

*Shopping for a better world? – A qualitative study of
political intentions among Danish consumers in relation to
every day food consumption*

Dissertation

Zur Erlangung des Grades
Doktor der Wirtschaftswissenschaften Dr.rer. pol.
der Universität Flensburg

Vorgelegt von

Marianne Stenger

Aus
Pattburg, Dänemark 2010

Gutachter:

Herr Prof. Dr. Wenzel Matiaske
Helmut-Schmidt-Universität
Fakultät für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften
Institut für Personalwesen und Internationales Management

Herr Prof. Dr. Florian Schramm
Universität Hamburg
Fakultät Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften
Department Wirtschaft und Politik

Datum der Promotion: 9. Juli 2009

| | |
|--|------------|
| Chapter 1: Introduction, problematisation, limitations and structure..... | 7 |
| 1.1 Introduction..... | 7 |
| 1.1.1. Interest in the phenomenon political consumption | 10 |
| 1.1.2. Is the phenomenon political consumption so interesting? | 13 |
| 1.1.3. Macro sociological perspectives on political consumption | 15 |
| 1.1.3.1. The subpolitics concept..... | 15 |
| 1.1.3.2. The life politics concept | 21 |
| 1.2. Problematisation | 26 |
| 1.2.1. Disposition of a competing thesis | 26 |
| 1.2.1.1. The problematics of measuring political consumption..... | 26 |
| 1.2.1.2. The problematics surrounding political intentionality..... | 39 |
| 1.2.1.3. The problematics surrounding price and availability | 41 |
| 1.2.1.4. Summary of the problematics..... | 42 |
| 1.3. Problem definition and research questions..... | 45 |
| 1.4. Limitations..... | 46 |
| 1.4.1. Theoretical focus | 46 |
| 1.4.2. Empirical focus..... | 49 |
| 1.4.3. Unit of analysis | 55 |
| 1.5. Structure | 56 |
| Chapter 2: Research into political consumption – an overview..... | 58 |
| 2.1. Research trends within political consumption | 58 |
| 2.1.1 Research into the determination of environmentally conscious, ethical and political consumer profiles..... | 63 |
| 2.1.1.1. The 1970's segmentation research | 63 |
| 2.1.1.2. Summary of 1970's segmentation research..... | 65 |
| 2.1.1.3. Segmentation research for the 1980's and beyond..... | 66 |
| 2.1.1.4. Summary of segmentation research of the 1980's and later..... | 71 |
| 2.1.2. Research into consumer motives in relation to environmentally friendly behaviour | 72 |
| 2.1.2.1. The theoretical foundation of the attitude research | 73 |
| 2.1.2.2. The empirical research into the connection between attitude and behaviour | 74 |
| 2.1.2.3. Summary of the empirical attitude research | 80 |
| 2.1.3. Research into political consumption and food products..... | 80 |
| 2.2. Summary..... | 90 |
| Chapter 3: Developing a conceptual framework | 93 |
| 3.1. Determining the concept of political consumption | 93 |
| 3.1.1. Presentation of criteria | 94 |
| 3.1.1.1. The intentionality aspect | 96 |
| 3.1.1.2. The community aspect | 102 |
| 3.2. Consumer cognition..... | 107 |
| 3.2.1. Cognition, cognitive processes and structures..... | 107 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 3.2.2. Uncovering cognitive structures | 111 |
| 3.2.2.1. The means-end chains theory | 112 |
| 3.2.2.2. Laddering | 117 |
| 3.3. Summary..... | 119 |
| Chapter 4: Paradigmatic approach, research strategy and method..... | 120 |
| 4.1. Defining the concept paradigm | 120 |
| 4.2. Paradigmatic approaches..... | 122 |
| 4.3 The application of paradigms in marketing and consumer research | 125 |
| 4.4 The paradigmatic roots of research on political consumption..... | 128 |
| 4.4.1. Choice of paradigmatic approach for the thesis..... | 130 |
| 4.5. The case study as research strategy..... | 131 |
| 4.5.1. Selecting the case study..... | 132 |
| 4.5.2. Selecting a case type | 133 |
| 4.5.3. Case selection..... | 134 |
| 4.5.3.1. Intensity sampling | 135 |
| 4.5.3.2. Snowball sampling | 136 |
| 4.5.4. Data collection | 137 |
| 4.5.5. Data analysis | 137 |
| 4.5.6. Validity and reliability issues | 139 |
| 4.5.6.1. Determination of the validity concept in qualitative research | 139 |
| 4.5.6.2. Methods applied to ensure credibility and transferability | 141 |
| 4.5.6.3. Determination of the reliability concept in qualitative research | 142 |
| 4.5.6.4. Methods applied to ensure dependability | 143 |
| 4.5.6.5. Determination of the objectivity concept in qualitative research | 143 |
| 4.5.6.6. Methods applied to ensure confirmability | 144 |
| 4.5.6.7. Wallendorf og Belk's fifth concept: integrity..... | 144 |
| 4.5.6.8. Methods applied to ensure integrity | 144 |
| 4.6. Summary..... | 145 |
| Chapter 5: Data analysis – Political consumption: more consumption than politics? | 146 |
| 5.1 Presentation and construction of cases..... | 146 |
| 5.2. Case description Julie – "I do it for myself" | 148 |
| 5.2.1. To what extent are the informants political? | 149 |
| 5.2.2. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 149 |
| 5.2.2.1. The individual boycott | 150 |
| 5.2.2.2. Reference framework for the analysis of the individual boycotts | 151 |
| 5.2.2.3 The public motive..... | 152 |
| 5.2.2.4. The three private motives: social, caring and pleasure motives | 152 |
| 5.2.2.5. The individual boycott | 154 |
| 5.2.3. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 155 |
| 5.2.4. Case summary and response to research question a..... | 156 |
| 5.3. Case description B: Hans - "It's all about behaving reasonably" | 157 |
| 5.3.1. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 158 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 5.3.1.1. The individual buycott | 158 |
| 5.3.1.2. The individual boycott | 160 |
| 5.3.2. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 161 |
| 5.3.3. Case summary and response to research question a..... | 161 |
| 5.4. Case description C: Morten – ”My mother’s ecological principles” | 162 |
| 5.4.1. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 163 |
| 5.4.1.1. The individual buycott | 163 |
| 5.4.1.2. The individual boycott | 164 |
| 5.4.2. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 165 |
| 5.4.3. Case summary and response to research question a..... | 165 |
| 5.5. Case description D: Lone – ”My background in this health service sector” | 166 |
| 5.5.1. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 167 |
| 5.5.1.1. The individual buycott | 167 |
| 5.5.1.2. The individual boycott | 168 |
| 5.5.2. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 169 |
| 5.5.3. Case summary and response to research question a..... | 169 |
| 5.6. Case description E: Henrik: ”I think about the coming generations” | 170 |
| 5.6.1. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 170 |
| 5.6.1.1. The individual buycott | 170 |
| 5.6.1.2. The individual boycott | 172 |
| 5.6.2. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 173 |
| 5.6.3. Case summary and response to research question a..... | 174 |
| 5.7. Case description F: Emma: ”It’s about the values you put on the table” | 175 |
| 5.7.1. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 176 |
| 5.7.1.1. The individual buycott | 176 |
| 5.7.1.2. The individual boycott | 177 |
| 5.7.2. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 177 |
| 5.7.3. Case summary and response to research question a..... | 178 |
| 5.8. Case description G: Iben - ”No trust in the conventional system” | 178 |
| 5.8.1. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 179 |
| 5.8.1.1. The individual buycott | 179 |
| 5.8.1.2. The individual boycott | 180 |
| 5.8.2. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 181 |
| 5.8.3. Case summary and response to research question a..... | 181 |
| 5.9. Case description H: Rikke – ”An awareness surrounding the connection between food and illness” | 182 |
| 5.9.1. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 182 |
| 5.9.1.1. The individual buycott | 183 |
| 5.9.1.2. The individual boycott | 184 |
| 5.9.2. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 185 |
| 5.9.3. Case summary and response to research question a..... | 185 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 5.10. Case description I: Nanna – "I get a better feeling by eating organic food" | 186 |
| 5.10.1. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 187 |
| 5.10.1.1. The individual buycott | 187 |
| 5.10.1.2. The individual boycott | 188 |
| 5.10.2. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 189 |
| 5.10.3. Case summary and response to research question a | 189 |
| 5.11. Case description J: Peter: "The most concrete political position I take at all" | 189 |
| 5.11.1. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 190 |
| 5.11.1.1. The individual buycott | 190 |
| 5.11.1.2. The individual boycott | 191 |
| 5.11.2. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 192 |
| 5.11.3. Case summary and response to research question a | 193 |
| 5.12. Case description K: Else: "Memories of my mother's herb and vegetable garden" | 193 |
| 5.12.1. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 194 |
| 5.12.1.1. The individual buycott | 194 |
| 5.12.1.2. The individual boycott | 196 |
| 5.12.2. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 196 |
| 5.12.3. Case summary and response to research question a | 196 |
| 5.13. Case description K: Rune: "It's probably all about health in the end" | 197 |
| 5.13.1. Application of assessment criterion 1 | 198 |
| 5.13.1.1. The individual buycott | 198 |
| 5.13.1.2. The individual boycott | 199 |
| 5.13.2. Application of assessment criterion 2 | 200 |
| 5.13.3. Case summary and response to research question a | 200 |
| 5.14. Cross-case analysis | 201 |
| 5.14.1. Possible motive categories in relation to the buycott | 202 |
| 5.14.1.1. Boycotting as health-driven consumption acts | 202 |
| 5.14.1.2. Boycotting as political consumption acts | 204 |
| 5.14.1.3. Boycotting as "both and" consumption acts | 205 |
| 5.14.1.4. Boycotting as "neither nor" consumption acts | 206 |
| 5.14.2. Analysis of the boycott | 207 |
| 5.14.3. Summarised response to research question a | 208 |
| 5.15. Summary | 208 |
| Kapitel 6: Dataanalysis – Consumer cognition in relation to boycotting organic food | 211 |
| 6.1. Presentation of informants and procedure | 211 |
| 6.2. From laddering data to implication matrix and hierarchical value map | 214 |
| 6.2.1. The construction of summary content codes | 215 |
| 6.2.2. Constructing the implication matrix | 219 |
| 6.2.3. Results summarized in the hierarchical value map | 224 |
| 6.2.3.1. Means-end chains for the attribute "No pesticides" | 224 |
| 6.2.3.2. Means-end chains for the attribute "taste/quality" | 225 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 6.2.3.3. Means-end chains for the attribute "luxury" | 225 |
| 6.2.3.4. Means-end chains for the attribute "price" | 225 |
| 6.2.3.5. Means- end chains for the attribute "convenience" | 225 |
| 6.2.4. Determination of "dominating" cognitive representations | 226 |
| 6.2.5. Answering research question b | 228 |
| 6.4. Validation of the laddering results | 230 |
| 6.5. Summary..... | 231 |
| Chapter 7: Implications | 233 |
| 7.1. Measuring political intention in consumption acts | 233 |
| 7.1.1. The environmental motive as having potential for both political and non-political content.. | 234 |
| 7.1.2. Measuring the spread of political consumption in a more context specific way | 236 |
| 7.1.3. Comparing the informants having a political intention with the political consumer profile . | 238 |
| 7.1.4. Assessing value orientations in estimating the market potential for political products | 238 |
| 8. References | 241 |

“Political shopping, the forwarding of political e-mails about companies’ labor practices, culture jamming (the use of humor and symbolic images from the corporate world to break corporate power), and so on are examples of political action repertoires through which citizens use political values and goals to target selected companies, international organizations, or simply public attention” (Stolle and Micheletti, 2005: 3)

Chapter 1: Introduction, problematisation, limitations and structure

The purpose of Chapter 1 is to introduce the theme of the dissertation as well as to argue for the research problem. This is done by introducing the phenomenon political consumption and raising attention to possible research gaps within this field. Discussing the research gaps leads to a problem formulation and two associated research questions. Limitation issues are raised discussing specifically the empirical focus and the unit of analysis. Finally, the structure of the dissertation is introduced.

1.1 Introduction

Since the 80’s, new, modified or alternative forms of political participation supplementing the classical parliamentary voter participation have emerged. Participation forms, where the population outside the representative institutions express their attitudes and attempt to exercise influence. Referring to the introductory quotation, Stolle and Michelletti (2005) mention political shopping and political e-mails as ways of participating which are less institutionalized and conventional in a political participation sense. Pattie et al., (2003) find support for a change in the political participation repertoires. They have investigated the British population’s way of participating, and this study indicates that *“people’s participation in conventional political activities (such as voting, contacting a politician, and attending a political meeting) has declined, whereas participation in consumption and contact politics (boycotting goods and contacting the media) have grown significantly”*. The same tendency is confirmed by several authors who state that the political participation repertoire has been extended from classical voting to participation in various social movements and further to shopping or boycotting products. Neller and van Deth, 2006; European Social Survey, 2002; Petersson et al., 1998).

The appearance of political participation forms outside the classical political system is also argued by sociologists to be in line with a contemporary tendency where the distinction between the public, traditionally political sphere and the private sphere become blurred (Bauman, 1999; Beck, 1997a).

Apparently, citizens look for new ways to express their political opinions and exert political influence. Stolle and Micheletti (2005) refer to this changed action repertoires as political consumerism where citizens for example are involved in boycotts or “buycotts” and use the market as an arena for expressing political concerns. Meanwhile, Steen Svendsen from the Copenhagen Institute for Future Studies was the first in Denmark to introduce not the term “political consumerism” but “political consumption” in 1995 as an alternative way of putting forward political viewpoints, where the consumers act through their purchasing decisions in a market context:

First and foremost, I am convinced that an even greater part of our consumption in the future will express political viewpoints, and that political consumption will become a significant supplement to the traditional participation channels. The concrete products and areas that are included in political consumption can change according to fashion, actual circumstances, supply and information, but the political consumption – the mixture of politics and consumption – has in itself come to stay.” (Svendsen, 1995:3)

Characteristic for political consumption or what Stolle and Michelletti would call “political shopping” as a political form of participation is that the consumers, in addition to the traditional consumer motives, e.g. price and quality, establish a range of social, ethical and/or environmental criteria in their consumer decisions, e.g. acceptable prices for farmers in third-world countries, or the avoidance of pesticides in agriculture. In consumer behaviour literature consumers are often characterized as people seeking to pursue rational self interest goals building upon the theory of the egoistic economic man, but in recognizing concepts such as ethical, socially responsible or political consumption, the consumer motives are being expanded to also include other values than self interested, mainly economic ones (Micheletti et al., 2004). Participating in political consumption thus means that the consequences of consumption in relation to society as a whole are evaluated which speaks for a more responsibility taking political consumer type. The consumers who thus perceive the environment as an important theme in their life will, therefore assess the environmental implications of her consumer behaviour. Thus, if an individual is concerned about the accumulation of waste in society, this could result in particular behavioural patterns such as buying products with

an environmentally friendly packaging. The concern is then converted into daily consumption routines of product, therefore, does not only satisfy the consumer's immediate needs and wishes, but contributes to an improvement of the environment in the longer term (Follows and Jobber, 2000). In other words political consumption occurs, according to Micheletti et al. (2004) when consumers consciously use their desire to change objectionable institutional, market, environmental, political or ethical practices for making choices among producers and products.

Environmentally friendly behaviour can thus exemplify a form of political consumption, in that sense that environmental motives are supported or accompanied by a political motive. Ethical consumption, such as the choosing of fair trade products is another area where the consumer can have political intentions underlying their consumption (Nordisk Ministerråd, 2001, 2003). It also emerges in Uusitalo and Oksanen (2004) that the most essential aspect surrounding ethical consumption is that the consumer not only considers individual aims/demands, but also takes in social aims, ideals and ideologies. Ethical consumption is considered by Moisander (2001) as a symbolic form of consumption, in that the consumer is pursuing an ethical lifestyle, identity or other social values. Ethical consumption is not referred to as being directly politically motivated, but the understanding of what makes the consumption political, namely that there is a more external aim, a so-called collective aim, which is also implicit in the ethical consumption. The consumer can thereby, whether the person concerns practices ethical, environmentally friendly, or also socially responsible consumption, participate and signal which direction the society should take and thus practice a form of politically motivated consumption. Political consumption can thus be seen as a political participation form in contemporary time, and surveys show that consumer boycotting and moral shopping in countries such as Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Spain have increased (Neller and van Deth, 2006). Other authors also argue that product choice or consumption in general can be reframed as another arena for participatory democracy and that such moral awareness among consumers can be regarded as a legitimate form of empowerment, where the consumer through actions in the marketplace seek to influence (Carrigan et al., 2004; Muldoon, 2006).

The possible growth in political consumption as an alternative participation form can among other aspects be seen in the light of a range of strongly media-publicised cases that have had a moral, ethical and/or political content, where the consumers have wished to make apparent their

disapproval with, particularly, corporate business ethics or the decisions of governments. The boycott of the petrol giant Shell in 1995 is a well known example of consumers exerting a massive pressure via their buying power, such that the plans to dump the oil drilling platform Brent Spar were given up. The boycott of French red wine is similarly an expression of consumer opposition to the French government's carrying out of atom bomb tests in the Pacific ocean. The boycott of British beef due to the debate on mad cow disease serves to illustrate another example of participation in politics through political consumption. An example from 2000 concerns an American student's internet based protest against Nike's so-called "sweatshops" that resulted in global media coverage that reached out to 11.4 billion people (Micheletti, 2003). The Danes boycott of the dairy giant Arla's products due to the company's treatment of the cooperative society members, together with the perception of generally arrogant and monopolising behaviour is an example from 2003. The examples show that the citizen as a political consumer has come into play. A prerequisite for this kind of political action is according to Denegri-Knott et al. (2006) a consumer who is intelligent, conscious and informed and aware of the power of individual consumer choices for advancing larger global and collective issues of social and economic justice, the environment and human rights. In other words the market and the consumer are involved in politics through their moral shopping behaviour. Michelletti (2003) terms it individualized political action, meaning private, individualized behaviour that is not manifested in political movement or parties. It is collective in the way that the mass of political or moral shoppers express a collective element and a possible way to seek political influence. Under political consumption the market has therefore been turned into a political arena where citizens through the role as consumers can make decisions about what they think is right or wrong or as Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) put it turn their (consumers) attention from the ballot to the mall.

1.1.1. Interest in the phenomenon political consumption

The realisation of the political consumer's potential power in the market for goods is an aspect that has caught the attention of various interested parties. The risk of experiencing a consumer boycott has led to commercial companies trying to prepare for the management of the increased pressure that arises, particularly from the media and the consumers. The companies' interest in the phenomenon can also be due to the fact that there is now an economic logic in taking positions on topics such as the environment, ethics and/or social responsibility, etc. (Nicholls, 2002; Sørensen, 2004). One possible consequence of this is the growth in the number of "green" products during the

period 1984 to 1990. The number of green product-introductions in 1984 was 24, which made up 0.5% of total product-introductions, while the number in 1990 had grown to 810, which equated to 13.3% of all new product-introductions (Ottman, 1994). Report from the UK also show that the market for ethical products and services has a value £19,86 billion in 2002 (Shaw et al., 2006).

That a concept such as the "political consumer" has been introduced (Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen, 1995) possibly indicates that the market-reality of companies is facing such marked challenges that the basic conditions for running a business are, therefore, changing.

"Via pressure from political consumers and ever more aggressive medias, increased competition on values, the competition for highly educated employees and increased legislation through, for example, new rules within the environmental area and flex job initiatives, individual companies are been assigned a societal responsibility – a responsibility that used to rest with politicians and organisations" (Rasmussen, 1996:19)

As a possible consequence of the fact that the market is being politicised, the term "the political company" was introduced in the 1990's (Rasmussen, 1996). The reason is presumably that the companies experience that there is a need for a new type of company that is able to unite the traditional demands of profit maximisation with the demands of the consumers towards environmental, social and ethical responsibility. In Denmark, companies like Novo Nordisk and Grundfoss announced following the Brent Spar case that Shell's activities in the North Sea were not in accordance with their ethical profile (Thulstrup, 1997). The Body Shop is another example of an international company that in its business description makes public that they, through ethical guidelines, wish to improve the world¹ (www.thebodyshop.com), and the clothes chain Hennes and Mauritz draws customer attention to that fact that they acknowledge their social and environmental responsibility, which can, for example, be expressed through support to schools and teaching in the production countries (www.hm.com). Most recently, the industrial company Danfoss has in connection with the recruitment of employees attempted to signal a value-set based on ethics, responsibility, etc., and presumably sees these parameters as essential in relation to the demands future citizens and employees will make to companies (www.danfoss.com).

¹ The Body Shops homepage (www.thebodyshop.com), states the values on which the business is run. It can thus be seen that there is focus on human rights, support to small locally based producers, no testing on animals, the environment, etc.

On a European and US level emphasis has also been put on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) issues, meaning that companies in their organizational goals actively promote and communicate CSR to their stakeholders. In 1977 less than half of the Fortune 500 firms mentioned CSR in their annual reports whereas at the end of the 1990's around 90% has incorporated CSR activities into their annual reports (Min-Dong, 2008). The possible forthcoming of a political market place implies that companies understand which values characterise the consumers in order to be better able to position themselves, win or regain market shares. An "ethical survey" carried out by Børsen showed that consumers, several years after the Brent Spar case still considered Shell to be a company that does not deserve top marks in the areas of the environment and human rights (Børsen, 1998). As many as 24% of consumers consider that this has affected their consumption. In addition, 25% of the consumers considered that they buy products from companies that display a so-called "good ethical performance". However, the survey also shows that companies who, in the eyes of the consumer, seem to be ethically and socially conscious do not always experience a direct effect on sales (Op.cit). Under any circumstances, political consumption is an interesting phenomenon for many companies, as a better understanding of the consumer as a potential political player will enable a better create appropriate marketing strategies, and similarly improve the basis for managing any consumer boycotts.

The advancement of the political consumer has not only influenced market conditions for companies, but has also got prominent politicians to "court" the favour of the consumer. Thus, the Social Democratic environment minister of the time, Svend Auken, went out and encouraged consumers to boycott petrol from Shell's petrol stations, and the Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen participated in a cycle parade as a reaction to French nuclear weapons tests. In other words, the political consumers' advancement has resulted in the fact that politicians now also look for votes in the market instead of just the traditional political fora. In this lies recognition of the fact that politics in a traditional sense is perhaps changing, and that the consumer context can function as a political arena. Decisions that are made in the representative fora, which have implications for the consumer, will thus be potential political subjects that, in the end, can result in votes. Being a political consumer is, therefore, a way in which the individual can express her personal political position in a direct way, a way which does not first require acceptance through a political party or organisation. The political system may, therefore, in future have to deal with a consumer and voter

type that in many daily situations will construct her unique political positions and react independently. Svendsen (1995) emphasises that, where the market has met this new consumer type with new product offers, attitudinal surveys, etc., the political system has apparently had difficulty in adapting. This has resulted in the political system often turning their debates inwards and attempting to clarify problems within a closed community of parties and interested organisations. The consequence of this is that the institutions of representative democracy experience a falling level of interest and number of members among the population (Andersen et al., 1993).

In keeping with both companies and politicians, certain interested organisations have used, or misused, the political consumer in order to create coverage in the media. In connection with Brent Spar, the environmental organisation Greenpeace was particularly active in the media and strongly urged the population, the media and leading politicians to boycott Shell in order to prevent the dumping of the oil platform. The environmental analyses in connection with the depositing of the oil platform showed that dumping it in the open sea had been the least environmentally impacting method (Neale, 1997), but, regardless, emphasised by Greenpeace to be an environmental catastrophe. Greenpeace can therefore be thought of as having used the entire case and the media coverage to promote attention to their own organisation and possibly acquire new members. Greenpeace global membership figures have suffered a drop of 1.7 million since 1990, and the organisation has also in Denmark only a membership of around 1% of the Danish population, and is thereby the smallest among organisations such as The Danish Society for Nature Conservation (13%), The Red Cross (5%), Amnesty International (4%), Animal Protection (4%) and World Wide Fund for Nature (2%) (Thulstrup, 1997 with reference to Thulstrup, 1996). The above indicates there is a range of interested parties that have directed great attention towards the phenomenon of the political consumer, and who presumably will follow the research into political consumption closely.

1.1.2. Is the phenomenon political consumption so interesting?

Even though political consumption has experienced growing interest from the above named parties up through the 1990's, participation in politics via the market is no new phenomenon, in spite of the fact that the term political consumption is relatively new. As early as the previous century, examples can be found where consumers took the boycott weapon into application (Friedman, 1999), and in the period 1986-2004 several effective boycott campaigns abroad can be identified

(Clouder and Harrison, 2005). In Denmark, the phenomenon clearly emerged in the start of the 1960's and 1970's, when concrete boycott actions were seen brought about by several social movements (Barnes and Kaase, 1979), and the term "green" consumption, where the consumers signal their environmental positions had already arisen at the end of the 1970's and the start of the 1980's (Halkier, 1993, 1994). Consumer boycotts as a phenomenon are therefore nothing new as such, and has been considered as political participation at the individual level, and thus it can be discussed whether political consumption is at all an interesting phenomenon to be occupied with in a research sense. It can be discussed whether the citizen's participation in a consumption context merely illustrates the already well known boycott phenomenon, and whether the citizen's participation and involvement in the solving of various environmental problems is not merely an example of participation in politics in an alternative way. Arguments that support the idea of political consumption being different from traditional participation forms can though be found. Goul Andersen and Tobiasen (2001, 2004) argue that boycotting does not always imply collective mobilization in a traditional boycott sense and that political consumption also includes the positive consumption variant and differs then from the classic boycott.

Moreover political consumption shows more stable patterns of behaviour compared to boycott that are more temporary and fluctuating. Both Danish and foreign consumers have since the 1980's been involved in the handling of environmental considerations through their consumption. This has resulted in Danish consumers in various areas practicing environmental consideration in everyday life. Thus it appears that the majority of Danes participate in sorting refuse, where 92% deliver glass and 87% deliver old newspapers to the deployed recycling containers (Pedersen and Broegaard, 1997). In addition, it emerges in Grøn Information (1995) that the majority also choose to deliver batteries (79%) and other environmentally damaging chemicals and paints to the special environmental waste disposal sites. When it comes to transport, 24% of Danes choose public transport or the bicycle (Jensen, 1997b), and within daily groceries it appears that 30% of Danes always or often purchase organic food products (Økologisk Landscenter, 1997) as well as that 43% of consumers choose the most environmentally friendly way of measuring out washing powder (Forbrugestyrelsen, 1997). Similar results concerning environmental consideration in consumption can also be identified in American studies. Studies of the population's concern for the environment show that 87% consider themselves so-called "environmentalists". 82% state that they recycle, 83% express that they have changed their shopping behaviour in order to protect the environment, and

finally 67% say that they are willing to pay 5-10% more for a more environmentally friendly product (Coddington, 1990). Results from other European countries support these tendencies, e.g. Norway (Strandbakken, 1995), Germany (Scherborn, 1993), United Kingdom (Eden, 1993), etc. Consumers in Denmark, as in other countries thus practice different forms of environmental consideration in everyday life, which can be motivated by a desire to exert influence politically. The question is therefore whether political consumption is just a new term for something that in principle has already existed since the 1980's, or whether we are in fact witnessing new and different forms of participation in politics, with the consumer instead of the citizen at the centre?

1.1.3. Macro sociological perspectives on political consumption

When compared with the earlier examples of consumer boycotts as a form of action and the phenomenon political consumption that we are discussing today, then it is possibly new that there prevails a greater focus on the individual consumer's choice and responsibility, seen in the light of a growing individualisation in society. A wide range of authors have occupied themselves with the question of how the overriding societal changes influence the individual's everyday life (Beck, 1997; Giddens, 1990, 1991; Bauman, 1991, 1999). The authors set out possible concepts and explanations that frame new forms of political participation, where the individual political consumer behaviour is named and can be illustrated. A macro sociological perspective with focus on the terms subpolitics and life politics offer a framework for discussing consumer behaviour as expressing potentially political behaviour.

1.1.3.1. The subpolitics concept

In 1986, Ulrich Beck's *"Risikogesellschaft – Auf dem Weg in eine andre Moderne"* was published, which among other things argues for the idea that politics in the future to a greater degree will be displaced to alternative arenas, of which the market can serve as one example. Beck states, that society is moving away from the post industrial epoch, also known as the industrial society, into a new ground breaking period known as "the reflexive modernity" or "the risk society". The transition to the risk society implies that the entire industrialisation process created by mankind has led to a range of "self-created" risks, which both individuals and society need to take a position on. Life in the risk society's modernity becomes a reflexive project, i.e. it makes itself a theme and problem (Beck, 1997). The thesis is that people are concerned about the new type of risks that are

no longer limited in time and place, but have a more global character, and which have consequences for coming generations.

The societal transformation has, according to Beck, an influence on the political conditions, in that a sharpening of the risk conditions brings with it a fundamental change of the political (Beck, 1986). Beck claims that life under riskier circumstances leads to the mobilisation of various forms of political participation, in which particularly the individual is assigned a great responsibility to reflect over decisions and manage personal interests.

Beck predicts that the transfer to this new type of society will lead to the creation of a changed political discourse which to a greater degree will take place extra-parliamentary via the individual's everyday life situations. He mentions the social movements' informal spontaneous political activities, where the Brent Spar case illustrates the citizen in the role of consumer that, in a market context, contributes to the forming of a political discourse.

As a consequence of the transfer to the risk society, where problems such as foodstuff scandals (BSE) and other environmental changes are experienced more immediately than before, Beck is convinced that this will lead to changes in the way in which politics are run. Thus, these risks are a problem in themselves, but they are just as much seen as being a crisis for the established institutions. The traditional representative institutions, as well as other until now scientifically legitimised organisations, are no longer perceived as able to manage these risks and create a credible protection of the people. Parliamentary democracy, which was created against the background of the interests of the class-based society, is no longer able to, in a reassuring way, control the technological forces that the industrial society has initiated.

It is argued that the risk society becomes trapped in an outdated repertoire of political institutions that are not suited to modern societal catastrophes, e.g. such as environmental scandals. The consequences of this are that, at one and the same time, there is an increase in the risks experienced by the population at the same time as the management of these risks slips through a net of evidence producing tests which the political and legal institutions should in principle manage (Fischer, 1998).

The acknowledgement of the potential risk factors with, say, foodstuff and environmental scandals initiates what Beck designates as critical reflection of the social assumptions in the development of society, as well as, for example, the institutional practices. This discourse, which in principle originates from the meeting of the scientific and the social trust, is seen as one of the reasons why a new form of what can be termed "political reflectivity" has arisen in the population. The population, therefore, no longer see the traditional institutions as legitimising and credible instances for managing the risks that prevail in the risk society.

The political boundaries are becoming extended as the political possibilities of the technical-economical spheres lie outside the traditional political system, resulting in participation in the so-called subpolitical arenas. The democratic legitimising is slipping, which in other words means a revolution in the robes of normality (Beck, 1986). In spite of the technical-economical sphere not having the democratic legitimisation, a need to legitimise itself in relation to critical public opinion, such as the political consumers, arises anyway. According to Beck, alternative ways of running politics are not an expression of lack of interest in political engagement, but merely proof that participation takes places in a different way than earlier, and in other arenas (Beck, 1993). Where the political debate was previously constituted around the representative institutions, the political discussion and participation instead takes place in more informal and non-institutionalised contexts.

The assumption that politics has become uninteresting for the citizen, on the basis of the recent decades' falls in party memberships and political organisations in general is thus an expression of the fact that the search for political involvement has been in the wrong places, and not due to a lack of political interest (Beck, 1993). Holzer and Sørensen (2002:61) express on the basis of Beck (1993), that we are advised as follows:

"to search for politics that appears – and hides itself – in new areas, e.g. in people's daily activities and in the social movements' often informal and spontaneous actions."

"The right places" to search for political participation are thereby in everyday life contexts, where people carry out various choices on the basis of discussions with varying players: in the family, at work, at the sports club, at the day-care centres, etc. (Halkier, 1994, 1998a, 1998b). The individual,

local democratic forms of participation are coming more into focus, and supplement the previous representative and situation-determined participation forms.

Based on these assumptions, the consumers' individual everyday life-based boycott and boycott of products could represent a form of participation that differentiates itself from traditional political participation. The argument for this appears in Beck's quotation below, which frames the possibility of the population outside the representative system formulating and practicing politics:

"Who says that politics are possible only in the forms and terms of governmental, parliamentary, and party politics? Perhaps the truly political disappears in and from the political system and reappears, changed and generalised, in a form that remains to be comprehended and developed, as sub (system) politics in all the other fields of society" (Beck, 1997b: 52).

It is thus claimed that political participation to a greater degree can take place extra-parliamentarily, that is in more non-organised contexts. Beck describes this form of politics using the term "subpolitics", which is the term that will form the basis for a discussion of the extent to which consumers' individual participation constitutes a new form of political participation. In terms of a definition, the subpolitics concept is defined as follows:

"Politics outside and beyond the representative institutions of the political system of nation-states" (Beck, 1996:18).

The prefix "sub" does not refer to the way in which politics is carried out "beneath" the politics of the representative institutions and is therefore less important. The prefix "sub" indicates that the actual participation is not so institutionalised as we know from, say, elections and party membership, and that subpolitics can be understood as a form of politics "outside and beyond the representative institutions of the political systems of the nation states" (Holzer and Sørensen, 2002:61).

Subpolitics represents, therefore, a collective term for all forms of active non-parliamentary participation that develop themselves in the reflective modernity, and which individuals, companies and other institutions can be involved in. As Kaare Nielsen expresses it, the concept stretches from:

”...the individual’s decisions with regard to the organising of private life in relation to corporate or scientific expert groups’ strategic choices in the mutual competition, and to the fight by social movements for the good of society to influence the overriding principles within the development of society” (Kaare Nielsen in Aagard Nielsen et al., 1999: 149)

The participation of consumers in boycott actions, or the individualized everyday based boycott and boycott of certain products, highlights a possible subpolitical participation in an alternative arena compared to classical institutionalised arenas. Where consumers traditionally attempt to influence decision makers via the representative system, they can also exercise their influence in a market context. Beck names ecology as an example of an area where there is a need for an alternative way of analysing politics. A way, where the subpolitical domain could dominate and makes possible a new way of handling environmental risks (Beck, 1997b).

That the population orientates itself towards “the local” or the non-parliamentary, as Beck is the proponent of, is also confirmed by an empirical investigation carried out in connection with the Danish project “Democracy from below” from 1997. How far the causes of this change in the political participation are due to the emergence of the risk society is not assessed, but the investigation illustrates an empirical example of a changed political behaviour, as Beck state.

The investigation carried out by the authors Bang and Sørensen (1997) introduces a new political identity type known as the “everyday maker” who is not motivated by the big political issues and the influence of these on society. On the other hand, the everyday maker is more occupied by everyday life’s problems, i.e. the things that are of immediate concern for the person. Problem issues can occur in the home, at work, at the children’s day care institutions, and the characteristic is that the individual can personally be involved in solving the problems (Bang and Sørensen, 1997).

The everyday maker is thus not an expression of lack of interest in traditional politics, but is, as Beck describes, an expression of the fact that politics to a greater extent takes place in “subpolitical” contexts, and that the political concept is becoming broader than traditionally considered. The everyday maker, therefore, considers politics as a two way split between, respectively, “expert-politics” and “layman-politics”, where the “everyday making” is all about

engaging oneself in the solving of ordinary everyday problems, i.e. to participate in politics by taking an interest in everyday life's minor affairs.

