecological deterioration. They are more representative of anti-consumption actions within the current system as opposed to trying to undermine the system and parallel Fournier's (1998) "minimization behaviors". This group of Freegans does not attempt to actively influence others, but rather seeks for solutions to more individual-level needs. They engage in social interaction for support and sharing ideas/advice with like-minded others, as well as for self-expression and self-reflection. According to Cherrier (2009), this type of opposition is characterized by heterogeneity of views, approaches, and activities, as opposed to ideological coalescence. Freegans without a politico- ideological motivation are more likely to arrive at creative alternative solutions, even though they may be utilizing market-based means and paths. According to Arnould (2007), progressive social movements that take market-mediated forms are more successful since they are better understood by the mainstream population and can attract more allies. However, although fair trade movements utilizing the available capitalist infrastructure to assist producers disadvantaged by global capitalism are on the rise, it remains a niche phenomenon, and does not sufficiently aid farmers (Fairtrade Fortnight, 2009). Similarly, from our assessment of mainstream reactions to Freeganism, it is plausible that practicing Freeganism for personally-relevant goals of individual contribution to the ecology, fun and enjoyment, and thrift marginalizes the phenomenon and does not energize or excite outsiders. Freeganism without ideology becomes a temporary curiosity, a fringe group, or a fad.

Our findings reveal that the phenomenon of Freeganism represents a broad spectrum of practices and opinions that share one common idea of ecological responsibility. The analysis revealed that both the market-defying political rhetoric of consumer resistance and market-mediated anti-consumption activities are prominent in the Freegan discourse and represent opposite ends of the Freeganism spectrum. This finding contributes to the debate on anti-consumption/consumer resistance by validating the current conceptualization of both terms, and by providing empirical support to the actuality and possibility of consumer resistance action. It confirms and illustrates earlier research conclusions about a continuum-like nature of consumer resistance movements (Cherrier, 2009; Fournier, 1998).

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Paper 9. Dumpster divers: resisting by consuming the market

Amanda J. Brittain, Aromatherapy Company, Auckland, New Zealand
manzbrit@gmail.com

Karen V. Fernandez, University of Auckland, Auckland New Zealand
k.fernandez@auckland.ac.nz

The market is increasingly resisted by consumers who avoid specific products or brands (Lee, Motion and Conroy, 2009), become downshifters (Roux 2008), or adopt lifestyles of voluntary simplicity (Cherrier 2009). Dumpster divers (who emically term themselves "divers") go beyond resisting the market to attempting to subvert that market by consuming or diverting its waste. They enter commercial dumpsters (large metal bins) to collect discarded food and other items. Dumpster owners often lock, guard or sabotage their garbage in some way, making divers feel like the unwelcome "other", in stark contrast to the welcome, sought-after retail consumer (Edwards and Mercer, 2007). This influences these divers to construct their identity around the rejection of consumerism.

Our interpretive research examines how these (anti-) consumers cope with the contradictions inherent in their conflicting identities and practices as they resist the market by consuming it. Specifically, we seek to discover how divers cope with the dialectical tension inherent in needing the very market they are trying to escape; how they resolve the conflicts inherent in acquiring and consuming goods that society views as contaminated; and how they resolve their inherent need for community, while competing for scarce resources. Seven depth interviews were supplemented with a netnography, nine email interviews and overt, non-participant observation. The fifteen (depth and email) interviewees, 60 percent of which were male, ranged in age from 20 to 60. Only three were employed full time in traditional professions. The others occupied more marginalized positions in society such as artists, a monk, home-makers and students. The data was open and axial coded to develop themes which were interpreted with respect to relevant literature.

We found that because dumpster diving is viewed by others as distasteful or even illegal, divers cope by diving late at night, and avoid going in large groups. They cope with the dialectic tension between danger and discovery by diving with only one or two others at a time. They cope with the need to preserve community in a limited supply situation by following weekly diving "schedules", practicing diving etiquette, and sharing finds with others. Our informants revealed three distinct, but intertwined motivations for diving - economic, ideological and hedonic. Unpacking these motivations allowed us to discover additional coping strategies.

Economic motivations were based on the actual or potential value of recovered products to themselves or others. Although it might seem logical that some participants dived because they were unemployed and thus needed to, several informants suggested that cause and effect operated in the opposite direction - the economic value of the products they recovered from dumpsters allowed them to resist the market by avoiding traditional employment. In fact, no matter how needy our informants were, they were adamant that ideological motivations were paramount. Their ideological motivations stemmed from concerns in relation to both sides of the market. Informants felt that sellers profited due to abuses of power concerning labour conditions leading to an unfair distribution of wealth. They viewed buyers as causing detrimental effects on the environment and on consumers themselves.

We found that in contrast to our initial perception of divers as marginalized lonely figures, diving in the dark of night in ones and twos, many informants perceived diving as a "fun" consumption activity, enjoying the excitement of the adventure and the thrill of hunting and discovering a "treasure". In particular, the role of serendipity in providing something that was greatly needed or desired, was celebrated. We believe that Rufus and Lawson (2009) summed this reaction up well when they stated that collectors of discarded goods have traded choice for chance. Consumers enjoy choice and seek to control their environment by making choices, while anti-consumers view themselves as choosing to leave things to chance. Dumpster divers coped with being marginalized by society by seeking the company of like-minded divers and by seeking to convert friends and family into divers. They do this by sharing finds, and stories of finds, deliberately focusing on the positives rather than the negatives of diving.

Rather than being put off by the public's perceptions of diving as "deviant", some divers take pleasure in being viewed as deviant, stating they enjoyed feeling naughty or bad whilst diving. Even these informants do, however, engage in decontamination practices in an attempt to minimize those negatives. For example, food is washed and cooked thoroughly before being eaten, and food that is obviously contaminated is not taken. Scalding and bleach is often used to decontaminate. Divers also cope by via a reasoned adapatation strategy (Roux 2007), choosing to view their decontamination of discarded items as comparable to everyday laundering of dirty clothes to enable their re-use. These, and the other coping strategies discussed earlier enable divers to cope with inconsistencies in their lived existence.

Dumpster divers' ideological beliefs have led them to resist the market by subverting the discards of the market into useable goods. This minimizes their need to participate in that market by reducing their financial expenses and providing financial income. Although most are not well-off, they generously share their finds with family, friends and strangers, seeking to reduce what others buy "new", convert others to become divers, and form community. This suggests that they are willing to trade economic for ideological considerations. They practice safe diving and consumption practices as much as is possible, but cope with being marginalised by viewing society's distaste for re-acquired products as un-natural. They are able to satisfy economic, ideological, and gratification motivations simultaneously by choosing to enjoy chance over the choice provided by the retail market.

Our work has answered the call of Lee, Fernandez and Hyman (2009) for research that examines personal vs. societal motives for anti-consumption. We have shown that divers prioritise ideological, societal motives, over personal economic motives. Although dumpster diving may seem to be an extreme act of market resistance, it may prove to be the thin end of a wedge that topples the hegemonic rule of consumerism as mainstream consumers begin to accept the realities of climate change and peak oil. Divers' acts of resistance and resultant arrests and media coverage, have drawn attention to retail waste, which may lead to changes in how marketers create and dispose of their waste. These changes in turn, will shift power from producers to consumers (Shankar, Cherrier and Canniford, 2006). Our study of dumpster diving allowed us to examine the inter-related motivations of ideology, economics and gratification simultaneously, permitting a more holistic understanding of this phenomenon.

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3:00 -3:30 BREAK

Session 4
Chair: Sharyn Rundle-Thiele

Paper 10. Consumer Resistance between Conflict and Cooperation
The *Extreme* Case of Orphan Drugs

Isabelle Chalamon, Groupe ESC Dijon-Bourgogne, CEREN, Dijon, France
isabelle.chalamon@escdijon.eu

The impact of consumer resistance on corporate strategies is drawing more and more attention and is the subject of a growing body of work (Friedman, 1985; Pruitt and Friedman, 1986; Garrett, 1987; Davidson *et al.*, 1995; Koku *et al.*, 1997; King, 2008). This stream of research is of crucial importance since it raises the issue of the *effectiveness* of resistance actions. However, these studies are still limited in scope insofar as scholars predominantly focus their attention on one specific form of action: the boycott. Consumer resistance outcomes are therefore mainly understood in one single type of *political context*: that in which the consumers have the power and the ability to develop strong protest actions which enable them to threaten the performance or even the survival of targeted firms. On the other hand, little attention has been paid to the ways in which consumer groups with limited resources and means of action are able to resist market pressures and how they are sometimes able to modify current corporate practices. Studying resistance within *extreme political contexts* – i.e. situations in which there is a marked inequality and/or a high degree of dependency – would thus enhance our understanding of how consumer resistance affects firms. In this article, we attempt to address this gap by examining and documenting an extreme case of resistance: that of patients suffering from rare diseases who decided to take action because of the absence of treatments.

In the European context, a disease is qualified as being a "rare disease" if it affects less than one person out of 2000. These diseases are so infrequent that the sales of the drugs developed to treat them could not possibly redeem their development and marketing costs. Thus, one can speak of "orphan drugs" which implies the absence of "parents" who would be needed to develop the drugs. At the end of the 70's, patients afflicted with rare diseases, along with their relatives, began to protest against the unfairness of their situation whereby the market imperatives excluded certain illnesses on the basis of their rarity. At first, the protesters acted against the pharmaceutical companies by using assertive opposition, thinking that they could thereby influence the firm's decision makers who would become aware of the protest and, therefore, of the importance of the issue involved. However, they soon had to face the fact that direct opposition was not an effective protest strategy because of the asymmetrical relations existing between the patients and the industry, as well as the dependant situation of the patients themselves. Besides, the activists were aware that they needed the firms since the pharmaceutical companies are, in fact, the only economic actors who have the resources and the necessary skills to develop and market the drugs essential to their survival. Because of this dependency, the activists decided to do things differently: they would no longer fight the market system but rather accept it, in order to improve the existing institutions and to extend their reach so that those who did not have access to a treatment could finally benefit from the existence of these drugs.

With this perspective, activists quickly understood that they had to work alongside the dominant actors – the industry's – and by taking into account their interests in order to improve the system *from the inside*. In order to do this, it was essential not to consider the pharmaceutical companies as the *problem* but as the *solution* and therefore act *with them* and not *against them*. The protest thus evolved from a strategy of opposition to a strategy of cooperation: paradoxically, they began to struggle by collaborating with the firms by suggesting improvements in the market system which could take into account the needs for profitability. Indeed for the activists, an adjustment of the market institutions was necessary in order to reduce the financial risks involved and to improve the potential return on sales of these treatments.

Starting with the beginning of the 80's, the patient organizations fought for the introduction of a new regulation whose aim was to transform the marketing conditions of the treatments concerned. In response to this activism, the American government in 1983 passed the *Orphan Drug Act*, whose goal was to financially stimulate firms to develop these types of drugs, by giving them exclusive rights on the market for 7 years, as well as tax cuts and funding. By allowing research and development costs to be covered more easily, this regulation rapidly encouraged a growing number of pharmaceutical firms to invest in these niche markets which had been neglected up to then. In the 90's, based on this American policy and on the impulse of local patient movements, the Japanese and Australian governments followed suit by setting up new regulations. More recently - in December 1999 - a European regulation has been set up, allowing millions of patients to benefit from a treatment.

This study has several implications for research. First, we observe a strong will to resist in the patients and their relatives. They openly demand the necessity for change so that they may break out of the dead end situation of having no medical treatment available. On the other hand, their purpose is not to radically question the decision making process of pharmaceutical firms nor even the capitalist system in which they are evolving. Their priority remains relatively modest, and is limited to a demand for market adjustment which would allow them to no longer be excluded from the market and yet respect specific market constraints such as the principle of profitability. Thus, by removing ourselves from the context of traditional studies, we can observe that resistance projects are not always based on the *will for a radical change*. These kinds of actions – that could be qualified as being *minor acts of resistance* – are consistent with the ideas of "improvement work" (Martí and Mair, 2009) or "enabling work" (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) developed by institutional theorists and defined as those actions that create rules which facilitate, supplement or support existing institutions. In such contexts, where the possibilities of radically changing the existing practices are very limited, the protest action goal is therefore to improve the existing market institutions and to expand their reach so that those who did not have access to them can, at last, benefit from what the institutions have to offer. These particular forms of resistance require the development of collaboration strategies with the *incumbents* so that the system can be reformed from the inside. Our study thus highlights the cooperative dimension of certain forms of resistance which has hardly been addressed by other studies.

The activists in this extreme case, far from being in opposition with firms or the market logic, put themselves in a position of acceptance of the decision-making rules and, therefore, propose to cooperate with these dominant actors in order to find a creative solution to their joint problem. They find themselves in a paradoxical situation of resistance/cooperation, which is relatively difficult to explain with the current definition of consumer resistance. Indeed, this concept is too often thought of as synonymous with direct opposition to corporations and disobedience to market rules. Scholars have thus a tendency to overestimate the contentious dimension of resistance and, consequently, to neglect its cooperative side. Moreover, by emphasizing the cooperative aspect of certain protest projects, this study furthers the discussion whereby these actions can turn to be productive for the firm. By thinking of resistance as the expression of counter-proposals, it can

become a constructive act of power and the ability to resist – that is to say, the ability to invent alternative and credible ways of operating – also participates in organizations' adaptation and modernization (Courpasson and Golsorkhi, 2009).

Finally, by examining a case of resistance which is not based on anti-consumption behaviors, this paper adds to the current theoretical debate on the distinction between these two concepts. As Poster (1992) notes, focusing on resistance means to investigate how individuals and groups practice a strategy of appropriation in response to structures of domination. In a market context, this concept includes - at least - two situations. First, market structures can be perceived as oppressive by consumers who feel they are victims of marketing practices and messages that seem to take control of their desires and preferences. Second, the market logic can exclude certain populations from the market because of the lack of potential financial gain. In this second type of configuration, consumers can fight for the access to the right to consume. These two political contexts will then lead to two distinct forms of resistance: *anti-consumption behaviors*, developed by consumers who have the necessary resources to develop strong protest actions which enable them to threaten the performance of targeted firms and *pro-consumerist actions*, led by the actors who are excluded from the market and whose aim is to have access to the market. From this point of view, anti-consumption actions can therefore be defined as forms of action enabling consumers to resist pressures of a specific market structure.

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Paper 11. A forage into Deliberate Self-persuasion within Anti-Consumption and Consumer Resistance[1]

Louise M. Hassan, School of Management and languages, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, UK
L.M.Hassan@hw.ac.uk

Edward M. K. Shiu, Strathclyde Business School, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, UK
edward.shiu@strath.ac.uk

Obesity is a major contributor to chronic conditions such as diabetes, heart disease, high blood pressure and high cholesterol (Astrup, 2001; Kromhout *et al.*, 2002; WHO, 2004). Despite governmental efforts to persuade consumers to reduce consumption of unhealthy food, levels of obesity are still rising. It is therefore necessary to understand the mechanisms behind consumers' resistance towards adopting healthier food choices and their failures in resisting tempting (and less healthy) food offerings. We assert that understanding the role and impact of deliberate self-persuasion would hold the key to overcome consumer resistance in engaging in positive behavioural change.

The term 'deliberate self-persuasion' (DSP) was introduced by Maio and Thomas (2007) to describe a thought process whereby an individual engages in covert, self-directed, intentional attitude change to overcome ambivalent attitudes. It can be defined in layman's term as a way in which people talk themselves into having positive or negative attitudes towards an object. According to Maio and Thomas (2007) the consumer can employ two different types of covert mental strategies. One strategy is the deployment of epistemic tactics that represents an attempt to reposition one's actual attitude by striving towards a desired and correct attitude. This could mean resolving the discrepancy (between the actual and the desired correct attitudes) by concentrating on the negative aspects of the tempting object through a reasoned process towards a correct attitude. For example, one thought process might be 'the cake looks very tasty (actual attitude), but I've had cakes like that which I didn't really enjoy once I bit into it, and in any case I'm sure the cake is very high in fat and calories and I should avoid such foods (desired correct attitude)'. In essence, epistemic tactics utilize biased reasoning in the examination of the validity of the attitudinal elements in pursuit of a 'correct' attitude.

The other strategy involves teleologic tactics and does not require the consumer to revolve the discrepancy to reach a correct attitude. Instead the focus is the desired outcome facilitated by the possession of a desired attitude which need not be accurate. Teleologic tactics utilize mental control processes to block undesired feelings and beliefs, or to facilitate the accessibility of desired feelings and beliefs. For example, one thought process might be 'the cake looks very tasty (actual attitude), and I want to eat it (desired outcome), it does not look too fatty (desired attitude), so there's no problem eating it'. In essence, teleologic tactics strive towards a new reality, one that facilitates the achievement of the desired outcome.