The political interest orientates itself, therefore, apparently more towards the local and to solve ad hoc problems in everyday life. The party political aspect, with the old identity-forming parties, seems in relation to the everyday maker identity unable to play any special role. The emergence of the everyday maker identity thus well reflects the changed perception of the "local" as that which is most interesting and manageable, as opposed to the "distant", perhaps unimportant and unmanageable, where the lack of interest in representative democracy can be blamed on the fact that people feel unable to deal with the overriding problems as well as ensuring that the various initiatives are carried out and followed up. Things are easier at work or at home. For the everyday maker, it is clearly important that political involvement and development of one or another form of political identity occurs through the individual doing something concrete about various problem issues in their everyday lives.

The everyday maker is thus interesting as a political identity, in that this type of citizen exercises a type of political participation that can be contained in the sub-political concept. Participation occurs outside the representative institutions, namely in the contexts of everyday life, and is even much more unorganised than the traditional forms of participation. Seen in relation to, say, political participation in the form of grass roots organisations, which are directed against the representative institutions and networks, the everyday maker involvement appears to be more:

"...amateurish, changeable, motivated, individual, pluralistic and determined by the situation"
(Bang and Sørensen, 1997: 42).

The forthcoming of the everyday maker exemplifying extra-parliamentary politics is also supported by other authors. For example Bonsu and Zwick (2007) introduce the "moral consumer" as the enlightened and informed consumer who intends to change societal issues by boycotting or boycotting thus turning the market place into a political arena, where the individual consumer can express the everyday concern.

1.1.3.2. The life politics concept

The fact that new political participation forms are emerging and appear to be more individual and connected with everyday life is supported by Anthony Giddens. Some years after the publication of *The Risk Society*, Giddens (1991) introduced *"Modernity and Self-identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age"*, to the debate surrounding changed political conditions. Like Beck, Giddens considers that, due to the transition from a traditional to a post-traditional society, new conditions for the individual are being created, which give rise to new ways of adopting a political stance. The post-traditional society corresponds with Beck's risk society, where traditional life conditions, rules and norms do not structure the life of the individual to the same degree as previously, and this forces each individual to reflect and take positions on a wide range of life's possibilities:

"The more tradition loses its hold, and the more daily life is reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global order, the more individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options" Giddens (1991: 5).

Like Beck, Giddens is, therefore, also a proponent of a wider political concept, which as Holzer and Sørensen (2002:69) express it, "can comprise the mix of private choices with "political" – and thereby also public – criteria." According to Giddens, the post-traditional society expects the individual to take positions on the above named life-possibilities, which is why it is argued that we will to a growing extent experience the transfer from one form of politics to another. Giddens (1991:210) describes it as the transfer from "emancipatory politics" to "life politics". The concept of life politics thus figures as the Giddens'ite version of the subpolitical concept. Emancipatory politics is defined by Giddens as:

"I define emancipatory politics as a generic outlook concerned above all with liberating individuals and groups from constraints which adversely affect their life chances" (Giddens, 1991: 210).

The purpose of emancipatory politics is thus to release underprivileged groups from their inadequate conditions, or to eliminate the differences between them. Thereby, it becomes a question of avoiding exploitation, inequality and suppression of individuals or groups (Giddens, 1991). Examples of this are preventing an employers' exploitation of the workforce or women's equal rights in the form of the right to vote. This form of politics can be said to correspond to the original

ideological political fight for the overriding political principles for society. According to Giddens, this form of politics will still make up a large part of our political reality, but it will to a growing degree be superseded by life politics.

Life politics does not concern itself to such an extent with the circumstances that liberate the individual and create the conditions for making decisions, but rather interprets life politics as "*a politics of choice*" (Giddens, 1991: 214). Life politics concerns itself, therefore, with more individual, existential choices in order to live with, and manage, the possibilities or threats that arise from the changed and riskier existence in the post-traditional society. Giddens sets out his life political concept as follows:

"Life politics concerns political issues which flow from processes of self-actualisation in post-traditional contexts, where globalising influences intrude deeply into the reflective project of the self, and conversely where processes of self-realisation influence global strategies."

Life politics expresses a lifestyle in which self-realisation is developed within a global dependence, and not a lifestyle where elimination of exploitation is central, as is the case with the traditional liberation politics. This means that the individual in the private sphere can consider and carry out behaviour that is of political character, and that supplements the classical liberation politics. Information surrounding, for example foodstuff scandals or pesticide-contaminated drinking water can initiate a reflective process in the individual, who will consider how to act in relation to this information. It might be considered that the social practices carried out previously shall be reassessed. The change from conventional to organic food shopping could be an example, the choice of alternative energy sources in the home another.

Overall, there is a prevailing agreement between Beck and Giddens that society is undergoing a transformation process, which has certain consequences for the way in which the individual manages political problems. The consequences are that the individual person is ascribed a greater responsibility to reflect on her decisions, and that the individual is thought of as having a significantly more active role as a political player. There is thus consensus surrounding the idea of the political concept of participation within more traditional arenas losing ground, in so far as a mixture of the private and public spheres is unavoidable.

The interesting aspect is whether the argued change of circumstances applies for the individualized, permanent ways of managing and practicing politics. In other words, has the consumer role also become a political role, where the consumer consciously attempts to contribute to changes – not just with concrete individual situation specific acts, but more permanently. The option of buying organic food products and the boycott of eggs from battery hens exemplifies individual everyday consumer actions, where the motives can potentially reach beyond the maximisation of the consumer's own benefits. The question is whether these actions in the eyes of the consumer are a way of practicing politics, which can be placed within the subpolitical and life political concepts, or we are merely witnessing a consumer phenomenon, where political consumption is still more consumption than politics?

The above mentioned authors indicate that the individual finds herself in a post traditional context where a wide range of decisions concerning the construction of the “self” are taking place, and where it is no longer possible to make choices based on routines, experiences or traditions, which characterised the pre-modern industrial society. This transition means, taken to its extreme, that the individual in principle has nothing concrete to relate to, but must actively reflect on various contexts, decisions, etc., which influence everyday life. This means that normal everyday and traditionally characterised routines can to a much greater extent be subject to negotiations and discussions in different social contexts, which, for instance, spreads itself to ordinary questions of consumption, such as whether to buy “green products”, organic or conventional, and consumption behaviour thus becomes subordinate to a wide range of individual negotiations that can be thought to have a political aim.

Political consumption as political participation can, therefore, be more than the concrete boycott actions that were experienced with the Brent Spar case, the boycott of the French government, etc. Consumers take part daily in considerations surrounding, for example, boycott or boycott of products, where aspects of health, the environment, ethics, etc. have come into focus. Foodstuff scandals such as salmonella poisoning, the BSE crisis, pesticide and dioxin traces in foodstuffs have made the consumer concerned, which, for the individual consumer, can result in the boycott of, say, organic produce, where values like the family's health, the environment and animal welfare are given a high priority.

Research points towards a significant growth of the risk experience in the consciousness of the consumer in connection with the above mentioned food scandals (Nordisk Ministerråd, 2001). The belief in the state and science in the industrial society as the legitimising instances is crumbling in the minds of consumers, in that one scandal after another sheds doubt on their credibility, and encourages the management of political issues through consumption. The fear of becoming ill due to the food that is consumed or the water that is drunk possibly makes the consumer to a greater extent feel compelled to manage such risks through concrete everyday consumption choices, which they feel in control of. At the same time, they have the possibility of stating a political message in relation to how food production should take place, such that they can feel secure with the world they are living in. In particular, the everyday buycott and boycott of products can thus be examples of more individualised forms of political participation, where the consumer, through varying consumption practices, can demonstrate her positions. Consumption becomes, therefore, political when the consumers consciously through their purchasing attempt to influence or change the overriding principles in the development of society, with which they are either dissatisfied or insecure.

The participation of consumers in boycott actions as well as the everyday buycott and boycott of consumer goods can thereby indicate that the population wants to express their positions in a more “near” and “direct” way, seen in relation to traditional election or party participation. This reflects itself in an investigation carried out by Gallup (1997), where 30.8% of the population agreed that it is more effective to express political positions via the buycott and boycott of products than to vote in a general election. Micheletti (2003) emphasises analogously that in future it can thus become more important to “shop” in the “politically correct” boutiques, which she designates “shopping for virtue”, than voting in the general election. Steinholz (1999) describes this changed democratic behaviour as “consumption democracy”, where the citizen considers her product choice, and in doing so feels that she has greater influence on the democracy. Norris (2007) argues that instead of seeing political participation and political commitment as waning, it is better to think of participation as developing new ways of being politically active, e.g. shopping, ethical investing, etc. Such an idea thus challenges the traditional understanding of politics, where participation takes place through the institutionalised frameworks, such as party membership, participation in elections, interest organisations, etc.

Something suggests, therefore, that where the political initiative previously came to a greater degree "from above", an initiative is mobilising of greater dimensions that comes "from below". The political arena is being displaced from the parliamentary to the non-parliamentary (Aagaard Nielsen et al., 1999). Goul Andersen (1993) argues that displacements are occurring on 3 levels, which can explain the arrival of political consumption as an alternative way of participating in politics. Firstly, there is a shift from collective channels of influence to individual possibilities for influence, where, for example, party membership and participation in elections is replaced by individual local democratic forms, where participation takes place in the local society, in the workplace, at the child-care centres, via consumption, etc. The second displacement is that of the national and local political contexts being supplemented by so-called "micro-local" contexts, where participation is constituted around, for example, the individual family's involvement in the board of the youth club or cooperative supermarket, where, say, Max Havelaar coffee can be bought in order to contribute to an ethically responsible form of production. Thirdly, the discussion concerns the fact that the interest in the decision making side of the political system (input-side) is to a growing extent being replaced or supplemented by interest in the results side (outcome-side). It is thus possible to imagine that the individual mother or father is more interested in implementing concrete suggestions for the establishment of a safe playground in the day-care centre rather than in the actual discussion and debate surrounding norms, guidelines, budgets, etc. (Goul Andersen, 1993).

The political discourse can in other words be thought of as taking place, for example, in the home, where the family members discuss and place various political topics on the agenda, which later result in concrete actions in the supermarket. As the physical space of the supermarket being used for political participation is not traditionally political, there is a mixing together of two until now separate arenas, namely, consumption, i.e. the economical aspect, and the political. The traditional drawing of boundaries between the economical and the political, as corresponding to, respectively, a private versus a public matter is thus under pressure as a consequence of the fact that "the political, ethical or ecological consumer" is beginning to do politics via the market (Svendsen, 1995, Gallup, 1997, Grunert and Kristensen, 1995).

On the basis of these displacements, it is thus possible to make an assumption that the market is an important channel for the expression of political viewpoints when the consumer wants to influence

the political system, company decisions, etc. With the increasing occurrence of environmental and foodstuff crises, it is probable that the consumer will in future use both the boycott as well as the buycott and boycott of goods as a weapon when they are afraid, confused or strongly committed to the development of society.

1.2. Problematisation

The above indicates that it is possible to make a reasonable assumption that political consumption is a new phenomenon that involves consumers at a more individual, everyday level. It is also reasonable to assume that political consumption will grow and become an alternative to the traditional political participation forms. Several studies of the and spread of political consumption can confirm this assumption (Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001, 2004; Tobiasen, 2004; Stolle and Micheletti, 2004, Strømnes, 2004)

1.2.1. Disposition of a competing thesis

However, there can also be a basis for presenting a competing thesis that the political consumption as a phenomenon is overrated and does not in itself play a major role, but which, perhaps due to the media's increased attention or difficulties in defining the political in relation to consumption acts, merely appears to be something that plays a big role. This applies to political consumption both as a more individualised participation form and as in terms of market potential, and that the actual extent and spread can therefore be limited. The justification for presenting this competing assumption will be argued for in the following.

1.2.1.1. The problematics of measuring political consumption

Several studies point towards the extent of political consumption being relatively large both in Denmark and internationally (Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen, 1996, Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001, 2004; Neller and van Deth, 2006). Figures from one study show that between 50 -55% of the people asked indicate that they buy organic food products during a week (Thulstrup, 1997). Other studies indicate, that approximately 50% of the respondents, who buy organic products expressed political motives (Beckmann et al., 2001) or put in another way, they have deliberately chosen to buy products for political reasons (Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2004). Thus, approximately half of

the population state, that their boycott of organic food or other chosen products encompass political motives, such as wanting to do something for the environment. It appears, therefore, that the consumers in connection with their purchase of organic products not only assess consumption motives, such as the possible health-improving properties of the products, but also consider their purchases as political behaviour with more overriding political and societal consequences.

Based on this, it could thus be possible to perceive consumer actions in relation to specific product categories, in this case organic food as a way of practicing political consumption.

However, the sales figures for organic food products specifically do not reflect the same extent as the above statements indicate. Only 4-5% of the total sale of food products comes from organic food sales (Vestergaard, 1999) and in the period from 2000 to 2004 there has been a slight drop from 5.1% in 2000 to 4.9% in Denmark (www.okoland.dk). Recent figures though show that the sales for organic food is increasing. In 2005 the sales for organic food rose 12% from 2004 to 2005, and 18% from 2005 to 2006 (www.statistikbanken.dk/oeko3) but it still remains unanswered if this means an extension of the political intent in boycotting or other motives seem more prominent. The general positive economic development during this period with people having a relatively higher income could play a central role in explaining the growth. Even though the sales for organic food has increased over the last few years, the market share is still fairly small which has made several retail chains reconsider their expectations towards the sale of organic products, and attempt to limit their product ranges as well as their trading with a range of organic producers (Torjusen et al., 2004; Sall and Sall, 2000). A relatively small market share can also be found within the sale of fair trade products, where a product such as coffee displays a market share of ca. 2% (Maxhavelaar fonden, 2001) and fair trade cooperatives report that they are only able to sell half of their crops at the established fair trade price (Levi and Linton, 2003).

The relatively low market share for organic food products combined with the fact that organic food products are far from always purchased due to political motives, but are to a higher degree based on personal health-related reasons (Bjerke, 1992; Torjusen et al., 1999; Weir and Calverley, 1999; Beckmann et al., 2001; IFKA, 2001, 2003, O'Doherty Jensen et al., 2001) or a mixture of both personal and more moral, societal reasons (Stern and Dietz, 1994; Thøgersen, 1997) makes it difficult to assess the degree to which the political intentions are present. The difficulty in

determining the precise motives makes it uncertain whether consumer goods that are potentially political constitute an area of consumption that should be treated as having a serious market potential. Also to what extent the consumers' motives can reasonably be described as political. In terms of research, we are thus dealing with a phenomenon where the consumers, here in connection with the purchase of organic food products, are expressing that they do actually buy these products, and that the motives for this are political, but where the market data shows a modest share.

Other international studies, not specifically about consumers' political motives in relation to concrete products, but the importance consumers attach to ethical aspects, indicate that the consumers do not assign ethical aspects a significant influence upon their buying decisions (Carrigan and Attalla, 2001; Uusitalo and Oksanen, 2004). It appears that, particularly among young consumers, factors such as brand, fashion, convenience and price play a greater role than ethical factors. Carrigan and Attalla (2001:570) showed that companies such as Nike, McDonald's and Gap had all been publicly charged for poor ethical behaviour, but the informants in the study still expressed that this did not influence their purchasing behaviour: *"I like Gap Clothing, McDonald's taste good and Nike looks and feels right."* Ottman (1994) has in relation to the market potential of green products also found results that support Carrigan and Attalla (2001) in that price, quality and convenience are the most important decision making criteria. At the same time it is added that green products can certainly achieve competitive advantages, just not at the expense of the above named parameters.

Rogers (1998), Simon (1995), Boulstridge and Carrigan (2000) and others, have also within environmentally related and ethical research identified the discrepancy between apparently positive attitudes towards, for example, the environment or honouring ethically, responsibly managed companies, and then, for example, the environmentally related actions or purchases of ethical products that the consumer carries out. This identified discrepancy between attitude and behaviour seems correspondingly to emerge in the measurements of the consumers own reported attitudes towards, say, organic food products compared with the registered behaviour, and it appears correspondingly that the consumers have political motives, but the political consumption based on market share seems on the face of it to be absent. Analogously, it is possible to refer to the investigations by Boulstridge and Carrigan (2000) and Uusitalo and Oksanen (2004) concerning the importance of ethical motives for purchasing behaviour. It appears that the respondents express that

they have a positive attitude towards ethical products, and that they are willing to favour ethical products if a company distinguishes itself by good ethical behaviour, but the ethical motives are not the dominating purchase motives when a purchase decision is made. This results in much fewer consumers than the measurements of attitudes indicate actually boycotting products for which the ethical aspect is the decisive criterion (Simon, 1996). Solér (1997:214) has investigated the significance that a range of Swedish consumers assign to their purchase of environmentally friendly staple products after having set a question mark against why the consumers to only a limited extent purchase environmentally friendly staples, when they apparently express that they are concerned for the environment. She formulated the paradox thus:

"Despite the moral character of buying ecologically friendly consumer goods, most Swedish consumers only buy ecologically friendly cleansing products and detergents. The market for ecological food is very small and there is reason to ask why consumers, who value the environment, do not buy ecological products more consistently"

The overriding question that arises on the basis of the above is, therefore, how can the discrepancy between self-reported attitudes/behaviour and the actual behaviour be explained, or as Newholm (2005:107) describes it, *"the words/deeds inconsistency?"* Is this discrepancy an indication that there is perhaps not so much political consumption being practiced, even though attitudes and intentions are present?

According to Uusitalo (1990) the discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour can be ascribed to a range of different factors. It can be due to the consumers seeking variation in their product selection or, for example, economical or social factors that influence a concrete situation. Particularly in connection with the daily shopping, where the level of involvement is low. Uusitalo (1990) argues that most consumers are not willing to make an extra effort to carry out ethical consumer choices. The consumers thus consider ethical issues, provided that they do not have to make too many compromises in relation to other purchase criteria. The discrepancy is thus clarified by the consumer weighting other criteria more heavily than for example ethical factors, which suppresses the sales volumes of ethical products. Other authors also highlight the ambivalences (Halkier, 2001a) which constitute a complicated pattern of consumption or the deflections (Sørensen, 2002) that consumers carry out in the comparison between different purchasing criteria.

Another often stated explanation for the discrepancy between the expressed and the actual behaviour is ascribed to the problem of measurement, which is particularly mentioned as an explanation for the frequently discussed gap between attitudes and behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980; Eagly, 1982; Moisander and Uusitalo, 1994; Roozen and De Pelsmacker, 1998; Follows and Jobber, 2000). According to Follows and Jobber, 2000; Roozen and De Pelsmacker, 1998, who occupy themselves with the measuring of environmentally responsible behaviour, the problem is that many of the measurements are normative in nature, and can, therefore, cause the respondents to give what they consider "socially desirable responses". If, in addition, the measurements build upon scaling or response categories that all represent positive environmental actions, this can lead to an effect where the respondents can have a tendency to over-report their positive environmental actions. This results in the creation of an almost inflated level of environmentally responsible behaviour, that does not correspond to the actual market and sales data (Follows and Jobber, 2000). Therefore, measurements where individuals must take a position on subjects that can be sensitive with regards to the issue of "social desirability" can thereby have a tendency to exhibit the discussed discrepancy.

The measurement problem is also highlighted by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) in connection with the often found weak connection between environmentally friendly attitudes and behaviour (Uusitalo, 1990; Moisander and Uusitalo, 1994). It is argued that the difference between attitude and behaviour is due to the fact that either the attitude-variables or the behaviour-variables are incorrectly specified. Moisander and Uusitalo (1994) mention that one example of an incorrect specification is when there is an attempt to establish a connection between a specific action in a specific context at a specific time, explained with the help of a general measurement of environmental interest. It is thus highlighted by Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) that in measurements of the connection between attitudes and behaviour, a so-called requirement for correspondence should be fulfilled, i.e. that the scope of the definition of the attitude-variables should correspond to the scope of the defined behaviour-variables. In connection with future measuring, it might therefore be attempted, in relation to Ajzen and Fishbein (1977, 1980) and Moisander and Uusitalo (1994), to measure the spread of the political consumption in relation to concrete consumption activities, such as transport, recycling, the consumption of concrete products, and, with reference to this, carry out the necessary specification of the attitude-variables. Recent investigations have also refuted

precisely this discussed measurement problem, but it is still possible to identify a discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour (Follows and Jobber, 2000).

The existing discrepancy between the large proportion of political consumers versus the relatively low market share for organic food products can, according to Sørensen (2004) and Stolle et al. (2005), also be ascribed to the measurement problem, because different aspects of the political consumption are measured in different units. According to Sørensen (2004), it depends on whether the phenomenon is regarded from a market perspective or a political science perspective. Political consumption assessed as market potential is according to Sørensen (2004) evaluated on the basis of market share and motives for purchasing organic products, which appears to be a relatively insignificant phenomenon. From a political science perspective, however, the phenomenon gains another significance in that the basis is no longer market share, but the political participation. The difference in the two perspectives is thus formulated by (Sørensen, 2004:55) in the following example:

"If you shopped politically on the market once a week (every week) by buying one litre of organic milk based on the desire to "do something for nature", but also on the other days of the week bought conventionally produced milk (because the local grocer's didn't happen to have organic milk, because it is considered expensive or something similar) this then gives an impressively high frequency of application of the political participation channel "political consumption", in comparison with other participation channels (e.g. voting in the county and local elections every 4th year, the general election every 3rd-4th year, participating in demonstrations every second year, etc.). Seen from a market viewpoint, there is, however, nothing to be impressed about. The one litre of milk per week does not fill very much in relation to the concrete consumer's total consumption. Seen from a market viewpoint, each and every purchase represents a buycott², and the fact that you only vote one time, one day per week doesn't help at all, when there is a vote 10-20 times every day, 3-5 times a week."

Sørensen's argument was already reflected in a newspaper article by Jørgen Steen Nielsen in 2001, who was very sceptical towards the spread and the measurement of the phenomenon, which was revealed in the publication by Goul Andersen and Tobiasen the same year. He argues that measuring a consumer profile called the political consumer is difficult in that sense, that the "political" in Goul Andersen's and Tobiasen's publication refers to for example consciously buying for example organic milk once a year, but practically the consumer can the rest of the year buy, what he terms as "pesticide" milk, and then still be classified as a political consumer. This fact

² Own underlining, as the word in the original text is given in italics, and the highlighting would otherwise disappear in the given quotation.

makes it difficult to assess to what extent the political dimension plays a role in the consumers choices and according to Nielsen the solution could be to focus more on the sales volume for a number of political products (Nielsen, 2001). Stolle et al. (2005) also argue along the same vein that frequency and habit needs to be considered when analyzing political consumption. The authors state that a person's regular involvement needs to be distinguished from sporadic engagement, because an isolated act can not be regarded a distinct political behaviour. Therefore the arguments from the authors above all related to the issue of how it is possible to measure political consumption and thus be able to explain something of the gap between the number of political consumers and the market share for organic food products.

Examples of actual measurement problems in the existing research on political consumption blur the picture of how widespread this phenomenon is. Goul Andersen and Tobiasen (2004) find that 45 % of the respondents have purchased products for political, ethical or environmental reasons, so the authors argue that the individualized boycotting of products indeed exemplify a political participation form. However, the authors formulate their question in such a way, which makes it difficult to assess the extent to which people connect their consumption acts with a political signal, and which makes it difficult to assess both individualized political consumption as a participation form but also whether the political dimension is truly embedded in the consumer motives. The table below gives an example where the wording of the question might impose an assumption onto the respondent.

Table 1. The proportion that within the last 12 months have boycotted certain goods or consciously boycotted specific goods based on political, ethical or environmental considerations. 1990 and 2000. Pct. (N=1640)

| "There are many ways in which one can attempt to achieve improvements or prevent deterioration in society. Have you within the last 12 months done any of the following:" | 1990 (Reference- period 3 years) | 2000 (Reference- period 1 year) |
|--|---|--|
| <i>Boycotted specific goods?</i> | 22 | 21 |
| <i>consciously purchased specific goods due to political, ethical or environmental reasons?</i> | - | 45 |
| <i>How often do you boycott products based on attitudes towards political, ethical or environmental questions?</i> | | |

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|------------|
| <i>Often</i> | - | 23 |
| <i>Occasionally</i> | - | 30 |
| <i>Seldom</i> | - | 22 |
| <i>Never</i> | - | 24 |
| <i>Don't know/unanswered</i> | - | 1 |
| Total | - | 100 |

Source: Goul Andersen and Tobiasen (2001: 29)

With the question: *"There are many ways in which one can attempt to achieve improvements or prevent deterioration in society. Have you within the last 12 months done any of the following:"* the respondent is thus presented with a question which assumes that a political aim is available, and which indicates that there is an intention to influence something political in society, and the action can, thereby, be called political. Formulating the question in this way makes explicit and legitimate the characterisation of response divergences as political acts, and the respondent cannot in her response diverge from the question formulation. This means that the researcher can, provided the respondents' answers that they boycotted certain goods, characterise the behaviour as political, even though the respondents have not personally elaborated on the intentions in connection with the boycott action.

Question 1 in table 1 concerns boycott. The respondent is asked whether they have boycotted certain goods. 21%³ answer positively to this question. The problem with this question is that we cannot draw precise conclusions concerning how large a proportion is coming from individual boycotts. It is difficult to say how the respondents perceive the word boycott, i.e. whether they exclusively perceive it as a time-limited action, such as the boycott of French red wine, the boycott of beef, etc., or they also perceive everyday life's boycotts of eggs from battery chickens or gene-modified goods as a boycott. It is, therefore, impossible to assess the extent to which everyday life's boycotting is an expression of the consumers' political participation.

³ In the data for 2004, it appears that 42% had boycotted certain goods (Tobiasen, 2004:120)

It is possible that approximately half the population are political in their boycotting, but the extent to which concrete consumption acts are coupled together with a political intention is only sparsely researched and thus it is difficult to make claims concerning the spread of political consumption.

Support for this can also be found among political scientists (Stolle et al., 2005) who claim that political consumerism as an individualized consistent behavioural pattern need to be studied in a more reliable and systematic matter before it can rightfully defined as a political participation form. It is only sparsely measured how many people actually participate in more individualized acts and further consensus about when acts can be considered political lacks. Another issue which is addressed is the discussion on where to locate political participation when participation forms emerge that do not directly link citizens to democratic institutions. Thus, the study of political consumerism requires an expansion of the political targets when alternative political engagement arises.

Furthermore, there is the problem that measurement of the actual behaviour, where observations or other forms of research based intervention are not included, can contain validity problems. For example, individuals will often allow observers entry to their home and follow their behaviour from the sideline, but the measurement of the actual behaviour can in such situations introduce a source of error (*bias*), that can be compared with "the Hawthorne effect". Therefore, several investigations that attempt to capture the behaviour of individuals in relation to, say, environmentally friendly consumer practices are built upon the individual's own self-reporting, which Follows and Jobber (2000) and Pedersen (2000) call attention to due to the potential risk for an over-reporting of environmentally correct behaviour that does not correspond to the actual behaviour.

Therefore, Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), Diamantopoulos et al. (1994) og Pickett et al. (1993) put forward the statement that when measuring environmentally responsible behaviour, focus should be on behaviour in relation to concrete product categories or specific activities rather than a general measurement of environmental consumption practices and behaviour. The problem surrounding the measurement of a general environmental behaviour is that it is difficult to group individuals as people who either practice or do not practice consistent environmentally responsible actions. Antil and Bennett (1979) have argued for that fact that environmentally responsible behaviour is a

behaviour that is exercised in varying degrees, and that most individuals both purchase products that are environmentally correct but likewise purchase products that are not. For example, several investigations indicate that generalisations concerning consumers that use recycling stations cannot necessarily be transferred to consumers that purchase washing powder with a low phosphate content or lead-free petrol (Anderson et al., 1974; Arbuthnot, 1977, Brooker, 1976).

The above mentioned measurement problems with regard to environmentally correct behaviour can perhaps compare to the measurement of political consumption. If several investigations of political consumption are considered, a divergence between the consumers' attitudes and intentions compared with their behaviour can be seen. Several researchers have shown a lack of correspondence between the population's attitudes, intentions and their actual behaviour in relation to environmentally friendly consumer practices, and several results indicate that factors such as, for example, convenience and economy take priority over regard for the environment and animal welfare.

In addition to the measurement of the connection between environmentally friendly attitudes and environmentally friendly consumer practices, there are also studies that, via other theoretical and empirical approaches, have attempted to establish how "politicised" some consumer practices are. Research has attempted to create an understanding of how consumers manage environmental consideration in consumption or carry out risk management in connection with food products (Halkier, 2001a, 2001b). Halkier (1993, 1994) has investigated whether more or less "green" consumers' involvement in green consumption practices, such as sorting rubbish, shopping for organic food products, using environmentally friendly forms of transport, etc. expresses a form of everyday politics that differentiates itself from traditional political activities. She assesses that the extent to which green consumption can be interpreted as a political activity cannot be unequivocally determined, in that green consumption has a range of "blurred" motives. Among other things, Halkier points out that green consumption, beyond the desire to do something for society, is also about a complex interplay of social mechanisms and symbolic meanings, where the individual consumer's actions are used for personal ends of both individual and social character in relation to the social networks that they are a part of (Halkier, 1994:27). It thus appears that:

“Consumption is simultaneously the symbolic meanings people ascribe to that buy, the way in which they use it, talk about it with friends and family, and interpret the cultural signals that the consumption patterns are used to communicate to the surrounding world....and even though green consumer activities outwardly can mostly be justified by conscious environmental consideration, these consumption activities also fulfil a long range of social needs, e.g. for legitimising actions that perhaps are connected with saving money or about creating social markers and identification for oneself through “eco-style” in the individual consumer’s shopping patterns” (Halkier, 1994:27).

Halkier has, in addition to her studies of green consumption as a possible political activity, investigated how far the risk management in food product consumption can actually be said to be an expression of political consumption practices (2001b). In other words, she has assessed the extent to which the considerations of risk in everyday life, in relation to cooking, boycott of food products, etc., reflects some risk handling types that have political motives (e.g. the purchase of organic goods instead of conventional goods) that are a reflection of a conscious political consumption practice.

The investigation shows that some consumers are more political than others, but again it is pointed out that it is difficult to assess the degree to which the consumers in reality take a position on the overriding political consequences of their consumption. She points out that, as in her previous investigations, the risk handling in relation to everyday consumer practices is, perhaps again, about a mixture of different aspects, and that the desire to influence politically can be one among mixture of motives. It is thus indicated that the consumption practices that could be assumed to be political and which take place in everyday life can, likewise, have the intention of solving private problems that relate to, say, the family’s health and security.

”...looking at parents’ discussions about risk-handling in the food area, it is much harder to find expressions that refer explicitly to motivations for risk handling that have to do with seeing risk handling in consumption as a common societal problem. Rather, the dominating discursive repertoires evolve around using risk handling to solve private family problems of personal safety and health” (Halkier, 2001b: 234-35).

Halkier indicates here that the risk handling in connection with shopping for food products and cooking perhaps directs itself towards looking after some personal needs, rather than a focus on more overriding societal problems. Halkier's investigation can therefore indicate that consumption can contain political aspects and be interpreted as a political activity, but that it is difficult to unequivocally classify the consumers' environmentally related activities or their risk handling in connection with food as political. Investigations underline the fact that the motives for a particular behaviour or practice are perhaps more closely characterised by a long range of motives that stretch from the purely personal to the socially symbolic, and to the more societal. Halkier points out that the political can of course be present, but that this is often outweighed in the competition with other everyday considerations. Sørensen (2004) formulates it as follows:

“political considerations become in this way deflected in relation to considerations surrounding taste, price, quality, health and regard to how much time there is to shop, which goods they have in the local supermarket, what friends will say, etc.” (Sørensen, 2004: 54).

The above can, therefore, indicate that traditional own benefit maximising as well as more socially symbolic consumption motives in everyday life's race against the clock will possibly take priority over the desire to influence politically, and, in that way, the political element will be one element among many, perhaps often more secondary. Therefore, it is possible to imagine that consumers can express positive environmentally related attitudes and intentions, but that the carrying through of an otherwise intended environmentally friendly consumer behaviour is refrained from, because the everyday life of the individual does not allow the actual carrying out of what the consumer might experience as a time consuming environmentally related action. Discrepancies between attitudes and behaviour can, as has been discussed previously, be ascribed to different measurement problems, but it can also possibly be ascribed to, as Halkier points out, the fact that the consumer must be able to solve her “time jigsaw puzzle”, and that other factors, therefore, come to play more dominating roles in, for example, the purchase decision. Barnett et al. (2005) has in a recent study investigated which parameters have significance when people carry out their weekly shopping. It appears, perhaps not so surprisingly seen in relation to traditionally given consumption motives, that consumers desire the so called “value-for-money”. This criterion can be understood as self-beneficial and individualistic, but the investigation indicates that the “value-for-money” criterion is much more complex and anchored in a broader concern that consumers have, for example, in

relation to what they place in their children's lunchboxes, or the health consequences for themselves and their families. Barnett et al. (2005) thus underlines that consumption is tied to many different social practices, where it is not only about being an ordinary consumer, but that social roles are also adopted which involve being a good parent, a good friend, a considerate partner, etc. The results can thus support Halkier's (2001) points concerning the fact that the range of motives in relation to consumption can be complex, and that these are often based on context dependent social practices, but that the consumption of food products, as both Barnett et al. (2005) and Halkier's (e.g. 1998b, 2001c) concern, to a greater degree can link itself to more personal and family related conditions.

An investigation from the German Institute for Market and Environmental Societies from 2001 shows also, however, that the German consumers apparently assign "green aspects" in connection with their food shopping less importance compared with aspects like price and convenience. Thus, it is shown by the investigation that only 11% of the respondents applied green criteria when they boycott a place to shop. On the other hand, 62% of the respondents' boycott their shopping place based on the offers that are advertised, and 54% express that the price is a decisive parameter in connection with the boycott of shopping place. Furthermore, factors such as product range and distance to the shopping place play an important role in connection with the decision. An investigation of young British consumers also shows that the ethical aspects are ascribed a lower importance in the purchase decision, and more traditional consumption motives, such as price, quality, brand, etc. take precedence (Carrigan and Attalla, 2001). A Danish investigation also indicates that traditional own benefit maximising motives dominate when organic food products are boycotted. The most frequently named and most consistent reason for Danes buying organic food products is thus the consideration of their own as well as the family's health (Gallup, 1997).

The possible predominance of the classic consumption motives rather than more moral and society orientated ones can possibly also clarify the paradox in a company like the Danish Aarstiderne A/S, which sells organic food products over the Internet and delivers them to the "front door". The company has experienced growth in spite of the relatively stable market share for organic food products in general. In connection with the home-delivery of organic food products, possibly factors such as convenience, variation, freshness, service and matching food recipes, etc. play a dominating role in consumers boycotting products from Aarstiderne. The fact that the food products are organic allow the consumption to be interpreted as an environmentally political signal, but the extent to

which the consumers emphasize, respectively, more classic consumption motives in relation to more society orientated motives, or how the different motives possibly compliment each other, is unknown. It is, therefore, against the background of a growth in sales, difficult to assess what motivates consumers to boycott Aarstiderne rather than traditional retail outlets. In other words, we do not know whether the sales growth is an expression of the fact that more political consumption is being practiced or whether the consumers merely to a greater degree fulfil their desire to purchase organic food products in a way that fulfils a range of unsatisfied, more classically based consumer needs.