The distinction between epistemic and teleologic DSP is aligned with previous work on cognitive and affective decision making processes. Shiv and Fedorikhin (1999) developed the concept of

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'decision basis' where decisions are driven by cognitive processes (head) versus affective processes (heart), much in line with both Epstein's (2003) and Novak and Hoffman's (2009) characterization of rational versus experiential thinking styles. In the consumption context (as employed in our research) of the choice between a chocolate bar and a piece of fruit, a reasoned process towards an alignment of one's actual and one's desired correct attitudes (towards the fruit) represents the deployment of epistemic tactics. Such cognitive processing is synonymous with the use of one's head within the decision basis conceptualisation. On the other hand, we would expect that focusing on hedonic temptations of the desired outcome (of the enjoyment of eating the chocolate bar) would be facilitated via affective processes (i.e. via the heart). This mental exertion motivated by the pursuit of the desired outcome is characteristic of teleologic processing.

The focus of our research is firstly to operationalize the DSP conceptual framework in an anti-consumption setting. Secondly, to examine its role in the consumer decision making process, specifically in relation to the influence of self-control, pertinent to consumer resistance. Finally, to assess the potential impact of DSP on obese consumers regarding healthy food choices. Across two studies nine propositions are tested.

Two studies were conducted at the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Good Food show in Birmingham, UK during November/December 2007. Participants were asked to complete a short preliminary questionnaire soliciting demographic and other personal information such as height and weight. They were then asked to choose between two snacks, a piece of fruit and a chocolate bar. They then filled out a series of questions relating to their choice of snack followed by questions on self-reported level of DSP and their decision basis regarding the choice made. Measures on general tendency to engage in teleologic DSP were also captured. A similar questionnaire was administered for study 2 with additional questions regarding DSP targeted towards each food item and targeted self-control also. A sample of n = 382 for study 1 was gained and a sample of n = 200 was gained for study 2.

The main findings from study 1 were that firstly, the classification of teleologic and epistemic DSP via decision basis predicted consumers' choice of snack. Secondly, teleologic DSP is found to lead to less healthy food choices by consumers. Thus the operationalization of the DSP conceptual framework was successful. Our research also shows that obese consumers are more likely to adopt teleologic strategies to bolster their desired attitudes in pursuit of their desired short term outcomes regarding food choices. Finally, study 1 also evidenced a link, proposed by Maio and Thomas (2007), between consumer perceived conflict and the extent of DSP.

In study 1, DSP was measured in terms of the extent the participant 'talked' themselves into the choices they made. However, no information is available to disentangle the amount of DSP targeted towards each of the two choices (chocolate bar or piece of fruit) in coming to their final choice. Study 2 addresses this ambiguity by eliciting separately the extent of DSP towards each of the two food options. A comparison can thus be made against the classificatory system utilized in study 1 to see if the targeted measures offer a better profiling of the type of DSP (epistemic versus teleologic) for the participants. Additionally, study 2 considers the moderating effect of self-control, which has been identified in the literature as pertinent in influencing consumer resistance to temptation in food choice (Dholakia *et al.*, 2006).

Study 2 validated the use of decision basis in the classification of teleologic and epistemic DSP where the targeted DSP measures aligned equally strong (when compared against study 1) with the decision basis categories of head versus heart. The findings from study 2 also showed that self-control offers a potential remedy towards the undesirable effect of teleologic DSP on choice. Thus

identification of pertinent cues to aid the activation of self-control in favour of a healthier choice is important to enable the consumer to resist tempting food choices in pursuit of a healthier diet.

Overall, our studies find that the promotion and facilitation of epistemic tactics is important as these tactics may result in positive behavioural changes towards better health and well-being. For instance, an individual might not particularly like eating fruits but they may convince themselves of the benefits of eating the fruit by focusing on beneficial vitamin and mineral contents rather than the taste of the fruit. DSP is a novel psychological concept introduced by Maio and Thomas (2007) that can be developed into an effective mechanism for resistance. The adoption of epistemic DSP can facilitate the acceptance of a loss of short term benefits in the consumer's pursuit of long term anti-consumption goals. Abundant examples in social marketing can be found such as quitting smoking for long term health benefits. More pertinent, a better understanding of the role of teleologic DSP is needed to gain insight as to why consumers at least occasionally succumb to temptation despite having firm goals and well meaning intentions. Our research is not without limitations. In our studies respondents were not offered an opportunity to eat the snack. Studies (e.g., Shiv and Fedorikhin, 1999) have found that presentation mode (i.e. real or symbolic) influences the strength of hypothesized relationships and is a contributory factor to the results obtained.

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Paper 12. Ideology, Evidence and Anti-Consumption:
A Rhetorical Analysis of Responses to Obesity Prevention Measures

Janet Hoek, Department of Marketing, University of Otago, New Zealand
janet.hoek@otago.ac.nz

Rachael McLean, Department of Medicine, University of Otago, New Zealand
rachael.mclean@otago.ac.nz

Andrea Insch, Department of Marketing, University of Otago, New Zealand
andrea.insch@otago.ac.nz

Introduction

Over the last decade, many governments have developed strategies to reduce consumption of energy-dense, nutrient-poor foods known to cause obesity, and thus diabetes, cardio-vascular disease and several cancers (Morrill and Chinn, 2004). While not overtly directed at specific brands, these strategies are generically anti-consumption, since they de-market particular food categories and promote adoption of healthier, more moderate consumption practices. Simultaneously, consumers' resistance to food marketing directed at children has increased, with recent polls indicating strong support for stricter regulation of these promotions (FOE, 2005; Phoenix Research, 2007).

However, the measures governments implement depend largely on their ideology and so may overlook research evidence, expert advice and even public opinion (Brownson et al., 2006). Ideological imperatives refocus debate away from, in this case, health outcomes, and instead emphasise the political palatability of different measures as well as their likely acceptability to stakeholders. We use a rhetorical theory framework to explore the challenge of promoting anti-consumption practices in a politically charged context.

Rhetoric and Anti-Consumption

Because anti-consumption withstands consumer culture, it is logically linked to consumer resistance, which also rejects domination by a stronger power (Cherrier, 2009). Yet while both concepts reflect wider social or political movements, they are typically discussed in terms of individual behaviours, experiences and reactions, and their relationship to social and political movements has received less attention (Austin et al., 2005; Iyer and Muncy, 2009). Furthermore, as anti-consumption practices have gained currency, they have themselves been rejected, principally by commercial entities that may be adversely affected. This irony, that anti-consumption both promotes and generates resistance, merits more detailed attention as the rhetoric used to challenge anti-consumption measures may have profound social and public health implications.

Skerlep (2001) outlined Aristotle's definition of rhetoric, which includes *logos,* or rational argumentation, and emphasises the use of language to persuade, primarily by establishing logical arguments. He suggested that managers use rhetoric to develop *"strategies of corporate discourse that justify managerial decisions and impart them in such a way that an organisation can establish and maintain beneficial relations with publics"* (p 182). Barry and Elmes (1997) had earlier argued that strategists had to disguise what they described as the *"inherent fictionality of their stories"* (p. 434; see also Scott, 1994). The use of rhetoric both to justify and obscure corporate

decisions illustrates how rational argument may not always promote logical reasoning. In some cases, it will foster fallacious reasoning, which Walton (1995) described as: "*a deceptive tactic or trick of argumentation*" (p. 250). Yet because logically flawed reasoning can still be strongly persuasive, analysis of the argumentative strategies used in corporate and political discourse may offer important insights into debates that promote and resist anti-consumption.

To develop a framework for such an analysis, we used the typology of logical fallacies that Pannetta *et al.* (2003) developed and Shuy (2003) employed to analyse arguments advanced by tobacco companies. This typology defines fallacies of relevance, which establish premises that are not relevant to the conclusions advanced; fallacies of ambiguity, which manipulate language by using terms in more than one way, and fallacies of presumption, which assume erroneous premises and mislead individuals into accepting the proposed conclusion. This framework focuses on Aristotle's *logos* and explores how rhetorical strategies influence anti-consumption debates. Table 1 contains a summary of the typology employed.

Table 1: Typology of Logical Fallacies

Fallacy	Strategy	Definition	Example
Fallacy of relevance	Shift the responsibility	Movement of responsibility to other parties.	"*If parents took responsibility for their children's diets, schools would not be required to act.*"
Fallacies of ambiguity	Ambiguity	Implying desired meaning while consistent with less desired meaning.	"*We're taking steps to do our part*".
	Ad hominem	Attacking anyone who challenges industry views.	The proponents are "*food police*".
Fallacies of presumption	Hasty generalisation	Using a very small sample to support population conclusions.	"*Some schools oppose the regulation, so it will not work.*"
	Straw man	Creating and then attacking an alternative (unrelated) argument.	"*Regulation illustrates the government's totalitarian tendencies.*"
	Slippery slope	Suggesting a series of unrelated consequences.	"*Regulation in one area will lead to other areas coming under attack.*"
	Analogy	Use of an unrelated example to illustrate an argument.	"*Dairies sell alcohol and girlie magazines, but schools don't.*"

Anti-Consumption and Public Health

We applied this framework to the discourse generated by revised guidelines that required (among other things) schools to provide only healthy food in on-site canteens (Ministry of Education, undated). These changes aimed to promote better nutrition habits among youth by reducing the availability and hence consumption, of high energy, nutrient poor foods. Although welcomed by public health practitioners, the revised regulations generated considerable resistance from food manufacturers and politicians of libertarian persuasion. Less than a year after the revised guidelines took effect, the newly elected government rescinded the provision requiring "*only healthy options*" to be sold on school premises.

Many public health initiatives promote anti-consumption measures and are often informed by consumer resistance to excessive or harmful commercial influences. This particular case illustrates how responses from parties with commercial interests in resisting anti-consumption generated considerable public and political resistance. Analysing the debate that occurred when

the revised guidelines were introduced and rescinded offers important insights into the competing tensions generated by anti-consumption forces, and the wider political context in which these are played out.

Methodology

To analyse this debate, we retrieved documents including the administration guidelines, media commentaries, industry sector and community responses, blogs and press releases. These were systematically identified via searches of media, including Newztext Plus, Google News, Stuff, NZ Herald and Scoop websites, and by reviewing government and political parties' websites for policy statements and press releases. Key search terms included "National Administration Guidelines" and "food", and the search was limited to documents issued since June 2007 (when the regulatory change was announced).

Documents retrieved were limited to those from New Zealand, since analysis of international measures revealed that the decision to introduce and revoke the policy framework had not occurred in any other country. International reports of this debate drew heavily on New Zealand reports, and were therefore excluded from the analysis. Following elimination of duplicate items, 47 documents were identified and analysed according to their use of rhetorical strategies. Two coders independently analysed the documents and identified rhetorical strategies; following consultation, the coders achieved 100% agreement over the classifications employed.

Results

We analysed responses to the guideline removal and identified widespread use of logical fallacies, particularly strategies of ambiguity and presumption. These employed two main tactics: *ad hominem,* which discredited proponents of the regulations, and "slippery slope" reasoning, which implied the regulations heralded a wider erosion of civil liberties. Because *ad hominem* implies those advancing a position are extreme, it creates a powerful context for both "straw men" and "slippery slope" claims, which first create a radical position and then suggest this will become a social norm. Furthermore labels such as "*pie police",* who were allegedly *"lurking around the corner"* are striking metaphors that elicit strong affective responses, and function as heuristics that promote superficial acceptance or rejection of a position. Ironically, these strategies evoke *anti* anti-consumption responses, without promoting cognitive appraisal of the evidence used to develop the initial intervention.

"Slippery slope" logic implied regulation and those implementing it were overbearing and sought to tell *"people how to live their lives"* and *" legislat*[ed] *away decision-making from people".* These claims re-interpret anti-consumption, suggest it weakens consumers' autonomy, and imply it is constraining rather than liberating. Consumer resistance to commercial influence becomes construed as the irrevocable ceding of power to government, rather than the positive use of regulatory tools to create empowering environments.

In a further irony, parties opposing regulation used "shift the responsibility" arguments to suggest the policy was *"a compliance issue that has nothing to do with teaching and learning...".* Viewing anti-consumption measures as "compliance", rather than a tool to promote individuals' understanding of the social and commercial forces that influence their behaviour, reduces the policy to an irritation rather than an opportunity.

Similar rhetorical strategies emerged in response to the decision to rescind the guideline, taken in early 2009. The government's decision was communicated under the headline "*Schools no longer required to be food police"* and again employed *ad hominem* and slippery slope reasoning. Some

groups congratulated the government for having "*shown some testicles for change"*, and described proponents of anti-consumption regulation as "*food fascists*". This highly metaphoric language further detracts from critical evaluation of the available evidence and again positions anti-consumption measures as impositions that reduce, rather than create, consumer freedom.

However, this phase of the debate also included more frequent references to empirical evidence, including assertions about outcomes resulting from the guidelines. Although little specific empirical evidence was adduced, several parties noted the availability of international evidence-based reports, such as the recently-released World Cancer Research Fund (WCRF, 2009). The growing empirical support for regulation stimulated wider debate over the role of government leadership, highlighting tension between commercial and public health interests (Utter *et al.,* 2009), and emphasised the need for an evidence base against which anti-consumption measures could be assessed.

Discussion and Conclusions

When promoted via regulation, anti-consumption takes on paradoxical properties; at the same time as it liberates consumers from potentially oppressive commercial influences, those commercial influences interpret it as reducing consumers' freedoms. Rhetorical strategies used in the debate over an anti-consumption policy promoted fallacious reasoning and illustrate the challenge of implementing anti-consumption measures where political and commercial resistance exists.

Understanding that corporate resistance may employ rhetorical strategies to create negative connotations about regulation and promote disquiet among the public will help policy makers develop responses to these tactics. In this case, commercial resistance resulted in highly skewed debates that deflected attention from rational analysis of the disputed guideline.

Both consumer resistance and anti-consumption policies could play a powerful role in addressing major causes of preventable death, such as obesity. Furthermore, understanding the rhetoric used to craft responses to anti-consumption policies and exposing manipulative arguments will become increasingly important, given debate over alcohol marketing and availability, and the harm attributable to tobacco consumption. However, successful implementation of anti-consumption strategies will require greater recognition of the rhetoric used by political opponents and greater willingness by politicians to confront and expose these tactics.

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Session 5
Chair: Bernard Cova

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Paper 13. Anti-Consumption as a Means of Saving Jobs.
Why Consumers Boycott Companies that Close Down Factories

Stefan Hoffmann, Technical University of Dresden, Dresden, Germany
stefan.hoffmann@tu-dresden.de

1. Introduction

Given the growing interdependence of world economy, more and more employees in industrialized countries are afraid of losing their jobs because multinational enterprises shift subsidiaries from their homeland to low-wage countries. As national governments are often unable to control these relocation decisions, non-governmental organizations try to fill the vacuum of control by calling out consumer boycotts. This type of political action can be considered as a type of anti-consumption which is a means of consumer resistance. The concepts of anti-consumption and consumer resistance have several aspects in common, such as the consumers' wish to exert influence by their consumption behavior. However, they diverge in such a way that anti-consumption is always expressed by refraining from consumption in a certain domain whereas consumer resistance can also be the active consumption of specific goods (e.g., consumption of the goods of alternative producers or participation in co-ops). The phenomenon of consumer boycotts is a demonstrative example of the overlap of both concepts. It combines the voluntary reduction of one's own level of consumption, which is a striking characteristic of anti-consumption with the wish to protest, which is a central aspect of consumer resistance. Within Iyer and Muncy's (2009) typology of anti-consumers, boycotters can be ascribed to the market actives who reject specific brands rather than consuming in general for societal rather than personal concerns.

Knowledge about why consumers join a boycott is still fragmented. Given that consumer boycotts appear in different forms, for different reasons, and for different objectives, scholars need to examine the idiosyncratic mechanisms of participation for each particular type of boycott (e.g., labor, religious, or ecological boycotts). An inspection of earlier studies indicates that some motives are universal and some are specific for the type of boycott under consideration. To gain a more comprehensive understanding, this study highlights the importance of case-specific investigations. We use the example of factory closings, which has been applied in two extant boycott studies (Hoffmann and Müller 2009; Klein *et al.* 2004). We demonstrate that solely relying on boycott drivers that are derived from general boycott theories draws an incomplete picture of participation in a specific case.

- Research question 1: Are there idiosyncratic antecedents of participation in a specific type of boycott (here: due to factory relocations) that have been neglected so far because models had been derived from general theories of boycotting?

To improve the understanding of boycott participation, we need not only consider different types of boycotts separately, but also different types of boycott supporters. Drivers have only been analyzed in cross-lag designs which did not take into account the dynamics of a boycott. However, not all participants join at the same point in time. The idea of a boycott diffuses within a certain

period of time through social networks trying to reach the critical mass of followers required to exert influence on the target company. Diffusion research suggests that consumers adapt ideas at different points in time and for different reasons. In his well-known taxonomy, Rogers (2003) distinguishes different types of adopters, such as early adopters or laggards. Each type is characterized by specific traits and motives. Transferring this concept to the investigation of boycott participation, we assume that the point in time when a consumer joins a boycott co-varies with his traits and motives to join. We assume that those who join first are more impulsive and are more likely to draw independent decisions, whereas the decision of the later adopters is based on rational considerations and the influence of important others.

- Research question 2: Do the motives to join a boycott vary over time?

2. Design

To answer the research questions, this study examines internet postings of participants in an online petition for a consumer boycott due to factory relocation. In 2006 a Swedish appliance manufacturer announced to close its German subsidiary and to shift the production to an Eastern European country. More than 1,700 workers would lose their jobs. The labor union and a local non-governmental organization initiated a consumer boycott in order to influence the decision of the Swedish holding. A website supporting the goals of the protest campaign was launched. 790 consumers put their names on an online petition. In their postings they commented briefly on the behavior of the target company and on the boycott. In accordance with Rogers' (2003) adopter taxonomy, we ascribe the petitionists to four adopter groups (innovators, early adopters, late adopters, and laggards) based on the point in time they join.

We apply an explorative *mixed-methods approach* of qualitative and quantitative research methods to investigate the postings. First, qualitative methods are used to identify different boycott drivers. Then, these categories are transformed into quantitative data, which can be analyzed by statistical methods. Starting point is a scheme of fourteen categories which are deduced from previous theories and empirical findings on boycott participation. Four pretests are conducted to validate and expand this scheme of categories. The main study is conducted by three coders who are different from those of the pretests. The average intercoder reliability is very high.

3. Findings

A hierarchical category scheme is developed which comprises main categories, composite categories, and subcategories. We distinguish the three main categories triggers, promoters, and inhibitors. Triggers are variables that prompt the individual to consider participating in a boycott. Promoters encourage consumers to join the boycott, while inhibitors provide reasons not to take part. Frequency analysis reveals that most petitionists mentioned triggers (i.e., negative emotions) and promoters (i.e., political consumerism). Only few petitionists refer to inhibitors. Presumably, this is because we only considered statements of consumers who had agreed to join the boycott. Three of the fourteen antecedents (subcategories), which are deductively derived, are not replicated (free-riding, small agent, and boomerang effects). On the other hand, we inductively identify nine new antecedents (e.g., solidarity, boycott opinion leadership, general boycott proneness). The latter mainly belong to the main categories triggers and promoters. Among other, we detect the trigger personal fates. It consists of personal affiliation, which means that the petitionist himself or members of his family are directly affected by the factory closing, and solidarity, which reflects that although not personally affiliated, the petitionists consider those losing their jobs as members of their in-group. Other inductively identified antecedents belong to the category of promoters. Considering the desire to contribute, for instance, petitionists wanted to support the boycott not only in terms of their own purchasing behavior, but also in terms of urging others to join. Moreover, many petitionists are generally skeptical about free-market economy and globalization. Facing that national governments can hardly control multinational

enterprises, they claim that consumers need to take control via their purchasing decision. This subcategory is a facet of consumer resistance and it can be seen as an analogy to the construct of predatory globalization, which is a dimension of the construct politically motivated brand rejection (Sandikci and Ekici, 2009).

As expected, a contingency analysis reveals that the point in time when a person joins a boycott is related to his motives for participating. Differences between the four groups of adopters are statistically significant with regard to all three main categories. This finding is mirrored in several composite categories. Consumers who participate relatively early consider only few reasons. Petitionists who join later mention far more reasons, such as negative emotions, desire to contribute, and political consumerism. Notably, findings are vice versa when considering personal fates. Presumably, individuals who are personally affected or feel a strong degree of solidarity want to act immediately. They impulsively decide to join the boycott, whereas those not affiliated take more time to decide rationally whether or not to participate.

4. Conclusions

With regard to research question 1, we found some of the inductively identified influencing factors are only relevant for the type of boycott under consideration (e.g., critics of globalization, disappointment over the fate of the company). Solidarity, for example, is not relevant for other types of boycotts like environmental boycotts. Accordingly, next to general boycott promoters (e.g., belief in efficacy of boycotts) and inhibitors (e.g., preference for boycotted products), scholars need to develop an understanding for the idiosyncratic motives in the boycott under consideration. Moreover, with regard to research question 2, this study shows for the first time that different types of consumers should be distinguished when analyzing boycott participation. The reasons for taking part in a boycott vary between different adopter types. Those who join early are more likely to be personally affiliated, whereas those who join late have to consider first whether or not the benefits of a boycott outperform their personal costs of privation.

This paper gives evidence that consumer boycotts are conceptually located in the overlap of anti-consumption and consumer resistance. As in any form of anti-consumption, the voluntary restriction of one's own consumption behavior in a certain domain is the behavioral manifestation of the boycott. The purpose of the boycott, however, is the consumer's wish to resist an aggressor. The content analysis shows that this desire of consumer resistance might stem from two types of motives. Some consumers join boycotts because they feel solidarity with those affected by a certain relocation decision, whereas others are politically motivated and thus generally prone to boycott any company that acts in a socially irresponsible manner. Multinational companies need to ensure that they are regarded as socially responsible by both types of potential boycotters.

This paper provides a fruitful basis for future studies. By means of an explorative and qualitative approach, we identify several antecedents of participation in boycotts due to factory relocation that have been neglected so far. Further research is needed to quantify the impact of these drivers. Findings should be replicated for consumers in other countries and cultures.

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Paper 14. Consumption Expressions of Ideological Resistance

Cristel Antonia Russell, University of Auckland, New Zealand
c.russell@auckland.ac.nz

Dale W. Russell, University of California, Berkeley, USA
dwrussell@berkeley.edu

Consumer resistance is often based on ideological or cultural motivations (Varman and Belk, 2009). This paper focuses on resistance driven by negative sentiment toward a country due to cultural, political, military, and economic reasons, or animosity (Klein, Ettenson, and Morris, 1998; Onea, 2008). Previous research in this domain has linked animosity toward a given country to explicit judgments and purchases of products from that country, asking consumers directly whether they own or what they think of products from country X. This focus on consumption attitudes and behaviors explicitly linked to a country ignores the potentially latent nature of ideological beliefs and the possibility that they may reveal themselves behaviorally and in a more subtle fashion, such as through consumption choices.

This research explores implicitly driven consumption resistance in the context of anti-Americanism. Although many believed that anti-American sentiment would subside following the election of President Obama, this has yet to be the case (Brown, 2009) and anti-Americanism is still exhibited by millions of people throughout the world (Grigoriadis, 2010). The political science literature suggests that anti-Americanism is related to long-term resistance rooted in major ideological, cultural, and religious differences (Berman, 2005; Sardar and Davies, 2003). Having developed over a prolonged period of time, anti-Americanism is heavily engrained in the psyche and therefore unlikely to change (Onea, 2008).

Despite continuous evidence of animosity toward the US (Grigoriadis, 2010; PEW, 2006; Sardar and Davies, 2003), only limited evidence exists regarding whether and how this country-based resistance affects the consumption (or anti-consumption) of US products (Lee, Motion and Conroy, 2009). The degree to which politically motivated rejection (Sand and Ekici, 2009) catalyzed by a country (Russell and Russell, 2006) is expressed in the moral avoidance (Lee et al., 2009) of products from that country deserves further empirical testing.

Research context and hypotheses
The potentially latent nature of country-based resistance requires not only an unbiased assessment of its relationship to materialized forms of expressions (Althusser, 1971), such as the consumption of US versus domestic products (Varman and Belk, 2009), but also an evaluation of the impact on consumption preferences of making resistance salient. This is addressed here in a study that relates animosity toward the US and actual consumer choices in a market where US products coexist with products of other origins, hence providing consumers with choice options. In order to distinguish between latent and explicit consumption expressions, two behavioral measures are collected. The first measure focuses on actual consumer choices by collecting information on existing market offerings without making the CoO obvious, thus providing an externally valid and unbiased measure of moral avoidance (Peterson and Jolibert, 1995). The second choice measure is collected after measuring animosity to capture consumption behavior under activation of otherwise latent country-based resistance.

This study examines the relationship between latent animosity toward the US and movie consumption in France, a country with a long history of anti-Americanism (Lacorne, 2005), but also

one that is not tied to any conscious or experienced animosity (Roger 2005). As such, it is an ideal context for testing the two key research questions: Is latent animosity toward the US expressed in reduced consumption of US products (RQ1)? Does prompting animosity activate ethnocentric tendencies, as reflected by a preference for domestic products (RQ2)?

Method

The research questions were tested with cross-sectional survey data of movie consumption collected in France. 417 undergraduate students participated in an online survey presented as a set of unrelated studies. The first study, presented as a study of people's entertainment choices, included the main dependent variable, a movie consumption measure. Respondents were asked to list the last five movies they had watched at a movie theater over the past month. This actual consumption measure ensured the validity of the answers. All reported movies were subsequently coded by CoO to allow for accurate ratios of US movie consumption to be computed. Respondents were also asked a series of questions concerning how much each of ten factors contributes to their movie choices (e.g., director, main actor(s), awards received). These randomly presented factors were rated on a scale from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important) and included CoO. This measure was designed to unobtrusively assess the salience and relative role of the CoO criterion in participants' decisions (Bloemer, Brijs, and Kasper, 2009).

The second part of the survey was presented as a study of people's views of national and international politics. This section included measures of the independent variables. Using a set of 5-point Likert scale anchored by 1 (strongly disagree) and 5 (strongly agree), respondents indicated their level of agreement with a series of twenty-four randomly presented statements in which items from the key constructs were intermixed: anti-Americanism, ethnocentrism, and global openness. In the final section, demographic information was collected. All participants were then told that, to thank them for completing the study, they would be entered in a lottery for four movie tickets. As such, they had to choose between tickets for French or for foreign movies. This actual choice measure captures whether ethnocentric consumption tendencies emerge after anti-Americanism is measured, and thus prompted.

Findings

To test RQ1, the ratio of US movies watched in the last month was regressed against anti-Americanism, ethnocentrism, global openness, with age and gender as control variables, as well as controlling for the total number of movies watched. In support of RQ1, anti-Americanism is the only variable significantly and negatively related to the consumption of US movies: the more participants held anti-American views, the less US movies they had watched in the last month. To test RQ2, the choice of domestic versus foreign movie tickets in the lottery at the outset of the study was analyzed in a logistic regression against the same set of independent variables. The regression reveals that, that, once made salient, anti-Americanism is related to a subsequent increase in preference for domestic movies, in support of RQ2.

Discussion

The study provides empirical evidence for the proposition that ideological resistance to the US in France is reflected, to some degree, in anti-consumption of US movies: French respondents at the high end of the anti-Americanism spectrum had watched fewer American movies in the past month. In addition, when their animosity toward the US is made salient, these high animosity French respondents also express an increased preference for domestic future, even though they are not generally ethnocentric. The study reveals that consumers with strong ideological anti-American views pay closer attention to CoO information but their anti-consumption still appears to be selective.

Given its deep roots and latent nature, resistance based on anti-Americanism is strongly anchored in consumers' psyche, even though, as this study shows, the resulting avoidance is selective. Still, as

anti-Americanism persists despite efforts to change America's image abroad, consumer resistance to American products is garnering more attention from business leaders and policymakers alike in the US.

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Paper 15. Resistance to advertising and boycott: An international comparison

Patrice Cottet, University of Reims and Champagne School of Management (REPONSE), Reims, France
patrice.cottet@univ-reims.fr

Jean-Marc Ferrandi, ONIRIS, France
jean-marc.ferrandi@oniris-nantes.fr

Marie-Christine Lichtlé, University of Burgundy, CERMAB-LEG, Dijon, France
mc.lichtle@free.fr

Purpose

The development of forms of mistrust, opposition bordering on rebellious behavior, has been leading, since the 1990's, (Peñaloza and Price, 1993) to the emergence of a new field of research based on the study of the anti-consumption phenomenon and consumer resistance. If the framework of analysis of consumer resistance in general has recently been clarified (Roux, 2007), the concept of resistance to advertising is less studied. We believe that resistance to advertising can be manifested through real behavior, more than a simple maintenance of attitude. This constitutes an important difference with resistance to persuasion. Knowles and Linn (2004) have highlighted some characteristics of resistance to persuasion (inertia, reactance, distrust and scrutiny). But these characteristics do not cover the full spectrum of the manifestations of resistance to advertising. Some consumers develop "avoidance strategies" to advertising, which are not discussed in the literature on persuasion. Then, it seems appropriate to consider resistance to advertising from an approach more focused on behavior.

Because of its high visibility, boycotting is a form of anti-consumption and resistance which has often been analyzed. Boycotts are collective and organized actions in which consumers decide individually whether or not to take part (Cissé-Depardon, 2009). More precisely, a boycott is "a collective refusal to purchase goods or services from a company or distributor whose business or social practices are deemed unfair" (Friedman, 1999). This author has identified two types of motivation: instrumental expressive boycott. Klein, Smith, and John (2004) have identified two values associated with boycotting: intrinsic and extrinsic values. Inspite of all the research on boycotting, it is surprising that the link between resistance behavior to advertising and boycotting has not yet been studied.

Thus, the purposes of this paper are to:

1. understand what the behavior of resistance to advertising is, from the consumer's perspective, and to suggest a scale to measure this variable,
2. check the stability of this scale by a comparison between two different cultural contexts,
3. study the relationship between resistance to advertising and brand boycotts.

First, a literature review enables us to offer a definition of the resistance to advertising behavior. The differences with resistance to persuasion and ad avoidance are underlined. Then, a scale is suggested and validated. Its stability is showed on an international level. We identify several groups of consumers that present varying degrees of resistance to advertising and categorizes them according to a boycott probability.

Design/methodology/approach

Two qualitative studies have been conducted. First, we have opted for the collage projection technique in focus groups. Despite undeniable benefits, this technique is not often used in academic settings. It mitigates consumers' physical defence mechanisms and reveals representations and perceptions associated with a concept. Nine collages have been produced. To analyze these productions, we have conducted a decryption of photographs on the basis of a floating interpretation. Then, we have compared the decryption with the individuals' remarks to identify the themes relating to the perception of resistance to advertising. Secondly we have used the traditional semi-directive interview. Forty consumers have been interrogated. Their answers have been analyzed by content analysis.

At the end of this qualitative step, a final list of 35 items have been obtained to describe resistance to advertising.

Two quantitative studies have been conducted successively among 385 and 305 participants in France and in Switzerland, all aged between 18 and 86. We have followed the recommendations of Churchill (1979) and the usual practices in cross-cultural research (Marchetti et Usunier, 1990). A scale of resistance to advertising has been created using confirmatory factor analysis. It has been followed by a cluster analysis.

Findings

The concept of resistance to advertising has been discriminated from similar concepts (for example a negative attitude toward the ad). A reliable, valid scale of resistance to advertising behavior is proposed. 5 dimensions have been found (avoidance, no impact, reject, back to values and Internet). Six groups of resistant consumers have been identified by means of cluster analysis. Their main characteristics are:

- The anti-epub: they don't resist except to the intrusion of ad message on Internet. They don't reject brands which advertise and aren't involved by a return to values.
- The non resistant: they appreciate advertising and recognize its impact on their purchase.
- The realist: they recognize the impact of advertising on their preferences, but tend to resist toward advertising following the impression of excessive intrusion of advertising in their life.
- The resistant: they tolerate only advertising on Internet.
- The pure resistant: resistant "par excellence" ; they resist any form of advertising.
- The ambivalent: rather not resistant they don't resist commercial intrusion. Only a return to values would incite it to resist.

The international stability of this scale has been checked. Results show that the more the consumer is resistant to advertising, the more he may boycott brands. The three resistant groups identified by the analysis conducted have already boycotted a brand.

Research limitations/implications

In addition to a deeper study of the concept of resistance to advertising, it is the first time that a scale of the resistance to advertising behavior is suggested.

Moreover, academic research has not yet been able to identify different groups of consumers showing resistance to advertising. Finally, the relationship between resistance to advertising and brand boycott has not been established until now.

One limitation is that this paper studies self-reported behaviors (not observed behaviors).

Practical implications

First, understanding the mechanisms of resistance to advertising communication, and especially the elements that trigger this resistance appears to be essential for the advertisers in order to be able to avoid the entry to resistance. Secondly, this research provides announcers with a tool allowing them to classify consumers according to their degree of resistance. And, finally when the consumer is resistant, this work will enable them to choose a more efficient communication, in order to avoid consumer resistance (i.e. less intrusive advertising).

Originality/value
This paper is original because of its subject: the resistance to advertising behavior. Its originality is both conceptual and methodological because of its quantitative approach, most research on resistance concentrating on a qualitative approach.