1.2.1.2. The problematics surrounding political intentionality

Several investigations assess the political consumer by, for instance, asking the respondents about whether they have purchased particular goods due to political, ethical or environmental reasons (Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001, 2004, IFF and Elsam, 1996). Based on the respondents' positive declarations to the above, they are stated as being political consumers, and the investigation thus displays a rather large number of political consumers. The immediate problem that arises is whether a response to the above questions actually measures the political intentionality, i.e. whether the consumers think politics when they carry out their boycotts. Perhaps the political intentionality, which is implicitly contained in the question, is not an expression of the respondents' conscious connection between consumption and politics, but, due the formulation, their answers will be understood in that way. Perhaps the market share for organic food products, in reality, is an expression of the fact that politics in consumption is not especially widespread and that other factors, such as price, convenience, health, taste, symbolism, etc. are the parameters that are given the highest priority when products are selected (Halkier, 1993, 1994, Sørensen, 2002).

Politics in consumption can thus be an aspect in consumer boycott which few are perhaps conscious of, or think about, and, as far as most consumers are concerned, a political signal is sent unintentionally. The purchase of organic food products does not necessarily need to reflect political shopping. In other words, the measurement of organic consumption can indicate that we shop environmentally correctly, but this is implicitly assumed to be connected with a political intention. It is, therefore, not known to what degree the political intention is present when they, for example, boycott organic food products, boycott certain forms of transport, low energy light bulbs, etc.

Sørensen highlights that the consumer who boycotts organic milk once a week, for instance, does this to “do something for nature”. It is of course possible, that this is the decisive motive. Conversely, there is, according to the previously mentioned investigations, something that could indicate that the more personal or symbolic motives often make up the most important consumer motives in the everyday life of consumers. Therefore, consumer boycott of organic milk can, in such a situation, be an expression for certain situation specific factors, such as the organic milk being on special offer, or that the shopping takes place at another place than the usual, where the conventional milk is sold out. In this way, the boycott of organic milk is more due to pressure of time, and thereby convenience, than taking an actual political position. The consumer, who thus carries out more sporadic boycott of organic products, can, however, certainly have a desire to do something for nature and act as a political player when time and resources allow it. However, it is not known how much the consumer reflects on the environmental improvement and political consequences of the consumption compared with more self-benefit maximising motives. There is a need, therefore, for a more nuanced insight into the extent to which political motives challenge and play a significant role in relation to the otherwise traditional consumer motives.

That consumers thus purchase a litre of organic milk together with a bag of organic carrots, where the price level corresponds to the level for conventional goods, does not express how politically based the consumption of the individual is. Care for the environment as a purchase motive, and the possibility to take part in political changes in society ought to be obvious in connection with the purchase of organic products, and 50% do also express that they ascribe the purchase to political motives. The intention to make an effort for the environment simply does not reflect itself in the actual behaviour in the supermarket, when an extra charge must be paid for the organic food products. That the consumers choose to purchase organic products where the price is at the same level as conventional food products is empirically problematic, in that these products do not give the possibility for disclosing the real intentions of the boycott, and the motives for the purchase of organic food products becomes difficult to identify.

1.2.1.3. The problematics surrounding price and availability

Investigations suggest that price plays a particularly important role in relation to, for example, green products (Mcgrath, 1992), as well as other products, which empirical investigations of political consumption often depart from. Organic food products constitute an example of a product group where the motives for purchase are often investigated. If the price of these goods is compared with the price that the consumer state that they are willing to pay for green products, then a price-gap can be found which some authors state as an explanation for the difference between intentions behind purchases and actual purchases (Magnusson et al., 2001). The market share for organic milk is, namely, 19.3% in contrast to meat, where the market share is a modest 4%. The prices of, for example, organic and conventional pork as shown in an investigation from 2000, showed that the organic pork cost as much as 72.4% more, while the additional price of organic milk products varied between 23-29% (Sall and Sall, 2000). Furthermore, as an example, Max Havelaars products, which build upon a fair trade principle, show a market share of no more than 2.5% of the Danish coffee market (Max Havelaar-Fonden, 2001; www.dst.dk, 2000), where the products are, similarly, more expensive. The price can thus be an indicator of why the market share is not great for organic food products, and the price can, therefore, in principle also hinder the desires of the consumer to send a political signal.

This argument is also mentioned by Basu (2001), who claims that political consumption is highly dependent on the financial resources of the people involved which could lead to political consumption being a political participation form pursued by the wealthiest and thus possibly reproduce patterns of marginalization, powerlessness and dis-embeddedness. Sørensen (2004), however, argues that the relatively high price cannot explain the low market share and, thereby, the possible political expression, in that a product like organic milk shows a market share of up to 19.3%. Nevertheless, the price level of, for example, milk is much lower than pork, which is why the extra price on organic foods could be perceived as relatively high to the consumer. The price elasticity for milk is probably less than for meat, and it is, therefore, perhaps possible to see a tendency where the consumer more frequently boycotts milk products and more infrequently products like meat (Sall and Sall, 2000; Weir and Calverley, 1999). When the consumers thus boycott the organic milk, where the price difference is not experienced so deeply, there is, here, a real empirical opportunity to assess whether the consumers are thinking politics into their consumption. For this product, the price will in any case not be a barrier for practicing politics,

provided that is what the consumer desires. The problem is just that it is not known what the consumer is thinking in relation to, for example, organic food products, and we cannot know whether the price is a barrier preventing the consumer from really being able to practice political consumption, and thereby knowing whether political products have a market potential that is suppressed due to the price.

Another aspect that from a research perspective can hinder consumers in expressing political viewpoints through their purchases is availability. Terragni and Kjærnes (2004) emphasizes that the lacking availability of for example ethical products might prevent people from buying products that they would like to which leaves an impression of less ethically concerned consumers. A prerequisite for measuring how widespread the phenomenon of ethical and/or political consumption is to check whether there is actually a certain availability of the products.

1.2.1.4. Summary of the problematics

The situation is such that we, in a research sense, are facing a phenomenon where we know little about the extent to which consumers ascribe concrete consumer choices to political motives. We know that a discrepancy exists between the measurements of, for example, environmentally friendly attitudes and environmentally friendly behaviour. We also know that the same discrepancy can be found again in relation to investigations of, for example, ethical consumption and political consumption. As far as political consumption is concerned, studies display a gap between, for example, the number of consumers who state that they purchase organic food products and the amounts of organic food products that are sold. Part of the discrepancy in connection with measurements of attitudes and behaviour can presumably be ascribed to diverse problems surrounding measurement, which has been discussed above, where the applied traditional theoretical framework for measurement of the connection between attitudes and behaviour make it difficult to assess whether the political motive occurs to any noticeable degree. Correspondingly, some investigations indicate that the consumers, in connection with certain consumer practices, have an explicit political intention, which they express. At the present time, it still seems to be difficult to assess whether precisely the political intention is a part of a compound motive pattern, where, for example, the environmental regard could be accompanied by a political intention. Therefore, it seems there is a need to investigate the extent to which particular consumer practices

are coupled together with the desire to exercise political influence. It is suggested that (cf. Diamantopoulos et al. (1994) as well as Pickett's (1991) argumentation), for example, environmental concern ought to be investigated in relation to concrete product categories, i.e. that the consumers' political intentions are investigated in relation to concrete consumer practices. The empirical context of this dissertation will be the consumer boycott of organic food products plus the boycott of a specific type of egg, namely, eggs from battery hens. A further limitation and clarification of this empirical subject area will appear later in this chapter.

Against the background of these paradoxes that exist in the present empirical investigations surrounding especially the measurement of attitudes versus behaviour and, thereby, the extent of environmentally friendly, ethical and political consumption, it is considered necessary to investigate the meaning consumers attach to particular consumer practices, where there apparently exist not only traditional consumer motives. Some studies indicate that the extent of political consumption is relatively large, but others indicate that, for example, environmentally friendly consumer practices, food product risk handling, boycott of energy and transport forms are perhaps more a combination of consumer motives, where factors such as personal considerations plus the family's health and security are ascribed the greatest importance. More moralistic society orientated considerations are weighted to a lesser degree.

Regardless of which investigations are closest to revealing some valid aspects of the phenomenon political consumption, there prevails at the present time uncertainty about why the outlined paradoxes exist. There is probably no doubt that there are consumers who shop in a very politically conscious way, but, firstly, there is uncertainty concerning how the political intentionality of the individual can really be measured. Secondly, it has only to a limited extent been investigated how far, for example, environmentally friendly, ethical or socially responsible consumer practices have something to do with politics.

There is, therefore, a current need for a better clarification of how consumers contemplate the individualized boycott or boycott of certain products, where the intention is to create a more detailed insight into what significance the political aspect has for the consumers.

With the help of a more nuanced clarification, a better possibility for assessing the perspectives of the phenomenon will be created, both as a form of participation plus in terms of market potential. A deeper occupation with the phenomenon as a participation form is something I leave to the political scientists, and instead, I will occupy myself with the extent to which political consumption in the future shall be looked upon as market potential and, in continuation hereof, be dealt with in a marketing context.

In order to produce knowledge about how potential political products, or products that contain more collectivistic aspects, such as environmental, ethical and social considerations, shall be treated in marketing terms, more insight is needed into what importance the individual consumer ascribes aspects such as political, environmental, and ethical considerations, etc., to the products.

Researchers within consumer behaviour argue that the importance consumers attach to products depends upon the coupling that exists between important attributes of the product and centrally anchored values (Vinson et al., 1977; Young and Feigin, 1975, Gutman, 1982; Olson and Reynolds, 1983, etc.). The argumentation is inspired by behavioural psychology, where it is claimed that the centrally anchored values of the person are affecting and influencing behaviour (Rokeach, 1973); Yankelovich, 1981). Centrally anchored values can be what Rokeach describes as instrumental and terminal values, where the terminal values are the most indispensable and firmly cemented, and include desired end-situations such as wanting to live an exciting and challenging life, to look after the family's health and security, to be happy, etc. The values will thus, according to the theory, have an important influence on which products we boycott and what motivates us to boycott as we do.

Insights into which values exist in the consumer in relation to a product, occurs through an exposure of the consumer's cognitive structures. The consumer's cognitive structures are an expression of which *schemes* and mental *scripts* are stored in the memory and activated in connection with the purchase of a particular product (Peter and Olson, 2002). Uncovering the cognitive structures in relation to any given boycott or boycott can be carried out with help of means-end chains (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988; Gutman, 1982; Olson and Reynolds, 1983), where a connection is established between a product's attributes (*means*) and the consumer's core values (*ends*).

The interesting aspect lies in which linkages the consumer carries out between the product-attributes and product-values that are potentially political. Knowledge surrounding the linkages between products and values might be able to reveal whether consumers who have political motives couple these motives to values that are different in relation to the coupling the consumers carry out based on non-political motives. Insight into consumers' cognitive structures that occurs in connection with boycott and boycott, leads to the creation of a better foundation for assessing which meaning, or importance, the consumers actually ascribe to potentially political products, or products that possess more abstract and intangible properties. In the following, the problem definition of the dissertation, plus the associated research questions, will be presented and elaborated.

1.3. Problem definition and research questions

The above discussion of possible gaps in the research into political consumption as well as the need for a better understanding of the motives and intentions behinds the individual acts of consumption has led to the following problem definition for the dissertation:

"To investigate the extent to which individualised boycotts and boycotts of selected products express intentional political behaviour among a number of purposeful selected Danish consumers and whether the extent of political intentionality is an integrated part of these consumers' cognitive structures"

The dissertation's problem definition is divided into two parts, which are addressed with the help of two research questions. The first part concerns the aspect about which motives the informants express in relation to their individual boycotts and boycotts, i.e. everyday life's stable acts of consumption. Through a detailed (thick) understanding it is investigated to what degree these consumer acts are an expression of a conscious political way of consuming. The assessment of whether the informants' acts are political is carried out on the basis of two selected empirical examples. The boycott will be exemplified via organic food products, and the boycott via eggs from battery chickens. These choices will be justified further under limitations. The problem definitions first part is thus answered with the help of the following research questions:

a) *To what extent are the selected informants' individual boycotts and boycotts political?*

The second part of the problem definition concerns how far different motives, which vary with regard to political intentionality, activate different cognitive structures in relation to the selected products. In answering this question, the boycott of organic food products is used as an example because the motives for boycotting organic foods are more diverse and numerous than is the case for the boycott of eggs from battery chickens, where the motives are limited. The second part of the problem definition is answered via the following research question:

b) Which cognitive structures are activated among the informants in a politically motivated boycott of products in contrast to boycotts that primarily have other motives?

1.4. Limitations

The limitations made in this dissertation concern, respectively, theoretical and empirical focus, plus the selection of the unit of analysis.

1.4.1. Theoretical focus

Research into the environmental behaviour of consumers reveal two sets of analytical differences (Halkier, 1999), or two research directions with paradigmatic points of departure that originate from the classical consumer behaviour and marketing tradition. These lines of research, with roots in a consumer behaviour and theoretical marketing framework, and based on the individual as the unit of analysis, attempt to describe, understand and explain environmental behaviour. The research into the environmental behaviour of individuals has certain points of similarity with the study of political consumption, in that the individual is still the central object, and environmental behaviour can express a politically motivated behaviour, although we do not know very much about it at the present time. The theoretical reference framework that until now has been applied within the study of individuals' environmental behaviour is briefly discussed here, and alternative theoretical perspectives are added, which I will include in studies of individuals' politically motivated consumer behaviour. Choices made regarding limitations will, at the same time, be justified.

One of the two research directions concerns the cognitive, rational approach to the understanding of environmental behaviour, where it is assumed that individuals, on the basis of knowledge about, for

example, environmental consumer practices, form environmentally friendly attitudes and intentions, which finally result in a behaviour that is in conformity with these. The research contributions are primarily quantitatively based, and theories such as the *"Theory of Reasoned Action"* (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980) and *"Theory of Planned Behaviour"* (Ajzen, 1991) are often seen in the literature as the applied reference framework for investigations of the consumers' attitudes and behaviour in the environmental area (e.g. Dahab and Gentry, 1995; Raij, 1995; Thøgersen, 1994b, 1997). In the literature that applies the rationalistic approach to the understanding of environmentally related actions, there does, however, often occur a discrepancy between the individuals' attitudes and behaviour in relation to the environment. Thus, it is often seen that consumers have predominantly positive environmental attitudes, but that a corresponding pro-environmental behaviour does not necessarily follow in the wake of these (Bech-Larsen, 1993; Thøgersen, 1994b). The explanation for this discrepancy lies within this field of research in, among other things, measurement problems (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980; Follows and Jobber, 2000; Diamantopoulos et al., 1994). It also relates to the fact that consumers carry out a rational weighing up of the possibilities and limitations (Ölander and Thøgersen, 1995) that occur, for instance, in relation to a purchase. Moderating factors such as price, time-consumption, availability of the goods are put forward as causes (Thøgersen, 1998a; Fazio, 1986). Criticism of this research approach to the study of environmental actions is based on the idea that an understanding of the individual as a purposive-rational, intentional, active person is an over-simplified way to understand the individual in relation to different environmental questions (Halkier, 1999). Halkier (1999) argues, like other authors (Iversen, 1996; Solér, 1995) that environmental questions in the everyday lives of individuals are just as much about creating social meaning in their lives as they concern a conscious purposive-rationality towards environmental problems. She thus states,

"The consumers' behaviour in relation to care for the environment is more characterised by often changing processes, whereby silent and reflected knowledge, experiences and interpretations, choices, routines, possibilities and obstacles operate together in ambivalent situations," (Halkier, 1999: 17).

Halkier emphasises, therefore, that the rationality in the individuals' handling of environmental problematics are often over-estimated, while the compound nature and complexity in everyday actions is often understated.

The second research direction concerns itself with determining segments that behave in a specific way in relation to environmental or social questions. The research field is primarily dominated by quantitative contributions that attempt to group the population based on a range of demographic socioeconomic and personality based variables (Kinnear et al., 1974; Webster, 1975; Henion and Wilson, 1975, Lavik, 1990; Hackett, 1995 etc.). The criticism of the research contributions within this line of research are based on the fact that it is difficult to explain individuals' environmental behaviour against a background of concrete segmentation variables alone (Lindén, 1994); Schlegelmilch et al., 1996; Eden, 1993). Eden (1993) argues that each individual must prioritise the problems that exist in their everyday life and take responsibility for those that are perceived as the most important, which means that the extent to which the individual converts environmental responsibility to concrete practice becomes a question of prioritising and handling many complex questions in everyday life.

The two research directions bear witness to the fact that the environmental research field is primarily based on quantitative research approaches, even though its criticism often originates from more alternative, especially qualitative investigations. There are, however, quantitative contributions that attempt to face the problems from other quantitative publications (Hackett, 1995). Points of critique from the more alternative research contributions are attempted to be opposed via more socio-culturally characterised approaches to the study of human behaviour, where, to a greater degree, attempts are made to include more context-dependent data in the understanding of the social reality of the individuals. In the study of the extent to which consumers' express political viewpoints via their consumption, it is considered useful to apply an approach that tones the perception that the consumer ascribes to her consumption. Thus, it could be that individuals in relation to food products, which are the empirical field of this dissertation (see empirical delimitation), ascribe precisely this product group a meaning that is perhaps more to do with health and security than about the exercising of political influence, which perhaps to a greater degree is expressed through, say, their energy consumption or boycott of transport form. It is, therefore, considered important that a perspective is included that considers the understanding of how individuals' consumption of certain food products can be based on the individual's social life, and, thereby, how the individuals themselves interpret their consumption. There will, thus, in relation to the dissertation's research question *a*, be applied qualitative depth interviews in an attempt to assess

the extent to which consumers ascribe their individual buycotts and boycotts a political intentionality.

To answer research questions *b*, theories from the field of consumer behaviour have been chosen. The aim is to uncover the individual's cognitive structures in relation to the individual buycott of organic food products. Within consumer behaviour research, there is widespread agreement that the individual's cognitive structures can be uncovered via the so-called means-end chain theory and, in concrete terms, generated via the technique of laddering (Olson and Reynolds, 1983; Gutman, 1977, 1982, 1997, Young and Feigin, 1975).

1.4.2. Empirical focus

Empirical focus concerns the chosen subject areas. Considerations have been made regarding which form, or forms, of political consumption I wish to concern myself with. In the literature, different forms of political consumption can be identified, which will be outlined below, as this limitation does not take place in any of the remaining chapters. On the basis of a short presentation, argumentation for the focus will be put forward.

There does appear to be agreement in the literature about the overriding forms of political consumption in the product market. However, the terms are different, which is why an attempt will be made to create an overview of the current terminology.

Friedman (1999) distinguishes between "boycotts" and "buycotts". The "boycott" form is an expression of the consumers' participation in concrete actions against, most often, companies that, for example, have exercised a behaviour which is not approved of. This is a case of a classic, collectively organised action that is driven by a common purpose and consumer boycotts are within the political science literature a well-known phenomenon (Friedman, 1999). The "buycott" form, on the other hand, is an expression of the consumers' conscious buycott of products that create a positive value-perception for the consumer. It is not apparent in Friedman's definition whether this behaviour has an individual or organised character. Friedman, in that way, distinguishes between the negative situation determined boycott in the form of "boycott" and the positive conscious buycott in the form of "buycott". The boycott form is a less studied area than the boycott form. Still research on for example labelling schemes in the environmental field and in relation to organic

products can be found (Karl and Orwat, 1999) as well as investigations on boycotting fair-trade products (Levi and Linton, 2003).

Vogel (2001) uses the terms negative and positive political consumerism. In principle, the difference in relation to Friedman's definitions are minor, in that "negative political consumerism" refers to

"the use of purchasing decisions to bring about political or social change,"

and he continues

"...is directed at the products or product produced by business firms. Typically a combination of economic pressure and adverse publicity is employed to seek to pressure a firm to change a particular behaviour, or less commonly, to punish it for its previous behaviour" (Vogel, 2001:2).

The difference is so small with regard to the content of "boycott" and positive political consumption, in that the latter is defined as

"Organised efforts to encourage individuals to purchase a product to show their approval of a particular corporate practice or policy."

It emerges from Vogel's definition that the positive political consumption involves an organised effort that causes the consumers to act in a certain way. Therefore, it is not a situation where the consumers consider on a more individual level which actions can lead to a form of personal goal fulfilment. In relation to the boycott form and negative political consumption, there is no great disagreement. This is a case of disapproval towards a company and its activities, for instance that it employs child-workers in the third world. The boycott of products is thus more the means than the end, whereas the opposite is the case with boycott. With boycott, certain products are selected precisely against the background of an attribute of the actual product, such as being organically produced. Boycott of products thus becomes the end in itself.

Thulstrup (1997) distinguishes between two forms of political consumption, namely, the "conscious" and the "politically correct" consumption. The conscious consumption is an expression of the consumer's ability to see through, for example, the connection between clean drinking water and organic food production or health risks and genetically modified organisms (Thulstrup, 1997). The above mentioned connection is not scientifically proven, and the argument concerning the consumer's ability to see through an issue is thus doubtful. It is possible to question the notion that the consumer does not act consciously when it is believed that it has negative environmental consequences to carry out atom bomb testing in the Pacific Ocean, and thereby boycotts French products, but this form of expression is classified as the politically correct form. Thulstrup (1997) also does not distinguish between boycott and boycott of goods, but just whether the consumer acts consciously.

The politically correct consumption is characterised as consumption carried by "political wind and moods rather than political attitudes" (Thulstrup, 1997:33). The consumer thus reacts simply to an immediate stimulus that gives rise to a politically correct response in the form of, for example, a boycott of French red wine. The differences between the two forms of expression is, thereby, on the one hand, insight and substance in the conscious form and, on the other hand, fear and emotions exemplified via the politically correct form.

The classification and terminology represents a narrow understanding of the consumer as a player. It is possible that certain forms of expression are to a greater extent emotionally determined, while others undergo more cognitive adaptation, but it is important to be cautious in labelling specific terms onto different forms of political consumption as long as there is no empirical justification for doing so. I consider, therefore, the terms employed by Thulstrup (1997) not as especially useful in the continuing research based context.

In contrast to the above mentioned authors, Goul Andersen og Tobiasen (2001) mention boycott as an individual, non-organised form of participation, where the concrete example is the sustainable consumer who, for example, buys organic products. Furthermore, the individually based, non-organised boycott is introduced as a possible political participation form, where the example is the ethical consumer who does not buy eggs from battery chickens. In accordance with Vogel's positive political consumption and Friedman's "boycott", the authors employ the participation form called

”solidarity action”, which illustrates a collective organised form of positive political consumption. The different forms of political consumption can be summarised in the table below, which is based on Goul Andersen and Tobiasen (2004):

Figure 1.1. Forms of political consumption (some examples):

| Political consumption: Influence other actors/collective | | | | Non-political consumption: Satisfy personal need or complying with religious/personal norm | | |
|--|-------------------|----------------------------|--|--|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Collective/organized | | Individual/non-organized | | Normative | Utilitarian/ordinary consumption | |
| Abstaining from buying | Boycott | Political/ethical consumer | | e.g. religious prohibition | | Ordinary consumption |
| (negative political consumption) | | | | | | |
| Deliberately choosing | Solidarity action | Political/ethical consumer | | e.g. ethnic solidarity | | Ordinary consumption |
| (positive political consumption) | | | | | | |

Source: Goul Andersen, Jørgen and Mette Tobiasen (2004:204), *Who are these political consumers anyway? Survey Evidence from Denmark*. In Micheletti, Michele et al. *Politics, Products and Markets*. Transaction Publishers. New Brunswick (USA).

In this dissertation, the collective organised participation forms have been excluded, because, firstly, they do not comprise a new phenomenon within the social science literature, and, secondly, the collective element focuses on the collective aspect, and the individuals’ motives behind the consumption acts are not the focal point. Instead, more emphasis is put on the participation and movement idea as such. On the other hand, I have chosen a point of reference in the individual, non-organised participation form. This is due to, firstly, the fact that these are investigated weakly. The deliberate form, the boycott or positive political consumption, has within the political science literature as well as within consumer behaviour not been investigated very much. Studying the individual as the unit of analysis with the intent to clarify the degree to which the political intent is prominent in everyday decision making is absent. Therefore, firstly it is not known whether we are at all dealing with a way of participating politically. Secondly, there is in relation to the individual, non-organised participation forms a greater possibility for studying the consumer, as the active and decision-making unit in connection with political consumer choices. Here it is the consumer who makes personal decisions about what meaning is ascribed to consumption. There is thus, based on the individual, non-organised forms, and with a point of departure in the literature on consumer behaviour, the possibility for obtaining another perspective on the research within political consumption. My empirical focus will, therefore, be based on the individual, non-organised boycott and boycott.

Acknowledging the different participation forms formulated by Goul Andersen and Tobiasen the dissertation focuses on the deliberate choice, the boycott of organic food products and the abstaining from buying, the boycott of eggs produced by battery hens. The justification for focusing on precisely these product categories can be stated as follows. The consumption of food products, including organic products plus the boycott of battery eggs is an area that involves consumers on a daily basis. Food involves the consumers because we actually eat to survive, but at the same time, food, shopping and eating also consist of a range of symbolic meanings that individuals ascribe to them. Halkier (1998), in her study of young consumers' everyday regard for the environment, justifies the boycott of food as a consumer area because: *"...food implies many different symbolic meanings, not least due to its character of bodily consumption."* It is, thus, against the background of individuals' experiences and the meaning they ascribe to their food consumption, possible to gain insight into whether food and politics are linked together. It might be that the empirical problem with food products and their connection to politics is that food is a special area where the political motive is possibly less prominent compared to other motives, such as the personal ones as well as the health of the family. Food products have thus the distinctive feature that they are consumed and, thereby, taken into the body and can be experienced by the consumers as something that can "pollute" or at least affect the organism (Halkier, 1998a, 2001b; Warde, 1997; Falk, 1994).

A political motive can thus be less confounding in relation to more health related motives. Conversely, it is possible to argue that food products, due to their distinctive characteristics, constitute precisely an empirical field in which the risk-experience (Halkier, 2001b) and, thereby, the involvement can be expected to be higher, and that consumers, therefore, due to their commitment, connect their traditional consumer motives with the desire to exert political influence. It cannot be rejected that the consumers' concern related to e.g. gene-modified organisms gives rise to a greater environmental concern, where the consumers wish to signal that they are insecure with developments within agriculture and, thereby, for food product safety. Thus, the political motive in connection with the purchase of organic food products will possibly be less prominent, but the data collection and analysis should certainly disclose the extent to which, beyond the more obvious health related motives, considerations exist about how much the individual assigns her consumption of organic food products a political intention.

In order to address the problem that food products exemplify a special area, where the political motive is possibly not so present, I could in the dissertation have chosen to concern myself with other product categories or other environmentally related, socially responsible or ethical activities. Products such as fair trade or genetically modified products could all in relation to the argumentation about the special nature of food products also be rejected, in so far as most fair trade products which the consumers today purchase and consume are also food products, and the same is the case for gene-modified food products. It can, therefore, be said that fair trade products, and also gene-modified products, could just as well as organic food products have been selected as the empirical subject area. The motives for the boycott of fair trade products could, moreover, have been to a greater degree politically motivated than with organic food products and gene-modified products, where factors such as health and minimising the risk of harmful substances could be more prominent. The reason why fair trade products have nevertheless been rejected is that the consumers cannot to any great extent supply their households with this type of product, and that fair trade labelling has only been widespread on a limited basis, both in the supermarkets as well as in the consciousness of the consumers. Knowledge of organic food products and their distribution is much greater, which means that accumulated experiences and knowledge in connection with them allows a deeper insight into the meanings that organic food products have for the selected informants. The reason that other environmentally related activities, such as energy consumption, cleaning routines, transport forms or electronics have been rejected can be ascribed to various causes. An area such as energy consumption can be considered as consumption that is hidden, or as Halkier (1998b) describes it, as a background consumption which takes place behind closed doors. Energy consumption is thus not something that to any great extent is displayed for neighbours, or is purchased in a public sphere, and unless energy consumption is directly discussed with friends and neighbours due to the installation of for example a solar heating system, it will for most consumers be a relatively invisible consumption. The consumption is also less symbolic compared with food products, and of course less bodily focused. A similar argumentation is the reason that, for example, consumers' cleaning routines have been rejected. Again, cleaning – which here is understood as ordinary house cleaning and clothes washing – takes place within the home. It can be said that the purchase of diverse cleaning materials and washing powder takes place in the public arena, and thereby to a greater extent can be ascribed symbolic meanings compared with energy consumption. Because cleaning actions take place primarily in the home, there is only a limited degree of social interaction in relation to this area of consumption. In connection with food, the act of eating

together with other people makes it possible for the food, its raw ingredients and their origins, etc. to become the subjects of discussion, and that, for example, political motives can become points on the kitchen table agenda.

The boycott of transport forms by individuals is to a great extent tied in with everyday life's complexity, and the motives for the boycott of transport form will, therefore, perhaps in similarity with food products, be less motivated by political intentions. This is explained by transport being an essential and time-consuming activity in connection with work, shopping, delivering children to day care institutions, that also here the political motives can appear as less prominent, considering the various compromises that have to be made. The boycott of food products has, however, a greater degree of built-in flexibility, and the possibilities for carrying out more politically correct shopping will, to a greater extent, be present. With regard to electronics, this is a consumption area which varies somewhat – from individual to individual, family to family – in terms of how much the individual uses it, as well as what they use the products for in concrete terms. The informants in this dissertation have been selected according to whether they are very non-contradictory and consistent in their boycott of organic food products, and if electronics had been selected as an area of consumption, I would, in such a case, have selected correspondingly consistent and non-contradictory electronics consumers. The question is just what this would comprise. Electronics is an area that covers large areas, and even many different areas of the household, and it would have involved determining criteria for how much and to what extent environmentally friendly electronics use should be present. Empirically, I consider the consumption of organic food products an area, where it is easier to delimit the kitchen and dining rooms as physical spaces. I also consider it difficult in purely practical terms to find informants that through their consumption of electronics fulfil approximately identical criteria, as the field of electronics is much less basic than food.

1.4.3. Unit of analysis

In this dissertation, the individual informant will be the unit of analysis. The informants who have been selected are all characterised by the fact that they consistently boycott organic food products as part of their housekeeping. There are different informants, who differentiate themselves in terms of age, sex, income, education, political affiliation, and there are informants who live alone, without children, as well as informants that live as part of a couple with children. There are, however, among the informants no cohabiting couples without children. The decisive selection criteria have

thus not been certain demographic, socioeconomic or personality based criteria, but exclusively that the informants share the characteristic that they boycott organic food products. It is though not known in advance which motivation they have for this and what meaning these products have in relation to the informants life and the context they are part of.

1.5. Structure

The dissertation is structured into 7 chapters. The chapters have the common characteristic that ahead of each individual chapter, the purpose of each chapter and the content are stated. Below an outline of the content of the individual chapters is given.

Chapter 1: Introduction, problematisation, limitations and structure

The purpose of Chapter 1 is to introduce the theme of the dissertation as well as to argue for the research problem. This is done by introducing the phenomenon political consumption and raising attention to possible research gaps within this field. Discussing the research gaps leads to a problem formulation and two associated research questions. Limitation issues are raised discussing specifically the empirical focus and the unit of analysis. Finally, the structure of the dissertation is introduced.

Chapter 2: Research into political consumption – an overview

The purpose of this chapter is to establish an overview of the research into political consumption. The overview contains the research which specifically deals with the concept of political consumption or the political consumer, together with the parallel areas that do not directly refer to the concept of political consumption or the political consumer, but which are related to these fields.

Chapter 3: Developing a conceptual framework

The purpose of this chapter is to develop a conceptual framework, based on the identified shortcomings in the existing research. The conceptual framework will consist of theory from two separate disciplines, namely political science and consumer behaviour. More specifically, theory on political participation provides criteria for when boycotting or boycotting as an individualized participation form can be characterized as political. The means-end chains theory and laddering are used for determining the cognitive structures activated in relation to boycotting organic products.

Chapter 4: Paradigmatic approach, research strategy and method

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss a possible paradigmatic approach of the thesis and to select a data collection method that is coherent and appropriate in “attacking” the research problem. In order to accomplish this, it is first discussed, what is understood by a paradigm, and the most prevalent paradigmatic approaches within marketing and consumer behaviour are presented. Second it is discussed which paradigmatic positions are used in the existing research within political consumption and related research fields, followed by an argumentation for the most appropriate paradigmatic approach in relation to the defined research problem. Finally an argumentation for selecting the case study as the research strategy and the in-depth interview with purposive informants and laddering as methods is given.

Chapter 5: Data analysis – political consumption: more consumption than politics?

The aim of this chapter is to answer research question *a*, which concerns the extent to which the consumers’ individual boycotts and boycotts are political. An answer is attempted via the empirical analysis, where the criteria for determining when a consumption act can be characterized as political participation are applied. Thereafter, a cross-case analysis is presented, together with a summary of the empirical results.

Chapter 6: Data analysis – Consumer cognition in relation to boycotting organic food

The purpose of this chapter is to answer research questions *b*. Research question *b* concerns the investigation of cognitive structures activated in a politically motivated purchase compared to a purchase, where the political motive is absent. The purchase here is exemplified through the boycott of organic food. The question will be answered through the empirical analysis, departing from the means-end theory, the application of the laddering technique. Finally, validity and reliability aspects will be discussed in relation to the results.

Chapter 7: Implications

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the implications of the findings for research and practice. This means that the conclusion from answering research question *a* and *b* are discussed.

"They vote with their shopping trolley. They cycle rather than take the car. They buy organic food and seldom throw more than necessary away. They live in the global village, where, through shopping habits and opportunities for exerting pressure, they can influence multinational companies. Their material needs are more or less satisfied, and they wish to buy themselves a good conscience. They are called political consumers, and they are growing in numbers"

(Andersen and Damkjær, 2001: 6)

Chapter 2: Research into political consumption – an overview

The purpose of this chapter is to establish an overview of the research into political consumption. The overview contains the research, which specifically deals with the concept of political consumption or the political consumer, together with the parallel areas that do not directly refer to the concept of political consumption or the political consumer, but which are related to these fields

2.1. Research trends within political consumption

Studying political consumerism as a kind of activism is not a new phenomenon. Since the beginning of the 20th century consumer boycotts have been investigated and several examples can be found in the literature (Friedman, 1999). Boycotting is thus a well-known example of political participation that exemplifies a traditional, collectively organized way of participating politically. However, studying political consumerism seems to be more than studying collectively organized political activities, so interest has arisen around studying political consumerism as more unorganized, individualized political participation repertoires that take place in everyday, context dependent settings (Stolle et. al, 2005; Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001; Halkier, 1999). Various research communities have thus started to study the phenomenon political consumerism (Micheletti, 2001, 2002; Stolle and Hooghe, 2001) also by some termed political consumption (Halkier, 1999, 2001c; Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001; Sørensen, 2004). Research into political consumption as an individualized participation form has albeit not until the beginning of the 1990's been investigated very much and still today this is an emergent research topic. Only relatively few studies discuss specifically political consumption or the consumer type "the political consumer" (Svendsen, 1992; Goul and Tobiasen, 2001, Tobiasen, 2004; Sørensen, 2002, Micheletti and Stolle, 2004; Sestoft, 2002). Interest in the phenomenon of political consumption/consumerism has, however, been growing over the last decade, which in 2001 resulted in the International Seminar on Political Consumerism and the publication: *"Politics, Products, and Markets : Exploring Political*

Consumerism Past and Present". In 2004 a follow-up seminar took place, where, under the auspices of the Nordic Council of Ministers, the following publication was subsequently released: "*Political Consumerism: Its Motivations, Power and Conditions in the Nordic Countries and Elsewhere*". In the years after and until today conferences e.g. (KSSPA) concerned with studying political participation forms are organized, so studying political consumerism is indeed on the research agenda. Nevertheless, the analytical perspective on political consumption as regards the conferences and the publications, has been to look upon political consumerism primarily as a different or substituting participation form, that reflects a new type of civic engagement. Citizens who take their political concerns to the market arena and try to make their democratic influence visible in a way that it not institutionalized. Studying political consumerism from this perspective means that primarily political scientists have contributed to the understanding of this phenomenon and the political science literature has thus served as the main theoretical frame of reference. Therefore, the study of political consumption has not to a very large extent been concerned with understanding the individual consumer, and the individuals' motivations and intentions of boycotting and buycotting. The understanding of the politics behind product choices or how embedded the political intention is in everyday consumption acts is still a research area that is under-researched and consequently not so well understood.