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10:30 -11:00 BREAK

Session 6
Chair: Mike S W Lee

Paper 16. **Deviance, Resistance and Consumption**

Yohan Gicquel, IRG - University Paris-Est
y.gicquel@thelab.fr

Abdelmajid Amine, IRG - University Paris-Est
amine@univ-paris12.fr

Consumer behaviour is most often studied from the standpoint of a lasting link with a firm, brand or product. Nevertheless, it is evident that since the 1990s (Peñaloza and Price, 1993), oppositional behaviour in regard to firms or the consumption system has grown, as is testified by boycotts, alternative means of exchange (*e.g.* eBay) and private sale events. Yet studies on consumers' resistance behaviour and more generally on the wish to be independent of the system remain marginal. Like other researchers, we think that such behaviour should not be viewed simply as a brake on the economy, but that it also opens up opportunities and should be understood as a new variable that explains the system's functioning. The same goes for the topic of deviance, a concept in which marketing researchers still have only an embryonic or limited interest. Starting from too narrow a view of deviant actions, the researchers who are interested in this subject have probably restricted their understanding of deviant behaviour and the central concept.

It is in this context that we submitted our contribution to the special issue of the *European Journal of Marketing* on *Anti-consumption and Consumer Resistance*. This abstract presents the main elements of our contribution. Our paper deploys the notions of resistance and deviance to explore new possibilities for interpretation and articulation. It suggests that activities defined as deviant and those viewed as resistant could be mutually imbricated.
To explore this conjecture, the paper presents the current state of research on the concept of consumer resistance and clarifies and defines the concept of deviance, which has been less investigated in marketing. Since any social action is based at least on a normative system, the concept of the norm is also mobilized. Finally, after examining each of these notions in turn, the paper offers an answer to the initial question: is there a possible interaction between resistance and deviance? In conclusion, it puts forward a geometric representation of these forms of behaviour and demonstrates the theoretical and managerial potential of the two concepts. Sociologists who have studied deviance define it as a social phenomenon, a process that results in the subject acting or thinking in a way that lies outside the norms laid down by a society[2].

Etymologically, the term deviance, derived from the Latin *deviare*, signifies "straying from the right path" or "making a detour". In studying consumer deviant behaviour, we follow Moschis and Cox (1989) in viewing the work of R.K. Merton on this topic as a major contribution to our

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[2] The use that we make of the term *society* should be understood in the broad sense, as a form of existence characterized by life in a group, a milieu in which a culture and its forms of expression develop.

understanding. Within an inegalitarian perspective, deviance is the result of a conflict between the *goals* set by society and the *means* available to the individual, as a result of his social position, to achieve them (Merton, 1949: 128). Society creates the "contextual" conditions of deviance. It subjects the individual to intense and contradictory pressures. It valorises what he ought to be, whereas he is unable to achieve this state because of his lack of means. Merton looks at five forms of adaptation to the norm set by a society. He considers that two them, *innovation* and *rebellion*, can take the form of individual deviation or collective revolt. In the area of consumption, deviant behaviour takes varied forms: inappropriate behaviour in the point-of-sale (Mills and Bonoma, 1979), compulsive behaviour, impulse buying, theft, fraud and many others (Moschis and Cox, 1989). In this perspective, deviance is not necessarily an act for which the perpetrator is liable to prosecution. In addition, certain phenomena such brand communities may not be viewed as "*normal* by the general populace*" (Fowler, 2007).

Any examination of *deviance* requires mobilizing the concept of *norm*. In this paper, norm is understood from two standpoints within the context of the study of deviant behaviour. For the social psychologist, a norm is based on a lasting influence and a modification of values. It is concerns the structuring of adherence to or belonging to the group (Ladwein, 2003: 132). It equally plays a key role in the determination of choices in all areas of consumption (Bourdieu, 1979). But the norms we are concerned with here are set more by the individual himself within the area fixed by society, that is, within a framework in which society expects the individual to be placed. The individual is counted on to conform to this expectation. The desired effect is to obtain a *general set of homogenous and desired behaviours* that the individual can thus follow without necessarily agreeing with them. Consequently, it is difficult for the researcher to identify a phenomenon and to describe it categorically as normal or abnormal.

Etymologically, a *norm*, derived from the Latin *norma* (set square, rule, law) is a rule, a habitual and usual state. From this point of view, it refers to a statistical average. It obviates making a value judgement since it is defined in relation to a frequency, a state conforming to the majority of cases. In his discussion on the normal and abnormal, Durkheim (1894: 160) explains that "crime is normal because a society that would be exempt from crime is completely impossible", but that it can become abnormal when it reaches an "excessive" level. On this view, "a social fact is normal for a specific social type, considered at a specific stage in its development, when it occurs in accordance with the average for societies of this kind, considered at the corresponding stage of their evolution" (pp. 157).

In the domain of consumption, more or less "hostile" behaviours increasingly emerge in opposition to market actors or the system (Roux, 2005). These manifest themselves in various ways and not all of them involve breaking the law. It is a matter variously of behaviours in opposition to firms (boycotts, theft, defacement, vandalism, negative word-of-mouth, etc.), behaviours opposed to market ideology (adbusting, second-hand shopping, etc.) and behaviours opposed to materialist ideology (downshifting, voluntary simplicity, etc.). Etymologically, the term "resistance", *resistere*, means *stopping, not moving further forward*. It expresses the property by which one body resists the action of another, the variable tendency or capacity to cancel or diminish the effect of a force or action, sustained by combat or revolt. Resistance is the opposite of conformity. Resistance arises from conflict; the subject does not oppose if he subscribes to something (Roux, 2007). His rebelliousness toward the established order and his tendency not to conform to it may be silent, either isolated or collective (Roux, 2007) and varying in degree. Animadversion indicates a reference system that is not accepted by the subject. This returns to one of the main properties of the notion of conformity, according to which acceptance of a pressure exerted on the subject is limited and contingent on the pressure exerted (Asch, 1952).

After deploying the concepts of deviance, norm and resistance and suggesting how they are articulated in the framework of a model, the paper looks at various implications and lines of further research.

There are many points of convergence between deviance and resistance, both in the nature of the behaviours manifested and in their relationship to their norm. Very obviously, anti-consumption and resistance behaviours, despite their growing coverage by the media and ICT, remain quite marginal in consumer society. This marginal character makes them deviations from normality as much from a statistical as a sociological standpoint.

In the first part, our paper provides a typology of consumer behaviours in relation to the social norm. This classification arranges consumption practices according to whether they are viewed as normal or deviant, accepted or rejected. In the second part, this dialectical principle shows the existence of contradictory behaviours (e.g. reduction of consumption and addictive behaviour). The "mirroring" of concepts indicates therefore the effects of extreme variations in behaviour. We propose representing these on a continuum. The lower sphere comprises behaviours indicating independence in relation to the system (resistant and/or anti-consumption practices), while the upper area contains behaviours that are dependent on the system (addiction, excessive loyalty, etc.). The median represents the norm. Resistance behaviour and anti-consumption are thus deviant practices insofar as they diverge and deviate from normality.

This contribution is a first attempt to clarify the concepts of deviance, resistance and anti-consumption, needed by researchers in management studies who are interested in the issues of challenging, opposition to and dependence on the market system and consumer society. It opens up lines of research on notions that can differentiate and articulate deviant and resistant behaviour in relation to (non)consumption. This paper is a step toward a more detailed study and opens up new research perspectives on the possible hierarchization of consumers' opposition and dependence behaviours in which the typology of adaptations to the norm proposed by Merton can be profitably mobilized.

The implications of the study for management and the public authorities are also of considerable interest. Thus, while deviance through excess consumption (addiction) may be advantageous to companies, it gives rise too to serious social problems (dependence, indebtedness, obesity, breakdown of social bonds, etc.) and concerns corporate social responsibility. On the other hand, deviance through the abnormal reduction of consumption (downsizing, voluntary simplicity) certainly threatens the actors operating in the conventional market system by destructuring it, as well as creating opportunities through the creation/development of alternative markets and stimulating the economy (emergence of new "local" actors, replacement/evolution of norms, etc.).

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Session 6
Chair: Mike S W Lee

Paper 17. **Consumer cynicism: from resistance to anti-consumption in a disenchanted world?**

Philippe Odou, Faculté de Finance Banque Comptabilité, Université Lille Nord de France, France
Philippe.odou@univ-lille2.fr

Pauline de Pechpeyrou, Institut de Management de le la Distribution, Université Lille Nord de France, France
pauline.depechpeyrou@univ-lille2.fr

Despite the suggested importance of cynicism as an antecedent to the resistance of consumers to consumption and to impulse buying (Pollay, 1986; Roux, 2007b), it appears only in the background of countercultural movements (Holt, 2002) or is used as a foil by those who take part in anti-consumption movements (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004). Our research objective is therefore to demonstrate the importance of cynicism in the study of anti-consumption and resistance. This can be done by questioning the widely used definition of cynicism in social and psychological research. We propose four different figures of consumption cynicism: the defensive cynic, the offensive cynic, the subversive cynic and the ethical cynic. Whereas the defensive and offensive cynics try to cope for or to take advantage of the existing system, the subversive and ethical cynics denounce the materialistic consumption system and offer an alternative.

Defensive consumer cynicism : resisting marketing manipulative attempts

Cynicism and its milder form, sketpticism, can be considered as defensive mental devices against marketing stimuli (Roux, 2007b). Fear of being deceived, doubt, distrust and suspicion are part of the usual cognitive reactions toward such selling techniques as telephone selling (Roux, 2008), direct selling (Kirmani and Campbell, 2004) or toward advertising in general (Darke and Ritchie, 2007; Pollay, 1986). These general beliefs about how marketers are trying to persuade consumers are known as marketplace metacognitions (Friestad and Wright, 1994). They enable consumers to remain alert, to quickly identify persuasion attempts and to resist them by writing them off as manipulation. Through direct disappointing buying experiences (Darke and Ritchie, 2007), "cumulative exposure to advertising clutter" (Rumbo, 2002) or indirect learning (Capella and Jamieson, 1997), metacognitions are developped, allowing "deconstruction and critical distanciation" from firms' discourses (Roux, 2007a) and at the same time emancipating (at least from the consumer's point of view) the "reflexively defiant consumer" (Ozanne and Murray, 1995) from marketplace influence (Holt, 2002).

In this sense, skepticism and cynicism are part of a continuum from trust to mistrust and distrust (Helm, 2004). The main difference between both concepts is that for the cynic, distrust applies not only to the message but also to the source (Kanter and Mirvis, 1989), implying some kind of hostility (Eisinger, 2000). This resentment comes from the central belief that "self-interest alone motivates companies", leading people to distrust their altruistic motives (Lee *et al.*, 2009).

Offensive consumer cynicism: Countering through market resources exploitation

Research on consumer resistance to persuasion techniques or buying impulse has focused mostly on the defensive aspects of consumer behaviour, eschewing the offensive aspects usually ascribed to marketers whose ethical considerations are viewed as waning rapidly in the face of the pragmatic imperative of economic performance (Kanter, 1989; Bergadaà, 2004). "Command cynics" are characterized by "*their single-minded opportunism and an unrivaled capacity for sophistry (making the better argument appear to be the worse)*" and "Articulate Players" put ethical considerations aside "*in favor of what they consider achievement*" (Kanter and Mirvis, 1989).
This kind of cynicism nourishes anti-corporate discourses which consider organizational changes toward ethical values as "*cynical marketing ploys*" (Thompson and Arsel, 2004). Defining clearly and stigmatizing the adversary is an important component of a social movement, with the function of "*unifying and motivating activist mobilization*" (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004). Thus the portrait of "*large corporate puppeteers*" is a powerful narrative in the anti-corporate ideology.
However, the vision of the consumer as victim of a cynical capitalist system, if not totally false, is incomplete. Kirmani and Campbell (2004) have shown how "ordinary" consumers can develop offensive and opportunist strategies when dealing with a seller. In many cases, the manipulative attempt is therefore on the consumer's side. For example, Cash Refund Offers might be diverted into economic resources (Odou *et al*, 2009). In doing so, consumers feel smarter than brands and express their independence as opposed to naive consumers and this justifies breaking social conventions and behaving out of social norms. Being as cynical as the marketers described by Kanter (1989), consumers might agree to make use of their social networks and to deliberately manipulate other consumers in order to derive personal interest (Kretz, 2009).

Subversive consumer cynicism: "shocking a deluded humanity into awareness of its [consumerist] foolishness"[3]

Contemporaneous conception of cynicism as a psychological tool, either offensive or defensive, gives a natural boundary to its initial critical power. Antique cynics actively sought to transgress norms defined by a hypocritical society: "*in ancient times, the Cynics held to virtuous ideals and sought to shock a deluded humanity into awareness of its foolishness*" (Kanter and Mirvis, 1989). Like Socrates, Diogenes made it his mission to expose the social artifices in which reality is shrouded. But whereas Socrates favored dialogue, the Cynics preferred to shock through their words and acts, using a cynical and acerbic form of humor to deride institutions, social norms and the hypocrisies of the system. In the same way, to denounce the cultural hegemony of the old system (Gramsci, 1971), anti-consumerist movements take the form of a counter-culture which aims at breaking the codes of the old system in a creative way (Rumbo, 2002). The symbolic force of the creative gesture is at the service of a scathing social denunciation, which links this movement to antique cynicism.
Consumerism is at the forefront of the critique (Baudrillard, 1970). In particular, situationists denounce the artificiality produced by the spectacular society (Debord, 1994 [1967]). Beyond

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[3] The word "consumerist" has been added to the original text

advertisement diversion, some artists have chosen to attack the very symbols of the consumerist society (such as Ronald Mc Donald or Mickey for a famous Bansky's poster) or to denounce consumerism by recycling waste into works of art (Arte Povera movement).

These artistic movements condemn the physical colonization of public space and the gap between the public image of corporations and corporate practices, as in the Adbuster magazine (Rumbo, 2002; Rémy, 2007). They also deplore the psychological colonization of consumers' minds, hoping for the rediscovering of an authentic self. Symbolic marketplace resources are reworked and rearranged to regain autonomy (Cherrier, 2009). This supposes "the existence of a natural and authentic self apart" (Rumbo, 2002).

To sum up, subversive consumer cynicism should be considered as an ideology seeking to free consumers from marketplace hegemony by diverting fiercely marketing symbols and creating a mental emancipation from consumerist norms.

Ethical consumer cynicism: Relieving consumer from consumption

Beyond social criticism and the creative gesture that goes with it, classical cynicism also proposes a kind of life ethics: "*Cynics transposed simplicity to virtue and extreme simplicity to extreme virtue*" (Onfray, 1990, p.32). This worship of a simple life, freed from social artifices, is shared by many philosophical schools of Antiquity such as stoicism and can also be found in Taoism, Buddhism and American transcendentalism.

Looking for extreme simplicity is a project that could be easily appropriated by voluntary simplifiers. More precisely, taking into account the distinction between downshifters and ethical simplifiers (Shaw and Newholm, 2002), classical cynicism should be closer to downshifting because of the self-centred interest and the distrust for altruistic motives. This kind of cynicism offers an ethical thinking as it starts with an uncompromising self-analysis. In that sense, ethical consumer cynicism could be defined as a way of life, a quest for an autonomous identity, stripped of the superfluous commodities imposed by a deluded consumerist society. To conclude, subversive cynicism and ethical cynicism are both seeking to free individuals from themselves and to impose "a regime of truth" (Cherrier, 2009) to others (culture jammers) or oneself (voluntary simplifiers).

Conclusion

In consumer research, cynicism is often seen as a defensive psychological tool against persuasion attempts through constant suspicion toward messages, but also, and more importantly, toward the intentions of brands or retailers. Drawing on this functional conception of cynicism, we go further when we suggest that cynicism helps consumers strive for their own benefit against persuasion agents by diverting marketing resources or other consumer naivety. In doing this, cynical consumers are resisting marketing persuasive techniques but not the consumerist ideology. The philosophical and sociological review has proved to be useful by suggesting an alternative view of consumer cynicism as a thought system establishing autonomy as the end individuals should strive for. Cynicism, in that case, challenges consumerist ideology, disparages its core values and condemns individuals who subscribe to this society corroded by hypocrisy and social conventions seen as fake constructions. Still, the four kinds of cynicism we identified have in common a critical approach of marketing discourses and a disenchanted view of marketed society.

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Paper 18. Inter-relationships between desired and undesired selves and anti-consumption

Katerina Karanika, Lancaster University, Lancaster, UK
e.karanika@lancaster.ac.uk

Margaret K. Hogg, Lancaster University, Lancaster, UK
m.hogg@lancaster.ac.uk

This paper investigates and conceptualises the interrelationship between desired and undesired selves in anti-consumption that represents an important gap as previous consumer research (e.g. Belk 1988; Banister and Hogg 2001; 2003; Freitas et al 1997; Lee et al 2009; Wilk 1997) has identified that desired and undesired selves play a significant role in anti-consumption. This is in line with Hogg, Banister and Stephenson (2009) who acknowledge that symbolic anti-consumption revolves around the dynamic dialectic of positive and negative poles (or approach-avoidance motivations) and call for research that focuses on the reciprocity of the relationship between the positive and negative poles in (anti-)consumption.

Background

Anti-consumption is "resistance to, distaste of or even resentment of consumption" (Zavestoski 2002a,b). According to Hogg (1998), anti-consumption involves two aspects of consumers' negative choices: non-choice (that includes products/services not bought, often because they are not within the means of the consumer; and concerns factors such as affordability, availability and accessibility) and anti-choice (that includes products/services which are positively not chosen because they are seen as incompatible and/or inconsistent with the consumer's other consumption choices/preferences and concerns the overlapping factors of abandonment, avoidance and aversion). However, the way factors such as abandonment, avoidance and aversion overlap in anti-consumption as well as the boundaries between consumption anti-choices and non-choices have been neglected and this study attempts to shed light on these issues.

Fournier (1998) shows consumer resistance using a continuum that ranges from avoidance behaviours to minimization behaviours, to active rebellion. Bagozzi and Lee (1999) also classify resistance (regarding innovations) according to its active or passive nature. And Kleijnen, Lee, Wetzels (2009) proposed consumer resistance regarding innovation to range in a continuum from postponement (less intense resistance), to rejection, to active opposition. However, a model that recognises the different forms of and the different factors in identity-based consumer resistance is missing from the literature even though resistance can be about resisting an expected or attributed identity (Hollander, Einwohnersome 2004, p.537). What identity-based consumer resistance consists of has been under-researched. An exception is the study of Cherrier (2009) that argues that identity construction is central to the development of consumer resistance and

identified different consumer resistant identities. This exploratory study into how consumers pursue identities through anti-consumption sheds further light on the different forms of and factors in identity-based consumer resistance.

This study adopts the phenomenological approach to the self (Reed 2002) that views the self as an ongoing project, dynamically constructed through dialogue with different images of self from past and future, mediated by anticipated responses of significant or generalised others (Sartre 1943, Heidegger 1962). The self is viewed as a multi-faceted, multi-layered, social and psychological being, continually reflecting on itself and a consumer's identity is deemed to reside in the individual's perception, description and lived experiences. We focus on the notions of the desired and undesired self that are positively or negatively imagined or experienced roles or states of being (e.g. Markus and Nurius 1986, Eisenstadt and Leippe 1994, Roberts et al 2005) that reflect the dynamic and multi-faceted nature of the self and impact on anti-consumption experiences.

Research design and method

This phenomenological study explored thirty consumers' anti-consumption experiences in relation to desired and undesired selves. As desired and undesired selves and anti-consumption are embedded in the psycho-socio-cultural context of the individual, a phenomenological, contextual examination was considered to be promising for generating rich data, giving insight into the emotionality and symbolism in anti-consumption. Due to the personal nature of the research topic, phenomenological interviewing (Thompson et al 1989 and 1990) was used as it allows people (with the researcher's mediating influence) to reflect on deeply personal issues and emphasises human experience as described from a first-person account in order to experience the world from the viewpoint of the subject. Respondents were asked to talk about themselves and their lives, and to *"Tell the story"* about the products and/or consumption activities that they avoid, do not choose or do not like.

Interviews were transcribed and a phenomenological-hermeneutical analysis (Thompson et al 1989 and 1990) using a back-and-forth, part-to-whole interpretation mode was applied to the data in order to generate theory building around the desired and undesired selves and their inter-relationship in anti-consumption. This way the developing thematic structure was continuously challenged, modified and revised. In order to relate to the respondents' reflections in a non-dogmatic fashion, no theories were employed to impose meanings in the interpretation and an emic approach was primarily used relying on participants' own terms/categories rather than those of the researcher. Then an etic interpretation was followed that linked the emic meanings to broader theoretical terms.

Findings and discussion

The interrelationships between desired and undesired selves in anti-consumption were characterised by two patterns: firstly conflicting and secondly compatible desired and undesired selves. More specifically:

In the first pattern, consumers experience the dilemma of choosing between one pair of desired/undesired selves over another pair of desired/undesired selves (win-lose situations). Maria (aged 46), for example, experiences the dilemma of choosing between either "being a caring mother but not enjoying herself" or "enjoying herself but being a negligent mother" which are two opposite possible identities each involving a desired and an undesired self. In this case, existential dilemmas, tensions and **identity conflicts** (e.g. Ahuvia 2005) were experienced and coloured respondents' anti-consumption experiences. The object or activity in this case represents and enables both a desired and an undesired self and the consumer has both positive and negative (mixed) feelings about it, and a "love-and-hate" relationship with it. The consumer resists, avoids and/or abandons the

product/activity, often choosing not to afford it at least temporarily. Respondents' ambivalent feelings connected to their approach/avoidance conflicts that often contributed to purchase delays (Bagozzi, Lee 1999).These respondents' descriptions demonstrate that resistance to consumption is not easy to adopt and refusing to purchase certain items can be emotionally costly (Cherrier and Murray 2007).

For example, some respondents expressed mixed feelings for, resisted, avoided and abandoned clothes that they consider very 'feminine' pursuing their desired self "feeling comfortable" and having to accept their undesired self "looking conservative". Another respondent tries to balance two opposite and competing pairs of desired/undesired self, i.e. "being healthy but not indulging" and "indulging but not being healthy". Therefore, she balances her diet through choices and anti-choices, often (but not always) resisting fast-food, which reflects that anti-consumption can range in a continuum from absolute non-consumption to light consumption (Piacentini, Banister 2009).

Moreover, some respondents choose to pursue their desired self as a "caring mother" and to accept their undesired self "not enjoying" feeling they ought to do so and to resist and not to afford temporarily trips and other recreational activities. These respondents emerged as frugal materialists (Lastovica 2006), reducing consumption in one area (trips) to increase consumption in other areas (expenses for children). For reasons of altruism, these respondents abandon and resist some consumption activities and they try not to try to consume in order to benefit their children (Gould, Houston, Mundt 1997). Consumer ambivalence in this study did not reflect seeking disconnection from old aspects of self or old relationships (Kleine et al 1995), but rather temporarily disengaging from a desired self (Kleine and Kleine 2000) via anti-consumption in order to pursue another desired self and/ or to avoid an undesired self. Respondents ceased to enact consumption activities related to a desired self (e.g. enjoying) and/or the frequency with which they did so was reduced but they intended to continue pursue the relevant desired self in the future. These respondents decided not to consume at that point in time and to postpone consumption (Kleijnen, Lee, Wetzels 2009) until the circumstances are more suitable, which reflects purchase delay (Greenleaf and Lehmann 1991, 1995) as a weak form of consumer resistance. They delay purchases because other things had higher priority and could not afford the purchase at that time. Consumer resistance in this case reflected situational and temporary barriers that are less difficult to overcome.

Even though cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger 1957) suggests that the individual will try to eliminate dissonance due to conflicting beliefs by reducing the importance of the conflicting beliefs, acquiring new beliefs that outweigh the dissonance, or removing the conflicting belief/ change the dissonant beliefs so that they are no longer inconsistent, our respondents dealt with the dissonance due to conflicting desired and undesired selves differently. These respondents experiencing the dilemma of choosing between two possible identities, each of which possesses both a desired and undesired aspects of the self gave up what they saw as some of the attractive features of one identity and chose the other one via anti-consumption (**choice strategy**) or they gave up some of the attractive features of each identity in order to achieve a middle ground between the two identities (**balance strategy**) and/or aspired to solve their existential dilemma in the future often via life-transitions (**transition strategy**).

The second dynamic pattern of the inter-relationship between the desired and undesired selves, involves the enabling of the desired self, and the deactivating of the undesired self via anti-consumption. In this case, consumers' pursuit of their desired self meant they succeeded in avoiding an undesired self and vice versa and no dilemmas or existential tensions or compromising feelings were experienced. Rather, products and consumption activities were rejected

(**straightforward strategy**) because they were seen as representing and enabling consumer's undesired selves (Banister, Hogg 2001) and because they were seen as representing separation from and deactivating consumer's desired selves. The consumer has only negative feelings (aversion/distaste) about such objects and activities. For example, respondents through their consumption anti-choices avoided such undesired selves as "old-fashion", "conservative", "looking extravagant", "showing off" and pursued such desired selves "fashionable", "modern", "simple". These respondents avoided products and activities with negatively viewed identities (White and Dahl 2006, 2007) trying to positively differentiate the self from avoidance groups (groups that the consumer assumes involve goals that he or she rejects; Englis and Solomon 1995, Muniz and O'Guinn 1995, Freitas et al 1997, Auty and Elliott 2001, Escalas and Bettman 2005). This strong form of consumer resistance reflected personal and societal barriers that are difficult to overcome. The product/activity even if it could be afforded, it was seen as unsuitable and generated consumers' opposition and attack (e.g. negative word-of-mouth) (Kleijnen et al 2009).

Conclusion and implications

This study provides a more nuanced understanding of identity-based consumer resistance as a consumer strategy that can take two forms in the context of anti-consumption. Respondents with conflicting desired and undesired selves (1st pattern) resisted and avoided identities, products and consumption activities due to ambivalent feelings. In this case, they engaged into abandonment of identities/products/activities that sometimes connected to affordability (non-)choices and even purchase postponement, exhibiting a weaker form of consumer resistance. On the other hand, respondents with compatible desired and undesired (2nd pattern) resisted and avoided identities/products/activities due to aversion/only negative feelings. In this case, they strongly opposed specific identities/products/activities, exhibiting a stronger form of consumer resistance. Therefore, while avoidance emerged at the heart of anti-consumption, a weaker form of identity-based consumer resistance emerged to stem from consumers' conflicting desired and undesired selves and identity conflicts, to be linked to ambivalent feelings and to be characterised by consumption abandonment, affordability (non-)choices and purchase postponement and a stronger form of consumer resistance emerged to connect to consumers compatible desired and undesired selves, to be linked to aversion/distaste and to be characterised by opposition. Thus, the study extends theory by shedding light on the way the factors of avoidance, aversion, opposition, abandonment, affordability and purchase postponement overlap in anti-consumption and on the boundaries between consumption non-choice and anti-choice.

The findings can offer additional insights of value to marketing managers in terms of marketing segmentation, targeting and positioning techniques. Marketing strategists need to recognize the desired and undesired selves' associations with product/service choices, anti-choices, non-choices, understand the desired and undesired selves' interrelationships in anti-consumption and consumers' strategies dealing with these interrelationships, and exploit this understanding in the development of communication and channel strategies for positioning and branding of their goods/services.

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11:00 a.m. -12:30 p.m. – Kalliste et Cassandre

Session 7
Chair: Iain Black

Special Edition Guest Editor

Journal of Consumer Behaviour

Call for papers:
"Sustainability through Anti-Consumption"

The **Journal of Consumer Behaviour** (JCB) aims to publish a spécial édition based on the theme of Anti-consumption research and Sustainability.

Topics

This special édition looks to provide an outlet for research into anti-consumption topics that can contribute to understanding on how to develop sustainable consumption. To this end, whilst accepting only rigorously researched or conceptualised papers, they must also provide practical guidance to interested parties such as marketers, spécial interest groups and policy makers.

Anti-consumption topics are typically based on thé avoidance of consumption. A topic that is particular interest to thé spécial édition is thé avoidance of spécifie brands or products as it may help us understand thé typically disappointing market shares held by "green" products. Other potential areas amongst many include; préférences for one brand or product over another and research into consumers who actively look to reduce their levels of consumption overall (including "carborexics") or in spécifie product catégories. Papers based on a wide range of methods and theoretical perspectives-are welcome.

Submission

Manuscripts should be sent via email as .doc attachments to Dr Iain Black at l.Black@econ.usvd.edu.au. The deadline is 21st of May 2010. Pleasefollow JCB formatting guidelines available via thé journal homepage http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/iournal/110483937/home.

12:30 - 1:30 LUNCH

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Session 8
Chair: Giana Eckhardt

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Paper 19. **The Boundaries of Anti-consumerism: Breaking the Glass Floor**

Mathilde Szuba, University of Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris, France

mathildesz@yahoo.co.uk

Nil Ozcaglar-Toulouse, University Lille Nord de France, Lille School of Management Research Center (LSMRC), Lille, France

nil.toulouse@univ-lille2.fr

Anti-consumption has often been examined in relation to voluntary simplicity in consumer research. This choice is not neutral: the term "voluntary" emphasizes the intentional nature of this behavior and "simplicity" sums up the perception that consumerism and consumption are complicated or superfluous (*e.g.* Craig-Less and Hill, 2002). It includes schools of thought and initiatives characterized by efforts of reduction, even complete austerity, in an effort to preserve only essential attributes. Leonard-Barton (1981) defines voluntary simplicity as a lifestyle choice designed to increase control of one's daily life and reduce consumption and dependency. The latest research highlights the "resistant" and ideological character of anti-consumers (Fournier, 1998; Peñaloza and Price, 2003; Zavestoski, 2002; Cherrier, 2008; Varman and Belk, 2009). Anti-consumption leads individuals to avoid mainstream market system and to make the most of a product/service in order to minimize its negative consequences, by using collective laundries, cultivating a garden or refusing to own a car (Moisander and Pesonen, 2002), taking part in CSA (Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007), reducing meat consumption (Shaw and Newholm, 2002) or prolonging the life-cycle of various products by repairing, transforming or reusing them or buying them on second-hand markets... The purpose of this paper is to question the link between anti-consumption and consumer resistance by exploring the tensions lived by (anti)consumers.

We analyze individuals who drastically reduce their carbon footprint. This research is based on an ethnographic method that includes participant observation (on average 2 days spent with each activist household) and in-depth interviews. The ethnographic materials consisted in notes, photos and *artifacts* (NGO brochures, tracts, energy consumption spreadsheets, letters promoting low-carbon practices, etc.). 15 in-depth interviews were conducted in France (n=8) and the UK (n=7) with respondents from various socio-professional categories age 23 to 73. In France, the respondents were objecteurs de croissance. In the UK, the participants were CRAGgers- members of Carbon Rationing Action Groups -.These interviews were supplemented by various notes taken during and after the interviews. This field work has been enriched by monitoring the blogosphere and forums, as well as reading activist works. Hermeneutic analysis (Thompson, 1997) has been selected because this method helps situate the practices of the respondents within a broader

framework which includes their background (personal events, oppositions and arguments) in order to fully understand the culture of anti-consumerism.

Our fieldwork shows that no matter which practices are used by our anti-consumers, testimonials converge on the difficulties of setting up a 'real sustainable life'. While the individual persists in his personal efforts to reduce his carbon footprint, society reprimand this behavior and does not particularly encourage a drastic reduction of carbon footprint. The CO_2 threshold, under which it is almost impossible to live without clashing with others, is referred to here as the *glass floor*. The *glass floor* is a reflection of meanings that structure representations of the world in general. It is the expression of the consumer society as a constraint, or moral value, imposed on consumers (Baudrillard, 1970). It is an example of the imaginary institution of society, which determines what is real and what is not (Castoriadis, 1993). This bottom limit is an inevitable barrier for those who try to reduce their consumption. It is related to the conception of *needs*. For example, some consumption practices aim to achieve efficiency, i.e. consuming less energy and therefore reducing CO_2 emissions. An illustration of this would be using a hybrid car. In this case, the lifestyle change is minimal. The notion of need is hardly questioned. The gain in efficiency is generally brought about by a technical or social innovation that avoids rethinking or questioning the issue of mobility. These practices are well accepted by the social environment. Other practices tend towards sufficiency via a change in lifestyle, hence a reduction of consumption and CO_2 emissions. An example of this is not owning a car, even a 'clean' model, and therefore organizing one's life accordingly. These practices are sometimes financially (purchase of more expensive or rarer products), but mostly socially (risks of exclusion, need to convince one's friends or family, social embarrassment) and time demanding (finding alternatives, culinary preparations), since the dominant model of the society has been constructed through a consumerist approach. For breaking through the *glass floor, objectors* and CRAGgers endure more or less explicit pressure, even symbolic violence, that can become a source of conflict, even social exclusion and marginalization (Moisander and Pesonen, 2002; Ozcaglar-Toulouse, 2007).

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[4] Full references are available upon request.

Paper 20. **Consumer resistance to green innovations: the case of natural gas vehicles**

Klaus-Peter Wiedmann
wiedmann@m2.uni-hannover.de

Nadine Hennigs*
hennigs@m2.uni-hannover.de

Lars Pankalla
pankalla@m2.uni-hannover.de

Martin Kassubek
kassubek@m2.uni-hannover.de

Barbara Seegebarth
seegebarth@m2.uni-hannover.de

All authors' affiliation: Institute of Marketing and Management, Leibniz University of Hannover, Hannover, Germany
* Corresponding Author

Purpose of The Study

In response to global challenges such as climate change, depletion of natural resources, rising energy prices, and the impending oil peak, automakers are putting more effort in the development of green innovations to substitute conventional internal combustion engines (IPCC, 2008; Kahn Ribeiro *et al.*, 2007). Against this backdrop, a diverse set of alternatively-fuelled vehicles (e.g., bio-fuels, hydrogen fuel cell vehicles) with low ecological impact has been engineered (Schulte *et al.*, 2004). In Europe, especially the wider promotion of Natural Gas Vehicles (NGVs) has been regarded as one of the most promising strategies for coping with current environmental issues (IGU, 2005; Ristovski *et al.*, 2004).