Even though political consumerism as a phenomenon has not been studied very much from a consumer behaviour perspective, the concept of political consumption can, however, still be considered as a descendent of related concepts such as socially responsible consumption, green consumption, environmentally conscious consumption, ecological consumption and ethical consumption. Here the theoretical point of departure is largely rooted within consumer behaviour and marketing. Characteristic for the above-mentioned concepts is that their common denominator concerns regard for something other than purely consumer aspects and the optimization of personal benefit, i.e. a societal focus based on altruism (Hopper and Nielsen, 1991). Wiener and Doescher (1991) describe this as a social pay-off. The attempt to create an overview of how the concept of political consumption is related to existing research contributions, is carried out below.

As mentioned, specific research into political consumption has been relatively sparse, but one area where the consumption or the behaviour of individuals can implicitly contain political signals is the research concerning the environment. Environmental research is an area that, especially from the

1970's and beyond, has delivered many publications, and research within environment, consumer behaviour and marketing is no exception. Kilbourne and Beckmann (1998) have carried out a comprehensive literature review of the "environmentally related" research in the period 1971 to 1997, which has been published in the 12 most prominent English journals. Research within the environmental domain is an area where it is difficult to make conclusions about how far environmentally related behaviour is an expression of the consumers' desire for influencing an overall political agenda. Concerning the publications in Kilbourne and Beckmann's (1998) review, it can be stated that the research contributions do not explicitly investigate whether there exists a link between environmental aims and political aims. The extensive literature within the environmental area leaves behind, therefore, in relation to the phenomenon of political consumption, a degree of uncertainty about the extent to which environmental attitudes and environmental behaviour are connected to political aims. Only very few studies within the environmental area have specifically investigated whether, for instance, green consumption or ecological consumption is an expression of an alternative way of participating politically (Halkier, 1994; Iversen, 1996; Pedersen, 2000). These studies report a rather unclear mixture of motives, where it is difficult to assess to which extent diverse environmental actions are an expression of political intentions. However, it cannot be excluded that environmental behaviour is linked together with the possibility to influence politically, but to which extent environmental actions have something to do with politics has not been explicitly part of the existing research on environmental issues.

The research on the environment and consumption can meanwhile exemplify a research field that implicitly concerns political consumption. There exists overlapping aspects surrounding concepts such as environmentally related, green, ethical, socially responsible consumption and political consumption. However, it is not very clear to which extent, for instance, ethical consumption, green consumption, etc., are actually also forms of political consumption. Therefore, the literature does not in relation to environmentally related, green, ethical, socially responsible consumption and political consumption draw a clear distinction of the boundaries for these concepts, and thus does not explicitly discuss where the differences and similarities of these concepts are. Questions such as whether green consumption is to a greater degree connected with the desire to influence politically, compared with ethical or ecological consumption, or how the political motive is a part of these concepts. It is not the intention of this dissertation to carry out an empirical analysis of how the

political aspect is incorporated in relation to all parallel concepts. The intention here is merely to illustrate that parallel research areas exist and that the concept of political consumption is connected to these areas. Nevertheless, there is a need to investigate the nature of the connections between e.g. environmental aims, ethical aims and political motives. Later investigations could possibly entail a more thorough understanding of the embeddedness of the “political” within different contexts.

Political consumption can, as emphasized above be embedded in the environmentally related research discourse, without the consumers’ political motives in relation to specific environmental activities having been explicitly investigated. As the environmentally related behaviour can contain political motives, the research on consumer behaviour and the environment is a related research area, which will be included in the literature review. With a point of departure in the environmentally related research, it is attempted to create an overview of the most important research directions that can be identified, and place political consumption within this context. Further it will be assessed how far research has been studying the political character of environmental, ethical or social actions.

Kilbourne and Beckmann (1998) have in their literature review identified the most prominent research trends, as well as carried out a categorisation of the various research contributions based on the particular type of research in question, as well as of the variables that have been examined (Ibid). The authors identify three so-called research streams: 1) determination of the environmentally conscious or the “green” consumer, which primarily includes the 1970’s publications; 2) the determination of consumers’ environmentally related convictions, knowledge and attitudes compared with their behavioural intentions, particularly within the field of energy, which takes place in the 1980’s, and finally, 3) determination of the consumers’ motives and values in relation to environmental behaviour, which primarily takes place in the 1990’s and beyond. Meanwhile, in relation to research trend 1, in addition to the determination of green consumer profiles, there also exist a range of research contributions that attempt to determine consumer profiles that concern the ethical consumer, but also actual suggestions as to what characterises the political consumer. In establishing an overview of the various consumer profiles, it is, in this dissertation, considered appropriate not only to refer to the green or environmentally conscious consumer type. Both the ethical and especially the political consumer ought to be included in the

uncovering of this somewhat diffuse reference framework that exists in the understanding of when something is political and when something is not.

Other authors have also attempted to make a literature review of the environmentally related research in relation to consumer behaviour with focus on the 1980's and beyond (Ölander and Thøgersen, 1995). In contrast to Kilbourne and Beckmann (1998), the authors do not differentiate between the 1980's and 1990's research, but gather the research from the 1980's and onwards under the heading "*Research into motives and dispositions*" (Ölander and Thøgersen, 1995:354). The period of the 1980's and thereafter is thus dominated by studies with the individual as the object of analysis with focus on the consumers' motives, attitudes, knowledge, convictions, and intentions assessed in relation to a form of environmentally related activity. With inspiration from Kilbourne and Beckmann (1998), Ölander and Thøgersen (1995) as well as the related research areas that are related to political consumption, I choose in this dissertation to divide the research that concerns consumer behaviour and the environment etc. into two primary research trends/streams, respectively. 1) Research into the determination of "environmentally conscious, ethical and political consumer profiles; and 2) Research into the consumers' motives in relation to environmentally related behaviour.

In addition to the above mentioned research streams, the literature review will also be concerned with the research into the consumption of food, as the dissertation concerns itself with individuals' perceptions of boycotting and boycotting specific food products. There are several different approaches to the study of food products within consumer behaviour, which is also apparent in the literature study on consumer behaviour and the environment. The primary approaches that have been applied until now in the research within consumption and food will be addressed. An assessment of how the political consumers perceive the specific boycotting and boycotting processes is thus discussed in relation to whether food products/food is a similar subject area like transport or energy (Pedersen, 2000). It is thus discussed which characteristics food as a consumption area has in relation to an assessment of whether politics and food is something that to a greater or lesser degree can be linked in comparison with other consumer areas. There are publications within sociology that concern themselves with consumption and food as a special subject area, where the risk aspect plays a role in relation to how the consumption of food is perceived. Food products or food exemplifies one type of product which can be actually taken up by

the body, and especially the health related aspects that are connected with this can influence the risk experience that is connected to the products. Research contributions can thus be found which indicate that the risk handling in relation to food products is interpreted in varying ways by individuals, dependent on how the individual experiences the eating and consumption of food products. Some publications indicate that the risk handling in consumption, as far as some consumers are concerned, is linked together with the desire to influence politically.

2.1.1 Research into the determination of environmentally conscious, ethical and political consumer profiles

2.1.1.1. The 1970's segmentation research

Research about the consumer as a socially responsible, a green or an environmentally conscious individual can be traced back in the marketing literature to the start of the 1970's. One of the earliest publications that is concerned with the assumption of an existing consumer type who is more environmentally conscious than others is published in 1972. It was investigated via experimental studies whether information concerning phosphate content in washing powder created a more environmentally conscious consumption behaviour. The consumers reacted positively to the increased environmentally relevant information, which had a concrete effect on the sale of washing powder with lower phosphate content (Henion, 1972).

Based upon the results that differences exist between consumers who buy washing powder with low phosphate content and consumers that boycott washing powder with a higher phosphate content, researchers within marketing begin more and more to create interest in establishing a consumer profile that can be applied in a market segmentation and positioning strategy. Meanwhile, the very first article from 1971 argues that there is no empirical basis for claiming that demographical as well as socio-psychological variables are able to differentiate between consumers that are less and more concerned in connection with environmental aspects. The author of this article, Kassarian (1971) thus investigates to what extent a subject such as air pollution can be applied as an example to illustrate differences between types of consumers, but he finds no basis for the idea that precisely demographical as well as socio-psychological variables discriminate. Kassarian (1971:65) thus formulates that:

"... in regard to the marketing correlates of air pollution, it is apparent from the study that there is no simple segmentation variable other than the attitude itself. Demographic variables such as age, sex, socioeconomic status, and political party membership do not seem to be relevant. Other variables... such as boycotted socio-psychological ones also do not discriminate between the two attitudinal groupings"

Kassarjian (1971) also finds that the less concerned consumers in relation to air pollution were not less willing to pay more for an environmentally friendly type of petrol, which had been marketed intensely during the test period, than the more worried consumers. Thus, Kassarjian did not think that there would exist simple segmentation bases in relation to the particular environmentally friendlier product. It emerges from Kassarjian that attitudes are seen as the only variable that can be used for segmentation, when, for instance, environmental aspects are involved. Later studies support Kassarjian's (1971) results concerning the idea that attitudes are one of the better bases for actually predicting, if not a concrete consumer profile, then an environmentally correct behaviour (Schlegelmilch et al., 1996; Lavik and Enger, 1995). In spite of Kassarjian's (1971) results, and thereby their possible transferability to other environmentally friendly products, several authors in the 1970's nevertheless attempt to describe certain consumer profiles with a view to market segmentation.

A number of other studies are published, which attempt to establish the profile of, respectively, the socially conscious consumer (Anderson and Cunningham, 1972, Webster, 1975) as well as the ecologically/environmentally concerned/interested consumer (Kinnear et al., 1974). However, it was not possible to agree on which variables were appropriate for characterizing an "environmentally related" consumer profile. Due to this disagreement various studies therefore show ambiguous results. Anderson and Cunningham (1972) determine⁴ that certain socio-psychological variables are more suitable as discriminating variables than demographical variables when the case concerns the determination of *"the socially conscious consumer"*, in spite of Kassarjian's (1971) results the previous year. Kinnear et al. (1974) determine⁵ what characterises the so-called *ecological concerned consumers* (Kinnear et al., 1974: 20). Kinnear et al. (1974) find, with the exception of the income variable in conformity with Kassarjian (1971), no basis for the

⁴ The authors carry out a survey of 1200 respondents. 412 questionnaires were returned, i.e. a real response rate of 34.3%.

⁵ Kinnear *et.al.*'s investigations concern, as with the previous one, a survey of 698 households⁵, and encompasses attitudinal and behavioural variables, which do not merely attach themselves to attitudes, but also to intentions of wanting to exercise a socially conscious purchasing behaviour.

idea that the socio-economical factors play a role in relation to the responsibility/consciousness that is displayed in the consumption. On the other hand, it is claimed that the personality variable to a greater extent is a determinant for socially/ecologically/environmentally conscious behaviour rather than socio-economical and demographical variables which was also one of the findings made by Anderson and Cunningham (1972). Webster (1975) discusses the problems that exist in relation to the determination of variables and the measurement of socially or environmentally concerned individuals, and attempts to improve the profile of *"the socially conscious consumer"*. Based on the problems of earlier publications, Webster suggests an alternative measuring instrument⁶, the so-called *"social involvement model"*, which he presents in the following way:

"As a starting point, the socially conscious consumer must be aware of the problem (say, air pollution or water pollution), and he must also be aware of opportunities to buy products and services which are responsive to the problem. Stated simply he must be "informed", which suggests that he will be reasonably well educated. Second, he must perceive that it is within his power as an individual citizen to have a favourable influence on the problem-situation. This suggests an individual who perceives himself as active, socially involved, and not alienated. Third, the socially conscious consumer will have attitudes toward social affairs and community involvement which are consistent with his behaviour." (Webster, 1975:190)

Due to the fact that the variables *"involvement in the society"* and *"education level"* are not applied as discriminating variables, Webster (1975) rejects his model and concludes that it is difficult to determine segmentation variables in relation to a socially conscious consumer profile. Instead, he claims that future models to a greater degree ought to focus on what he terms as *"the disenchanted and asocial consumer"* (Ibid: 196).

2.1.1.2. Summary of 1970's segmentation research.

Concerning the above mentioned segmentation contributions from the 1970's, the following can be summarized. There exists a certain ambiguity concerning appropriate variables for characterizing a socially responsible, environmentally conscious, ecological consumer profile. Across the research no immediate consensus exists concerning the appropriate variables for determining these profiles. This could indicate that it is difficult to find suitable segmentation variables that can help define homogeneous consumer profiles, which have in common that they can be determined as socially responsible, environmentally conscious, ecological, etc.

⁶ Webster (1975:190) introduces *"The Social Involvement Model"*, which is tested via a survey distributed to 432 households. He suggests that, instead of only working with SRS as the dependent variable, two further dependent variables are added, namely, Recycling (R) and The Socially Conscious Consumer Index (SCC).

In spite of the difficulty in finding well-suited segmentation variables for the determination of an environmentally orientated consumer profile, it is nevertheless considered possible to trace some common features of the 1970's research contribution. The review of the 1970's publications shows that considerations about the extent to which the consumer boycotts environmentally friendly products (*environmentally beneficial products*) or rejects environmentally harmful or insulting products out of a desire to exercise political influence are not investigated. There is no inclusion in the measurements of attitudes in relation to for example recycling, whether the individuals express a political interest with their environmental routines, or which motives initiate environmental actions. The 1970's studies therefore primarily attempt to determine a consumer type that can be assessed as a potential target group for especially environmentally friendly products. Whether this consumer type expresses political intentions in relation to the environmentally friendly product choice is however unknown. The early segmentation research from the 1970's does not discuss the profile of "the political consumer", or the connection between acts of consumption and politics seen from a market perspective. Further, the connection between politics and environmental attitudes is examined based on traditional political activities, such as the extent to which the socially conscious consumer engages herself in traditional political activities, such as demonstrations or political associations.

2.1.1.3. Segmentation research for the 1980's and beyond

Following a number of years with relatively few publications within segmentation research (Antil, 1984; Balderjahn, 1988), the interest in establishing consumer profiles in the 1990's and onwards both internationally and nationally seems to get revitalized. Numerous studies of different consumer profiles such as the ecologically, politically, ethically and environmentally conscious consumer can be found (e.g. Lavik, 1990; Lavik and Enger, 1995; Granzin and Olsen, 1991; Grunert, 1992; Bennulf and Selin, 1993; Hackett, 1995; Cowe and Williams, 2001; Pickett et al., 1993, Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001, 2004; Micheletti and Stolle, 2004; Strømnes, 2004, Harrison et al., 2005).

Lavik (1990) thus publishes in the beginning of the 1990's an investigation of Norwegian consumers' environmental consciousness, and she finds a correlation between environmental

behaviour and socio-economic status and political affiliation. It is thus claimed that the more well-heeled consumers, who are found on the left wing of the political ideological spectrum, are those who shop in the most environmentally friendly way. Socio-economical variables contribute, therefore, in the Norwegian research to discriminating between more or less environmentally conscious consumers, which the research from the 1970's was partly in disagreement with (Kassarjian, 1971; Kinnear et al., 1974). Comparing the results of Lavik (1990) with recent surveys on profiling the political consumer, similar variables seem to characterize the environmental and political consumer (Strømnes, 2004; Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2004). This could indicate overlaps between different profiles and leaves the impression of less distinctiveness. Nevertheless, other studies again tend to disagree on the discriminating variables, which leave a blurred picture of what characterizes the various profiles. Bennulf and Selin (1993) find no support for connections between, for example, socio-economic status and environmentally friendly actions. Knowledge about how to preserve the environment is also not considered to give rise to more environmentally friendly behaviour, which other studies indicate as an important prerequisite for environmentally correct/conscious behaviour (Grunert, 1992, Ellen, 1994; Folkes and Kamins, 1999; Carrigan and Attalla, 2001; Uusitalo and Oksanen, 2004).

Even though it seems difficult to find agreement on what characterises the different profiles, attempts are continuously made. After an era with conceptualizing the socially conscious and the environmentally conscious consumer, the characterization of the ethical and the political consumer enter more and more into the segmentation research. Especially in Scandinavia publications emerge studying such consumer profiles as the ethical, ECO-foods and the political consumer (Grunert, 1992; Grunert and Kristensen, 1995; Gallup, 1997; Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen, 1995; Thulstrup, 1997, 1998; IFF and Elsam, 1996; Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001, 2004).

From 1995 and onwards a number of studies attempt to present their suggestions of a political consumer profile who reflects over the political consequences of the consumption behaviour. The weekly newsletter Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen together with AIM Nielsen (1995)⁷ divide the population into segments according to values, attitudes and shopping patterns. According to this research, the "political consumer" can be classified into some of the segments' defined

⁷ According to Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen (1995), AIM Nielsen's research is based on 3000 interviews.

characteristics. Thus we find in the "green"⁸ and the "pink"⁹ segments most political consumers (Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen, 1995). The study shows that the "green segment" makes up 25% of the total population, while the "pink segment" comprises 18.5% of the population. The conclusion is that the greater proportion of political consumers are primarily found in the pink segment (Rasmussen, 1996), while approximately half the consumers in the green segment are made up of political consumers. The political consumers are assessed in total to comprise 30-35% of the total population (Rasmussen, 1996).

The determination of, specifically, the political consumer continues in 1996, perhaps as a consequence of mediated political cases, such as the consumer boycott of the French government. Moreover, instead of focusing only on defining profiles, emphasis is put on the phenomenon political consumerism/consumption where multiple disciplines discuss different aspects of this phenomenon. Survey results are published highlighting the consumer profile but further attempts are made to measure the proportion or spread of the phenomenon and also to provide a more nuanced picture of political participation as a more individualized type of participation (buycotting) versus more traditional market based forms (boycotting) (Andersen et al., 1993; IFF and Elsam, 1996; Thulstrup, 1997). In a publication by IFF and Elsam from 1996 it is stated that 40.3% of the respondents had boycotted goods¹⁰, while 52.9% had buycotted products based on their evaluation of environmental, animal welfare or human rights aspects¹¹. These numbers are supported by

⁸ In the green segment, an idealistic consumer type is present, who is characterised by modern attitudes to life and a modern outlook on life. Just as characteristic is that these consumers have a very conscious approach to life, which is expressed in the form of very purpose orientated actions, such as limiting CO2 emissions from cars by agitating for car free days. The green consumer type considers the community with others as the route to personal development and realisation, which by way of example takes form in political discussions with friends, family, etc. In terms of education, this consumer type typically belongs to the well educated, who see it as an essential part of their ideological lifestyle or life conduct (Dahl, 1997:27) to keep themselves well orientated in relation to the things that are happening in the world around them. Politically, the green consumers are found on the left wing.

⁹ The pink segment comprises, as with the green, idealistic and socially focused consumers, but at the same time a lifestyle can be detected with more traditional life-values. The family is an important basis in life, which is why the pink segment focuses very much on the welfare of the family. Characteristic for the pink consumers is the fact that they have a lower level of education than the greens.

¹⁰ The question in Greens Analysis Institute's investigation carried out in cooperation with the Copenhagen Institute for Future Studies (CIFS) and Elsam stems from the publication "The political consumer (*Den politiske forbruger*) (1996:111)" and is worded, "Have you boycotted goods within the last year?".

¹¹ The question in Greens Analysis Institute's investigation carried out in cooperation with the Copenhagen Institute for Future Studies (CIFS) and Elsam stems from the publication "The political consumer (*Den politiske forbruger*) (1996:113)" and is worded, "How often do you select the products based on attitudes towards the environment, animal ethics or human rights?" To this answered 9% of the respondents "Always" and 43.9% "Often". In total 52.9%.

another publication, where the proportion of political consumers who had boycotted companies or countries due to political reasons in June 1996 was 29%, and the proportion of consumers who had boycotted organic food products during an ordinary week was approximately 50-55% (Thulstrup, 1997).

Based on the percentage of consumers that boycott organic goods, it is difficult to assess how many actually associate this kind of purchase to a political motive. In the literature, varying motives are stated in relation to the boycott of organic food products e.g. personal health motives or political environmental motives (Schifferstein and Oude Ophuis, 1998; Beckmann et al., 2001; Magnusson et al., 2001; Sørensen, 2002). There can, therefore, be a mix of motives, which makes it difficult to assess the extent to which the purchase of organic goods is politically motivated. Due to the lacking discussion of when buying behaviour can rightfully be classified as political in the mentioned publications, it is still not possible to say anything precise concerning how far the more individualized, unorganized boycotting of organic food products is political, as the focus mainly has been on how people boycott and boycott certain types of goods and how often.

The ethical consumer is by some research institutes viewed as the replacement for the ecological and the political consumer, but it is difficult to see what differentiates this consumer type from, for example, the political consumer. In Gallup's model for ethical attitudes and behaviour there are variables such as attitudes to the environment, social responsibility, animal experiments, etc. The possibility for separating the ethical, the ecological and the political is difficult. Referring to Grunert's (1992) and Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen's (1995) research there might exist possible overlaps between an environmentally conscious, political and ethical consumer type, which is also evident when comparing the attempts to profile environmentally conscious consumers (Lavik, 1991) with the attempts classifying the political consumer (Micheletti and Stolle, 2004, Tobiasen, 2004; Strømnes, 2004). Only small differences in the variables characterizing these two profiles emerge. Some research contributions argue that ethical consumption is often researched as a sub-aspect where point of departure is taken in organic food products, and the ethical dimension is studied as a subtheme together with related aspects such as environmental awareness, health, quality of life and animal ethics (Nordisk Ministerråd, 2001). Publications precisely concerned with the ethical consumer are, therefore still, relatively sparse. However, publications emerge, particularly in the British literature in the beginning of the 2000 and thereafter, which concern ethics and

consumption (Shaw and Shiu, 2003; Shaw and Newholm, 2006; Harrison et al., 2005). Likewise, in the Danish and Scandinavian literature one or two publications can be seen (Klint, 1995; Nordisk Ministerråd, 2001, 2003). Ethics is thus a concept that is often linked together with something else, e.g. ecology, which, for example, applies to the ethical Max Havelaar brand, which in addition to the attempt to secure minimum prices for farmers in third world countries, also contributes to promoting organic farming. It is, therefore, difficult to draw a clear dividing line for where the different profiles and concepts begin and end. Gallup's (1997) research of the ethical consumer, meanwhile, shows that the so-called "super ethical consumers"¹² do not to any significant degree differentiate themselves from the profiles of the previously discussed "green" or "pink" consumers.

The attempt to establish consumer profiles continues, and from 2001 and forward a number of Scandinavian studies are published which attempt to clarify who the political consumer is in Norway, Sweden and Denmark (Strømnes, 2004; Micheletti and Stolle, 2004; Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001, 2004), Strømnes (2004) determines that the political consumers in Norway consist of very resourceful citizens who are city residents, well educated, interested in politics and, politically identify themselves mostly with the left wing parties and slightly more women than men can be found. At the same time, she finds that the income variable does not influence whether one is a political consumer, which is an aspect that has also previously been found. Micheletti and Stolle (2004) find in their research similar results. Only a few conflicting results appear. Among the political consumers in Sweden there is a significant overrepresentation of women, which differs from Strømnes findings. Similarities are, that the political consumers consist of highly educated people, and many of the consumers are found among affluent families which differentiates itself from Strømnes' research. The Swedish political consumers are also, politically, found on the left wing, and they are more politically active compared with non political consumers. There are similarities within the Scandinavian research, but there are also contradictory results, e.g. the influence of the income variable. That women seem to be overrepresented is also only slightly confirmed by the Danish survey. Again, education seems also here to be an important variable in explaining the extent of political participation performed and income play a significant role, which is in line with both Strømnes (2004) and previous research on political consumer profiles. Also

¹² The super-ethical consumers primarily consist of women (71%) who are resident in the capital city districts. They are community orientated and traditionally community orientated, and, politically, are to be found on the left wing (Socialist People's Party (SF) and Enhedslisten). The values in this segment reflect a collective consciousness, and a marked environmental consciousness prevails together with an interest in ecology.

political interest is a variable that correlated positively with political consumerism (Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2004). To sum up, the most recent surveys carried out to characterize the political consumer show some consensus as regards the variables explaining certain behaviour.

Nevertheless, research on determining various consumer profiles leaves behind a fragmented picture of how to characterize certain profiles. The value of applying segmentation variable is therefore an issue that is discussed and questioned. (Pickett et al., 1993; Antil, 1984; Balderjahn, 1988; Granzin and Olsen, 1991; Schlegelmilch et al., 1994). The argument is that the ability to predict behaviour based on especially demographic and socio-economic segmentation variables is limited and the results are often inconsistent. Schwepker and Cornwell (1991) argue that concern for the environment cannot be seen as an issue that occupies marginal parts of the population, but that, as is highlighted, "*Environmental concern is becoming the socially accepted norm*". This is supported by several British studies, in which it appears that 82% consider the environment as an important and pressing problem (Dembkowski and HammerLloyd, 1994), plus that 69% of the general population experience pollution and other environmentally related problems as issues that have a significant influence on their daily lives (Worcester, 1993). Therefore, it ought not to be expected that a high degree of green consumer behaviour reflects itself in particular socio-demographical segments within the population (Schlegelmilch et al., 1996).

2.1.1.4. Summary of segmentation research of the 1980's and later

A lot of research has thus been published during the 1990's, but again, as with the 1970's contribution, there seems to be a lack of consensus surrounding what characterises environmentally friendly and environmentally conscious consumers (e.g. Seippel, 1995; Strandbakken, 1995; Sparks and Shepherd, 1992; Pedersen and Broegaard, 1997). Most of the segmentation research bases itself on primarily quantitative research approaches, and the criticism from a range of research contributions with an alternative research approach emphasise that the individual's environmental behaviour is difficult to explain with the help of fixed segmentation bases (Jensen, 1997a; 1997b; Halkier, 1998a; Lindén, 1994; Eden, 1993). In the 1990's segmentation research, in contrast to the 1970's, the political consumer profile is specifically investigated with particular focus on the situation-determined boycott actions that occurred in this period. The way in which this consumer profile is determined is, however, still dominated by the quantitative approaches where, again,

different demographical, socio-psychological, personality, as well as attitudinal and lifestyle variables are employed. The overall problems with the different segmentation studies are that they try to capture and understand the complexity of behaviour as an outcome of predetermined characteristics. Political consumption becomes, according to a segmentation study, the result of certain socio-economical factors, rather than individual, context related factors, which play a role in everyday life. In addition, the problem is that we apparently cannot explain why environmentally friendly goods are purchased only to a limited extent when segmentation research determines what, in terms of the population structure, can be identified as relatively large potential segments that ought to be interested in environmentally friendly products. Therefore, based on the segmentation research, it is difficult to establish an understanding of the importance that for example environmentally friendly goods play for the individual, and thereby make any statements concerning the motives behind the boycotting and boycotting of certain goods.

2.1.2. Research into consumer motives in relation to environmentally friendly behaviour

Due to the outlined difficulties in determining suitable segmentation variables for the classification of consumer profiles in the environmental domain along with the recognition that attitudinal variables might be among the most suitable for explanation of environmental behaviour, new attempts are made from the mid 1980's and beyond. The attempt is made to find new and perhaps more suitable ways in determining what triggers an environmentally conscious behaviour instead of focusing on the determination of particular consumption segments. The research contributions move towards investigating the motives behind the consumers' intentions and behaviour in relation to environmental activities (Kilbourne and Beckmann, 1998; Ellen et al., 1991; Thøgersen, 1997). The main part of the research into motives within environmentally friendly actions, such as recycling, environmentally friendly consumption, energy saving, etc. is rooted in the socio-psychological attitudinal research (Malmsten, 1993). Various approaches to the investigations of consumer motives have been applied (e.g. see Ölander and Thøgersen's, 1995 review of consumer behaviour research concerning motives and pro-environmentally friendly behaviour). One of the most applied approaches in trying to understand environmentally conscious behaviour has been to investigate the connection between attitudes and behaviour with help from Ajzen and Fishbein's (1980) "*Theory of reasoned action*".

2.1.2.1. The theoretical foundation of the attitude research

Aizen and Fishbein's (1980) "Theory of reasoned action" builds upon assumptions from the cognitive buying behaviour theory concerning the (limited) rational individual (O'Shaughnessy, 1992). The main assumption is that the individual, based on attitudes, forms intentions, which thus precede the final action. Aizen and Fishbein's (1980) model consists of an attitude, a norm, as well as an intention concerning behaviour and finally a behavioural component. The attitudinal component partly includes the consequences that the individual believes that a given action (X) will lead to plus, partly, an assessment of the consequences of action X. These two aspects thus enter into the attitude formation in relation to the concrete behaviour X. The norm component concerns what the individual believes that others will say to the fact that one carries out action X, as well as an assessment of how important it is for the individual that one does as others think one ought to do. These two aspects thereby form a subjective norm in relation to the concrete action X. Both the attitudinal and the norm components are included in the formation of an intention to carry out action X, which subsequently influences the individual's performance of action X. In order to concretize the application of the model, the following example can be given. Through various news media, the consumer is informed about that it is beneficial for the environment to buy washing powder without the environmentally harmful LAS. The consumers then assess that through boycotting certain washing powders, it is possible to contribute positively to the continued existence of the ground water, an issue that is important for them. With reference to the attitudinal component of the above mentioned models, consumer would then form positive attitudes towards the purchase of environmentally friendly washing powder. At the same time, the consumer has through the social network experienced that precisely these washing powders do not wash just as white as the more environmentally damaging alternatives. This information possibly affects the consumer because the thought that the family's clothes perhaps looks dirtier, even though this is not the case, is problematic. Perhaps others would perceive this as being a bad housekeeper. The consumer forms here a subjective norm that the environmentally friendly washing powder can damage the social reputation within the network. The strength of, respectively, the attitudinal and norm component will affect the consumer's intention of purchasing environmentally friendly washing powder and, ultimately, of actually carrying out the purchase.

The model's advantages lie in the fact that it is based on specific actions, e.g. the purchase of environmentally friendly washing powder, and the attitude formation and the intention surrounding

the purchase is thereby attuned to precisely this action. The model's ability to predict how far it is likely that the action will be carried out is strengthened by its specificity. Furthermore, it is a strength of the model that it includes the social norms, and that one can, independently of which actions are in focus, assess the varying importance of, respectively, the attitudinal and norm components.

2.1.2.2. The empirical research into the connection between attitude and behaviour

In research into the connection between attitudes and behaviour, the most dominating approach has been the application of the so-called "attitudes – intentions – behaviour" paradigm, inspired by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) (e.g. Kok and Siero, 1985; Thøgersen, 1997; 1998a; Hines et al., 1987). Empirical research based on this paradigm particularly shows that the perceived consequences of specific environmental actions are the most important component affecting whether individuals choose to carry out concrete actions that are in harmony with the perceived consequences (Heberlein and Black, 1981; Roberts, 1996b). Something indicates that the environmental area, and thereby specific environmental actions, to a greater degree influence the attitude component, and that the norm component plays a lesser role. Thus, a large proportion of the research contributions based on the attitude-intention-behaviour paradigm show that the individual's ability to actually make a difference influences the desire to convert the concern for the environment to concrete environmental actions (*perceived consumer effectiveness*) (Kinnear et al., 1974; Webster, 1975; Ellen et al., 1991; Grunert, 1992), (*locus of control*) (Henion and Wilson, 1975; Cleveland et al., 2005). Further, previous positive experiences with concrete environmental actions have a positive effect on the consumers' participation in environmental consumption practices (Ölander and Thøgersen, 1995). In spite of the specificity and, thereby, the ability to predict behaviour as a consequence of positive attitudes and intentions, several research contributions show a discrepancy between the consumers expressed attitudes and their actual behaviour within the environmental sphere. The application of the "theory of reasoned action" lacks strength in explaining why relatively few people actually purchase environmentally friendly groceries, when there is apparently a positive attitude towards the idea that it is important for the environment, and that they believe it is worthwhile.

Referring to the outlined problems that exist in Aizen and Fishbein's (1980) theoretical framework, Thøgersen (1994b) plus Ölander and Thøgersen (1995) develop their "motivation-ability-possibility-behaviour" model in an attempt to achieve a more differentiated understanding of environmentally related behaviour. The "motivation-ability-possibility-behaviour" model was developed as a result of the "theory of reasoned action" not being sufficient in explaining the intention related to behaviour (Thøgersen, 1994a). The model does not include the idea that the individuals must also have the ability and the possibility to actually do something. In other words, even though one has the intention of wanting to purchase environmentally friendly washing powder, old habits and lack of knowledge, which are elements of the "ability" concept, limit the individual in carrying out the action. Similarly, the "possibility" variable can be a limiting factor in relation to a concrete environmental behaviour, in spite of the fact that the individual has a positive intention. Ölander and Thøgersen (1995) provide an example of how a household's waste management varies according to the actual possibility of being able to dispose diverse packaging in waste containers. Even though the individual has a positive attitude towards recycling, there can still be limited possibilities for getting rid of the waste, and variations in the management of waste are not caused by changes in attitudes, but rather to a higher degree the possibilities for acting in an environmentally correct way. Besides Thøgersen's (1994a) additions to the "theory of reasoned action" encompassing the "ability-possibility-variables", Thøgersen also discusses in another article from the same year (1994b), together with other authors some years earlier (DeYoung and Kaplan, 1985-86, Fransson et al., 1993), environmental actions from a moral perspective or a so-called personal norm. The argument is that individuals are motivated by other reasons than the purely private economical ones; e.g. that we carry out environmentally friendly actions for the benefit of others. It is thus attempted to carry out modifications to particularly Aizen and Fishbein's (1980) model as well as add new theoretical perspectives (e.g. DeYoung and Kaplans (1985-86) and Ölander and Thøgersen's (1995)). Perspectives that environmentally friendly actions as morally motivated, altogether in an attempt to improve the understanding of the connection between attitude and behaviour, are emphasized.

Within research into ethical consumerism, as well as social responsibility, the attitude-intention-behaviour paradigm has also been applied, and this theoretical framework is therefore not seen alone in connection with environmental research, but is applied to different areas within consumer

behaviour research (Uusitalo, 1990, Roberts, 1996b; Creyer and Ross, 1997; Folkes and Kamins, 1999; Boulstridge and Carrigan, 2000).

In addition to the dominating application of the attitude-intention-behaviour paradigm within the environmentally related research, there are also examples of the application of other paradigms. Thus, we find research contributions that, for instance, employ the "value-behaviour" paradigm (e.g. De Young and Kaplan, 1985-86; Thøgersen and Ölander, 2002), the "value-attitude-behaviour" paradigm (McCarthy and Schrum, 1994; Dembkowski and HammerLloyd, 1994; Grunert and Kristensen, 1995), and the "means-end" theory is applied trying to link the value level with environmentally related behaviour (Bagozzi and Dabholkar, 1994).

The research into the consumer's motives show unequivocal explanations for why environmentally friendly attitudes, norms and values only to a varying degree lead to a consistent environmental behaviour. There are thus studies that show a weak connection between environmental attitudes and actual behaviour (Bech-Larsen, 1996; Gill et al., 1986; Schwepker and Cornwell, 1991; Ellen et al., 1991; Berger and Corbin, 1992), while other studies find a more significant connection between attitudes towards the environment and environmentally related behaviour (Schlegelmilch *et al.*, 1996, Diamantopoulos et al. 1994).

The ambiguity in the research results has given rise to a discussion of the limitations in predicting behaviour with the help of attitudes. Even though behaviour might be difficult to predict by measuring attitudes, and that our political attitudes are just one among many factors that influence our market behaviour, there still is a certain unanimity that attitudes, in spite of everything, are the best variable for predicting behaviour (Cleveland et al., 2005). Therefore, instead of rejecting all of the previous theoretical frameworks, researchers attempt to create a more nuanced understanding of how the connection between attitudes and behaviour is, including which moderating factors can influence the connection (Moisander and Uusitalo, 1994; Pieters, 1991, Schlegelmilch et al., 1996; Stern et al., 1993). In chapter 1, possible explanations as to what caused the discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour were emphasised. Among other things, it was emphasized that there prevails a widespread understanding that particularly the problem of measurement is one of the most important reasons that we see this discrepancy (Aizen and Fishbein, 1977; Moisander and Uusitalo, 1994; Follows and Jobber, 2000). Measurement problems together with the desire to give

responses in accordance with an accepted social norm form the most frequent responses to the discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour. Explanations such as the consumers' desire for variation in their consumption patterns, economical and social factors are named within the consumer behaviour research as possible explanations (Uusitalo and Oksanen, 2004).

Meanwhile, there are also authors who argue that some of the reasons why we one cannot explain the discrepancy between attitude in relation to for example the environment, is due to the fact that environmentally conscious behaviour constitutes actions carried out for the sake of others (Lee and Holden, 1999; Thøgersen, 1996). Within psychology and economy, theoretical assumptions have been made on human behaviour in, among other situations, social contexts, where the individual's efforts are something that is shared by a community now and in the future. This behaviour can be characterised as pro-social behaviour (Bateson, 1972). Lee and Holden (1999) argue that by integrating pro-social behaviour as a concept in the understanding of environmentally related actions, one is possibly able to create a better understanding for the motives behind the individual's actions.

Lee and Holden (1999) discuss which factors can influence the individual's desire or possibility to carry out pro-social behaviour. They state with reference to Bateson (1972) that for environmentally related actions, whether they support personal or so-called altruistic goals, behaviour is affected by 3 criteria: 1) how much the individual feels that there is a possibility for improving the environment for the benefit of others; 2) how far the advantages of carrying out particular environmentally related actions exceed the associated personal costs; and finally, 3) how far the advantages are greater through personally carrying out the actions rather than getting others to carry out the actions. Thus, a range of barriers are raised, which can prevent individuals from actually carrying out environmentally related actions, and which can contribute to an explanation of why individuals do not to a great extent carry out environmentally beneficial actions. Wiener and Doescher (1991) contribute similarly to Lee and Holden (1999) in their article "*A Framework for Promoting Cooperation*" to the discussion on which barriers can be identified in relation to pro-social behaviour. The article describes the problem about products that appeal to the individual to exercise a behaviour, where the behaviour is connected with a low "cost-benefit" relationship (Wiener and Doescher, 1991).

Products like this attempt, as Rothschild (1979a) discusses, to sell brotherhood and community, where the benefit is not primarily aimed at the individual. Wiener and Doescher determine along with other authors (e.g. see Kotler, 1982; Ritchie and McDougall, 1985; Rothschild, 1979a) three reasons why individuals experience a low cost-benefit relationship. Firstly, it can be because the primary party, who gains the benefit of the individual's social action, is the surrounding society. Secondly, a large proportion of society's members preferably needs to participate in order to achieve a societal return, and, finally, the costs in connection with pro-social behaviour are often direct and personal. These three assumptions build on theories on social dilemmas (Dawes, 1980; Olsen, 1965), where a social dilemma is defined as a situation where the individual receives a greater benefit by refraining from carrying out an action, rather than through cooperation. Society's members will however as a whole achieve a greater benefit if every individual participates (Dawes and Messick, 2000).

The conditions in Dawes and Messick's understanding of a social dilemma is in accordance with e.g. Kotler's (1982) and Rothschild's (1979a) arguments concerning the fact that one of the main reasons for individuals refraining from carrying out an environmentally correct action is the low cost-benefit relationship at the level of the individual. The individual will thus always experience a low benefit by not participating, but is trapped in the dilemma about carrying out the actions that on a societal level release a greater benefit if also the majority of the population participates.

As an example, one could imagine that a consumer does not choose to join a collective car sharing scheme, because this demands more organization. The result is that the individual concerned gets home a little later, and it is difficult to get the kids picked up from day-care and transported home. The person understands that the action, purely in terms of the environment, has less impact than driving alone, and understands that it is important to do something for the environment. Conversely, the efforts isolated are limited, and the big environmental improvements can only be achieved provided the majority of motorists choose to participate in collective car share scheme. Thus, the individual still chooses to drive to work alone in their own car, not compromising, and then refrains from participating in a collective car-sharing scheme. The individual chooses a behaviour that supports personal benefit maximization in spite of positive attitudes towards the environment. In other words, the individual experiences some barriers, despite the good intentions, which prevents carrying out an intended behaviour. Rothschild (1979a), therefore, emphasises that it is not

necessarily as easy to sell brotherhood as it is to sell quite traditional consumer benefits. The individual thus carries out a weighing up of the cost and benefits in relation to a concrete action, and the explanation for the gap between attitudes and behaviour can possibly also be explained by this complicated weighing up that takes place in relation to the individual's daily life.

Along the same vein, Thøgersen (1999b) argues that there must be two conditions present for the consumer to actually include environmentally related criteria into their purchase decision and carry out an environmentally friendly purchase. The first condition concerns the idea that the person experiences that the link between the actual purchase and the environmental benefits appears salient. This means that, in relation to an activity or a concrete purchase, there should not be other characteristics present which the consumer sees as being so-called "very involving". These characteristics cause the consumer to shift focus from the environmentally related aspects to those aspects that to a greater degree involve the person concerned. If, for example, the price is experienced as being high for a product, which might be the case with organic food products, the moral aspects e.g. where the product is produced, could play a lesser role.

The second condition is that the individual feels a significant degree of environmental concern in relation to the concrete activity or purchase, or that the individual generally feels a high degree of environmental concern. The first condition, compared with, for example Wiener and Doescher's (1991) "cost/benefit" concept, expresses similarity on a certain point. In relation to Thøgersen's (1999a) "importance and involvement criterion", a consumer who experiences the price of organic food products as being high will not feel motivated to pay an additional price for the environment improving qualities the organic products offer. The consumer will, thereby, in relation to Wiener and Doescher's (1991) terminology, experience a cost-benefit relationship, where cost is experienced as exceeding benefits, and, therefore, the consumer refrains from carrying out an environment-improving behaviour. Thøgersen's (1999a) second criterion that the consumer generally ought to be environmentally concerned in order to have a desire to also act accordingly is in harmony with other research that indicates that environmental behaviour is largely caused by pro-environmental attitudes and a general concern for the environment (Schlegelmilch et al., 1996; Lavik, 1990; Kassarian, 1971; Follows and Jobber, 2000).

2.1.2.3. Summary of the empirical attitude research

There has been a lively discussion of possible causes to why the discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour occurs. Meanwhile, there are no clear explanations for why the discrepancy occurs. The discrepancy between attitude and behaviour often occurs in the environmentally related research, where we predominantly see positive attitudes and intentions towards the environment, but at the same time, we see a rather limited pro-environmental behaviour. This means that the boycotting of environmentally friendly products comprises limited behaviour in relation to what one would expect according to attitude research. Furthermore, the attitude research is sparsely occupied with assessment of how far these environmentally friendly actions contain a political goal. The conclusion of the above described attitude research in relation to the phenomenon of political consumption is, therefore, that we do not really know whether the empirical examples that predominantly concern environmentally related activities also express the individuals' desire to influence a political agenda that is connected to the concrete action. Specifically, we know very little about the potential meaning that individuals' attach to the boycotting and boycotting processes for specific food products. Therefore, Chapter 4 argues that, in relation to the presented research questions in this dissertation, that a research approach should be chosen that allows the examination of what understanding the informants have with regard to the specific food products, and thereby be able to assess whether the political aspect is included as a conscious element in a supposed range of different motives. Both the general segmentation research and the attitude research do not provide explanations to whether individuals connect actions such as boycotting and boycotting of food products to a political goal.

2.1.3. Research into political consumption and food products

As seen earlier, the research within environmentally related areas has to a great extent been dominated by the cognitive approach to the study of consumer behaviour with the application of especially Fishbein and Ajzen's (1977) "theory of reasoned action". Fishbein and Aizens (1977) model has, meanwhile, also found applications within other research areas, including among others the boycotting of food products and purchasing behaviour (Shepherd and Stockley, 1985; Shepherd and Farleigh, 1986). The behavioural/psychological approach in the study of food consumption is well known. Research of the consumer's understanding of the risk related to food products, food product safety and the environmental consequences of food production, often apply this theoretical framework (Henson and Northen, 2000; Hansen et al., 2003).

Consumer surveys studying the attitudes and motivations for buying organic food specifically show that health is the most dominant motive for buying these products (Chakrabarti and Baisya, 2007; Chinnici et al., 2002; Tregear et al., 1994) and that the environment seems to be not as strong a motive as health (von Alvensleben; 1998; Tregear et al., 1994; Wandel and Bugge, 1997). Tregear et al. (1994) for example found that 54% of Scottish consumers who claimed they bought organic foods did this out of concern for their own and their family's health and only 9% stated that buying organic foods is motivated by a concern for the environment. However, health is found to be a more prominent motive among consumers who buy organic foods less frequent whereas heavy buyers purchase organic food for both health and environmental reasons (Schifferstein and Oude Ophuis, 1998; Jolly, 1991).

Other motivations among consumers who buy organic food also exist, such as curiosity, nutritional issues or taste, but health related motives are found to be the most important (Baker et al., 2004). This means, that consumer motives in relation to buying organic food seems to be primarily related to personal benefits and the nature of food products seems to be a category where people are especially occupied with personal, health related aspects. However, still little is known to what extent the environmental motive actually contains a political intention. Quantitative studies of consumption of organic food indicate that consumers are mainly health oriented, but whether those consumers who hold both health and environmental motives have political intentions is unknown.

In addition to the behavioural/psychological approach used in the empirical examples above, there are also more socio-scientific, particularly sociological perspectives, which attempt to understand consumption of food products with regard to the socio-cultural contexts that influence the individual in connection with the purchase, preparation, eating, etc. Food is, in terms of being an area of consumption, to a high degree linked to different decisive processes in the consumer's social life, and studies indicate that food's sociality plays a significant role in relation to the daily life of the individual. Most people are almost on a daily basis involved in processes that include food products, such as, shopping for meals, storing, preparation, serving, eating and the subsequent cleaning and washing up (Warde, 1997). Food has, in addition to the purely physical purpose of satisfying the most basic needs, such as hunger, also more socially symbolic purposes, such as expressing certain lifestyle related aspects. Several authors within different academic fields argue

that consumption generally constitutes an area which combines the achievement of satisfaction with the achievement of more socially symbolic identity-creating aspects (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979; Warde, 1997; McCracken, 1990, Featherstone, 1990). It is thus assumed that, in addition to the more usefulness related and practical aspects of a product or service, there also exists something else, some symbolic codes or meanings, or as Falk (1994:10) formulates it:

"Modern consumption is thematized as the primary realm of self-construction, offering material for both its social and personal dimensions..."

The consumption of food, including the consumption of organic food products, can be understood in relation to such symbolic codes or meanings (Torjusen et al., 2004). Consumption of food products concerns, therefore, not only just processes connected with acquiring and using/consuming the products, but also the social relationships that constitute the different consumption processes, together with the way in which consumer goods, including food products, are implemented in order to communicate certain values (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979, Mennell et al., 1992). Thereby, it is argued that food consumption offers a social space in which consumers participate and create meaning in relation to the consumption processes they take part in on a daily basis (Halkier, 2001a; Gullestad, 1989). A common characteristic of the sociological perspectives is that they focus on the meaning or importance that we attach to material products, and attempt to place products in relation to the contexts of individuals (Cambell, 1987; Douglas, 1982).

In Warde's (1994) discussion of Anthony Giddens, Ulrich Beck and Zygmunt Bauman's theories, he finds that individuals define themselves through signals or communicative elements which are transmitted through our purchase and use of consumption goods. Thus, there prevails a certain consensus that consumption is tied to both the material aspect but also to a high degree the more symbolic aspects.

In relation to this dissertation, the intention is to understand whether or how the informants' motives for boycotting are linked to contextual settings and individual mental frameworks and thus try to emphasize the interplay between consumption practices and subjective aspects in the individual consumer's life. We know that food consumption e.g. organic food consumption has been the subject of growing interest within marketing and political science in recent years

exemplifying a new way of practicing politics. Nevertheless, only sparse research can be found as regards the extent to which the consumers understand their food consumption as a way to exert political viewpoints. Within the marketing literature, as well as the sociological literature, we primarily find quantitative research contributions, which investigate variations in consumers' opinions, attitudes and behaviour compared with a range of background variables, such as gender, age, education, socio-economical status in order to define specific segments. Only few quantitative studies have led to a deeper understanding if food consumption exemplifies a more permanent and consistent form of political participation (Pedersen, 2000). Pedersen (2000) investigates the extent to which the growth in so-called "green" food consumption practices is related to "green" practices in other consumption contexts, and, thereby, how far there is a tendency to act in an environmentally friendly way across different consumption areas (Pedersen, 2000)¹³.

Pedersen's (2000) research investigates the extent to which the consumption of organic food products reflects a sincere interest in caring for the environment, and thereby expresses the individual's desire to act politically via food consumption. The extent to which the correlation between political consumption in the form of boycott actions and the consumption of organic food products can be said to be significant is investigated. The assumption is that people who choose to boycott Shell in connection with the Brent Spar case or boycott the French government do this because of an environmental concern. If a high correlation exists between this form of political consumption and the consumption of organic food products, then the boycotting of organic food products is considered political, as it is assumed that the respondents have motives that reach beyond strict personal motives, such as for example health. In this measurement, a positive correlation is ascertained, but at the same time it is stated that there can be a co-existence between different motives as the environmental motive can be difficult to separate from other motives, which is also confirmed in other quantitative research that investigates the motives for the purchase of organic food products (among others, O'Doherty Jensen et al., 2001; Wier and Calverly, 1999; Beckmann, 2001). An individual who is concerned about health issues and, therefore, purchases organic food products can thus certainly be concerned about the environmental consequences of dumping an oil drilling platform. The argument is that the motives are often multifaceted and

13 The research has been carried out on the basis of 1330 respondents who were asked to answer a questionnaire that should provide information about consumption practice in relation to organic food products, recycling, transport and use of energy (Ibid:201). In other words, the data is an expression of the actual behavior, i.e. the consumer's reported behavior within the fields of energy, transport, etc.

difficult to isolate in a survey. It appears to be difficult to hold the motives separate and thereby carry out an assessment of what importance the different motives shall be assigned (Torjusen et al., 2004).

In relation to recycling, the study shows that there is an extraordinary high correlation between purchasing organic food products and depositing glass and paper at the recycling station or in the containers provided. The high correlation is explained by the Danish decisions to establish a comprehensive recycling system and educate Danes to behave in an environmentally friendly way (Ibid: 203). Pedersen though finds, that the significant connection between purchasing organic products and recycling reflects an actual environmental consciousness on the part of the ecological consumer and thereby a political consumption behaviour. However, Pedersen (2000) does not investigate the connections between people who recycle and people who do not purchase organic products. The Danish effort to get the population to recycle and ease the access to recycling stations and containers possibly means that most Danes make an effort in this area. Therefore, it is again difficult to say how far the individual boycotting of organic food products reflects conscious environmental and thereby political intentions.

In the area of transport, the research shows that no significant connection can be established between choice of transport mode and purchasing organic food products (Ibid: 205). In other words, there is no immediate connection between being an ecological consumer and the application of particular forms of transport. Thus, it is likely that other motives play a part, such as, for example, convenience, economy, etc., and the environmental aspect, thereby, possibly becomes secondary or pushed into the background in the process of evaluating the advantages and disadvantages. The lack of a positive connection between the purchase of organic food products and the choice of transport form can, therefore, indicate that the consumers do not necessarily think about the overall political consequences of their consumption, but that the different consumption is again concerned with solving private practical problems of daily life.

The connection between energy use in the home and the purchase of organic food products is the last aspect examined in the study. Just as with the transport area, no significant connection between the purchase of organic food products and energy use for all households is found (Pedersen, 2000). Furthermore, no support is found that a high correlation between different norms for energy

application in the home and the purchase of organic food products exists. The consumption of energy and behaviour such as switching off lights when leaving a room, or filling up the dishwasher completely before starting it, are not behavioural patterns found more among people who purchase ecologically than people who do not. Another study also confirms this lack of correlation, where the connection between the purchase of organic food products and energy consumption was investigated on the basis of measurements from the relevant energy power station (Pedersen and Broegaard, 1997).

It appears that no unequivocal connection between purchasing ecologically, i.e. the so-called green consumption practices, and integrating different environmentally related everyday actions exist. This means that a negative spill-over effect from one type of environmentally related action, e.g. the purchase of organic products, to other types of environmentally related actions, e.g. energy saving is found. These results are also confirmed in other studies of possible spill-over effects between different environmental actions (Thøgersen, 1998b). Albeit, positive spill over effects can meanwhile also be found in Pedersen's (2000) and Thøgersen (1998b) research. In research carried out by Pedersen (2000) it emerges that there is a positive spill-over effect between the purchase of organic products and the activities of recycling and participation in boycotts. Pedersen (1999) argues that both positive and negative spill-over effects of environmental consciousness is not a coherent "manuscript" that results in an environmentally friendly practice in all areas, whereas it is more a case of:

"...a form of being split up, where environmental consciousness can serve as a frame of reference in relation to a sphere of everyday life, while environmental considerations do not play any role in relation to other parts of everyday life, even though these have environmental consequences" (Pedersen, 1999: 1)

The apparent lack of environmental consciousness in a range of areas can be explained by the complexity in the individual's everyday life. Thus, due to this complexity, Pedersen argues, that people in many situations take a break from the environmental problems, as it complicates everyday life's routines. It is thus difficult to assess how far the individual's boycotting as exemplified in the purchase of organic food products is an expression of political intentions, because other environmentally related activities might first be given a lower priority in everyday life situations.

A number of qualitative research contributions also attempt to investigate consumers' attitudes towards organic food products, by focussing on the meaning behind consuming organic food products (Solér, 1997; Iversen, 1996; James, 1993; Halkier, 1998b; Torjusen, 2001). It is indicated that an understanding of the meaning that consumers ascribe to organic food products is a complex task, where many different aspects are considered. The meaning ascribed relate to health, environmental concern, ethics, taste, etc., and it seems that the consumers' way of dealing with regard for the environment in everyday life, to a wide extent concerns creating a meaningful existence as it does pursuing specific, environmentally related goals. The qualitative research, therefore, indicates that food consumption to a limited extent concerns a rational approach to solving different environmental problems. Moreover, it seems that the behavioural/psychological approach underestimates the complexity in the social lives of individuals. It is, therefore, suggested that more socio-cultural approaches are integrated in the attempt to achieve a more detailed understanding of how food consumption is intertwined with the social dynamics of everyday life.

Solér (1997) has attempted to investigate why Swedish consumers to a varying degree purchase environmentally friendly goods, when they express that they are interested in environmental preservation, and see it as an important issue. She attempts to explain the discrepancy between the previously discussed attitudes and actions. The author identifies four different perceptions of how her informants experience the purchasing of environmentally friendly products. The perceptions are summarised as: 1) to want to be convinced that one is able to have an effect on the environment; 2) to be an environmentally friendly/ecologically conscious citizen; 3) to be health conscious; and finally, 4) to be a part of nature. These four perceptions frame the informants understanding of environmentally friendly consumption, and illustrate the meaning-content that the informants have in relation to environmentally friendly household products. The study shows that the informants who purchase organic products perceive the purchase of organic products as meaningful for both the environment and for themselves, while the informants who do not purchase organic products do not think about this linkage. The research is not specifically directed towards measuring whether the informants perceive the purchase of environmentally friendly household products as political consumption, but the study can, with reference to Solér's (1997) presentation of the 4 perceptions, indicate that the informants who purchase organic products verbalise the possibility for political influence, and thus have a political aim. It is, however, difficult to assess how far the informants

really express a political intention, as the research does not explicitly investigate whether the environment and politics are linked together. Neither does James (1993), nor Solér (1997), directly investigate whether food consumption is connected with the possibility to influence politically, but James (1993) extracts three food discourses about how organic food product consumption can be understood. James (1993) determines, respectively, an environmental discourse, an alternative/rural lifestyle discourse as well as a health discourse. The environmental discourse is considered as a political food discourse as the content in the environmental discourse focuses on production forms and the consequences thereof and there can be a political element in this. The consumption of organic food products is within the environmental discourse understood as something which is both healthier for the individual and for the environment. Organic food products are within the alternative/rural food lifestyle discourse understood as a physical and spiritual project; within the health discourse, organic food products are perceived as healthier and food products associated with less risk. It is seen that the environmental discourse is the only discourse where there exists a societal focus, whereas the other discourses more concern personal, private aims. James (1993) shows also that only very few people purchase organic food products for the sake of the environment, and that there to a greater extent exists a personal, health related aim with the consumption. Solér (1997) and James (1993) do not, however, give any clear picture of the extent to which food product consumption is connected to political influence.

Iversen (1996) and Halkier (1993, 1994, 2001c) have more specifically attempted to investigate how far food product consumption can express a desire to influence politically. Iversen (1996) has via a cognitive, anthropological approach examined a range of informants' understanding of organic food products. She finds that, in addition to the fact that organic food products are perceived as a taste, health and aesthetically material project, the products can also be perceived as politically green consumption. Iversen (1996) assesses that organic food product consumption is political in the sense that the consumers desire environmentally friendly products and production forms is verbalised, and Iversen's (1996) state that the environmental problematisation can become politicised via organic food product consumption. Halkier (1993, 1994) has via an everyday analytical approach examined how a range of informants handle environmental consideration in their daily lives, and have attempted to assess how far environmental consideration in consumption comprises a possible way of managing political problems. She finds that "green consumption" can exemplify one way of acting politically, but at the same time assesses that it is difficult to

characterise actions as either political or non-political. Halkier (2001c) has, however, in later publications specifically concerning food products maintained the attempt to investigate how politicised the consumption is. Thus, she has investigated, via a range of focus group interviews with young families, the extent to which the risk handling in their consumption of food products can actually be said to be an expression of political consumption practices. In other words, the stage is set for an assessment of how far everyday considerations surrounding risk in relation to cooking, boycotting of food products, etc. reflect some types of risk handling that have political motives. This shall be understood in the sense that their risk handling, i.e. the purchase of organic products rather than conventional ones, reflects a conscious political consumption practice. Based on the focus group interviews undertaken, Halkier divides the informants into three risk handling types: "*worried risk-handling*", "*irritated risk-handling*" and "*pragmatic risk-handling*". On the basis of this, a position is taken regarding how far these different risk handling types exercise that which could be called "political risk handling" with regard taken to some predefined analytical criteria¹⁴, (Halkier, 2001c: 6-7).

The results of this investigation are that the informants who belong to the group "*worried risk-handling*" seem on the face of it to be the most political, in so far as they intentionally¹⁵ decide to purchase food products which they perceive as less risky. It is, however, pointed out that this does not necessarily need to be an expression of conscious political consumption considerations, as many purchase decisions do not represent reflective actions, so it is not possible to equivocally state whether the "worried" are political in their risk handling or not. It does, however, suggest that the "worried" are more conscious surrounding their possibilities for influencing via their consumption practices, in so far as they see themselves autonomous units, able to exert influence, also outside the representative system¹⁶. In relation to the analytical criterion *community*, which concerns the extent to which the consumer feels that he/she is a member of a community that has the purpose of

¹⁴ In the attempt to assess how "political" the risk handling is, a range of analysis criteria are set out, which are evaluated in relation to selected qualitative statements from the informants. Halkier (2001) applies the criteria: *Agency*, *Community* and *Influence* in order to assess the extent to which the risk handling in connection with food products can be considered as "politicised consumption". These criteria correspond to the assessment criteria that form part of this paper.

¹⁵ The "intentional", i.e. the conscious element in the consumption behaviour/risk handling is one of the conditions Halkier sees as essential in the assessment of how political various consumption acts are. The condition "intentionality" is included as a "sub-criterion" under the Agency criterion.

¹⁶ "Autonomy", i.e. the possibility to act "independently" as a player in relation to different problems in society is another criterion which Halkier applies in order to assess the political aspect of consumption practices. Autonomy, just like intentionality is included as a "sub-criterion" under the Agency criterion.

influencing the development of society in a given direction, the “worried” again indicate that they feel connected to a form of “diffuse imagined community”. This diffuse community acts in relation to their individual experiences of risk with regard to everyday food products. At the same time, the “worried” enter into social contexts with friends and acquaintances who have also chosen to follow certain consumption practices, such as to purchase “green” or ecologically, where, for instance, the experience of being a conscious consumer is discussed. Thereby, the “worried” are not only members of the “imagined community”, but also of a more concrete community that is conscious about the fact that they are doing something for society (Ibid).

With regard to the criterion “influence”, the three risk handling types are not discussed explicitly in relation to this dimension, but the so-called “exit” and “voice” dynamics are mentioned (Hirschman, 1970), which the consumers can apply to exercise influence. The exit dynamics are traditionally considered as the most obvious way of exercising influence via purchase decisions, as the demand ensures the supply of the “right” goods. The voice dynamics, on the other hand, more concerns the discussions that take place in the social network where similar purchase decisions are discussed, and where norms concerning similar lifestyles are debated. In other words, voice dynamics will gain a greater significance for the risk handling types who actually use their social network to discuss their purchase decisions, which is why the “worried” will be that risk handling group most likely to have the possibility for influencing the social and cultural norms in relation to the consumption of food products.

It can be said with regard to Halkier’s qualitative research that the “worried” appear to be the most political, without being able to say anything unequivocally. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether, respectively, “the irritated” and “the pragmatic” can be termed as political, as they do not to the same degree live up to the presented criteria. “The pragmatic” are thus not especially intentional in relation to their purchase decisions. These take place more as non-reflective routines, which draw on tacit knowledge from previous experiences that are thereby remembered by “the body”. The pragmatic risk handling type is, in continuation of this, thus more engaged in getting everyday life to function rather than in influencing aspects of societal development in her role as consumer. “The irritated” experience their consumption practices in relation to food products as being caught in a range of dilemmas, whereby they actually feel that the risk factors communicated in the media comprise a threat in relation to eating. The diverging messages thus make it difficult to

eat what one would like, and they therefore tend to give up rather than change their consumption habits. "The irritated" are, therefore, more resigned to their fate rather than behaving actively reflective and intentional, and they thus perceive themselves as being socially autonomous players who have the possibility to influence something in their role as a consumer.

Furthermore, in addition to "the worried", only "the pragmatic" experience a weak attachment to a diffuse community, which "the irritated" do not, and in all probability, therefore, voice dynamics will not play a significant role in the influencing of developments in society for, respectively, "the pragmatic" and "the irritated".

It can thus be said that, with the partial exception of "the worried", risk handling in relation to the consumption practices of everyday life more concerns other aspects than actual political desires to influence. Halkier (2001:13) formulates this in the following way:

"...looking at the substances of the discussions among the parents about risk-handling in the food area, it is much harder to find expressions that refer explicitly to motivations for risk-handling that have to do with seeing risk-handling in consumption as common societal problems. Rather, the dominating discursive repertoires evolve around using risk-handling to solve private family problems of personal safety and health"

The above research shows that everyday life's risk handling in relation to the food product problem is not absolutely an expression of political consumption practices, but can of course be such. Halkier's qualitative research indicates that consumption practices that could be assumed to be political and which take place in everyday life are perhaps more based on an intention to solve private problems that relate to, say, the family's health and security. It suggests that "the worried" consumers are more political in their consumption than, respectively, "the pragmatic" and "the irritated", but it is still unknown how far they actually take a position on the overall political consequences of their consumption, as this group are very preoccupied by the health and security aspects of their consumption.

2.2. Summary

This chapter has presented a literature review concerning the research into political consumption, as well as the parallel areas in which political consumption initially originated from or relates to. The literature review was structured in relation to four research areas: 1) research into the determination of environmentally conscious, ethical and political consumer profiles; 2) research into consumer motives in relation to environmentally friendly behaviour, 3) research into political consumption and food products.

With regard to research area 1, it could be ascertained that a comprehensive literature exists within marketing literature, which has attempted and still attempts to determine consumer profiles of, respectively, the environmentally conscious (green), the ethical and the political consumer. The studies predominantly build upon quantitative surveys that, based on demographical, psychological and personality variables, etc., divide the population into separate segments. The literature discloses some ambiguity and lack of consensus surrounding which variables are suitable for describing these profiles, and the literature leaves behind a fragmented picture of who these consumer profiles are. Several researchers indicate that the determination of such consumer profiles based on a range of quantifiable variables is not appropriate, as consumer behaviour is much more complex and context-dependent, and that a division of the population into particular segments gives an oversimplified impression of what characterises, say, a political consumer. The conclusion of the research within this area is that, provided a better understanding of political consumption, ethical consumption, etc. is desired, then other research approaches should to a greater extent be boycotted, where, in relation to the individual, regard is taken for the importance of the social context.

The publications within research area 2 are dominated by contributions in which the overall theoretical reference framework is taken from the behavioural/psychological attitude research. Research has been carried out into the connection between attitudes and behaviour, especially the extent to which positive environmental attitudes entail an environmentally friendly consumption behaviour. A greater proportion of the research reveals a discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour in the environmental area, but there is no unequivocal explanation as to why this discrepancy occurs to such a large degree. The conclusion of the attitude research in relation to environmentally conscious consumption, and thereby also in relation to political consumption, is that we do not really know whether the expression of environmentally friendly attitudes is also an expression of a desire to influence a political agenda via an environmentally friendly behaviour and,

in continuation hereof, whether the lack of consistency between attitudes and behaviour is an expression of the fact that perhaps environmental consciousness and/or political consumption is not so widespread.

The research within research area 3 revealed that both quantitative and qualitative contributions can be found, which have attempted to investigate the significance food consumption has for individuals, and some publications are more explicit in their examination of whether food consumption is tied up with some political aims. The quantitative research within the literature review has found some connection (positive spill over effect) between, for instance, organic food consumption and the boycotting of goods and recycling, which is why it has been concluded that food consumption could express a possible political consumption. On the other hand, less connection was found (negative spill over effect) between boycotting organic food products and other environmentally related activities, which is why the opposite was also difficult to assess, namely, the extent to which extent green consumption practices had a political content. The lack of connection was to a large extent ascribed to the nature of consumption being a part of a complex jigsaw puzzle of everyday life. The qualitative research contribution especially concerned itself with investigating the meaning that individuals ascribed to their consumption of organic food products. Here it emerged that ecology can be understood as comprising different discourses that concern quality, taste, aesthetics, the environment, but also politics. It is indicated, therefore, that organic food consumption can express a political discourse, but at the same time it is also indicated that organic food consumption to a great extent concerns taking care of private aims. The qualitative studies thus provide some indications that food product consumption can have a political content, but it is difficult to say the extent to which this occurs, and particularly food consumption often concerns health and security aspects.

"Just like most others, I follow via the newspapers, periodicals, internet pages and TV or radio what I should or should not in everyday life purchase and consume for the sake of the environment, my health and my fellow human beings. My consumption influences to a degree my conscience and vice versa, and in this way I am what is known in the debate in society as a political consumer,"

(Christine Sestoft in "Med hensyn til den politiske forbruger", 2002:65)

Chapter 3: Developing a conceptual framework

The purpose of this chapter is to develop a conceptual framework, based on the identified shortcomings in the existing research. The conceptual framework will build upon theory from two separate disciplines, namely political science and consumer behaviour. More specifically, theory on political participation provides criteria for when boycotting or boycotting as an individualized participation form can be characterized as political. The means-end chains theory and laddering method are used for determining the cognitive structures activated in relation to boycotting organic products.

3.1. Determining the concept of political consumption

Political consumption and the political consumer have been the subject of several investigations, without yet leading to consensus about when it is justified to term consumption as political (Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2002; Michelletti, 2002; Sestoft, 2002). Sestoft (2002) characterizes people who occasionally boycott or boycott products based on, for example, ethical reasons become labelled as political consumers. The consequence is that: *"we are all (soon) political consumers"* (Sestoft, 2002:65). Propagation through the media that particular washing powders are polluting the ground water perhaps gets consumers to act accordingly and boycott more environmentally friendly alternatives. Based on this prevalent societal definition, we arrive at the concept of a political consumer. Nevertheless, a theoretical discussion on what constitutes the political in relation to consumption acts is needed. Possibly a concern for the environment is based on motives that are an expression of a health and risk-minimising strategy, where the individual consumer might not consider that the action can be interpreted as a political signal. The consumer can be conscious about the consumption acts, but we do not know if this means that the consumer is at the same time politically conscious. In order to answer research question *a*, to what extent the individualised boycotting and boycotting are expressions of political consumption acts, a discussion and

clarification of the criteria used for assessing the political related to consumption acts is required. In the following section, a discussion is presented of how politics in relation to consumption is understood in this dissertation.

3.1.1. Presentation of criteria

The concept of political consumption was introduced in connection with the previously mentioned Brent Spar conflict in 1995 as an expression of the consumer's declaration of political positions via boycott of a company and its products (Svendsen, 1995). Politicians, consumer organisations, companies, etc., have applied the term afterwards, i.e. not just in connection with concrete boycott activities, but generally in relation to the consumption of so-called "politically correct" products. (Thulstrup, 1997)

Political consumption often figures as a collective term for both organic, green, ethically and socially responsible consumption etc. (Micheletti, 2001). A possible explanation for that could be that the consumers assess the "green aspect" or the "organic aspect" in connection with the boycott or boycott of products, and thereby express their political positions to, for example, the environment, production methods, animal welfare, child labour, etc. The consumption, whether organic, green or ethical, is thereby ascribed a political aim in the literature, notwithstanding that this has only been studied and measured to a very limited degree (Ibid).

The phenomenon political consumption merges two hitherto separated arenas, respectively, the market arena, which is the domain of the consumer, and the political arena, where the citizen manages the political duties. Traditionally, the idea of the citizen as the politically responsible player, also known as "political man", has been the leading thought within political theory, where the "good life", justice and happiness is achieved through political participation (Rieff, 1959; 1966). The assumption behind the concept of the citizen is that the individual is a part of a community, where the full benefit of political desires is achieved through active involvement, which involves social duties and ties:

"... a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession" (Wexler, 1990:169)

Different is the idea of the consumer who is assumed to achieve the "good life" through participation in the market and, thereby, outside the political system. The consumer is assumed to be an "economic man". The individual consumer act in an atomised way, and their decisions involve no social duties towards a community. In other words, the consumer is free to make decisions and shall not justify its actions to anyone in the wider community. The citizen are also free to make decisions, but in contrast to the consumer, they are be confronted with the consequences their decisions have for the community.