Even though this kind of innovation – especially from an ecological and societal point of view – is necessary and desirable (Phipps and Brace-Govan, 2006; Iyer and Muncy, 2009; Yuksel and Mryteza, 2009), most endeavours to introduce and maintain sustainable demand for these green technologies meet consumer resistance (Berger, 2001; Roe *et al.*, 2001) as manifestation of anti-consumption (Zavestoski, 2002, Shaw *et al.*, 2006; Cherrier, 2009; Lee *et al.*, 2009; Moraes *et al.*, 2008; Kleijnen *et al.*, 2009) and have so far failed (Yeh, 2007; Garcia, *et al.*, 2007; Timilsina, 2000; Molesworth and Suortti, 2002). In the past, several cases (e.g., the diffusion of green electricity (solar power)) (Faiers *et al.*, 2007a, b; Tanner and Kast, 2003) have shown the significance for marketers to develop strategies for preventing anti-consumption of sustainable innovations (Ellen

et al., 1991). Hence, a better understanding of consumers' reasons for resisting alternative fuels and engines – with special focus on perceived risks (Ram and Sheth, 1989; Ram, 1987, 1989) – is fundamentally required to effectively reduce the existing structural and technological barriers to market penetration of sustainable solutions for private customers.

Based on this reasoning, the aim of the present study is to begin filling this research gap by *a)* examining factors that significantly influence the resistance to an NGV pro-purchase decision in the end-consumer sector and *b)* identifying groups of consumers who differ in the specific reasons for resistance to the innovation. Arguing that knowing the reasons for product non-consumption is as valuable as knowing what consumers want (e.g. Lee *et al.*, 2009; Varman and Belk, 2009; Zavestoski, 2002), referring to our empirical results in the NGV case, marketing researchers and practitioners might be able to develop appropriate strategies to overcome consumer resistant behaviour to green innovations.

Background and Conceptualization

The European Union has declared a long-term target of disengagement from fossil fuels and a goal of employment of a significant amount of alternative technologies, as well as fuels, in private transport, especially gaseous fuels, bio-fuels, and hybrid vehicles (European Commission, 2001). The principal factors that motivate European governments to pass and promote such a collective long-term traffic strategy primarily include environmental (e.g., reducing air pollution) and geostrategic reasons (e.g., reducing dependence on petroleum imports).

Although the end-consumer demand for NGVs has slightly increased in European countries, it still represents a niche market with very little turnover and low penetration. Notably, German consumers, who usually show openness to acceptance of pro-environmental car innovations, almost avoid adopting NGVs (64,454 NGVs; 800 refuelling stations). Similar findings have been made in Austria, France, and Switzerland (IANGV, 2008). No doubt at least in part because of their country's considerable natural gas reserves, CIS governments are increasingly focusing on this alternative transportation fuel as well. At present, Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Armenia remain static markets. Compared to the Central European sales, the absolute majority of NGVs manifests aftermarket conversions (IANGV, 2009).

Especially in the case of innovations and innovation adoption (Ram and Sheth, 1989; Ellen *et al.*, 1991), where instances of resistance are frequent (Molesworth and Suortti, 2002), the construct of perceived risk as a result of individual evaluation processes and associated negative outcomes as a dominant driver of non-consumption of products and goods (Kleijnen *et al.*, 2009). For understanding the perceived risk phenomenon, all potential dimensions should be integrated into a single model. Our research follows the results of Stone and Grønhaug (1993) regarding all prospective and directly attributable risk dimensions and differentiates perceived risk in the case of purchasing an NGV into six highly interrelated components of perceived risk. The multidimensional model encompasses the remarks of Jacoby and Kaplan (1972) but focuses on the measurement of a theoretical construct of a technological innovation – the purchase of a personal computer (PC). The characteristics of this product are similar to the object tested in this paper; both are technological, high-cost acquisitions that require a complex operating mode. In addition, the measurement approach is characterised by a high level of validity and reliability (Stone and Grønhaug, 1993).

Figure 1   Conceptual model
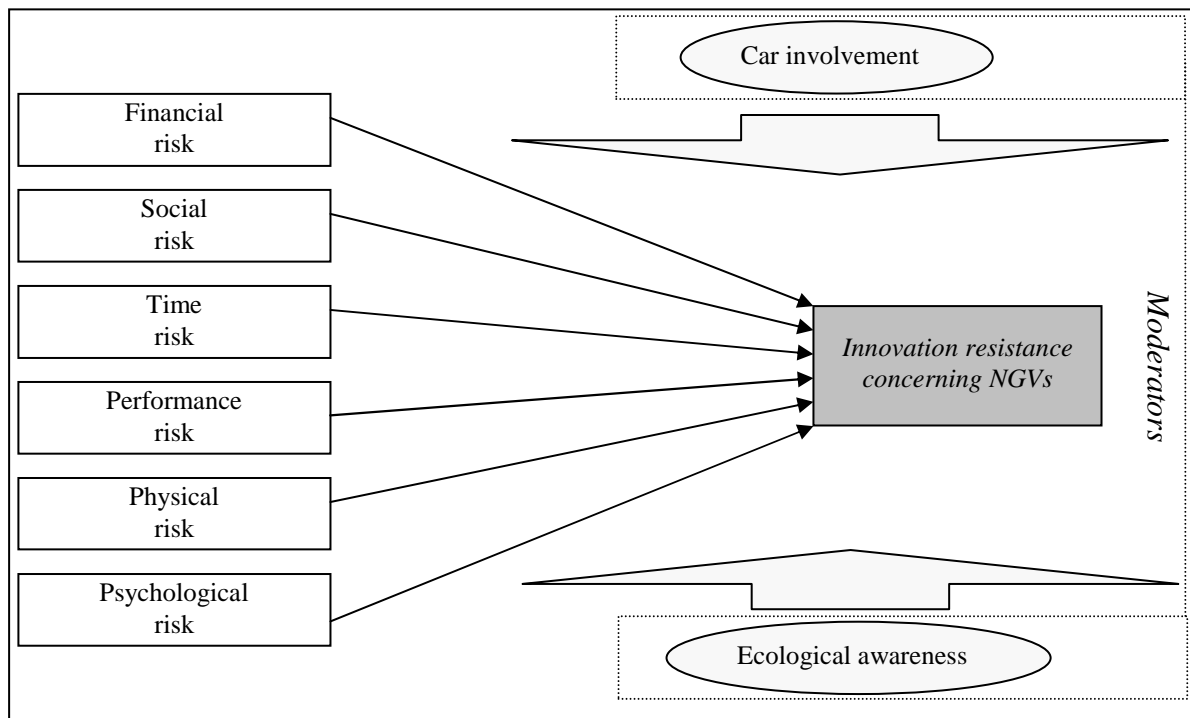
Methodology

All measures used in the study were adapted from existing scales, with special reference to those used in a study by Stone and Grønhaug (1993). The wording of the items was adapted to reflect perceived risk associated with the purchase of an NGV. Apart from the *perceived risk scale*, we added statements that measured consumers' *overall risk perception* (Stone and Grønhaug, 1993), the individual level of *car involvement* (Bloch, 1981), and the consumers' general *ecological awareness* (Nordlund and Garvill, 2003). All items were rated on five-point Likert scales because those are more commonly used in Europe than the seven-point scales.

As a first step, targeting the comprehensive ascertainment of the theoretical construct and the necessity of adapting the scales in the case of natural gas vehicles, we posed a written, non-structured questionnaire to twenty potential passenger car buyers. Second, the scales were pre-tested in a series of iterative personal interviews with 17 drivers. Each participant in the pre-test answered the questionnaire as s/he read the questions and verbalised any thoughts that came to their mind, including ambiguities, inapplicable questions, and interesting issues.

To discover why consumers behave resistant to NGVs, data from customers who had been able to acquire or drive a passenger car but still hesitated to adopt alternative fuels and engines were essential. To investigate the research model, an internet survey with a snowball sampling method was developed in collaboration with one of the world's leading automotive companies; this survey specifically targeted the German and CIS markets. We appealed to private consumers via personalised emails with the invitation to actively contribute to the online survey. A total of 480 valid, completed questionnaires were received.

Key Findings

Within the data analysis, we first uncovered the various dimensions underlying the perceived risks of purchasing an NGV by factor analysis using the principal component method with varimax

rotation. The resulting ten-factor structure encompassing the various dimensions of perceived risk, including the consumer's overall risk perception, car involvement, and ecological awareness, largely confirms our proposed conceptualisation. In the next step, the factor scores for each respondent were saved and used in stage two, in which they were clustered into market segments by means of both hierarchical and non-hierarchical clustering techniques. Based on the specific reasons for resistance to purchase an NGV, the four clusters were labelled as follows: The status-oriented sceptics, the ecology-minded non-drivers, the performance-oriented traditionalists, and the risk-averse drivers.

Research Contribution and Managerial Implications

The purpose of this paper was to provide a conceptual framework of consumers' reasons for resistance to alternative fuels and engines, with special focus on various risk dimensions associated with NGVs. Against this backdrop, our study makes several contributions to the marketing discipline. From a more theoretical perspective, the findings help to fill the present gap of literature relating to the field of consumers' innovation resistance. Along with Bredahl (2001), Ram and Sheth (1989), Saba *et al.* (2004) and Garniere *et al.* (2004), our results empirically confirm perceived risk as a relevant antecedent to the construct of innovation resistance. Moreover and with special focus on the specific domain of ecologically-oriented innovations, we extend existing findings by integrating six perceived risk dimensions to a complex model of innovation resistance and by showing that these risk barriers are an appropriate basis to divide different groups of resistant consumers. For marketers, knowledge of the reasons why consumers hesitate to purchase an NGV may help to address these specific risk barriers with segment-specific strategies in accordance with the framework of Ram and Sheth (1989), thus helping to overcome consumer resistance to green innovations.

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Session 8 **Chair: Giana Eckhardt**

Paper 21. Differences in the Ideologies of Slow Food Supporters

Miranda Mirosa*, Marketing Department, University of Otago, New Zealand
miranda.mirosa@otago.ac.nz

Rob Lawson, Marketing Department, University of Otago, New Zealand
rob.lawson@otago.ac.nz

Ben Wooliscroft, Marketing Department, University of Otago, New Zealand
ben.wooliscroft@otago.ac.nz

Purpose

Conceptually, we understand consumer resistance to be but one manifestation of anti-consumption. What differentiates resistance is that this type of behaviour is driven by oppositional ideologies. While ideology is a key analytical level for understanding anti-consumption, in marketing, the concept of ideology remains incomplete on a number of grounds. One of the main reasons for this paucity of research into ideology appears to be that there is a lack of marketing theory in the area of consumer movements (CMs) where the study of ideology would most naturally occur. CMs are counter-cultural in the sense that they oppose a dominant ideology. It therefore makes sense to classify CMs as a collective form of consumer resistance and to start developing theory about ideology in this context. No consideration, for example, has yet been given to the interaction between ideology and CM membership. Thus this paper asks the following research question: *How does ideology vary amongst different types of CM supporters?*

Design/methodology/approach

Two theoretical frameworks are integrated to help explain how ideology varies amongst different categories of CM supporters (Table 1). The first is Cova and Cova's (2002) typology of tribal membership roles which helps understand who the different CM supporters are and the roles that they play. The second framework is Melucci's (c.f. 1989, 1996) theory of social movement ideology which defines the nature of ideology and how it used by movement supporters.

To investigate supporters' ideologies, a case study of the SF Movement was conducted. In light of the pressing issues that the food industry currently faces, research which ventures into exploration of food CM is timely. The SF Movement is a contemporary example of a CM that has become involved in many critical issues which have been the cause of recent consumer activism.

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* Corresponding author

These issues include a demand for better quality authentic food, rising concerns about food safety, environmental issues relating to food production and food miles and concerns about animal welfare. All of these issues fall under the scope of concern of the SF movement. It is this diversity which makes SF an exciting case study. Furthermore, the ideologies of the SF movement have quite obviously undergone change moving from a focus on gastronomy, to the environment, to social justice issues. As the research aims to examine differences in ideologies, the SF movement is a relevant case study to use.

A large and diverse range of published material both by and about the SF Movement was collected, ranging from magazines printed by the central international SF publishing company to blogs and forums about SF related issues. Primary data was collected through face-to-face semi-structured interviews with individuals who were either official members of the SF Organisation or supporters of the wider SF Movement. In total 18 respondents were interviewed. While the research did not involve a large sample, the researchers did obtain access to an impressive range of people for this research. This included founding leaders of the international SF Organisation based in Italy as well as more grassroots members from seven other countries. This variety helped ensure that the global nature of the Movement was acknowledged. The interviews were semi-structured and the interview guide consisted of question areas which were based on a series of research propositions derived from Melucci's framework of ideology. These research propositions were also used to structure the analysis. The first step in the analysis phase was to classify the interviewees as one of the four different types of supporters. The classification of respondents was determined primarily by the level of involvement of the person in the SF Movement.

Table 1: Summary of Ideology Based on Type of Movement Supporter

	Movement Supporter Categories			
	Sympathizers	*Participants*	*Practitioners*	*Members*
Content of Ideology — *Identity*	Defined by making references to the past (i.e. to a 'mother society' or to a 'golden age')		Defined in a new and more relevant manner	
Content of Ideology — *Totality*	Easily influenced by latest trends	Somewhat focussed	Detailed and very focussed	Linked with those of the official organisation
Content of Ideology — *Adversary*	Loosely tied to the specific problems of the movement	More closely tied to specific problems of the movement	Directly linked to the specific problems of the movement	Directly linked to the specific problems of the movement (as defined by the organisation)
Role of Ideology	Exploratory Function: • Align goals with those of a wider society • Produce/ search for symbols	Negotiating Function: • Negate gap between expectations and reality	Integrative Function: • Help coordinate/ make coherent different demands • Stabilise rituals	Same as Practitioners (with added integrative role of creating boundaries of belonging) + Strategic Function: • Aim to gain support for movement • Turn to actors' advantage the unbalance of power relationships

Involvement in the movement was defined by behavioural elements (belonging to a SF institution of some sort, attending SF events, participating in any other SF practices[6]) and habitual elements (the frequency of participation which was used to distinguish between distinct behavioural patterns and isolated acts).

Findings

The findings of this study indicate that there are important distinctions in the ideologies of the different categories of SF Movement supporters. One of the most interesting findings is the considerable variation amongst the categories in their definitions of what SF means for them. While Sympathisers and Participants define SF as primarily being about slowing down and taking the time to cook quality foods, Practitioners and Members' analytical vision of SF is much broader. For Practitioners, the emphasis of SF is on the relationship between food and the environment and for Members, SF is about an array of gastronomic, environmental and social justice issues. Links to the evolution of the official SF Organisation's ideology are immediately evident. The issues that Sympathisers and Participants are most concerned with are the 'good' food issues that the SF Organisation was promoting in the 1980s. The issues that Practitioners describe as most important are the 'clean' food issues that the SF Organisation was interested in the 1990s. The main issues for Members, 'good, clean and fair', match those that in which the SF Organisation is currently involved. In a similar fashion, Sympathisers and Practitioners' identity is comparable to the SF Organisation's in the 1980s/1990s (quite adversarial and backwards looking), while Practitioners and Members' identity reflects the SF Organisation's today (less adversarial and related to the specific goals of the Movement).

The explanation for these variations is that the supporters are at different stages of ideological development. Sympathizers and Participants are in what Melucci describes as a 'formative' phase and Practitioners and Members in what he describes as a 'consolidation' phase. This provides initial insights into how movement ideologies are diffused amongst its supporters as well as insights into movement structure. This suggests that it is Members of the official SF Organisation which are the innovators of SF ideology and that the other supporter categories adopt the ideologies as they become more mainstream. In this sense, the SF Movement can be characterised as a centralised movement with a top down pyramidal structure.

Originality/value

Looking at CMs through the lens of Cova and Cova (2002) allows a wider and more holistic view of a movement's support base. Looking at CMs through the lens of Melucci (1996) allows an understanding of how movement ideologies are constructed and used. Combining these lenses offers a practical way of dealing with the diversity of ideologies that exist within a movement. This has a number of important practical implications for CM leaders. For example, organisation leaders often struggle to turn general support for their cause into actions that directly benefit their cause. If leaders can encourage Sympathizers and Participants to consolidate their ideologies, then they increase the likelihood that these supporters will join their organisations and/or make changes in their consumption patterns.