There is thus a theoretical distinction between the individual in the role as citizen and consumer, which means that the political arena and the market arena are considered as partly political and partly private spheres. The consumer's participation in different boycott actions, such as the Brent Spar case, the boycott of French red wine, plus everyday life's more stable buycott and boycott of products, can indicate a merging of these arenas. The market for consumer goods possibly offers a surrogate, or perhaps a supplement for the political discourse. Consumers can "vote" via their purchasing power and make politicians, companies, special interest organisations, etc. aware of their views. The market and the consumer's buying behaviour act as a channel for political views, and the greater the buying power of the consumer, the more "votes" are displayed. Dickinson and Hollander (1991) reformulate the traditional role of the citizen with the ballot paper in the hand to a consumer role, where the ballot paper comprises the purchasing acts carried out:

"The citizen is being redefined as a purchaser whose "ballots" help create and maintain the trading areas, shopping centres, products, stores, and the like" (Dickinson and Hollander, 1991:12)

If, therefore, the consumer through its purchase decisions wishes to contribute to ensuring a particular development in society, a merging of the private and the public spheres occurs. The phenomenon of "the political consumer" can exemplify that buying behaviour can function in line with other political behaviour or activity.

Researchers, especially within political science have due to the merge of the citizen and the consumer role and the emergence of new participation forms, started discussing when political consumerism can be characterized as a form of political participation (Stolle and Hooghe, 2005). Micheletti (2001) has introduced the term "individualized collective action", which encompasses new forms of political participation, where the nation state and, thereby, the classical role of the

citizen no longer form the framework for political participation. Instead, arguments are put forth, that the market, the internet, the workplace are becoming the new political forums of everyday life, where citizens seek new informal ways of practicing politics. Arguments that citizens to a greater degree will move away from practicing traditional politics are emphasized which contribute with explanations as to why the phenomenon of political consumption has been created and debated (Wollebæk et al., 2000, Putnam, 2000). However, it is still uncertain, with reference to the argumentation in the previous chapters, whether consumer actions are expressions of a changed way of participation in politics, which supplements the role of the citizen. It is not known which role the political aspect plays for the consumer when they make decisions. The interesting thing is, therefore, to create knowledge about whether the linkage between politics and consumption has empirical validity. In the attempt to assess this, general agreement can be found in the literature on the need to establish criteria against which consumption acts can be assessed as having political content (Stolle and Micheletti, 2005; Stolle et al., 2005; Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001; Sørensen, 2001). The political aspect is central for the assessment and the determination of the assessment criteria is based upon the academic discipline that concerns itself with the understanding of politics, namely, political science.

3.1.1.1. The intentionality aspect

Consumption, where the motives are political, is becoming a form of political participation. Verba and Nie (1972) limit political participation to *activities plus influencing of authorities*. Within this definition of political participation is the link between, on the one hand, the values and attitudes of the population, and on the other hand, management of these values and attitudes by the collective representative institutions. Central for the political participation is thus the transfer of reports from the citizens to the political decision makers. One characteristic of the traditional understanding of political participation, which is also found in Verba and Nie's definition, is that the formulation of attitudes and demands occurs through organised public channels in society, such as through voting in elections, party membership, etc. As political consumption involves a new participation context, the market, there is a need for a wider participation concept. The content of the political participation concept has through history been expanded, so that other forms of participation beyond the ones described above can also be covered by the term. Thus, political participation is today understood as including grass-roots participation, participation in the committee work of local

clubs and societies, etc. (Goul Andersen et al., 2000; Goul Andersen and Hoff, 2001). The cause of this terminological expansion can be due to the fact that the population participates in other ways and in more informal contexts than previously. Thus, there is discussion of the change in perspectives from "government" to "governance" (Kooiman, 1993). This perspective requires that politics to a greater degree takes place in all possible different societal relations, and that participation occurs in the actual networks that the individual as a citizen is a part of. The broad political lines become more or less transparent, and the individual for example orientates itself towards the locally and personally relevant (Bang et al., 1997).

Political participation via the market in the form of boycott or boycott of products in everyday life situations can exemplify ways of participation in politics, which, however, do not yet classify within the term political participation, but which exemplify the transfer from government to governance. Boycotting of goods or companies is a form of political participation that exists as a situation-determined form of participation, where the individuals manifests themselves in line with other more classical political participation as for example demonstrations. The boycott is a well known form of political participation that also takes place in the market. The characteristic of this form is though that is more collectively organised than is the case for everyday life's boycotts and boycotts.

Goul Andersen and Tobiasen (2001) stress that none of the previous definitions of political participation encompasses political consumption, at least not in its individual forms. This is due to, for example, the fact that boycott and boycott cannot be contained by the traditional understanding of political participation within a particular political structure. Easton's (1965) classical definition of politics thus comprises activities that are important for the authoritative distribution of values that are applicable to a society. The problem with the application of this definition to political consumption as a political participation form is that distribution of values takes place in the market, which can not be justly said to be authoritative, i.e. that its decisions are binding and legitimate. The market is a much more loosely organised political arena, and, therefore, Goul Andersen and Tobiasen (2001) argue that the transfer from government to governance perspective is insufficient to contain political consumption within the current participation concept. They suggest an additional theoretical expansion. They state that the current governance perspective requires the

adding of a "governance-plus-market" perspective, where the political participation is understood as:

"...all actions that aim to influence the distribution of values ("outcomes" – the final effects) for a society" (Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001:13)

The above definition assumes that the political participation in one way or another must be limited to the intentional, in the sense of an action or aim towards changing or influencing society. If the intentionality aspect is not included in the analysis of a phenomenon such as political consumption, it is difficult to measure the political within the market which is not political in the traditional, authoritative sense.

The aspects of intentionality or consciousness are central for authors such as Goul Andersen and Tobiasen when defining political consumption. Micheletti (2002) also argues in her definition of the concept "individualized collective action" that the action must have the intention of influencing "the good life". It appears that the purpose is:

" the practice of responsibility-taking through the creation of everyday settings on the part of citizens alone or together with others to deal with problems which they believe are affecting what they identify as the good life" (Micheletti, 2002:7).

Other authors discuss, however, how far intentionality must necessarily be encompassed by the political and participation concepts. Stolle and Hooghe (2004) discuss how to define political consumerism and how to distinguish citizens who act as political consumers from those who do not. They propose two aspects which they assess as important in the distinction between political and not political, namely *awareness* and the *regularity of action*. As regards the first mentioned criterion, the actor involved must have sufficient knowledge and a politically or socially inspired motivation for the purchase decision. Secondly the purchase decisions must be taken on a regular basis. One-time purchases are therefore not considered a political participation form. The suggestions from Stolle and Hooghe (2004) are to look for a "conscientious" consumer, which fulfil the above defined criteria. The problem though, also discussed by the authors, is that a conscientious consumer not necessarily is also a political consumer because some conscientious consumers may have private motivations for buying particular products whilst still possessing the knowledge and thus fulfilling the awareness criterion. In trying to overcome this problem, a

distinction between different types of motives is suggested. A distinction between private and public motivations is proposed, which then are additional criteria to be assessed under the awareness criteria. Contrary to Stolle and Hooghe, who considers the awareness or the intentionality aspect important, the German sociologist, Ulrich Beck (1997) focuses in his definition of the political concept on the change or the perception of the development of society or life circumstances. He does not include a need for a consciousness or intentionality surrounding the action of the individual. He thus designates all that which de facto creates and changes people's life situations as political:

“The argumentation (...) is thus based on a narrowed concept of the political. In the centre of the discussion lies the creation and change of life circumstances, where, in contrast, politics in a conventional sense is understood as being synonymous with a defence of, and a legitimisation of control, power and interests” (Beck, 1997:311).

The consequences of this are that it is in principle unimportant if the motives are socially, environmentally, or health related. The decisive factor is the effect the purchase has, i.e. that it influences some life circumstances. Regardless of whether the purchase is carried out as part of a conscious political strategy or not, it gains an automatic societal significance. Sørensen (2001) disagrees with Beck (1997) and is more in line with Stolle and Hooghe (2004) about the definition when consumer acts classifies as political. He (2001:131) summarises the consequences of Beck's perspective in the sentence that, *“all consumption is political, but not all consumers are political”*.

Beck's understanding of the concept “politics” makes it difficult to assess the extent to which buying behaviour can be characterised as political consumption, as the boycott of, organic food products can have political consequences for agriculture if a sufficient number of people boycott these products. The problem is that the consumers' real intentions are not uncovered. The motives can thus be wide ranging, and, empirically, Beck's understanding of politics and participation is problematic or as Stolle and Hooghe (2004:283) argue from a political scientist perspective:

“Without good measurements, we cannot clearly say whether, quantitatively, political consumerism, has a place as a common political action repertoire and whether, qualitatively, it has the effects that are desirable for democracy”

In an attempt to differentiate Beck's politics concept and make it more appropriate for measuring individualized political consumption acts, Holzer and Sørensen (2001) distinguish between carrying

out active and passive subpolitics. The active form of subpolitics is characterised as having undisguised political intentions, which is why it is often linked together with concrete initiatives or activities carried out by various social movements, e.g. via the so called “grass-roots channel”, which was especially dominant in the 80’s (Andersen, 1993). Political consumption that manifests itself, as during the Brent Spar case or the boycott of the French government, is also an example of carrying out active subpolitics, as the aim was clearly political influence. The second form of subpolitics that Holzer and Sørensen put forward is the passive. This form is characterised as follows:

”... it sees the cases that are political in the form of side effects of otherwise non-political actions or decision” (Holzer and Sørensen in Sørensen, 2002: 138).

In other words, passive subpolitics are a precise expression for actions that are not based on an intention to exercise political influence, nevertheless, achieving the unintended. In the study of buycott and boycott, it is unclear whether the participation is active or passive. If we accept that political consumption is political provided it can be defined within the framework of subpolitics, it makes it worthwhile to investigate whether buycott and boycott is political. In contrast, it is considered more appropriate to apply Holzer and Sørensen’s (2002:62) two-faced concept of subpolitics where intentionality can be assessed. Other authors (e.g. Halkier, 1993) also argue along this vein. The aspect of consciousness is made explicit in the definition below, which establishes which motives the consumer should use as the basis for their actions before they can be characterized as political:

*“A person who purchases organic products exclusively for the sake of taste and health, cannot be seen as a political consumer. As a minimum, the consumer must be concerned by the societal (“aggregated”) consequences of her consumer choices – i.e. concerned by the desired or undesired consequences this has for the production and its organisation, and by the possibility of using her “consumer voting right” – important to note – **consciously** in an attempt to influence the aggregated effects.”* (Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2001:14)

This dissertation, therefore, distinguishes between the conscious and the unconscious. When I, in the dissertation, talk of politics with reference to consumption, i.e. participation in the market, I assume that there is a conscious aim or consideration behind the consumption behaviour with the purpose of influencing politically. The motivation for the consumption behaviour goes beyond the traditional consumer motives. The consumer buying organic products based on motives of wanting

to contribute to an improvement of the environment is thus seen as conscious, and thereby political. The consumer that is only concerned about the health related aspects may well act consciously in a consumer related context, but in a political sense, this consumption behaviour is understood as being an unconscious political act.

The informants in my study have been chosen because they specifically boycott organic food products and boycott battery eggs consciously (*awareness*) and they perform the task of purchasing these products on a regular basis (*regularity of action*) (Stolle and Hooghe, 2004) Moreover they have due to their purchase pattern on an individual basis or in community with their family or social networks reflected upon what motivates this behaviour. The boycott and boycott does not occur as a result of random or unreflected process which could be influenced by a range of other chance factors, such as for example price e.g. weekly special offers. The informants' buying behaviour therefore represents examples of conscious boycott and boycott strategies. The conscious aspect contains, however, more than just conscious boycotts and boycotts. It is also about the consumers being conscious about their political intentionality in relation to their consumption, i.e. that the consumption does not just gain political consequences unintentionally, but that there is a political aim behind it. The consumption shall in other words express conscious political actions that direct themselves towards influences in the society, and not primarily to promoting personal aims. In this perspective lies a rational assumption that the actors in, for example, their consumer boycotts will always carry out conscious, intentional actions, which undergo a cognitive adaptation process. This rationality has been questioned by several authors (Halkier, 1998b, Sestoft, 2002), but the assumption behind this consumer rationality should be understood somewhat differentiated in that sense that the consumer experiences and perceives that they can make a difference with the help of intentional actions. This, however, does not mean in purely practical terms that the actor must constantly reflect upon their actions. It is far from certain that the individual consumer always exercises conscious actions, as the consumer's participation, seen realistically, will reflect varying degrees of intentionality. This seems reasonable thinking about the routinized behaviour of consumers as products are gradually implemented in everyday life's shopping patterns. However, a routinized behaviour that in a previous buying decision making process has undergone a reflective process may well have a political aim, just that this is simply a case of established cognitive networks being activated, and not that they are actively produced. The important thing here is, therefore, whether the consumers at some point have considered the aim of their buying behaviour.

The aspect of consciousness implies that the act of consumption is controlled by aims and direction, and not only by socially symbolic motivations, such as to shop environmentally correctly and organically because of for example social pressure.

3.1.1.2. The community aspect

Furthermore, Goul Andersen and Tobiasen (2001) discuss that their participation concept should contain other elements than the purely influence-related one. Participation must contain an element of collective actions, for example, in the form of more "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1990; Halkier, 1994). Possibly, the consumer expressing a political aim could experience a form of value-community via their consumption, despite their isolated individual activity. Individuals could experience their effort towards a cleaner environment as an activity carried out together with other consumers that have similar attitudes towards the environment. Nevertheless, Goul Andersen and Tobiasen refrain from applying this form of "collectiveness" in their participation concept. Halkier (1993; 2002) has, in contrast, worked with a wider participation concept which in addition to the consciousness aspect contains two other criteria. Halkier (1993) integrates the *community* and *agency* aspects, which the author considers decisive for actions to be characterised as political. The actor aspect is not discussed here as an independent criterion, as it is considered possible to contain this within the consciousness criterion¹⁷.

The community aspect differentiates itself in relation to Verba and Nie's definition of political participation, in so far as it is not collectively organised, as is traditional political participation. The aspect entails that citizens in the environmental debate and other political discussions with i.e. family and friends, achieve new common understandings or identities in relation to politically related subjects. The discussion concerns so-called communicative actions that have significance for the development of a common understanding or discourse, e.g. in relation an environmental issue.

¹⁷ The actor aspect implies that participation should be borne by something that can be understood as an actor. The participation is managed on an individual level by the individual actor and not in a collective sense, as we then approach the community-forming participation. The actor is seen as an intentional and autonomous person who, on the basis of resources makes more or less rational decisions.

Olsen (1991) includes, as an extension to the above, a multi-dimensional view of political participation. He views politics as being both a targeted action in order to manage interests, which corresponds to Verba and Nie plus Goul Andersen and Tobiasen's interpretation, but also, at the same time, consisting of the communicative actions. The communicative actions here are a question of creating a common understanding between the actors involved. A discourse such as ensuring clean drinking water for the next generations. Through the creation of a common understanding, the communicative actions are considered as being community forming.

The communicative aspect means that political participation does not only consist of the actual visible behaviour, such as a boycott. A political activity is also about establishing interpretational frameworks and social spaces in the form of everyday practices with family, friends and colleagues. The community forming participation aspect does not, therefore, necessarily concern a visible or collectively organised activity.

The formation of social identities occurs for example through so called "imagined communities", i.e. a fictive mental construction, which citizens feel attached to through their common values, norms and actions (Halkier, 1994). The consumer who sorts the rubbish and buys environmentally friendly products participates as part of a community of consumers who carry out the same activities. They feel mentally connected in the sense that they have this common environmental consciousness. Participation takes place via an invisible community "out there", where it makes a difference if everybody makes an effort, even if each individual carries out individual atomised consumer actions. The community aspect is included as a criterion because it is interesting to assess whether consumers, precisely those who ascribe their consumer actions to a political aim, have a sense of belonging to one or other form of community. Just as interesting is how consumers who justify their consumer boycotts in other motives experience their affiliation.

The discussion of the participation concept has been carried out based on the prevailing understanding of politics within the political science literature. In the table below the discussed definitions of the "political" are summarised. Moreover, the table contains the consequences that the different perspectives have for the measurement of political consumption. The importance of "the intentionality aspect" and "the community aspect" is also included. Finally, the definition used in this dissertation is summarised.

Table 3.1. Summary of different perspectives on the "political" aspect

| Authors | Perspective on the "political" aspect | Consequences for the measurement of the political aspect in a consumption context | Assessment of the importance of the intentionality aspect | Assessment of the importance of the community aspect |
|-----------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| Easton (1965) | Government perspective. Influence of the authoritative distribution of values in society | There does not appear to be a distribution of values in the market that can rightly be said to be authoritative, i.e. that the decisions are binding and legitimate. The market is a much more loosely organised political arena, which is why the perspective is too narrow to encapsulate political participation via consumption. | Is considered important. Does not encapsulate more individualised forms of participation. | Is considered important. |
| Verba and Nie (1972) | Government perspective. Limits political participation to activities plus to the influencing of authorities. In the definition of political participation, therefore, lies the coupling between, on one hand, values and attitudes of the population, and on the other hand, the management of these values and attitudes by the collective representative institutions. | Characteristically for the traditional understanding of political participation, which forms the basis of Verba and Nie's definition, is that the formulation of attitudes and demands occurs through organised public channels in the society, such as through voting in elections, party membership, etc. In so far as political consumption involves a new participation context, namely the market, there is a need for a broader | Is considered important. Does not, however, encapsulate more individualised forms of participation. | Is considered important. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| | | concept of participation. | | |
| Kooiman (1993) | From government to governance. This perspective prescribes that politics to a greater degree takes place in all possible different societal relations, and that the individual participates in the actual networks she as a citizen is a part of. | Not possible to encapsulate the more individualised form of participation in traditional non-political arenas, such as the market. | Is considered important. Does not, however, encapsulate more individualised forms of participation. | Is considered important. |
| Halkier (1993; 2002) | Employs intentionality's actors and the community aspect in order to assess the political. | The consumer that carries out political actions must thus be conscious, they shall be carried by something that can be understood as being an "actor" and the action must be community forming. | Is considered important. | Is considered important. |
| Beck (1998) | The subpolitics concept. Focuses in its definition of the concept of politics exclusively on the change or perception of society's development or life circumstances – and not the extent to which changes are intended or unintended. | Sørensen (2003:131) frames the consequences of Beck's perspective " <i>all consumption is political, but not all consumers are political</i> ". | Is considered unimportant. | Is considered unimportant. |
| Goul Andersen and Tobiasen (2001;2004) | Governance plus market. Influences the value distribution ("outcomes" – the final effects) for a society. | The authors' definition assumes that the political participation in one or another way must be understood as actions that are directed towards influencing the aggregated societal effects. | Is considered important. | Is considered an empirical question. |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Micheletti (2003) | Governance plus marker? individualised collective action. Individualised actions that have a collective element. The action must be aimed at the achievement of the good life”. | Operates thereby implicitly with the notion that consumers experience a form of collectiveness in their in their individual consumption behaviour plus that there is an intention. | Is considered important. | Is considered important. |
| Stolle and Hooghe (2004) | Discussion and conceptualizing departures from a classical communitarian school of thought. | Recognizes the limits of this school in measuring political consumerism. Defines criteria for when political consumerism can be characterized as political: 1) Awareness – distinguishes again here between public and private motivations, 2) Regularity of action | Is considered important | Is considered important |

Based on the above summary, together with the earlier discussion, the perspective chosen in this thesis are based on Goul Andersen and Tobiasen (2001, 2004); Micheletti (2003); Halkier (2001c) and Stolle and Hooghe (2004), who to a large extent agree on the criteria constituting political actions or participation. Their perspective is most appropriate in the analysis of political consumption, when we are discussing the individually based forms of participation in a market context. The authors conceptual understanding of the political will make measurement easier when the empirical part is conducted. In the analysis of political consumption, the following criteria will be used for assessing whether the empirically substantiated boycotts and boycotts are an expression of political consumption:

- *Criterion 1: The consumer behaviour should be an expression of conscious, reflected actions that have the purpose of influencing the development of society and not primarily personal aims;*
- *Criterion 2: The consumer behaviour should be based on a community orientation.*

3.2. Consumer cognition

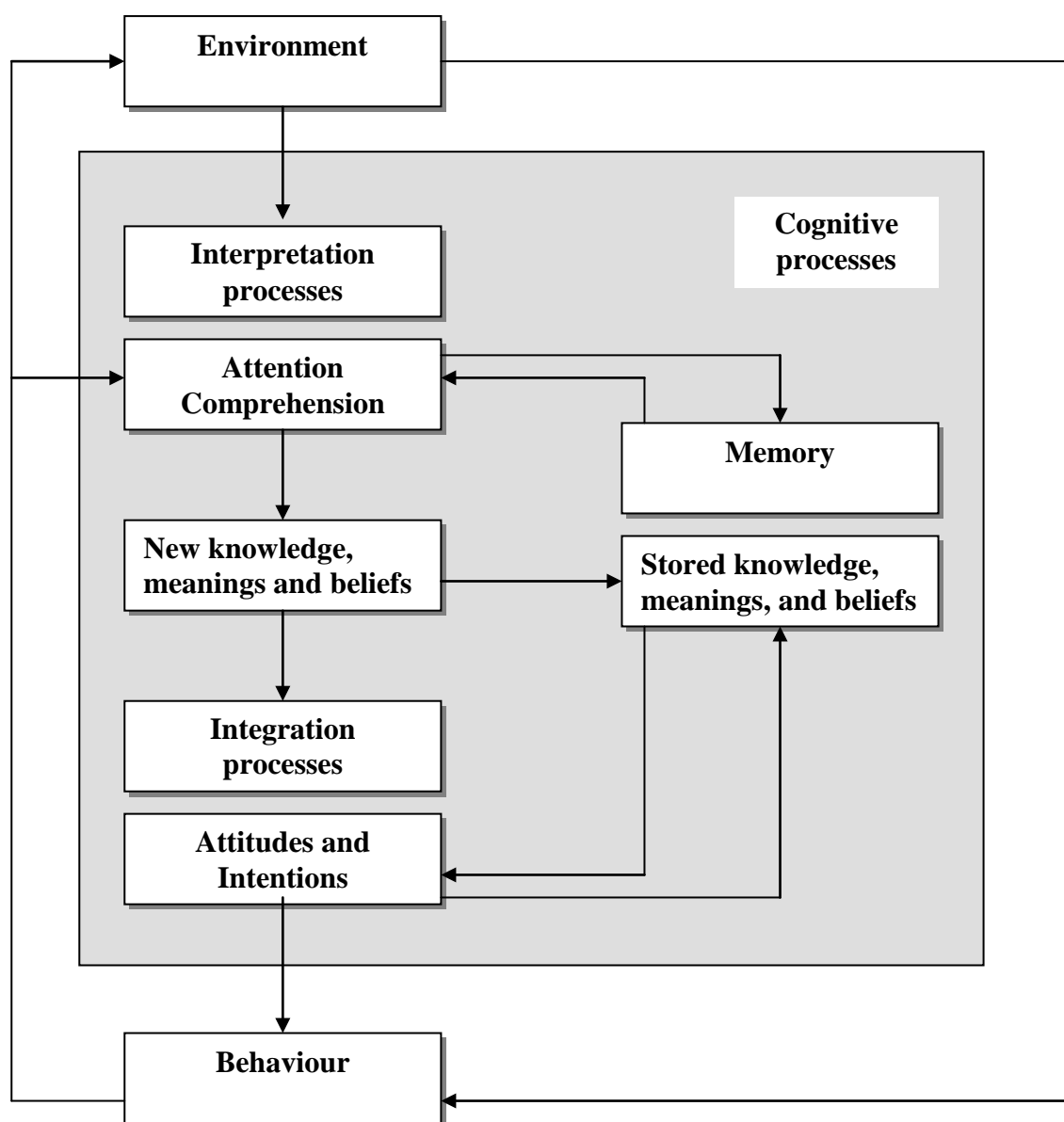
This section moves more specifically into the theory of consumer behaviour, and introduces concepts that are central to an understanding of the individual's psychological processes. This theory section presents a reference framework, within which it is intended to answer research questions *b*.

3.2.1. Cognition, cognitive processes and structures

The introduction of the concepts cognition, cognitive processes and cognitive structures is due to two reasons. Firstly, the concept of cognition is central to the understanding of consumer behaviour and, secondly, the theory of means-end chains is based on an understanding of the concept of cognitive structures. In order to create clarity, particularly regarding the concept of cognitive structures, there is a need to determine the content of these concepts as well as their mutual relations.

Traditionally, consumer behaviour research has looked upon the consumer as an individual with a well developed cognitive system. The word “cognition” originates from the Latin *cognito*, which means perception, understanding or knowledge. Cognition refers, therefore, to the internal psychological processes that take place in human beings. These processes consist of understanding, assessment, planning, decision making and thought (Anderson, 1985). An understanding of the cognitive processes constitutes the key to insight on consumer decision making, and also, why consumers involve themselves more or less in relation to particular products or services. The figure below presents the cognitive process model for consumer decision making:

Figure 3.1. The basic cognitive model for consumer decision making



Source: Peter, Paul J. and Jerry C. Olson 2002. *Consumer Behaviour and Marketing Strategy*. 7th edition. Boston: McGraw-Hill International Edition, p. 52.

The cognitive processes that are involved in relation to consumer decision making are: interpretation and integration (Peter and Olson, 2002). According to Peter and Olson, the cognitive process of interpretation is initiated when the consumer is exposed to a stimulus from *exposure to environmental information*. This exposure can occur either *intentionally* or *accidentally*, where after the interpretation process commences. The actual interpretation process can be further divided into two successive cognitive sub-processes, respectively, *attention* and *comprehension*. Attention

concerns the process in which the consumer boycotts the stimuli, which initiates interpretation, and where understanding concerns the consumer's conversion of stimuli to personal, subjective meaning. The interpretation process concerns, therefore, the consumer's conversion of external information to the creation of personal meaning and knowledge, or as Peter and Olson describe it, *new knowledge, meanings and beliefs*.

In relation to the phenomenon of political consumption, consumers are exposed to marketing stimuli e.g. advocating the environmentally friendly aspects convincing the consumers to boycott a particular environmentally friendly washing powder. The consumers decide, dependent upon own interests, experiences and knowledge, whether they will direct their attention towards the stimulus and initiate an interpretation of the message. If this occurs because the consumers wish to act in an environmentally friendly way, the consumer will through the cognitive subprocess of understanding, assign the marketing stimulus a particular meaning and form cognitive structures that represent important objects, concepts, situations and/or behaviour (Peter and Olson, 2002). The knowledge, meanings and convictions that the consumer ascribes to a particular exposure are stored in the memory. The next time the consumers are exposed to stimuli that are interpreted as relevant, the consumer will activate relevant cognitive structures from memory, so called schemas and scripts. Schemas contain primarily so called general, episodic and semantic knowledge. General knowledge refers to interpretations of relevant information in the surrounding world, episodic knowledge concerns knowledge of concrete events that have taken place and, finally, semantic knowledge is concerned with the personal subjective meanings that the individual attaches to an object or a situation. A schema is thus a representation of a cognitive structure concerning, for example, a product, situation, or similar. A (mental) script is, in contrast, an organised network of procedural knowledge, that is stored in the form of a production. A production is knowledge of an "If x.....then y...." character, which links a concept with a given behaviour. For instance, the consumer can, in terms of experience, remember that organic food products spoil faster than conventional food products, which is why the behaviour of the person concerned is affected so that less is purchased at a time and also more frequently. The (mental) script, as well as the schema are thus stored in the memory and can, for example, be activated in the specific buying situation.

The second cognitive process, integration, concerns the consumer's application of that knowledge which is achieved via the interpretation process for the assessment of products, and to choose

between alternatives. In connection with the assessment of products, services, etc., the formation of attitudes and intentions takes place, which is one of two sub-integration processes. The formation of attitudes in relation to a product occurs as a result of the consumer combining the knowledge, meanings and important convictions (*salient beliefs*), which can be stored in the memory from earlier interpretation processes, or which can be formed in the concrete situation. While it is not certain that a positive attitude will lead to an intention to purchase, it does, however, increase the chances for it.

The consumer, who through interpretation processes has stored important salient beliefs about environmentally friendly washing powder being an easy and good way to contribute to a cleaner environment, will probably form positive attitudes towards washing powders of this kind. The consumers can thus form a buying intention that involves the boycott of an environmentally friendly washing powder. This leads across to the second sub-integration process, which relates itself to the choice between alternatives and constitutes the actual decision making. Here, a real decision is made about which behaviour shall be carried out in real life.

The cognitive process model, which outlines the consumer's decision making process builds upon the interplay between the two cognitive processes of interpretation and integration, as well as knowledge, meanings and salient beliefs, which are stored in the memory as cognitive structures, or are created in a given concrete situation. Sørensen (2000) formulates this on the basis of Peter and Olson:

“Put briefly, the cognitive system of the consumer comprises mutual interactions between, on the one hand, the cognitive processes¹⁸, i.e. interpretation and integration, and on the other hand, the content of the cognitive structures, i.e. that knowledge which is already stored in the memory. As individuals and consumers, we are in our decision making thereby dependent upon both cognitive structures and cognitive processes” (Sørensen, 2000: 39)

In this dissertation, the intention is to create insight into those cognitive structures that are stored within the consumer specifically focusing on the meaning and salient beliefs created in relation the individualized boycotts and boycotts. The cognitive processes that have taken place in connection

¹⁸ The words “processes” and “structures” are in italics in the original version. As this dissertation's quotations appear in italics and therefore eliminate the original editions highlighting, it has been decided to underline the elements originally in italics.

with the decision to consciously boycott and boycott the selected products are however, a precondition for the existence of cognitive structures that can be exposed.

3.2.2. Uncovering cognitive structures

There is agreement that the contents of the individual's cognitive structures can be uncovered via the so-called means-end chains (Olson and Reynolds, 1983; Gutman, 1977, 1982, 1997) and can be produced via the technique known as laddering (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988). Means-end chains are characterised as a knowledge structure that connects the consumer's knowledge surrounding a product's attributes with knowledge surrounding the product's derived consequences and values (Young and Feigin, 1975; Gutman and Reynolds, 1979). The means-end chains theory assumes that the consumers assess the relevant attributes and compare these with possible consequences and aims. For instance, a consumer perceives organic vegetables as being tastier, and a derived consequence could be that better tasting food could be prepared in the family, and which in the end results in a better experience of the senses. The means-end chains theory builds therefore upon consumers experiencing product attributes, in this example taste, as a means to a more abstract end, namely the final experience of the senses (Vinson et al., 1977; Young and Feigin, 1975). The ends that the consumer aims at fulfilling through the purchase of a particular product can be more or less abstract. To consume a tastier meal exemplifies a tangible and immediate measurable consequence for the consumer. The desire to be a good host or housewife can be a more abstract end, which relates itself to centrally anchored values, but ones which are also aimed for often more implicitly through the purchase of organic food products. The means-end chains and laddering can thus be applied to generate knowledge of how consumers compare product knowledge with derived consequences and with their core values.

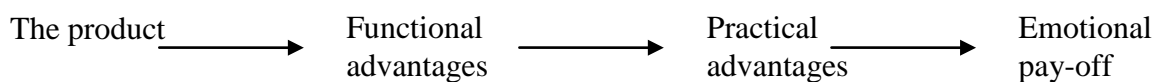
Values are considered a driving force behind the behaviour of individuals (Rokeach, 1973; Yankelovich, 1981). The argument is that an understanding of behaviour compared with the values of the individual can improve the chances of understanding the meaning that the consumers assign to certain products, and implement more appropriate marketing strategies. Gutman (1982) gives the example that knowing that the consumer wants to be well dressed is not particularly useful if we do not know something about the values, such as attractiveness, recognition, etc., influences the wish to be well dressed. The means-end chains theory is an example of a technique that can uncover the connection between attributes and values. In relation to boycotts and boycotts, it is interesting to

uncover the connection between the product attributes, the consequences and values. Uncovering the motives for boycotting and boycotting creates knowledge about the individual's value-set. This can help to a more nuanced understanding whether politically versus non-politically motivated consumption behaviour are reflected in divergent means-end chains. The means-end chains theory and the laddering technique thus constitute a theoretical foundation for uncovering the extent to which divergent cognitive structures exist among more or less politically motivated consumer boycotts. In the following section, a closer insight into the means-end chains theory and the component parts of the laddering technique is created.

3.2.2.1. The means-end chains theory

Several authors within the field of consumer behaviour research have occupied themselves with developing theoretical models in order to determine the connection between the behaviour of individuals and their centrally anchored values (Vinson et al., 1977; Young and Feigin, 1975, Gutman, 1982; Olson and Reynolds, 1983, etc.). These models are often classified together under the term means-end chains.

Young and Feigin (1975) were some of the first to introduce a model/procedure; their so called "*Grey Benefit Chain/Benefit Chain Procedure*", which links a product's properties with what the authors denote as *emotional pay-off*. The term means-end chains is not explicitly mentioned by Young and Feigin, but the conceptual element in the model is that the products are the means to achieving an end, the emotional pay-off. The emotional pay-off constitutes the model's highest level of abstraction, and Young and Feigin state that the most important contribution of the model is that it can expose and assess the more intangible aspects the consumers experience in relation to the utilization of a product. The structure of the model is as follows:



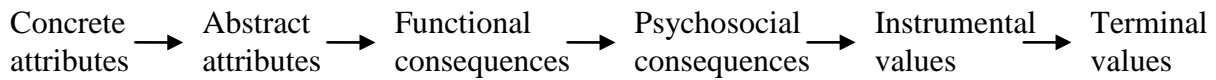
Source: Young, Shirley and Barbara Feigin 1975. *Using the Benefit Chain for Improved Strategy Formulation*. Journal of Marketing, Vol. 39 (July), p. 72-74.

Even though Young and Feigin's model contributes to a better understanding of the product's delivery of more intangible aspects to the consumer, there is a need for a better theoretical understanding of the concept of *emotional pay-off*. The authors briefly discuss the concepts of the consumers' interpretations and values, but not stating very explicitly, what this means. There is discussion of something intangible, which extends beyond the attribute-level of the product and related to the emotions of the consumer, but the entire question of emotions, i.e. the symbolic, is not elaborated.

A few years later, Vinson et al. (1977) take up the work with a means-end chains related way of thinking, however, also without naming it means-end chains. Instead, the authors depict the consumers' value-system, which has the intention of assessing the extent to which differences in the value orientation relate to differences in the attitude formation. The authors argue that different levels of abstraction within the value-system of the individual control the behaviour. The lowest abstraction level is based on the consumers' assessment of product attributes, and thereafter the individual is influenced by situation-determined attitudes and the interaction with other people, which comprises the mid-level of abstraction. Finally, the highest abstraction level comprises persistent values about what kind of life one wants to live, with reference to Rokeach's (1973) instrumental and terminal value level (Vinson et al., 1977). Even though a form of means-end chains structure with different abstraction levels is articulated, there is no linkage of means with ends.

Gutman (1982) is the first one who explicitly refers to this framework as the *means-end chains model*. The means are defined as the products, and ends are defined as so called desired states of living, such as wanting to be responsible, happy, helpful, etc. A point of departure is thus taken in how the properties of the product can lead to a given aim fulfilment that refers to the desired end state. Olson and Reynolds appear in 1983 with the article "*Understanding Consumers' Cognitive Structures: Implications for Advertising Strategy*", in which they further develop the means-end chains model and divide it into six abstraction levels, which are shown in the figure below:

Figure 3.2. The means-end chains abstraction levels



Source: Olson, Jerry C. and Thomas J. Reynolds 1983. *Understanding Consumers Cognitive Structures: Implications for Advertising Strategy*. In Percy, Larry and Arch G. Woodside, *Advertising and Consumer Psychology*, Lexington Books, p. 77-90.