Theoretically, the argument has been put forward that a clearer understanding of ideology (particularly oppositional ideology) will help identify the differences between consumer resistance and other forms of anti-consumption. By investigating one aspect of how ideology manifests itself in relation to CMs, this paper makes a step towards understanding ideology in a marketing context. Although the framework of membership ideology has only been applied to one CM in this study, it is reasonable to expect it is useful for understanding other anti-consumption CM's, although future

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[6] These practices could include participation in forms of activism such as donating money, joining a demonstration, signing a petition, internet campaigning, or alternatively could include participation in the movement through lifestyle related acts such as growing organic vegetables and cooking meals from scratch.

research is required to confirm this. Further investigation into how individual supporters' ideologies change overtime is also worthwhile (e.g. as their level of involvement in the movement changes and they shift supporter categories).

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Peas in a pod?: Exploring the relationship between social marketing and anti-consumption
Associate Professor Sharyn Rundle-Thiele

Alcohol is an intrinsic part of culture in many developed nations serving as a relaxant, an accompaniment to socialising and celebration, a source of employment and exports and as a generator of taxation revenue. According to the World Health Organization (2009) alcohol is a significant contributor to the global burden of disease and is the fifth leading risk factor for premature deaths and disabilities in the world. It is estimated that 2.5 million people worldwide died of alcohol-related causes in 2004, including 320 000 young people between 15 and 29 years of age.

Since the inception of social marketing in the early 1970s, the application of marketing principles and practices to advance social good has witnessed major growth. The most commonly cited definition is offered by Kotler and Zaltman in their seminal 1971 article in the Journal of Marketing. They defined social marketing as "*the design, implementation and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution and marketing research*" (p5). In addition to reducing alcohol consumption social marketing applications cover a wide range of social issues including smoking cessation, problem gambling, and sustainability to name a few.

As stated on the International Centre for Anti-Consumption Research's (2010) web site anti-consumption means against consumption. Anti-consumption research focuses on avoidance and this lens is requisite for social marketers who are tasked with encouraging people to reduce or cease consumption. People consume in ways that enhance or maintain their self-concepts, while simultaneously avoiding objects that could add undesired meaning to their lives, or objects they consider to be incongruent with their existing self-concept (Lee et al. 2009). One of the reasons young people consume alcohol is to earn a badge of honour. This badge of honour often assists them to integrate into a group by earning respect from others and confirming the status of an individual within that group. Anti-consumption research can provide additional insights into competing behaviours for social marketers who work on issues requiring a reduction in consumption. By understanding why certain groups avoid alcohol and others drink alcohol in moderation social marketers can gain insights that can assist them to develop effective strategies to reduce excessive alcohol consumption.

In order to evolve effective social marketing strategies, it is critical to position the desirable behaviour and social product, e.g. drinking less alcohol or abstaining from alcohol consumption, as more attractive than the current behaviour, drinking too much alcohol. Given that competition exists in most behavioural change arenas social marketing researchers must understand target audience perceptions towards the social product, its competing behaviours (i.e. current behaviour), and the differences between them. Addressing the competition, which may include anti-consumption for many social marketing issues, has been established as one of the benchmark criterions for delivering social marketing interventions (Andreasen, 2002; French and Blair-Stevens, 2006).

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Biography

Associate Professor Sharyn Rundle-Thiele's research interest centres on better ways of doing business. Current projects focus on maintaining and building loyalty and alcohol, including standard drink knowledge and binge drinking. Sharyn has published more than 30 papers in international journals and has presented her research work at 50 national and international conferences. Sharyn currently serves on Editorial review boards for *Journal of Services Marketing, Journal of Marketing Education* and *European Retail Review* and is co-editor of Emerald's newest journal, the *Journal of Social Marketing.*

3:30 - 4:30 BREAK

Paper 22. **The (post-human) consumer, the (post-avian) chicken and the (post-object) Eglu: towards a material-semiotics of anti-consumption**

Shona Bettany*, Bradford University School of Management, Bradford, UK
S.M.M.Bettany@bradford.ac.uk (Corresponding author)
Ben Kerrane, Bradford University School of Management, Bradford, UK
b.kerrane@bradford.ac.uk

Anti-consumption and consumer resistance are burgeoning topics within the disciplines of marketing and consumer research. In the call for papers for this special issue, the editors suggest that there is still much confusion about the differences and similarities between anti-consumption and consumer resistance and ask for contributions that discuss what the most pertinent redundancies and differences are in these two topics. In our paper we take an adjacent position to this question, and challenge the requirement to harden these underpinning categories of analysis, but instead to view these as categories in process, with a focus on how these categories come to matter, that is to materialize and mean, in the material-semiotic practices of consumption activity. To illustrate this we present a vignette from a larger ethnographic project on urban stock keeping, and examine how resistance and anti-consumption come "to matter" within the practice of keeping chickens for the home production of eggs.

Anti-consumption and consumer resistance represent fields of diverse topics in which the action, meaning and experience of the consumer are foregrounded. Drawing on a range of anti-consumption definitions, Cherrier (2009:181) concludes that within this literature, anti-consumption is '*a resistance that is both a consumer activity and an attitude*'. There have been several critiques of this analytical focus on consumer action and meaning, calling for alternative models to the dominant neo-liberal agentic, rational, consumer (Connelly and Prothero 2003; Moraes, Szmigin and Carrigan 2008) and a shift away from the concomitant focus on choice and the micro-aspects of anti-consumption that this model engenders (Kilbourne and Beckman 1998; Dolan 2002).   This focus configures a specific ontology, we suggest, which both essentializes the consumer as a choosing, experiencing and agentic figure and concomitantly essentializes the consumption object (i.e. the product that may be rejected in anti-consumption behaviour) as something which is acted on, and a 'thing-in-itself' about and around which consumers make meaning.

This has the effect of an over-determination of the human subject (the "consumer") and an under-determination of the object which essentialises both consumer and object. Even in approaches based on the radical indeterminacy of the subject, for example within the poststructuralist theoretics of consumer culture theory the consumer is over-determined in relation to the non-human.

* Corresponding author

The consumption object is seen as something that '*groups use*' to construct '*practices, identities and meanings – to make collective sense of their environments and to orient their members experiences and lives*' (Arnould and Thompson 2005:869).

This provides a theoretical rendering of the part the consumption object plays in consumer culture which is not commensurate with contemporary theories of cultural materiality in the wider social sciences and humanities (Dant 1999; Miller 1987; Slater 1997). Cultural theory has emerged that can account for the sociality of 'things', not just in terms of the meanings we imbue them with or the myriad ways in which we use them but in terms of bringing into the analysis the radical indeterminacy of the material object within its multiple arrays of cultural relations.

This has been both a theoretical shift in ontology from 'social construction' formulations (i.e. the object is socially constructed by the human and subjective relations around it) and an epistemological/empirical shift away from a focus upon what things mean and/or how they are used to construct the self. This shift has underpinned the development of theory which does not begin with a sentient, agentic consumer ascribing meanings and deriving experiences from ontologically primitive objects but instead considers how objects and their boundaries co-emerge with other human and non-human entities, are ontologically mutable, active and embedded in relations of emergent and entangled meaning and materiality.

Actor-Network Theory (Latour 1992) for example, presents an ontology of 'relational materiality', in which all human and non-human participants in the analysis are treated equally as participants, offering a different rendering of the concept of agency. Latour (2000:192) argues that, '*purposeful action and intentionality may not be properties of objects, but they are also not properties of humans either. They are properties of…collectives of human and non-humans*'. That is, agency is attributed in terms of formations of meaning and materiality in which objects, bodies and other heterogeneous entities are embedded.

In feminist cultural theory, Haraway (1997) has developed a similar approach. Rather than Latour's relational materiality, she describes her ontology as 'material-semiotic'. That is, she views objects as material-semiotic generative nodes, their boundaries, which are not to be seen as pre-existing, materialize in social interaction among humans and non-humans. These emergent objects 'act' within cultural groupings in ways which are not robustly theoretically or empirically rendered in analyses which emphasize consumer meaning and agency.

In these approaches what might have been called subject and object are flattened into complex analyses of meaning and materiality, and things that 'matter' (i.e. that both 'materialize' and 'mean' borrowing Judith Butler's (1994) telling play on words) multiply co-emerge in fragile and ambivalent co-constitution from within specific cultural milieu. Interrogating the object within material-semiotic formations is a political intervention into neo-liberal discourses of choice and action.

This ontological switch places under erasure the primacy and agency of the human subject and problematises the underpinning subject/object binary. Using approaches like those can provide a novel way to theorize anti-consumption practices and with their emergent ontologies in which everything is in process and at stake, can provide a rendering of the complex binaries underpinning the concerns outlined in the call for papers, and evident in the broader literature, including working through the binaries of consumption/anti-consumption and consumer resistance/domination.

This work provides an illustration of such an analysis stimulated by these approaches to understand a consumption object, the 'Omlet© Eglu™' as mutably and multiply emergent within the culture of

urban hen keeping. This paper also offers the tools to theorise the already ambivalent character of the voluntary simplicity discourse, which focuses on the foregoing of maximum consumption to live in a way that is outwardly simple and inwardly rich (Leonard-Barton 1981; Elgin 1993, 2000; Etzioni 1998), vis-à-vis consumer resistance (Andrews 1997; Elgin 2000; Shi 1984). In doing so we provide a possible route to an alternative model of consumer agency, and use this as a route to explore the concepts, concerns, conflicts, and convergences of anti-consumption and consumer resistance as constructs that, we conclude, are necessarily always emergent, contested and in process.

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Session 10
Chair: Hélène Cherrier

Paper 23. **From consumer resistance to anti-consumption? Insights from downloaders' careers**

Renaud Garcia-Bardidia, Université Nancy 2, IUT Epinal, CEREFIGE, Epinal, France
renaud.garcia-bardidia@univ-nancy2.fr

Jean-Philippe Nau, Université Nancy 2, IAE, CEREFIGE, Nancy, France
jean-philippe.nau@univ-nancy2.fr

Eric Rémy, Université Rouen, IAE, NIMEC, Rouen, France
eric.remy@univ-rouen.fr

This paper aims at enlightening the concepts of resistance and anti-consumption through the case of illegal downloading of cultural goods. Consumer resistance is here defined as discourses, representations and actions involved in the development of a critical posture toward consumption (Roux, 2009). Anti-consumption corresponds to changes in consumption patterns, leading to a redefinition of practices and representations of the consumer's culture on which the market is based (Arnould and Thompson, 2003). Since illegal downloading practices are often labelled by cultural industry institutions as deviant, the concept of deviant careers (Becker, 1963) is here used to analyse social learning related to evolving patterns of cultural consumption and everchanging positions toward both law and market. This paper first justifies an articulation between consumer resistance and anti-consumption through the concept of deviant careers in this specific field, then presents the methodology adopted, before summarizing and discussing our main results.

Illegal downloading: a field for studying resistance and anti-consumption?
Consumer resistance and anti-consumption include individual or collective forms of opposition to the market, brands or consumption culture (e.g. Peñaloza and Price, 1993 ; Iyer and Muncy, 2009), in the pursuit of reformist or radical goals, proactively or reactively. If those two concepts are obviously linked, their articulation has still to be better define. Depending on the paradigms used and the fields studied, consumer resistance has been considered a form of anti-consumption (Lee et al., 2008), an antecedent of anti-consumption (Roux, 2009), or almost assimilated to it (Zavetoski, 2002). Moreover, as resistance and anti-consumption patterns evolve according to individual and social forces (Cherrier, 2009), their recursive interplay with the dominant system must be taken into account.
Illegal downloading of cultural goods seems an interesting field for studying the articulation between these two concepts. If the anti-consumption is a form of market avoidance, then illegal downloading can be assimilated to it. Similarly, cultural industry stakeholders regularly run moral campaigns to label downloaders as pirates, in which consumers are *de facto* referred to as resistants, while only some of them even claim for that label (Giesler, 2007). The massive diffusion of this practice outside the range of net activists may change the nature of observed resistance and anti-consumption. Activists and mainstream consumers are thus morally labelled the same way and benefit from each others' practices, possibly creating forms of interaction excluding

oppositions previously described (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004). Finally, ordinary practices being labelled as resistance challenges the boundaries of the concept, notably the needed statement of such a posture by resistants themselves (Sitz, 2009).

Therefore, it is necessary to analyse more precisely the articulation of these two concepts through everyday practices and discourses of various actors. The concept of deviant career (Becker, 1963) appears then as an adapted analytical framework. Based on the study of continuities and discontinuities of a practice labelled deviant by moral entrepreneurs, it potentially sheds light on the question of accumulated resistance (Roux, 2007). Occurring through triggering events and social learning that ease the construction of deviant identities and subcultures, it may refer to the identity dimension of critical resistance (Cherrier, 2009), as to its collective-action dimension (Quellier-Dubuisson, 2009). Rooting deviant practices in everyday life and its socio-technical system, enlightens how essential the technological dimension of these mediation systems is, while generally understudied in consumer behaviour (Borgerson, 2005).

Methodology

As in previous studies on the subject (Giesler and Pohlman, 2003; Giesler, 2006; Giesler, 2008), we have developed an interpretative approach, in order to explore resistance postures and changes in consumption patterns associated with illegal downloading. 49 semi-structured interviews were conducted between June and September 2009 with respondents varying on sociodemographics and use of downloading systems. Couples of respondents or friends have been incorporated to take into account the social aspects of this practice, as well as artists to oppose their practices to the discourse of self-proclaimed culture representatives. Data collected consists in 61 hours, transcripted in 881 pages. Two interviews have been eliminated, due to their relative poverty. These data were supplemented by online data collection through a netnographic approach, as well as participant observation carried out during a preliminary study. The data were then analysed, first to identify trivial discourses, recurrent contradictions, thematic associations and gradations (Kaufman, 1996), before a thematic analysis reconstructing expressed deviant careers.

Findings

The downloaders' careers

Reconstructing downloaders' careers enables to observe steps in practice evolution and to understand the construction of pirates' identities. Social learning includes here technical aspects (mastering of P2P interfaces, avoiding traceability, or connecting between operating systems…), as well as relational (work division with peers, transmission of norms of appropriate use…), or taste-related ones (change in quality accepted or in cultural taste). Their everyday life, rooted in social relations (family, friendship, networks) and socio-technical devices (online social networks, uses of computer), helps to keep the downloader career on.

Furthermore, two main issues must be addressed to continue the career : avoid guilty feelings and regulate the flow of cultural content acquired according to one's needs. Guilt arouses from the dissonance between ideals of culture diffusion and the lack of remuneration for artists, and is reinforced by moral labeling campaigns. Consumers also have to learn how to cope with the abundance of available content. They have to adapt their consumption by finding new cultural content to download outside the range of their initial taste. They also need to find a positive meaning for their practice when overflowed with films or music they don't actually use. These two issues then interact with anti-consumption patterns and the observed resistance postures.

A plurality of anti-consumptions

According to these issues, a plurality of changes in consumption patterns with an avoidance of market legal solutions can be observed. Emancipation from market constraints may lead to a

dramatic increase of cultural consumption through a quest of eclecticism. A deepening of the legitimate culture can occur as well. This overconsumption occurs through phases rather than in daily routines and may lead to desacralisation or content overflow. At that point, consumers may enter a stage of detachment with both illegal downloading and traditional market mediation. This cultural downshifting can then be a way of restoring the value and meaning of cultural practices through scarcity and simplicity, as it has been observed in other fields. It could also express the melting of lassitude and life cycle effects on culture consumption.

Anti-consumption and traditional commercial practices can also coexist. Some users distinguish commercial content and deserving artists by reintroducing a form of meritocracy on the market and using downloading as a pretest. These coexisting territories of consumption recall how anti-consumption can be limited to specific products or brand avoidance goals (Lee et al., 2008). Anti-consumption can finally express a mere switch from legal solutions to illegal downloading for an identical cultural content, which leads to paradoxical market avoidance since cultural mainstream products are not actually bought but rather consumed in equal quantities and qualities. Anti-consumption is here utilitarian, naturalised through everyday life routines, and uses market information on products while contesting its legitimacy.

Downloaders as resistants?

While media, government and market label all downloaders as pirates, that is to say as resistants, only some respondents define themselves this way. Only some of them integrate their behaviour into a collective frame. Those can be divided into two categories depending on their radical or reformist goals (Penaloza and Price, 1993). They can clearly reject the market and express its lack of legitimacy, implying that culture should be a common good leading them to a greater involvement in exchange systems, such as moderation or hacking. Some other consumers adopt a reformist position, in which the market could be legitimate but must adjust the prices and quality of the products. Illegal downloading is therefore a signal sent to cultural industries.

However, most consumers don't define themselves as political resistants. Downloading is the result of an individualistic choice, as seen as an economical arbitration lead by freeness of access, but also implying resisting coercion and guilty feelings. But individualistic downloading is also a way to emancipate from the hegemony of mass cultural industries replacing TV by individually selected programs, as well as radio broadcasting or CDs by DIY customised compilations. Once again, the management of guilty feelings and content flow participates to resistance postures in creating contexts where such postures are required or transformed through different steps of the career.