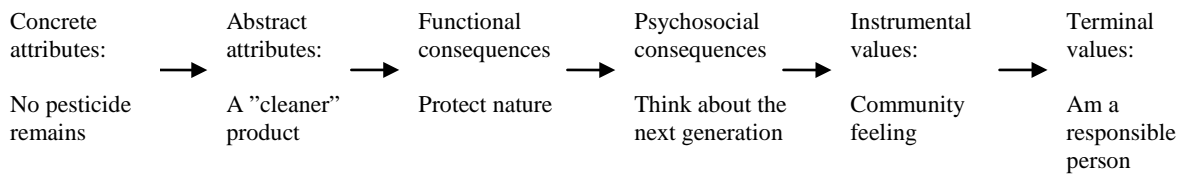
The attribute level is presented as the least abstract, with the levels concrete and abstract attributes. Thereafter, the consequence level comprising the levels of functional and psychosocial consequences emerges. Finally, the value level constitutes the highest abstraction level with the instrumental and terminal values. The means represent aspects of the product, which are termed product knowledge, whereas the ends represent aspects concerning the individual's value system.

The division into abstraction levels indicates that there is a natural hierarchical structure. The argument is that consequences do not produce attributes, but rather the reverse, and in so far as personal values are considered stable structures over a relatively long period of time, achievement of such values will be produced by the consequences and not the other way around (Gutman, 1997). The hierarchical flow is made explicit in this way:

"Thus, there is a flow toward desired end states at successively higher levels of abstraction extending from the product to important aspects of consumers' self-concept" (Gutman, 1997:546).

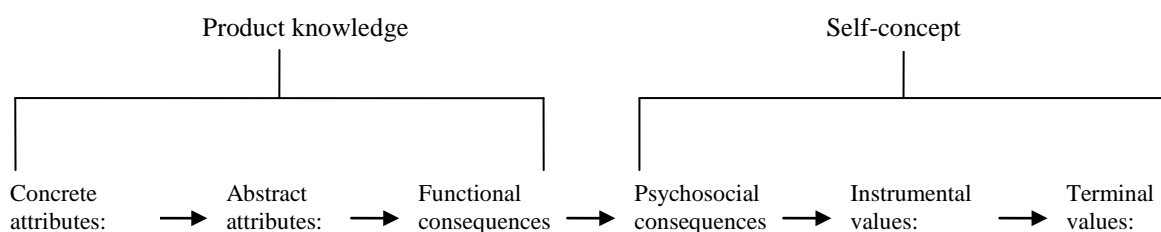
The described hierarchical flow also appears in the figure below, which illustrates a means-end chain achieved through the laddering technique, which will be introduced later. The arrows indicate that the point of departure is taken at the attribute level for a given product, and thereafter the respondent works their way upwards towards the higher abstraction levels in her responses. The figure can, therefore, be seen as an illustration of the cognitive structures for the purchase of organic milk:

Figure 3.3. Hypothetical means-end chain for the product: organic milk



Several years after Gutman's (1982) and Olson and Reynold's (1983) explicit formulation of the means-end chains model, a wide range of researchers apply the tool to various research problems (e.g. see Gutman and Alden, 1984; Mulvey et al., 1994; Claes et al., 1995). The conceptual development of the means-end chains theory is taken up again in 1991 by Walker and Olson, who suggest that the "self" is integrated into the means-end chains theory (Walker and Olson, 1991). It is suggested that product knowledge is related to the individual's self-concept. Product knowledge thereby refers to the means-end chains attribute levels plus the functional consequences, while the self-concept concerns the levels psychosocial consequences as well as the instrumental and terminal value level. Walker and Olson's additions to the means-end chains theory are presented below:

Figure 3.4. Integration of the "self-concept" in the theory surrounding means-end chains



Source: Walker, Beth A. and Jerry C. Olson 1991. *Means-End Chains: Connecting Products with Self*. Journal of Business Research, Vol. 22, p. 111-118.

The argumentation behind Walker and Olson's development of the means-end chains theory is based on the idea that by seeing the self as the *ends*, it is possible create knowledge about how different aspects of the so-called *self-schema* are activated in different situations. With reference to the theory on cognitive structures consisting of schemas and mental scripts, the means-end chains can be considered as aspects of the consumer's activated self-schema. A self-schema is, therefore, a

large multifaceted knowledge structure, that is represented in the memory, and, seen from a means-end chains perspective, it is a network of related meanings about how individuals regard themselves.

The connection between the self-schema and the means-end chains theory can thus be considered as if the self-schema contains different types of personal relevant meanings and beliefs. These meanings and beliefs are organised hierarchically in relation to their abstraction level, where the most abstract refer to our instrumental and terminal value levels. The value level comprises elements of the central "self", such as considering oneself as ambitious, helpful, independent, etc. (Rokeach, 1973). The self is thus closely tied to the value level, which also comprises the most abstract level. When the individual reveals the connection between attributes and needs, ends and values, reference is made to the individual's self-schema which is a depiction of the cognitive structures.

A tight connection exists between central values and the self. Walker and Olson's point is, however, that parts of the self do not have the same permanent character as, for example, Rokeach's instrumental and terminal values. For example, it is well known by most people that we adopt different social roles which we have developed over time, so that the self at work is different to the self at home or the self among friends. This means that the different identities, which we adopt as individuals, have consequences for the meaning that products are assigned. For instance, it is possible to imagine that the consumption of particular products refers to certain social identities of the individual, which means that certain cognitive structures are activated in the particular person. The interesting question is to what extent aspects of the self-schema are activated referring to the instrumental and terminal value level in the boycott and boycott situation? Moreover, to what extent aspects of the self-schema are activated referring to the less abstract levels in the means-end chains? If both Rokeach's research on values plus Walker and Olson's differentiated self-perspective are included, the possibility to assess what motivates consumers to boycott and boycotts certain products increases. In this dissertation, it is considered important to create knowledge about the linkage between the product knowledge i.e. organic food products, and the self concept and the values that are expressed in relation to these products.

3.2.2.2. Laddering

Uncovering means-end chain structures often occurs with the help of the technique known as laddering (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988). In this section, the laddering procedure will only briefly be outlined as there will in connection with the analysis of the collected data in chapter 6 be a more thorough application and elaboration of the method.

Laddering attempts to move the informant up a ladder, where the responses gradually reaches a higher level of abstraction. The laddering procedure is conducted in two stages. Stage one is known as *elicitation of salient criteria*, where the informant is asked to state the criteria for discriminating between different products or brands. In addition, the informant indicates which attributes are perceived as important in connection with the purchase of a product or brand. In this dissertation, the informants will not be asked to state criteria that differentiate different products or brands, as it has been determined in advance that organic food constitute the product category. This product category, which the informants take a position on is, therefore, a given factor, and the product category is likewise of such a character that there would be little point in differentiating between variants and brands. The informants are asked to state the reasons for boycotting and boycotting the products as well as to state the priorities of their motives.

The second stage of the laddering procedure continues with the salient attributes stated by the informants. With the help of a range of “why” questions, commencing with the attributes, an attempt is made to create chains linking the products attributes, consequences and the consumer’s values. An example below is provided where the informant in the first stage of the process states that he purchases organic food products because he perceive it as being healthier. The second stage continues thereafter:

(Extract from interview)

Interviewer: *“Why do you believe it is healthier?”*

Informant: *“Because it isn’t sprayed.”*

Interviewer: *“Why is it important that it isn’t sprayed?”*

Informant: *“Because I experience the products as cleaner.”*

Interviewer: *Why is that important?”*

Informant: *"Because I believe it is better for my health."*

Interviewer: *"Why is your health important for you?"*

Informant: *"It is something about looking after yourself as long as you live."*

Interviewer: *"Why is that aspect important for you?"*

Informant: *"Because I would like to be around for my children and family as long as possible."*

Interviewer: *"Why?"*

Informant: *"It is quite natural that you want think a little about the way you live, so you can enjoy your family for as long as possible – that's how it is for me in any case..."*

The process ends when no additional information is gained i.e. when the informant can't verbalise what their cognitive rationale is. As can be seen in the example, the informant does not state concrete or abstract attributes as motives for the purchase of organic food, but begins with what can be described as a consequence. The answer, *"Because it is healthier"* works as a starting point for a reverse laddering procedure, where an attempt is made to work backwards by posing the question, *"Why do you believe, or What is it that makes you experience that the product is healthier?"* The informant answers in the above example that it is because the products are not sprayed that leads to the perception that they are healthier. The attribute can hereafter be determined as *"no sprayed poison/pesticides"*. The interviewer returns hereafter to the consequence *"that the product is healthier"*, where the laddering procedure continues. The complete chain of product attributes, product consequences and personal values, which the informant expresses, constitutes hereafter a ladder.

The production of the means-end chains finalizes the actual interview procedure. The next step in the process is, based on these individually formed ladders, to construct an aggregated cognitive structure for a group of informants. Each individual response is assigned to its respective categories in relation to which abstraction level it belongs to. For example, the informant in the example says that organic food products are experienced as healthier, which is assigned to the category "health" at the consequence level. Following this count of the individual responses, a so called implication matrix is constructed, which determines the number of times that an answer occurs. The implication matrix has the function of delivering input to subsequently creating a hierarchical value map, which is a graphical representation of the aggregated cognitive structures for a group of informants. The advantage of such a hierarchical value map is that a structured résumé of the informants is formed,

which is achieved through the laddering interviews, and, at the same time, it is a well-suited tool for the subsequent consideration of which marketing initiatives the informants stimulate (Ibid).

3.3. Summary

In this chapter, a conceptual framework was developed, which comprised two theoretical areas. The first theoretical area was selected with the purpose of subsequently being able to answer research question *a*. Two criteria determining when consumer behaviour can be characterized as political were defined:

- *Criterion 1: The consumer behaviour should be an expression of conscious, reflective actions, which have the purpose of influencing the development of society and not primarily personal ends;*
- *Criterion 2: The consumer behaviour should be based on a community orientation.*

Answering research question *b* involved theories from the consumer behaviour literature. The means-end chains theory and the laddering technique were chosen, respectively, to determine the consumers' cognitive structures in connection with the boycott of organic foods.

"Understanding the nature of a paradigm enables a scientist to determine both what problems are worthy of exploration and also what methods are available to attack them"

(Deshpande, 1983)

Chapter 4: Paradigmatic approach, research strategy and method

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss a possible paradigmatic approach of the thesis and to select a data collection method that is coherent and appropriate when studying the research problem. In order to accomplish this, it is first discussed, what is understood by a paradigm, and the most prevalent paradigmatic approaches within marketing and consumer behaviour are presented. Second, it is discussed which paradigmatic positions are used in the existing research within political consumption and related research fields, followed by an argumentation for the most appropriate paradigmatic approach in relation to the defined research problem. Finally, an argumentation for selecting the case study as the research strategy and the in-depth interview with purposive informants and laddering as methods is given.

4.1. Defining the concept paradigm

The word paradigm originates from the greek word *paradeigma* which means "pattern" or "example", or it is derived from the word *paradeiknunai* meaning "to demonstrate" ([wikipedia.org/wiki/Paradigm](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paradigm)). These meanings are also reflected in the way that the term paradigm has been used within science since the 1960's, where it is seen as a thought pattern e.g. a philosophical or theoretical framework that guide research within different scientific disciplines. Thomas Kuhn who in 1962 published the book "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions" stands as one of the main contributors in the discussion on what constitutes a paradigm and how it influences science. Kuhn (1962) in this work refers to a paradigm as the set of practices that define a scientific discipline during a particular period. However, difficulties in defining precisely what is understood by a paradigm seems to be prominent in the work of Kuhn in that sense that as many as 21 definitions exist, which then since the 1960's has fostered a lively debate in academia about the problem of what a paradigm really is. As a consequence of the difficulties in determining a unambiguous definition of a paradigm, Masterman (1970) attempts to make a reduction in Kuhn's work, which results in a three-folded typology on paradigms. Despite Masterman's attempt to

simplify and reduce the complexity of Kuhn's conception of paradigms, the three-folded typology does not create consensus in academia about what the contents of paradigms are. Among others, Ritzer (1975) claims, that Masterman's typology compared to Kuhn's work does not give better guidelines. The critique against Masterman's attempt is the lack of regard to what actually encompasses a paradigm and thus the blurring of ontology with epistemology and methodology. Based on this argumentation Ritzer (1975:7) makes with reference to Kuhn's work and inspiration from aspects of Masterman's typology his contribution to what he considers "a definition of *the knotty concept of a paradigm*":

"A paradigm is a fundamental image of the subject matter within a science. It serves to define what should be studied, what questions to be asked, how they should be asked, and what rules should be followed in interpreting the answers obtained. The paradigm is the broadest unit of consensus within a science and serves to differentiate one scientific community (or subcommunity) from another. It subsumes, defines, and interrelates the exemplars, theories, methods and instruments that exist within it.

With reference to Kuhn's (1970) conceptual understanding of a paradigm, other authors put forth definitions of paradigms, where similarities can be identified. Generally, consensus exists about paradigms proclaiming a certain world view, and theories and methods shared by a community of researchers (Suppe, 1974; Guba, 1990; Guba and Lincoln, 1989, 2000). This is also embedded in Ritzer's definition above, where he states that a paradigm consists of an overarching set of guidelines, which affects how the study object is perceived and thus the available methods, theories and instruments that can be applied within the paradigmatic approach. These predetermined guidelines are thus separating one research community from another. A somewhat similar content can also be seen from Roberts (1984) who summarizes Kuhn's conceptualization of a paradigm:

"Symbolic generalizations and theories, beliefs in models concerning the nature of the subject, values, and concrete problem-solutions shared by and subscribed to by at least a few of the relevant community of scholars. A paradigm essentially defines a science for those who subscribe to it. A paradigm encompasses the entire constellation of relevant beliefs, including the basic, underlying assumptions inherent in their work. Acceptable problems, methodologies, and solutions are a function of the paradigm" (Kuhn, 1970: 181-187)

What can be concluded is that Roberts defines a paradigm as consisting of the basic assumptions shared by a research community, meaning that the paradigm defines the science, which the research community adheres to. A paradigm will therefore include a number of specific theories, which are coherent with the overall metaphysical beliefs agreed upon by the scientific forum. A paradigm thus

legitimizes certain approaches and procedures which Masterman (1970) refers to as the paradigms metaphysical assumptions (*Weltanschauung*) or what Guba (1990) would refer to as ontological assumptions. The ontology of a paradigm therefore contains assumptions about the concept of reality, which further influences what knowledge is and how it is acquired, often referred to as the epistemology of the paradigm. Finally paradigms also encompass guidelines on how to collect knowledge (data), given the ontological and epistemological constraints, which is often referred to as the methodological level of the paradigm. A paradigm thus consist of the ontological, epistemological and the methodological levels, which are interdependent.

4.2. Paradigmatic approaches

Several authors outline two dominating scientific paradigms within consumer behaviour and marketing. These paradigms are often referred to as the positivistic (Hunt, 1991; Calder and Tybout, 1987) and the interpretive paradigm (Anderson, 1986; Hirschman, 1986; Hudson and Ozanne, 1988, Ozanne and Hudson, 1989). These paradigms represent contrasting perceptions of how reality looks, and the approach to understanding social actors and their world is different (Ozanne and Hudson, 1989).

During the 1920'ies and 1930'ies the concept "logical positivism" was formulated by a group of German philosophers in Vienna, who created the so-called Vienna circle. This creation though was the result of a long historic process where positivism as philosophy was well-known and accepted as the only scientific procedure. Positivism as philosophy was already discussed in the 1700 among the French philosophers Henri Saint-Simon and August Comte. The concept logical positivism was meanwhile developed partly on speculations by the French philosophers, but the concept was also according to Hunt (1991) a result of the physicist Ernest Mach's neopositivism, Hume's skepticisme, Wittgenstein *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* and Russell's *Principia Mathematica*. Hunt (1991) argues, that the German philosophers in the "Vienna Circle" got their inspiration and conviction from Mach, that science should be based on observable facts and not on metaphysical concepts. Contribution from Hume was, that inductive reasoning could not be allowed, because conclusions should be based on deductions directly drawn from empirical observations in order to safeguard a certain truth value of the conclusions. The principle of Wittgensteins on verifiability (*only statements that can be shown conclusively to be true or false are "cognitively meaningful"*)

was continued by the positivists, and from Russell the formal logic as the analytical tool for analyzing meaning, was adopted.

Referring to the conceptual characteristics of positivism formulated by the members of the Vienna Circle, it is evident that reality should be observable, measurable and explained by facts and the construction of the instrument to measure reality is the actual access to the truth that is assumed to exist independently of human beings. Observing the external world, not interacting with it, would be the way to avoid biases, and conclusions would therefore be based on deductions from empirical data. The consequences of this perception that reality is something externally given influences the role of the researcher and the methods available. Keeping a distance to the object of study emphasizes the objectivity during the investigation. Instead, the tool or the instrument used is pivotal and the accumulation of data through surveys or manipulation of laboratory experiments is examples of instruments /methods used within the positivistic approach. The scientific goal is to produce valid and reliable conclusions that are generalizability across time and settings, and within some disciplines e.g. health related research designs, where a new treatment or method is clinically tested, it seems evident why a criteria such as statistical generalization is important and also why the application of the positivistic approach might seem most appropriate.

If positivism can be said to represent one end of the paradigm spectrum, then, what is often referred to as the interpretive paradigm can be found at the other end. Different terminology for the interpretive paradigm is often used e.g. Rubinstein (1981) and Hudson and Murray (1986) refer to the interpretive paradigm as the subjective paradigm, Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Belk et al. (1988a) term it the naturalistic paradigm, and Advances in Consumer Research Special Session (1985) along with Hirschman (1986) use the humanistic paradigm as their terminology. In literature additional concepts to the one listed above are found (e.g. Anderson, 1986; 1989), but the common characteristics of the multiple use of concepts are, that they offer an alternative epistemological view compared to the existing and dominating positivistic position. Even though differences exist between the various concepts and ways by which data is acquired, the concepts will here be summarized as the interpretive paradigm (Szmigin and Foxall, 2000) as the purpose is to make a general description and not to go into depth with differences among the single approaches.

The interpretive paradigm distinguishes itself from the positivistic paradigm on its basic assumptions. The interpretivists consider reality as something that is created and co-created among humans and something that cannot be separated and measured independently. Reality is seen as a social construction created by actors in different situations and contexts or as Berger and Luckman (1967:3) put it: *"All human knowledge is developed, transmitted and maintained in social situations"*. The idea that reality is seen as a social construction influences the way research can be obtained.

Obtaining knowledge about peoples' social constructs is done by interaction between the parties involved within a specific context. The subjectivity, the intimacy and value loaded exchange of opinions happening in the dialogue between the parties is a basic epistemological premise within the interpretive approach, because an in-depth, thorough understanding of the meaning certain actors create in a given situation is pivotal. The intention for the interpretivists is to obtain insight about the life world of the individual, which is done by rich descriptions of important contextual details (Berger et al., 1982).

As a further consequence of subjective realities being created within various social systems, reality should be considered holistically. To understand consumer behaviour the interpretivists propose a better understanding of contextual factors. They argue for viewing the consumer as an actor that independently and actively creates and interacts with its environment in order to create meaning (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). Blumer (1969:15) points to the difference between the positivistic and the interpretive way of seeing and understanding the individual where he emphasizes the passively versus the actively creating perspective in the individual:

"It means that the human individual confronts a world that he must interpret in order to act instead of an environment to which he responds because of his organization."

The scientific goal among the interpretivists is understanding (Schwandt, 1994, Rubinstein, 1981). Understanding is seen as a process, where there is an ongoing interest in developing deeper knowledge about a certain topic, situation etc. (Denzin, 2002). A necessary precondition for achieving understanding is Max Weber concept *Verstehen*, which expresses the ability to understand the shared meaning within certain contexts, cultures, roles, rituals etc. (Wax, 1967).

The kind of knowledge strived for within the interpretive paradigm has an ideographic and holistic nature (Lincoln, 1990) and the assumption that reality or knowledge exist as mental constructions consequently makes interaction and dialogue the only way to access knowledge. Therefore, the researcher becomes the key instrument in generating new knowledge, and the validity of the outcome can be ascribed to the skills of the individual researcher (Patton, 2002; Guba and Lincoln, 1981). Methodologically, knowledge is primarily acquired by means of qualitative techniques, where the researcher interacts with the studied context and tries to understand existing particularities (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). The number of interviews, case or field studies, which could be possible ways to gather data, is not essential, whereas the contribution that the particular actor can offer in the process of creating new knowledge is seen as valuable. This means, that the depth of the interview more than the number of interviews is important. Because positivistic sampling procedures are usually not applied in qualitative research and data is often derived from only a limited number of informants or cases, the question often posed by critiques is how representative the findings are for all members of the population. In other words if you study the phenomenon political consumerism using qualitative methods, how can you be sure that your findings represent some valid conclusions about the phenomenon?. Hammersley (1992) suggests the use of comparative methods, where the researcher tries to compare his qualitative finding with other quantitative measures of population, matching eventual patterns or commonalities. Another way to address the issue of generalizability or extrapolation, which Alasuutari (1995) argue is a more appropriate word in relation to qualitative approaches, is to use theoretical /purposive sampling, where the sample choices are theory driven and therefore makes them more sensible and meaningful (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Mason, 1996).

4.3 The application of paradigms in marketing and consumer research

The debate about different paradigms and ways of acquiring new knowledge is well known in academia. In the last 25 years, there has been a lively discussion about which paradigmatic approaches are appropriate in studying phenomena in consumer behaviour, marketing and other fields and which criteria can be used to evaluate the scientific contributions of the research (Ozanne and Hudson, 1989; Hirschman, 1986; Holbrook and O'Shaughnessy, 1988; Hunt, 1989; Heath, 1992).

The positivistic paradigm appears as the most dominating within marketing and consumer behaviour in the past 40 years (Schwartz, 1965; Lazer, 1974, Bartels, 1968, Hunt, 1983, 1991; Peter and Olson, 1983, Calder and Tybout, 1987). Hirshman writes in 1986, that within three decades only one empirical study which explicitly uses a non-positivistic approach has been published in the Journal of Marketing, namely Sidney Levy's article from 1981 "*Interpreting Consumer Mythology: A Structural Approach to Consumer Behaviour*". Explanations to the positivistic dominance are, that researchers within these fields, attempt to make marketing and consumer behaviour "*real sciences*" adhering to the so-called "real" sciences demands for universal theories and laws (Østergaard, 1997; Anderson, 1986; Kerlinger, 1973). These sciences are primarily natural sciences including disciplines such as physics, and chemistry, doing research rooted in the positivistic paradigm.

In his Ph.D.-dissertation, Østergaard (1997) shows via a historic study the most prevalent paradigmatic positions as well as the methods used in the development of marketing theories during the years 1945-1993. He divides this time span into four periods, respectively 1) the before paradigmatic period, 2) The normal scientific period from 1960-1969, 3) the break with the extent of the analytical field from 1969-1980 and 4) The break with the method "The interpretive turn" from 1980-1993. According to Østergaard (1997), the application of the positivistic paradigm within marketing and consumer behaviour dominates in the periods 2 and 3. Period 2 is characterized by introducing the positivistic paradigm and especially quantitative methods to research in marketing and the basic assumptions of the positivistic paradigm are in this period accepted as the norm for scientific research. During period 3, a broadening of the theoretical marketing concept takes place which is considered a breaking point in the classical perception of marketing as profit oriented activity, or as Kotler and Levy (1969:10) put it; "*as a business activity*". The authors argue for the broadening of the marketing concept /understanding which can be seen from the following quotation: "*Marketing is a pervasive societal activity that goes considerably beyond the selling of toothpaste, soap and steel*" (Kotler and Levy, 1969:10). The consequences are, that all types of companies or organizations are included, and Kotler and Levy (1969) give examples of different types of non-profit organizations, such as museums, public schools, departments within the police etc. The altered view on the marketing concept changes also the research focus within the field of marketing but the most accepted paradigmatic positions

among recognized researchers would still be the positivistic (Luck, 1969; Hunt, 1991; Bagozzi, 1975). An ongoing debate about the preservation of this paradigm continues therefore, and up until 1980 the positivistic paradigm is still the most dominating within marketing and consumer behaviour

Østergaards (1997) argument for claiming that a normal scientific period enters in 1960 is that there is a fragmented paradigmatic application and pluralism in methods used in the before paradigmatic period from 1945-1960, which is replaced by a more unilateral focus and use of the positivistic paradigm¹⁹. Therefore, in the normal scientific period, the ambition is to make marketing a “real” science, emphasizing the principles from the natural sciences and a rejection of the less quantifiable human statements (Schwarz, 1965; Lazer, 1974). The focus on the principles from the natural sciences means a predominant application of quantitative methods, even though during this period a criticism arose regarding the lack in understanding aspects about how and why humans buy and consume. This criticism among some authors implicitly envisaged a need for a more qualitative approach to understanding human behaviour (Kover, 1967; Tucker, 1967).

The effort to make marketing a real science results in a number of publications during the 60’ies and 70’ies trying to create generalizable, universal theories about market behaviour, but also in the following period “The interpretive turn” general theories within marketing are promoted and published (Bartels, 1968, 1977; Hunt, 1971, 1983; Sheth et al., 1988).

In the beginning of the 1980’ies though, a new period enters where the positivistic paradigm rigidity more and more is broken by alternative paradigmatic assumptions (e.g. Sherry, 1983; Hirschman, 1986; Hudson and Ozanne, 1988; Anderson, 1986; Belk et al., 1988a). This break is often referred to as “the interpretive turn” which happens as a consequence of the marketing concept and the analytical fields being expanded. Still, according to Szmigin and Foxall (2000) the publications in this period primarily stem from a limited group of American, already established and well-known researchers, who initially were educated within the positivistic tradition of consumer behaviour. Due to this traditional background, Szmigin and Foxall (2000) argue that it was easier to create a

¹⁹ The dominant application of the positivistic paradigm can be ascribed to the education of prominent researchers within marketing (Kotler, Bass, Buzzell m.fl.) in the advantageous application of mathematics in the study of market related analyses and the technological development in computer technology at that time (Østergaard, 1997: 163-167).

sympathetic audience to the ideas and contributions of the interpretive approach, and maybe therefore the interpretive approach seemed less controversial.

Before the interpretive approach seriously gains a foothold, relatively few studies are published encouraging alternative approaches to studying consumer behaviour (Sherry, 1983; Solomon, 1983). The attention here is given to the meaning of consumption for the individual and new theoretical fields, such as anthropology are introduced and integrated into the study of human behaviour (Semenik, 1983). Critical arguments against the positivistic tradition are put forth, arguing this tradition to be an impediment for the development in consumer behaviour, and thus new perspectives to the study of the consumer are stimulated (Belk, 1984, Belk et al., 1984, Anderson and Ryan, 1984).

Therefore, Belk is one of the proponents stimulating the process of introducing new idea generating methods and procedures e.g. *"become passionate and get weird"*, breaking with classical positivistic traditions and motivated more by feeling than by thought. Belk (1984) attempts via his provocative article *"Against thinking"* to introduce a new research era and form a research community which should have a broader theoretical and methodological scope.

In the 1980'ies an actual break with the classical positivistic tradition in marketing and consumer behaviour occurs. According to Østergaard (1997) the exact year for the interpretive turn to take place is difficult to pinpoint but a number of events and publications emerge during the years 1985-1989 (Rook, 1985; McCracken, 1986; Mick, 1986; Belk, 1988). Especially Belk's (1991b) project *"The Consumer Behaviour Odyssey"* which was launched in 1985 is according to Østergaard (1997:326) the first collective manifestation of this period. The Odyssey therefore exemplifies a decisively paradigmatic change, because a number of well established researchers form a research community and mark an alternative position to the main stream positivistic research.

4.4 The paradigmatic roots of research on political consumption

Research on political consumption and related research areas have historically, like the rest of the research within marketing and consumer behaviour, been dominated by the positivistic approach. As presented in Chapter 2, both the early research on characterizing environmentally friendly

consumer profiles and the later research on determining political, ethical and environmentally friendly behaviour have been dominated by quantitative research methods aiming at dividing people into segments based on demographic, psychological, personality variables etc. The theoretical assumptions behind the studies are that human behaviour can be described as effects or results of certain generic characteristics. This means that possible context dependent explanations to why consumers implement environmentally friendly buying behaviour are left out, assuming that environmentally friendly buying behaviour is more a result of being a woman or belonging to a specific social class than it is an explanation to specific individual or context dependent circumstances.

Research on the relationship between especially environmentally friendly behaviour as a direct consequence of having positive attitudes towards the environment, has as well as the segmentation literature, been dominated by the positivistic approach. Here the theoretical basis is rooted in the socio-psychological research on attitude formation (Malmsten, 1993). The publications are based on assumptions that the individual due to a number of rational considerations, implements decisions about behaviour. As mentioned earlier, the often applied theory in the study of the relationship between environmentally friendly attitudes and behaviour is Aizen and Fishbein's (1980) "*Theory of reasoned action*" (e.g. Thøgersen, 1994a; Kok and Siero, 1985). The theory of reasoned action has further functioned as the theoretical framework in later modifications of the model (Thøgersen, 1994, Ölander and Thøgersen, 1995; Ajzen, 1988), so the theoretical foundation in relation to research on environmental behaviour is maintained, sticking to the assumptions from the positivistic approach. Meanwhile the application of theories and models developed within the positivistic approach has not contributed to consensus about why the discussed discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour exist. The discrepancy is explained by difficulties in measuring, the lack of personal knowledge about the consequences of the behaviour, ability and possibilities to execute a certain behaviour. price issues, social norms etc., but still authors discuss the complexity of why the gap exist (e.g. Solér, 1997; Moisander, 2007). Current difficulties in explaining why consumers only to a varying degree buy environmentally friendly products despite positive attitudes exist, and the understanding of the meaning and the importance that environmentally friendly behaviour has for the single consumer, are questions that remain unanswered in the existing segmentation and attitude research. Furthermore, these types of questions might as well be difficult to answer applying the traditional positivistic approach and methods. At this point it is unknown to what extent consumers

environmentally friendly, ethical, socially desirable actions can be interpreted as political consumption, because the segmentation and attitude research is not occupied with or interested in the content of meaning in relation to consumption. In the following paragraph, it is argued that an alternative approach to studying political consumption is needed, which to a higher degree emphasizes the individual and its context specific relations.

4.4.1. Choice of paradigmatic approach for the thesis

The historic development in the application of paradigmatic approaches within marketing and consumer behaviour showed that in the 1980'ies an alternative research community was established posing critique towards the established and dominating positivistic research tradition (e.g. O'Shaughnessy, 1985, Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982, Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). The critique mainly arose out of the need to be more broadly oriented theoretically and methodologically and also to broaden the notion of the consumer as being primarily a rational decision-maker. Due to this and also the focus of the existing research on political consumption and the related research areas, I argue in the following that pursuing a deeper and richer understanding of the meaning consumers create in relation to their boycotts and buycotts of products could be interesting. Emphasizing a more qualitative approach that could create deeper knowledge on how embedded the political intentionality is in everyday consumption acts.

The main part of the research on political consumption has been based on the assumption that the individual is a rational person, who is making decisions based on information and knowledge and thereby fulfilling a certain goal. Meanwhile some publications show that despite comprehensive knowledge about the positive environmental consequences of producing organic food, consumers do not necessarily convert this knowledge into rational and consistent buying patterns. Such indications might show that individuals despite their knowledge about the environmental effects and their possibilities of acting in accordance with that, refuse to do so and this lack of rationality is something that is not well described in the existing literature. Something could indicate that the rationality, which is a basic assumption among the positivists, is an assumption which is not particularly applicable within environmentally conscious consumption, and maybe also food consumption. To obtain knowledge about how consumers think in relation to specific consumption acts and processes, it is argued, that the rationalistic precondition for understanding the consumer is too narrow in that sense, that enclosing more context specific factors as explanations for a certain

behaviour is not seen as an option. The possibility of delivering a more nuanced explanation to what consumption of certain products mean to the individual is therefore difficult within the positivistic approach. Because this thesis intends to understand the meaning and how embedded the political aspect is in consumption practices, a paradigmatic approach, where the intention is to look for detailed and rich descriptions of what certain individuals emphasize in certain consumption practices and how contextual factors might possibly influence the creation of meaning, is chosen. The intention is to create knowledge about the motives for boycotting and boycotting certain food products, but the individuals' responses are interpreted in relation to their contextual situation. The inquiry could possibly create knowledge about what is important in relation to specific consumption practices and provide an alternative approach to measuring the phenomenon political consumption.

4.5. The case study as research strategy

In literature, a number of authors are occupied with the case study. (e.g. Yin, 1984, Eisenhardt, 2002, Stake, 2000; Miles and Huberman, 1994, Guba and Lincoln, 1981). What may seem as a paradox is that the authors above represent different paradigmatic positions, but at the same time they all use the case study in their research. Yin is known as the positivist, who introduced the case study method because of a lacking qualitative approach, which could adhere to validity and reliability measures (Yin, 1984). Miles and Huberman (1994) claim to be "transcendental realists", a kind of post-positivists and Stake (2000) describe himself as a constructivist. The reason why the case study finds applicability might be that it more represents a research methodology than an actual data collection method, where the crucial point is what the case itself can reveal and not the data collection per se. The authors above define what they understand by the case study and in their definitions certain similarities can be emphasised which cut across different paradigmatic positions. Yin (1994) describes the case study as:

"A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 1994:13)

Yin stresses that the case study is applicable in situations where the role of context is important in relation to the phenomenon studied. Miles and Huberman emphasise also the link between a phenomenon and the context in which it occurs:

"We can define the case as a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context" (Miles and Huberman, 1994:25)

Along the same vein, Eisenhardt also points to the aspect that the case study is a methodology that focuses on the dynamic conditions within a setting.

"The case study is a research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings" (Eisenhardt, 2002:8).

The commonalities among the definitions are that phenomenon and context are viewed as inseparable, and context independent research is not the purpose of the case study approach. The understanding of the complexity within a so-called bounded system can possibly be a reason why the case study is applied within multiple scientific fields. The application of the case study in this thesis will depart from Stake (2000) who's perspective on the nature of reality is commensurable with the research problem.

4.5.1. Selecting the case study

The arguments for choosing the case study as a research strategy in this thesis are in line with the paradigmatic discussion above. The focus on the phenomenon in relation to contextual factors plays an essential role in the attempt to understand how the informants perceive their consumption behaviour. Understanding the motivations behind, in this case, the boycott of organic products, creates a deeper understanding of the meaning that boycotting organic products play in relation to the specific situation of the individual and creates a better possibility of assessing how deeply embedded the political is in this type of buying behaviour. The case study seems suitable in studying a phenomenon like political consumption because the informant as the case, creates insights about the relationship between buying and consuming organic products and which role the political dimension play in relation to this.

Further the informants participating in this study have different contextual backgrounds, even though they all deliberately and consistently boycott and boycott the specific product categories. Depending on whether the informants see boycotting or boycotting as containing a political element

or not, it is interesting whether context or situation specific factors can contribute with explanations to why this difference among the group of informants could exist.

4.5.2. Selecting a case type

Besides considering what the reasons are for selecting the case study, Stake (2000) recommends considering what type of case study to apply. He argues that researchers have different purposes in studying cases. Therefore, he distinguishes between three types of cases, where the content differs, and considerations about the match between type of case and research problem therefore seem relevant. The three types are "*intrinsic*", "*instrumental*" and "*collective*".

Intrinsic case studies have the purpose of giving the researcher a better understanding of the single, unique case. The case is not chosen because it represents other similar cases or because it illustrates a specific problem, but instead the case is per se unique and original and therefore it is interesting. The intention is therefore not to draw any generalizations to other similar cases. Intrinsic case studies are not aiming at theory building, but what is looked for is to create a better understanding.

Instrumental case studies have the purpose of creating insights about a certain topic and on the basis of that draw certain inferences or generalizations. The single case is as such not interesting but more the topic you study. For example, the topic could be young peoples' use of alcohol at parties, where a number of cases consisting of young people having experiences with the intake of alcohol, are selected. The case e.g. the young individual is studied carefully in detail, but the main purpose is to identify patterns that show some tendencies or characteristics.