Discussion

The purpose of this paper was to identify postures of resistance and forms of anti-consumption related to illegal downloading. Relying on the study of downloaders' careers enables to enlighten the grounding of dynamics of anti-consumption and resistance in everyday life socio-technical systems, helping us to articulate individual trajectories to macro-social forces. More precisely, facing guilt and content flow management issues during their careers induce illegal downloaders to reveal a plurality of anti-consumption or resistance postures against delegitimate legal market solutions. If illegal downloading brings too specific changes in market structuration to allow us to generalize our findings, it provides insights to observe resistances and anti-consumptions previously studied through a single consumption practice. Moreover, its massive diffusion enables to integrate both mainstream consumers' and activists' practices and discourses, revealing richer interactions between them than mere oppositions or clients relations. As both groups endure moral labeling from market institutions, they finally mobilise common skills and arguments according to specific steps of individual careers, possibly leading to a transformation of market relationships as revealed by other cases (Dalli and Corciolani, 2008).

From firms' point of view, it is still hard to guess to what extent these forms of opposition to the market create opportunities (Holt, 2002). Indeed, business models dedicated to free content would need governments' interventions. Besides, the delegitimation of market-related solutions seems widely diffused. This situation may be worsened by coercive approaches and moral labeling which put mainstream users into activist postures, forcing them attachments reflecting market recompositions (Callon, 2000). On the other hand, a need for remoralisation in a meritocratic way could enhance the willingness to pay and could be integrated in marketing attempts for instance through fan communities.

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Session 11
Chair: Michal Carrington

Paper 24. **Resistance to Ritual Practice: Exploring Perceptions of Others**

Pete Nuttall*, School of Management, University of Bath, Bath, UK
p.nuttall@bath.ac.uk

Julie Tinson, Marketing Division, Stirling Management School, University of Stirling, Stirling, UK
j.s.tinson@stir.ac.uk

The notion of the high school prom historically has been to signal the transition of youths to adulthood and Duffy (2007) suggests that although less than a decade ago 'proms' were an exclusive part of American life in the past decade it has become 'the ultimate coming of age celebration' or rite of passage for adolescents living in the UK. As yet unexplored however, are the implications of non-attendance for those who reject this ritual event. How are those who do not attend the high school prom perceived by those attending the high school prom and how does this manifest itself in relation to peer group affiliation, attendees' perception of 'self' and social norms?

Consuming (and conversely non or anti consumption) is a complex social phenomenon especially with regard to adolescents (Benn, 2004) not least because of their need to express individuality as well as blend in with their social group/s (Pickett et al, 2002). Their notion of self has to be developed and continuously restructured with regard to their changing experiences and environments (Giddens, 1991) and the degree to which they engage in and with (anti) social behaviour will in part be related to the ability of the individual or group to resist or comply with expectations and social norms (Oetting et al, 1998). The extent to which individuals comply with the social expectations of attending the prom or their degree of subversion may depend on how important it is for them to be part of a social group to alleviate isolation (Pickett et al, 2002).

Some adolescents engaging in anti-consumption practices may be creative and rebellious in their behaviour but for others agency is overwhelmed and duped by producers (Kozinets et al, 2004). Individual and even group resistant alternatives, particularly during adolescence, may be difficult to achieve. As the producers of the prom are often the organising committee made up of adolescent peers typically nominated to facilitate the end of school celebration, rejection though non-attendance may simply reinforce that those who do not attend are simply the homogenous 'out group' members (Banister and Hogg, 2004) as opposed to 'heroic individuals who elect whether they want to be part of the system' (Weber, 1948).

Early research on 'failure to consume' illustrates the difference between non-choice and anti-choice (Hogg, 1998). In the context of the high school prom, those who could not afford to go to the prom (e.g. those without the financial resource), those with no high school prom event and those who cannot access the prom (e.g. location makes the journey to the prom prohibitive) would have no choice as to whether they could go to the prom. Potential resistance to prom attendance would come from those who had the resource, availability and access to a high school prom.

* Corresponding author

Hogg et al (2009) illustrate that this latter notion of anti-consumption assumes a variety of forms. That is there are types of anti-consumption that range from opposition to negation and these can be simple or complex to identify. Resistance or opposition, for example, is relatively straightforward to recognise as it often takes the form of (active) boycotting (See for example Sen et al, 2001). Rejection or negation however involves not consuming or buying (and as such is considered to be passive) and negation is often more complex to identify (Hogg et al, 2009).

The research reported here is from the first two stages in an overall program of research. The purpose of the study was to: firstly to establish the way in which the non-attendees are perceived by those who attend the high school prom and secondly to explore the way in which non-attendance influences the attendees' perception of their 'self' and their own experience. This research employs a mixed method approach as described by Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004). Initially twelve interviews were organized with young adults (18-20 years of age) who had already attended a high school prom. They were asked to consider their own high school prom experience (preparation, event and post evaluation) and to comment on who had not attended their prom and why they thought (or knew) this to be the case. In this way the data could be used to establish what happened at this ritual event as well as assist with the questionnaire design. Secondly data regarding perceptions of anti-consumption of the prom were also generated using open questions on a survey about a forthcoming prom (n=81).

For the analysis of the data an interpretive analytic stance was adopted and themes in the responses of adolescents were explored using the constant comparative method described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and analytic induction (Bryman and Burgess, 1994). Each interview was examined to gain a holistic understanding of the respondent noting themes in the margin as they emerged (See Thompson and Hirschman, 1995). The data generated by the open questions was also indexed and patterns within the responses sought. All the themes were reviewed through iterations of comparison and re-reading. As a consequence of the relationship between emerging insights and prior assumptions, interpretations were developed (Spiggle, 1994).

This initial exploration of the UK high school prom has identified that there appears to be four main perceptions of non-attendance: non-choice, risk aversion, passive disengagement and intentional disengagement. Non-choice and risk aversion in relation to non-attendance appears to be viewed neutrally or with sympathy by the attendees whereas passive or intentional disengagement seems to be viewed negatively by attendees. Whilst these groups of non-attendees (as perceived by attendees) can be discussed as independent 'types' it is possible that the attendees' perceptions of non-attendance are at risk of being distorted or misunderstood. That is, although a non-attendee may be unable to attend the high school prom because they cannot afford to, they may be perceived as passively disengaging. This has social implications as passively disengaging generates greater ill-feeling than non-choice. Passive and intentional disengagement also impinges to a greater extent on the perceptions the attendees have of their 'self' or 'selves'.

It is obvious that the next phase of research has to consider the views of the non-attendees; establishing reasons for and the implications of non-attendance and if and/or how resistant practices were related to peer group assimilation or individual desire for differentiation. Non-attendees social relationships will be investigated specifically with regard to Social Identity Theory (See Abrams and Hogg, 1990) and the social identity of their friendship group/s. The concept of distortion (taking into account the views of the attendees) will also be examined as will notions of conforming to peer group practice to alleviate isolation and the consequences this has for adopting, cultivating or reinforcing a symbolic self.

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Session 11
Chair: Michal Carrington

Paper 25. **Parents' resistance to marketing influence attempts on their children: identification of motivations and manifestations**

Lydiane Nabec, Université Paris-Sud, Paris, PESOR, France,
lydiane.nabec@u-psud.fr

Isabelle Fontaine, IRG - University Paris-Est, Paris, France
isabelle.fontaine@univ-paris12.fr

Increasing numbers of consumers are opposed to the market society and its values. Some boycott particular brands, either individually (Lee, Motion and Conroy, 2009) or collectively (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004), some engage in collection action against consumption and advertising, while others adopt a different lifestyle, oriented toward voluntary simplicity (Craig-Lees and Hill 2002) or use alternative channels. These various behaviors, when they are accounted for by an ideology of opposition to consumer society, are termed anti-consumption. This is defined as "a resistance to, distaste for, or even resentment or rejection of consumption more generally" (Zavestoski 2002, p.121). As Cherrier (2009) suggests, anti-consumption expresses resistance that is both an activity and an attitude.

The present study draws on this conceptualization to examine the part played by anti-consumption in the socialization of children. More precisely, it focuses on parents' reactions to the influences that are exerted on their children: how do parents protect their children from threats emanating from the market? This study sets out to understand the place of anti-consumption in the socialization of children. More particularly, it is a matter of understanding the motivations and manifestations of parents' resistance to influence attempts on their children, in a consumption context.

As Cross (2002) points out, people have for many years sought to protect children from the market, and to this day legislation is introduced to shield the child from advertising, marketing influences in school, etc. However, no studies have so far been carried out to take account of parental attitudes and to understand better "when and why adults object to child-directed marketing". The socialization of the child-consumer is the result of a long process, which accompanies children as they grow up and enables them to acquire knowledge of marketing, attempts to persuade and of commercial transactions (stores, prices, brands, etc.) (John 1999). The family is one of the main actors in the socialization of the child-consumer, together with peers, the media and marketing institutions. Parents can thus be a force of resistance to the influences exerted by the market (media and marketing) and by peers. Such resistance is exercised differently according to the parental style established within the family, particularly the position of the parents in regard to children's independence, parent-child communication, and restriction of consumption and media exposure (Carlson and Grossbart, 1988).

The research is based upon resistance conceptualization (Roux, 2007), and so resistance is defined as "a state of opposition (…) to an exerted force that is perceived as unacceptable because of the dissonant representations and negative emotions that it gives rise to in a subject". Thus, as the author explains, for resistance to be manifested, there must be "a force exerted on a subject, that the subject perceives and the effect of which he or she attempts to nullify".

In the case that interests us here, the "force" is not exerted directly on the subject, but on her child. The subject can nevertheless show resistance, if she considers, as Belk (1988) suggests, that her child is part of her own identity or of her "extended self". The influence exerted on the child – an advertisement, peer pressure – should, moreover, be perceived as a threat only by the parent, who then manifests resistance behavior in the same way as for him or herself. Two types of resistance are distinguished (Roux 2007) : situational resistance and individual predisposition.

Our research is based on a qualitative study carried on parents showing such resistance behavior, particularly in relation to toys. Ten individual semi-directive interviews were conducted the parents of children aged 3-11, covering the perceptual stage (3-7) and analytic stage (7-11) as suggested by John (1999). Beyond that age, children are less subject to parental influence, and are more independent and more familiar with persuasion mechanisms; the parents are then likely to have fewer reasons for resistance or at least will no longer be able to make themselves heard. The interviews were subjected to a traditional thematic analysis to refine our understanding of the main themes addressed: motivations, targets and manifestations of resistance, as well as elements relating to parental styles and individual variables.

The findings shows that parents' predisposition to reject conventional markets and consumption in general motivates their resistance. Parents' anti-consumption attitudes and their desire to shield the child from consumption essentially emerge, then, as a motivational factor for resistance. Some parents are opposed to the influence of consumer society on their children because they disagree with this model ("*I very much fight against consumption*") or for ethical reasons, for example when the manufacture of the toys involves child labor. Other parents consider that marketing and consumption influences are a threat to their children: advertising is dangerous, children have no defense against it and it can cause their mental faculties to deteriorate ("*advertising can easily disturb children's perception, or even affect their intelligence*"). Similarly, stores with their surfeit of choice disorient children ("*she burst into tears because she was bewildered by all the displays*").

But parents who are not basically anti-consumers may also resist marketing influences targeting their children in certain specific situations that they consider threatening. This parents resist for more situational motives, i.e. linked to the characteristics of toys. In particularly, parents' resistance is articulated around varied targets: specific products or brands, licensed products, advertisements, television, Internet, *etc.* We also observe the rejection of certain toys, and the boycotting of brands conveying values opposed their own. In the more specific context of licensed products, some parents resent the intrusion of brands into the day-to-day lives of their children and are opposed to how these are presented through advertising.

We take up the continuum idea developed by Fournier (1998) to describe the manifestations of consumer resistance. One way of resisting influences is to avoid them. Several parents prefer shielding their children from market influences by not taking them to toy stores, for example, or not letting them watch TV. While this a way of protecting children, it is also, for the parents, a way of avoiding the influences exerted by their children ("*I prefer not to take them, because that way there's no conflict*"). Another category of parents favors communication and dialogue within the family as a way of arming their children against market influences. These parents try to explain to their children how consumer society works; they present reasons for their resistance to certain influences and teach their children to decode such influences ("*I like developing a critical attitude in them toward advertising*")

As for the strongest reactions, these often involve control and forbidding. These parents impose rules on their children in regard to consumption, stop them buying certain types of products, and limit their exposure to the media and other sources of influence. In contrast to parents who avoid influences, this category favors confrontation in their relations with their children, by banning certain activities. They do not shield their children from influences, but explicitly resist them.

Indeed, three "types" of parental resistance emerge from this study, following a continuum ranging from the most passive reactions (avoidance, communication) to those that seem to us to be the most committed against children's consumption (control, forbidding).

Anti-consumption emerges, in this study, basically as a motivation for resistance by parents in regard to marketing targeted at their children. Parents who advocate voluntary simplicity or who reject excessive consumption and market pressures distance their children from these influence sources because they themselves reject that values associated with this model. At the same time, some parents, who are not necessarily opposed to consumer society, resist unwanted influences on their children by rejecting certain kinds of product, boycotting certain brands, or by combating what is unnecessary. Such manifestations, however, do not specifically entail anti-consumption since they are observed in particular circumstances among parents who are not fundamentally opposed to consumption.

This study provides a clarification to the concepts of anti-consumption and of resistance within the framework of the socialization of the child-consumer. It shows that an individual may resist on behalf of someone other than him or herself. Toys are therefore not always the bearers of enchantment or positive educational values. This is an area where managers should take into account the possible rejection of products, brands and media that convey values contrary to those of parents. Further research could explore the conditions under which a consumer is inclined to resist on behalf of someone else.

This study raises, in this respect, two questions. Firstly, do parents resist to a greater or lesser extent for their children than for themselves? We have seen that anti-consumption parents resist influences attempts on their children. It would first be a matter of examining in greater depth the transfer of anti-consumption behavior from parent to child. Then, within the framework of the socialization process of the child-consumer, other actors enter the picture (peers, the media, members of the family), all the more so as the child grows up and is socialized (John, 1999). A second question then arises: to what extent can "resistant" parents resist the increasingly numerous influence attempts on their children as they get older and become adolescents? These various questions all seem fruitful for future research.

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4:30 -5:15 p.m. – Axa Mare Nostrum

Panel on consumer tribes, Anti-consumption and Consumer resistance

Bernard Cova, Euromed Management, Marseille, France

Robert Kozinets, Schulich School of Business, York University, Toronto, Canada

ANR NACRE PROJECT

This project, which has obtained €435,000 of financing over 3 years, brings together 25 researchers and 5 teams (3 French and 2 European – the Universities of Pisa and Lancaster) for a cross-cultural research programme on consumer resistance phenomena.

Three main subject areas have been developed: problems of measuring resistance; exploration of specific manifestations of individual resistance (in regard to brands, intrusion by advertising, sales techniques, and symbolic elements conveyed by products); and phenomena of the construction of collective resistance in "expert" communities (the "alter-globalization" movement, anti-brand communities, consumers of organic and sports products in view of nutritional claims made by companies).

The 2008 NACRE conference in Paris Est University on: "Consumption and Consumer Resistance" produced an equitable level of activity and interest, with 46 submissions received and 24 papers selected by a scientific committee within a double blind process. Topics of interest included:

- Resistance and brand dislike
- Resistance toward ads and commercial discourse
- CRM and Resistance
- Resistance toward distribution channels
- Cultural Resistance in consumption
- Objects, mechanisms and products of resistance
- Collective and communal forms of resistance
- Methodological issues in the study of Consumer Resistance
- Psychological, sociological and cultural dimensions of resistance
- Working consumers and resistance towards double exploitation For more detail on the prior research outputs, current projects, and affiliates/scientific committee members of both ICAR and NACRE

More information is avalaible at: http://conference2008resistance.e-monsite.com/

Selected publications of the project

- Banister E.N., Hogg M.K. et Meah A. (2007), The Self-Determination Processes of New Mothers, Special Session: On the Parenthood Path: Consumption Experiences During Role Transitions by O'Donohoe et al., *European Advances in Consumer Research*, Milan, juillet.
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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 in New Zealand, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Lebanon, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States. 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. At the time, ICAR was the first research network of its kind in the world.

With the participation of its valued affiliates and burgeoning 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 three symposiums and produced several special issues on anti-consumption in the *Journal of Business Research,* and *Consumption, Markets and Culture,* in addition to the forthcoming *European Journal of Marketing* and *Journal of Consumer Behaviour.* These special issues combined provide publication outputs for well over 100 international academics.

ICAR exists for three main objectives:

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

- Using the knowledge gained to assist practitioners, in certain circumstances, to prevent or alleviate anti-consumption.

- To determine if our mainstream consumption-driven society can benefit from understanding the legitimate philosophies underlying anti-consumption, which may be particularly pertinent as the world becomes more aware of issues regarding the economic recession, corporate social responsibility, climate change, environmental degradation, and business sustainability.

For more information about ICAR please visit www.icar.auckland.ac.nz