Finally, Stake (2000) also introduces *collective* case studies, where the purpose is to study an extended number of cases to collect data on a phenomenon or a population. This type can be considered an instrumental case study where the number of cases is expanded. The difference to instrumental case studies are, that it provides a better understanding or makes it possible to theorize on the topic through the additional number of cases.

The single informants' perception of boycotting and boycotting specific food items compared to the informants' context is central in this thesis, but not with the purpose of studying specifically, why or how the single informant is special. On the contrary, knowledge about the topic e.g. do the

informants perceive boycotting and boycotting as political consumption acts is central. In shedding light on this topic, appropriate cases are selected. The single informant and his/her context will still be explored carefully but with the intention to draw analytical generalizations about how the specific boycotts and boycotts are perceived. Based on this, the selection of an intrinsic case study seems inappropriate since uniqueness and particularity do not contribute with the type of knowledge that is of interest in this dissertation. Instead, an instrumental case study with an extended number of cases (12 informants) is chosen based on the argument that the topic/phenomenon is of interest.

4.5.3. Case selection

In quantitative studies, respondents are chosen by so-called randomization or probability sampling in order to fulfil the requirements for statistical generalizability from sample to the total population (Light et al., 1990). Using this sampling procedure reduces possible bias in the selection of respondents and potential sampling errors such as lack of representativeness is prevented. The sampling procedure in relation to qualitative studies is different, and therefore also for case studies. Even in the mentioned collective case studies where the number of cases is extended, the number of cases would still be too limited to make a randomized selection (Stake, 2000). Instead, other criteria for selecting the informants are applied. Often informants or cases are chosen based on their ability to deliver detailed information on a certain topic, which is often referred to as purposeful sampling (Patton, 1988; Maxwell, 1996). The focus is then on finding information rich informants/cases, where the depth of understanding the single case is more important than the statistical generalization.

Eisenhardt (2002) uses the term theoretical sampling, which implicitly captures Patton's (1988) criteria on choosing the cases that contribute with the highest possible utility as regards the research purpose. Theoretical sampling focuses on selecting cases, that have a high theoretical value e.g., cases that are able to modify or develop existing theory. Judgment sampling and purposive sampling (Stake, 2000) are also related concepts, where the essence again is to find informants that possess knowledge relevant to the research problem.

A qualified sampling of cases therefore is central to the understanding of to what degree the political is part of the individualized boycott and boycott acts. Patton (2002) suggests that a sampling strategy is pursued and in relation to this, sixteen possible strategies are presented.

Referring to these sampling strategies, I choose in this thesis two sampling strategies, which are intensity sampling and snowball sampling.

4.5.3.1. Intensity sampling

Intensity sampling refers to the selection of a number of cases, which possess information that is especially relevant in relation to the studied phenomenon. Patton (2002:243) puts it this way:

"An intensity sample consists of information-rich cases that manifest the phenomenon of interest intensely (but not extremely)"

The phenomenon political consumption has primarily been investigated using randomized samples, where a distinction is not made between different consumers, motives and contexts. The appropriateness of the used methodology and methods in relation to the research purpose has been questioned earlier in this thesis, which could possibly imply validity problems related to the conclusions. This indicates, that an investigation of the political intention linked to individualized boycott and boycott needs to be carried out among consumers, who could possibly manifest the phenomenon political consumption stronger than consumers selected randomly. The criteria for selecting the cases in the thesis is, that the informants in their everyday life consciously have decided to boycott organic food products, which means that they do not occasionally boycott organic food but considers this boycott strategy an implemented and integrated part of their buying behaviour. Choosing these specific informants mean, that they have been through a process considering and discussing their choices to buy organic instead of conventional food products. Due to this process, it seems that the informants are more capable of describing their thoughts, considerations and motives behind this choice than consumers, who buy organic food on an occasional basis.

Furthermore, the selection of informants is also based on the criteria that they consciously boycott eggs from battery chickens. Boycotting this product category means, that the informants have considered their motives for doing so. The important thing is, that the informants are conscious about that it is a boycott action and not a conscious boycott of alternative types of eggs instead of egg from battery chickens. The distinction therefore lies in whether the informant perceives their behaviour as a boycott or a boycott act.

The boycotted cases/informants are considered information rich, able to provide a better explanation to, how political certain everyday boycott and boycott acts are. The cases/informants are therefore not chosen due to specific demographic characteristics. The cases/informants consist of a varied group of people, differing on age, educational background, socio-economic status, political affiliation and there is a certain heterogeneity amongst the cases/informants.

The idea in selecting informants who are very conscious and consistent in boycotting and boycotting specific product categories is, that you could expect political motives to be more prominent than among people who do not perform this consistent shopping behaviour. When I am questioning the spread of the phenomenon political consumption it seems appropriate to investigate the phenomenon in contexts and among people where it could occur more intensely. If boycotting and boycotting among the selected informants is seen as less political, then it could indicate that the spread of this phenomenon should be reconsidered and re-measured.

4.5.3.2. Snowball sampling

This type of sampling is chosen in an attempt to locate information rich informants specifically involved in boycotting and boycotting of certain products. The idea of snowballing is to start out by asking people if they know someone who fulfils the selection criteria. Finding relevant informants often creates access to information about new informants, and then the snowball starts running. Patton (2002:243) defines snowball sampling in the following way:

"Identify cases of interest from sampling people who know people who know people who know what cases are information rich"

In this thesis this type of sampling strategy is chosen, because the access to informants who very consciously and consistently boycott and boycott the specific products is difficult. Most consumers tend to boycott or boycott on an occasional basis and that situation specific factors such as price or special offers influence their buying behaviour. These consumers are also interesting in terms of evaluating the market potential, but the intention is more to investigate to what degree the political intention is an integrated part of the consumption motives. The access to informants in this thesis was created through conversation with colleagues, friends, people you run into at parties, conferences, seminars etc. This made it possible to localize a number of informants with the specific characteristics.

4.5.4. Data collection

With reference to the discussion earlier, it was argued that a qualitative approach could create a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. The qualitative interview, more specifically the in-depth interview is the data collection method chosen here. The arguments are, that an open dialogue about the motives for boycotting and boycotting should be established and at the same time integrating context specific issues. This could lead to more deep and rich information about the informants' perception, thoughts, intentions and feelings, which is central to the qualitative interview:

"Open-ended questions and probes yield in-depth responses about people's experiences, perceptions, opinions, feelings, and knowledge. Data consist of verbatim quotations with sufficient context to be interpretable" (Patton, 2002:4)

Ordinary conversation is also based on human interaction but conversation in relation to research purposes are characterized by being more professional requiring strategic considerations about structure and purpose (Kvale, 1996). The qualitative interview in a research sense goes therefore beyond the informal and spontaneous exchange of meanings and is a more systematic inquiry with the purpose of creating insights around the research issues. The in-depth interview in this thesis will be semi-structured, where the questions are structured around a number of themes, which should guide the process. The informant has within this frame the possibility to pinpoint, define or discuss related topics, which not necessarily are planned from the beginning. The choice of the semi-structured interview form is based on the possibility to pursue new, unforeseen aspects during the conversation but still having the themes to keep the informant on track. Besides this, the interview protocol is also inspired by theoretical perspectives, which are reflected in the themes. The consequence is that some a priori determined aspects are defined and the interview protocol is not completely open and unstructured.

4.5.5. Data analysis

Data analysis is a well described aspect in relation to quantitative studies, and there are precise procedures and methods for it. As regards qualitative studies, very fixed procedures and ways of transforming qualitative data into results are not as prominent (Patton, 1988). Some guidelines can though be found on how to approach the analysis and further how to ensure reliability and validity of the findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Wallendorf and Belk, 1989; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Qualitative data analysis is relying much more on the researcher ability to interpret and make inferences compared to quantitative data analysis. The challenge thus can be found in creating meaning and patterns among a sometimes messy bundle of words and raw data and presenting them in a way, which makes it possible for the reviewer to evaluate and assess how these raw data were transformed into results. Miles and Huberman (1994) though provide a comprehensive set of guidelines of how to conduct data analysis in relation to qualitative inquiry, but again it is again more guidelines than formalized formulas or rules. The authors emphasize the importance of the human factor in the process of analyzing data, but at the same time they consider the interpreter role the achilleesheel of qualitative data analysis. Therefore Patton (2002) sees monitoring and reporting the analytical procedures and processes as fully and truthfully as possible.

Presenting the results of the case studies means making it possible for the reviewer to investigate the reliability and validity of the findings. The way this is insured is through the display of interview protocols together with the construction of a case report (Yin, 1994, Patton, 2002). In this case report "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973, Denzin, 2002) of each case study will be provided and the interpretations are based on this.

In this thesis twelve case descriptions are presented. Each case description involves one individual who is introduced under a pseudonym. Further, information is given about age, place of living, type of housing, marital status, number of children, education, occupation and political affiliation. Besides this, it is described how the informant and the family are organizing shopping, cooking, and how the distribution of responsibility is in relation to these tasks. Moreover, the case descriptions provide information about where the interest in boycotting and boycotting comes from. The intention is to get an understanding of the conditions that might have an impact on the decision to buycott and boycott. After this, more specific knowledge is looked for through questions on motives for boycotting and boycotting followed by interpretation of the responses and the assessment of whether the informants motives can be characterized as encompassing the political intention and commonality aspect, which were the criteria put forth in Chapter 3. The case descriptions try via context specific information about the individual and the motives for boycotting and boycotting to understand the underlying triggers behind the consumption behaviour and thus also the political intent. Through these case descriptions the attempt is made to display the data material and provide a basis for evaluating how the results and the categorizations are formed.

The data analysis for determining the cognitive structures activated in relation to boycotting for political or non-political reasons, is not carried out based on the case descriptions. Instead recommendations for analyzing and coding laddering data are used (Reynolds and Gutman 1987). According to Reynolds and Gutman (1987). The procedures for coding the collected laddering data are that a list of found means-end chains is created as well as categorization of responses according to the respective levels (*attributes, consequences and values*). Based on this categorization an implication matrix and a hierarchical value map are established.

4.5.6. Validity and reliability issues

Validity and reliability are important issues in relation to research activities. Traditionally, the concepts were introduced in relation to assessing the quality of the results in positivistic research. The most common definitions of validity and reliability can be summarized in the questions: Do we actually measure what we intend to measure (Kerlinger, 1973) and can the results be reproduced (Guba and Lincoln, 1989).

Sticking to these definitions the problem arises that measurement and reproduction are not crucial issues in qualitative research. Researchers, who conduct qualitative studies, view the positivistic validity and reliability criteria as unrealistic and the consequence is that these concepts are not applied in a traditional positivistic sense in qualitative research. In the following section it will be discussed how validity and reliability measures are used in qualitative research and which specific actions are taken in the dissertation to ensure this.

4.5.6.1. Determination of the validity concept in qualitative research

Arguments that the traditional understanding of validity is too narrow to assess results produced in more interpretive qualitative studies can be found in the literature (Salner, 1989). As the concept of validity ontologically and epistemologically imply that reality exists “out there” and that reality can be studied as independent object, the theories, methods and concepts applied should correspond with these assumptions. Because qualitative approaches do not accept these assumptions about reality, the discussion about validity (*external, internal, construct, criterion*) has a different contextual starting point and therefore it is difficult to apply the positivistic perception of validity in

more qualitative approaches. Nevertheless, criteria that can be used to assess the trustworthiness of the findings always need to be established also in qualitative research (Wallendorf and Belk, 1989).

Authors like Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Guba and Lincoln (1989) have contributed to the discussion on validity assessment in qualitative research and they introduce alternative concepts for qualitative research. Instead of maintaining the concepts of external and internal validity they suggest the terms credibility and transferability. Credibility refers to; “*adequate and believable representations of the constructions of reality studied*” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). If we compare this definition to a traditional positivistic definition of internal validity which is “*...the extent to which variations in an outcome or dependant variable can be attributed to controlled variation in an independent variable*” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:290), then certain differences become visible. The concept of internal validity in a positivistic sense indicate, that the causal relationship between the independent and dependant variable is essential in order to produce absolute knowledge with truth value, whereas the concept credibility focuses more on making a believable and adequate representation of the specific part of reality studies. Viewing reality as consisting of causal relationship does not fit into the perception of reality for Guba and Lincoln (1989) as well as other more qualitative oriented researchers. In order to ensure credibility of the findings different methods are suggested. Prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation among sources, methods and researchers and member checks are examples. In this dissertation member checks are carried out with the intention to enhance the credibility of the findings, which will be explained further in the next section (Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Wallendorf and Belk, 1989).

External validity is another important issue in quantitative research. This concepts concerns whether an investigated causal relationship can be generalized “*to and across different types of persons, settings and times*” (Cook and Cambell, 1979:37). Comparing this with the concept transferability, which deals with the extent to which the findings of a specific inquiry have applicability in other contexts or with other subjects Lincoln og Guba (1985). Both concepts concern the generalizability of the findings. Nevertheless, external validity is typically ensured through randomized sampling where transferability is assessed based on the premises of the actual study. Transferability in relation to qualitative studies therefore means that statistical generalizability is not essential but instead analytical generalizability is emphasized. Ensuring transferability can according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Geetz (1973) be achieved through different methods, such as triangulation

across sites through purposive sampling, seeking limiting exceptions, emergent designs and thick descriptions.

4.5.6.2. Methods applied to ensure credibility and transferability

Enhancement of credibility of the findings is done by member checks in this thesis. Out of the 12 purposeful buycotted informants 5 were contacted and confronted with the case descriptions and the interpretations. The informants were asked to give their comments to the factual information as well as their immediate responses to the interpretations. Besides a few comments, the member checks did not evoke any conflicts or problem related to the interpretations and the informants did generally find the conclusions acceptable and found the categorization and their own placement in the typology coherent with their responses. As acceptance of the interpretations is not always the outcome of member checks (Belk et al., 1988a; Belk et al., 1988b), the informants could potentially have rejected the interpretations possibly due to their perception as behaving more to demands for social desirability. The interpretations and the categorizations are thus checked with 5 of the informants and the case description and the findings are displayed in order for other reviewers to evaluate the credibility of the conclusions.

The laddering interviews were more structured. The procedure for coding a priori determined and the data were thus easier to analyze. The validation was here done with help from an external objective coder as well as following the procedure for coding laddering data according to Reynolds and Gutman (1988).

Besides this, questions and themes in the interview protocol intend to cross check related behaviour to boycotting and boycotting the specific product. The informants were asked about environmental behaviour related to everyday consumption practices as well as ethically and socially responsible practices. This includes narratives about their behaviour in relation to cleaning and doing laundry, recycling, fighting weeds, transportation, donations for charity, subscriptions of magazines or memberships of organizations with an environmental, social or ethical profile. The purpose of this investigation into possible related behavioural patterns was to look for spill-over effects e.g. to assess an eventual overlap between the actual behaviour and the political intentionality (Thøgersen, 1998b; Pedersen, 2000). The assumption is that a relationship exists between the related environmental, ethical and/or social everyday behaviour and the degree of political intentionality.

An investigation of everyday consumption practices could possibly give an indication whether there existed any relationship between the categorization and the self-reported behaviour of the informant in a number of aspects that were related to boycotting and boycotting the selected food products.

Ensuring transferability is attempted through so-called thick descriptions, where the arguments and justifications for the interpretations are presented (Geertz, 1973; Denzin 2002). The case descriptions serve as a case database where it is possible to assess the transferability of the findings. Further, a collective case study type is chosen making it possible to compare the results across cases and conduct a cross case analysis. Through the collective case study type (Stake, 2000) or what Yin terms literal replication the intention was to maintain the option of analytical/theoretical generalizability of the results. The presented categorization thus emerged out of the data material and could exemplify some analytical generalizations, which could create input into further research of a more quantitative nature.

4.5.6.3. Determination of the reliability concept in qualitative research

Reliability is an important issue in quantitative research because it refers to how consistent, predictable and dependant an instrument such as a questionnaire is in terms of being able to yield similar measurements if the study is replicated. In quantitative research the demand for reliability can rather easily be fulfilled due to the a priori constructed measurement instrument and no adjustments are integrated in the process. In relation to more qualitative studies the demand for reliability becomes more complicated (Guba and Lincoln, 1989, Miles and Huberman, 1994, Kirk and Miller, 1986, Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, Smith and Robbins, 1984). That is the interview form is more unstructured and the parties involved have the possibility to lead the interview in a direction which was not initially planned but could reveal interesting information. The flexibility in qualitative research makes the information more context specific and thus more difficult to reproduce.

Lincoln og Guba (1985) therefore suggest that reliability in relation to qualitative research is substituted by the concept dependability. Dependability refers to whether findings of an inquiry would be repeated if the inquiry were replicated with similar subjects and in similar contexts (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 290). So instead of emphasizing replication across time, people and settings, possibility of replication is assessed in relation to similar contexts and people.

Wallendorf and Belk (1989) suggest that dependability in qualitative inquiry is secured by different methods such as observation over time and explanations to possible changes, whereas Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue for a dependability audit, where an independent person assesses the coherence between the raw data and the conclusions drawn.

4.5.6.4. Methods applied to ensure dependability

Observation over time, suggested by Wallendorf and Belk (1989) has not been applied in the thesis since data collection has been carried out during a period of approximately three months and follow up interviews have not been conducted. To ensure a certain logic of replication among the interviews an interview protocol was established (Eisenhardt, 1989) based on the literature review and existing theory. The interview protocol is semi-structured so in the process of interviewing new questions arise so a slight divergence between the interviews exist. Nevertheless, the interview protocol enabled a certain focus and systematic procedure that intended to provide information for answering the research questions. All themes and questions have then been answered by all informants but structure and order of questions can be different in the interviews. The case descriptions were presented to an independent researcher who evaluated the findings while listening to the tapes recorded during the interviews.

In relation to the start-up question in the laddering procedure (see Chapter 6) some adjustments are made and the interview protocol is changed and modified after the first couple of interviews as regards the research question about the political intentionality. Besides this, the laddering procedure suggested by Reynolds and Gutman (1988) was followed, and due to the very structured and sequential procedure, it should be possible for other people to reproduce the findings of this inquiry.

4.5.6.5. Determination of the objectivity concept in qualitative research

Objectivity is another important criterion in producing knowledge within the positivistic tradition. Objectivity concerns whether there is independence and distance between the researcher and the object studied in order to prevent human bias in the production of knowledge. Within more qualitative oriented approaches the aim for objectivity is seen as impossible, because data gathering happens in a way that involves interaction and dialogue with the subject. Again Lincoln and Guba (1985:78) introduce a substitute criteria to objectivity, which they call conformability. This concept focuses on assessing to what degree the findings are determined by the subjects and not by the

biases or interest of the inquirer. Suggested techniques for ensuring conformability are triangulation between researchers, reflexive journals and auditing.

4.5.6.6. Methods applied to ensure confirmability

As regards the collected data, primarily consisting of tape-recorded interviews and some unstructured notes and impressions from the interviews, an independent researcher was asked to evaluate and comment whether the interpretations were reasonable and justifiable (Wallendorf and Belk, 1989). Hence it has been discussed if the categorizations and interpretations made are grounded in the collected data and if there are interpretations which find little sound evidence.

4.5.6.7. Wallendorf og Belk's fifth concept: integrity

Besides the qualitative concepts suggested by Lincoln and Guba's (1985), Wallendorf and Belk (1989) argue for a fifth concept called integrity. Where Lincoln and Guba's (1985) concepts can be argued to be more or less substitute criteria to the traditional positivistic evaluation criteria, there is no equivalent positivistic term to the concept integrity. Wallendorf and Belk (1989) understand this concept as the extent to which the interpretation was unimpaired by lies, evasions, misinformation, or misrepresentations by informants.

In qualitative inquiry, the lack of integrity can develop because of conflicts between the researcher and the informants. Conflicts can occur due to informants feeling uncomfortable or trying to present themselves in a specific way to the researcher. In relation to such potential integrity conflicts Douglas (1976) has proposed four problems that can be an unwanted outcome namely misinformation, avoidance, lies and resistance. In the attempt of trying to overcome potential integrity related conflicts, Wallendorf og Belk (1989) propose the following methods; prolonged engagement, the construction of rapport and trust, triangulation across sources, methods, and researchers, good interviewing technique, safeguarding informant identity, and researcher self-analysis and introspection.

4.5.6.8. Methods applied to ensure integrity

Trying to overcome an eventual lack of integrity during the inquiry process is done primarily by construction of report and trust and safeguarding informant identity. Establishing trust is to a certain extent already embedded in the snowball sampling procedure because a person who already knows

the informant provides the next informant. The attempt to overcome possible lacks of integrity is done by structuring the interview in a way that initially avoids sensitive questions, so the informant feels less uncomfortable in the beginning. Thus, the informant is initially posed the question where the interest for boycotting organic food comes from, and the informant can then choose the perspective and angle that he wants to start with. Later in the interview, more sensitive questions concerning political issues are addressed, but at this point the informant was more relaxed and open they did not resist to answer questions on their political orientation and their actual behaviour. In relation to Wallendorf and Belk's (1989) suggested methods, this procedure is an attempt to establish a good interview technique, which provides trust during the interview and hinders a potential conflict and misunderstandings.

Further, the informants have agreed on, that the information given can be published in this dissertation and their anonymity is secured through the use of pseudonyms. This procedure refers to what Wallendorf and Belk (1989) term as securing the anonymity of the informants.

4.6. Summary

The chapter has argued for an appropriate paradigmatic approach and the choice of methods. Given the research question and the historic application of paradigms in marketing, consumer behaviour and in particular in political consumption, the interpretive paradigm was chosen. The case study, the in-depth interview and the laddering method were chosen.

"Goods are, precisely because they are goods, also always something else – in fact they are first and foremost something else. We buy coffee because we are thirsty for coffee – also when we buy the Max Havelaar brand of coffee. It is, therefore, not because we in the first instance want to help people in the third world to get a better life that we buy the Max Havelaar brand of coffee"

(Mads Sørensen in "The Political Consumer", (Den politiske forbruger), 2004:54)

Chapter 5: Data analysis – Political consumption: more consumption than politics?

The aim of this chapter is to answer research question *a*, which concerns the extent to which the consumers' individual boycotts and boycotts are political. The attempt to answer research question *a* is pursued via the empirical analysis, where the criteria for determining when consumption acts can be characterized as political participation are applied. Thereafter, a cross-case analysis is presented, together with a summary of the empirical results.

5.1 Presentation and construction of cases

In the empirical analysis, there are 12 cases, which means 12 informants, who are boycotted according to purpose, cf. chapter 4. Therefore, 12 case descriptions are presented which contain the informants' motives for boycotting and boycotting, compared with their context specific conditions. The aim is to assess the extent of political intentionality in relation to the consumption acts, and assess any possible connection between motives and context. In the analysis of the extent of the political intentionality, the criteria described in chapter 4 are applied.

The cases are structured in such a way that, by way of an introduction, a brief presentation of the individual informant is given, which contains information about the informant's age, address, civil status, children (whether living at home/moved out), education, as well as political affiliations. Thereafter, a description is given of how responsibility is divided in the home with regard to the purchase of food products and the preparation of food. In addition, an insight is provided into where the interest in boycotting or rejecting the particular products originates from, where the intention is to create an insight into the conditions that have had an influence on the decision to boycott or reject the products. Thereafter, more specific consideration is given to the analysis of the motives for

buycotting, the interpretations of the informants' responses and the assessment of the extent to which the individual informant can be said to "fulfil" or "live up" to the criteria for political participation via their consumer behaviour. Finally, conclusions are made for each case and motive categories for the informants' buycotts and boycotts are outlined.

The interviews have primarily been carried out in the following way. I have obtained permission to visit the informants, either privately or at their workplace, but in certain cases (Peter and Rikke), the interview was carried out at my workplace. The informants' geographical location, together with the home or their workplace being a more familiar context, were the reasons for choosing this solution. The two informants who were interviewed at my workplace had consented to the interviews taking place there, as they were in the vicinity due to work related reasons. The informants were interviewed for two purposes; partly in relation to the purpose of finding out the extent to which they consider their buycott and boycott of the particular products as political, and partly in relation to the purpose surrounding the construction of the informants' cognitive structures via laddering. The duration of each interview was between 1½-2 hours altogether. In some cases, the interview was carried out in several stages, in that some informants have been interviewed twice, while in other cases the interview was carried out during one session. The interview concerning the first purpose was carried out with the help of an interview protocol and this part of the interview comprised the most time consuming part of the interview process (ca. 1½ hours). The interview concerning the other purpose followed a fixed structure in accordance with the laddering method, and was carried out more quickly (ca. ½ hour). The informants were, in connection with their commitment to take part in the interview, informed that I was interested in precisely their motives for buycotting organic food products and boycotting eggs from battery chicken, because they had such a consistent purchasing pattern. The informants were not aware that I was also interested in attempting to clarify the political intentionality in their consumption. This was not explained to the informants due to possible bias in the responses regarding living up to a social norm (*social desirability*).

The informants were also, in addition to their interest and motives for buycotting and boycotting also interviewed concerning related consumption practices. This involved environmentally friendly consumption practices, ethics, social responsibility, etc. The reason for including these subjects in the interview was referring to Pedersen (2000) and Thøgersen (1998b) that a "spill over" effect can

sometimes be seen. This means that one type of environmentally related behaviour has a positive effect on other types of environmentally related behaviour. To investigate the degree to which the informants practice other environmentally related, ethical and/or socially responsible every day activities can contribute to providing an indication of whether any self-reported political intentions in their consumer behaviour are linked together with a general environmentally conscious behaviour. Further it can give an indication whether boycotting or boycotting it is more a case of the informants expressing a certain degree of "*social desirability*". It appears from the interview protocol that the informants were asked about their behaviour in relation to products that cannot be eaten, donations to different organisations, funds or other charitable purposes, the use of cleaning materials, insecticides, cleaning and washing routines, energy use and recycling. The answers to these questions reveals a certain consistency in relation to the prepared motive categories, which are presented in section 5.14.

5.2. Case description Julie – "*I do it for myself*"

Julie is 33 years old, lives in North Zealand together with her husband, Claus. Together they have two children aged, respectively, 3 years old and 10 months old. Julie is educated as a school teacher. Politically, Julie votes for the Socialist People's Party (SF). The responsibility in the home with regard to shopping and cooking is shared between both parties, i.e. they take it in turns to shop and cook meals, but Julie takes a few more turns at cooking than Claus. They do, however, agree on the decision to boycott organic food and to boycott battery eggs, so in their shopping routines, they consistently buy or avoid these particular products.

Julie's interest in eating organic food products and turning this interest into a conscious buying pattern originates partly from her parents' introduction of the first organic dairy products and, later, other food products, and partly from her education period, where ecology was a popular theme. Among a group of the student teachers, ecology was discussed and subsequently implemented in their daily lives, particularly in terms of food.

The influence from home has had great influence on Julie's choice of food products. Focusing on healthy raw ingredients has always been an important element in the preparation of mealtimes in her childhood home. The communication of the importance of eating healthy has been a thorough impression, which for Julie is remembered very clearly, and which she tries to pass on to her own

family. With the introduction of organic food products into her parents' refrigerator, a coupling between healthy raw ingredients and ecology took place.

The influence of her boycott of organic products is due to the discussions that took place among the students during her education period. Thus, among the group of students that Julie was a part of, ecology was a supplement to a lifestyle that included certain attitudes to health and the environment. The boycott of organic food products also has, in addition to the purely health related importance which Julie refers to, the role of being part of an overall image that relates itself to how one would like to see oneself. To put organic food products on the table is described as more than just serving a meal. It is also putting the ecological values in the foreground, which contributes to signalling the values that one as an individual represents. Values which Julie describes as being a responsible consumer and a good and caring mother, and which provide the children with optimal living conditions.

5.2.1. To what extent are the informants political?

In chapter 4, two assessment criteria were presented for evaluating when consumer behaviour can be described as political. These were as follows:

- *Assessment criterion 1: The consumer behaviour must be an expression of conscious, considered actions that are intended to influence the development of society, and not primarily for private purposes;*
- *Assessment criterion 2: The consumer behaviour must be based on a community orientation.*

These criteria will in the following sections be applied to each individual case.

5.2.2. Application of assessment criterion 1

This section will assess the extent to which the individual's consumption behaviour fulfil the criteria for political participation in relation to the specific consumption behaviour. Below, criterion 1 is applied to, respectively, the individual boycott and boycott.

5.2.2.1. The individual boycott

Health considerations are the main reasons when Julie boycotts organic food products, but health and environmental issues are for Julie connected with each other. The motive for boycott is clearly health, where she wants to save the family from unnecessary pesticides and additives, as Julie is concerned about the development of allergies and eczema, especially among children. The environmentally beneficial qualities that ecology contributes with are seen by Julie as factors that will help to develop a more chemical-free environment. She believes to have more control over the chemicals that are accumulating in the environment. The perspective for Julie is that organic products are actually healthier both in the short and long term. Boycotting organic food products means that it is possible to produce food products that are healthier. Thus, the environmental motive in connection with contributing to a pesticide-free form of agriculture is combined with the idea that in the longer perspective, food products will be produced containing less chemical residues. The fact that nature and animal life also gain an advantage from the existence of organic agriculture is, for Julie, a positive added bonus, but the purchase of organic food products is expressed as having personal aims. As Julie puts it, "It is something I do for myself."

The justification for ascribing organic food products a greater health potential is that they do not contain additives and gene modified material. Even though there is lacking evidence that organic produce is healthier, compared with conventional products, Julie attaches a logical causal coupling based on ordinary "common sense". On the question of why she experiences organic food products as healthier, she responds:

Julie: " Hmm...I think it just sounds totally logical that it's healthier when you don't add all kinds of stuff when you grow things, or make them without all these chemicals; that it must be healthier. "

Julie's motives are related to her personal aims, and she does not declare any political motives in relation to her boycott. The lack of a societal focus is expressed in the extract below, where she is asked more directly whether any linkage between her consumption and politics is carried out, and where Julie, after further consideration, can see that a connection could exist, but that it is clearly not something she has previously considered any further. She also refers to politics in a traditional sense, namely taking part in an election, which signals that politics for Julie is not something connected with acting as a consumer. On the question of whether she experiences voting with a shopping trolley as a possible way of influencing the development of society, her answer is:

Julie: "Yeah..., no... actually not, but now as you ask, it could make sense... you could actually look at it that way."

Interviewer: "But is it something you have definitely thought about?"

Julie: Err...I think first, I've thought thatmmm.. that I will buy something organic, and then afterwards I've thought that it was very SF-like, and so I go down and vote for SF."

Interviewer: "But have you thought that your consumption of goods can influence the development of society?"

Julie: "No, I have never thought that deeply about that..."

It emerges in the above transcript that Julie does not experience her consumption of organic food products as a political action that is intended to influence the supply of organic food products. That Julie does not consider her consumption as potentially political can be due to the fact that Julie is not very interested in politics and, therefore, not conscious that she, as a consumer, can adopt the role of a political player. She experiences much more the traditional channels of political participation, such as participation in elections or demonstrations, as ways of exercising political influence. In spite of the presence of the environmental motive, there is no connection made between political activity and the consumption, and the external focus showing regard for the environment is more a question of promoting a form of production that finally results in healthier food products than it is the formulation of a political demand in relation to improving the natural environment and animal life. The environmental motive becomes, therefore, more a traditional consumption motive, where personal motives are predominant in relation to the more aggregate socio-political intentions.

5.2.2.2. Reference framework for the analysis of the individual boycotts

How is it possible in the analysis to classify the informants' statements concerning the ethical aspect as having a predominantly political motive versus a more private motive? The Nordic Council of Ministers (Nordisk Ministerråd) (2001:35) have in their report *"The consumers' feeling for ethics"* (*"Forbrugernes fornemmelse for etik"*), on the basis of a range of qualitative expert interviews with Nordic researchers, set out four basic motives for ethical consumption. These will be applied in the analysis of the importance that the informants ascribe to their boycott. The four

basic motives emphasized comprise partly the public motive, and partly the private motives, which are subdivided into the social, care and pleasure motives.

5.2.2.3 The public motive

The public motive concerns ethical consumption as a form of political consumption in which the engagement is directed towards influencing society's development. The citizens use the market as an arena for political influence, and ethical consumption becomes an example of how the market can be used to exercise political influence. The public motive contributes to establishing imagined communities, which are mobilised particularly through the media and the Internet. Ethical consumption is often considered an aspect of a broader political consumption concept, where, for instance, the ethical aspect is part of environmentally conscious consumption. Several investigations indicate that political consumption has been growing and has reached a stable level, and within this, ethical consumption can be seen as an example of boycotting and considered part of the political participation repertoire (Micheletti, 1997, Tobiasen, 2004).

5.2.2.4. The three private motives: social, caring and pleasure motives

All three private motives in connection with ethical consumption are concerned with the individual's need to be a certain type of person. In the following paragraphs, the content of each of the three subordinate motives will be concretised.

5.2.2.4.1. The social motive

The social motive concerns expressing the social values that we as individual represent and simultaneously what differentiates us from other people. Ethical consumption can be seen as a way of creating an identity, and thus each individual can manifest themselves in terms of economic, cultural and social resources (Nordisk Ministerråd, 2001). The social motives are concerned with identification, social network and differentiation (Halkier, 2001a; Solér, 1997). According to Nordisk Ministerråd (2001), ethical consumption in relation to the social motive also concerns the actual symbolic effect that your consumption behaviour reveals what type of person you are. Placing organic eggs in your shopping trolley rather than battery eggs can contribute to communicating a story that you are a responsible consumer who considers animal welfare and this behaviour states the social values you express.

5.2.2.4.2. The care motive

This motive is about engaging oneself in a particular pattern of consumption in order to show care towards others, who often have a close connection to the individual. Nordisk Ministerråd (2001:45) says:

"I think that we consumers, first and foremost, direct our care towards the person that must use the thing that we buy, rather than towards those who have produced the thing. We, for instance, think first (and in most cases only) about our close family when we buy sports shoes for them – not about the working conditions for those who have produced the shoes"

Care for those closest to us, for instance our children, can thereby be a decisive factor when we consume, and this motive can be characterised as the most private among the private motives. The purpose is that of creating a private world where the consumption supports a series of actions that create a tighter family bond.

5.2.2.4.3. The pleasure motive

The pleasure motive is considered to be deeply anchored in the entire consumption culture, i.e. within the individual's hedonistic urge to consume something new and something different. The urge to consume something new, to see consumption as a process of renewal, is the actual driving force behind the consumption. The pleasure motive contains a "feel good" aspect. The taste of good conscience as when Torjusen in Nordisk Ministerråd (2001: 48) or Beckmann in Nordisk Ministerråd (2001: 42) describe it as a "feel good about yourself" feeling when you behave nicely and politically correctly. O'Doherty Jensen highlights in the same publication (2001:48) that, particularly among people with a high education and income level, pleasure is connected with certain consumption patterns demanding particular types of knowledge and insight. This creates certain difficulties, and contributes to signalling that one is doing something special. Even though the pleasure motive can lead to positive consequences, for instance, ethical consumption, some experts nevertheless consider the hedonistic pleasure aspect as being full of contradictions in relation to ethical consumption, as pleasure often occurs at the cost of something else. For instance, when an individual chooses the bathtub over more water-saving alternatives, this has consequences for the environment. Conversely, experts also highlight that precisely the pleasure motive, and thereby the desire to renew one's consumption, can be the decisive reason that individuals actually change their consumption patterns and implement more ethically sustainable, environmentally

correct consumption routines. Ethical consumer choices can, therefore, be connected with the special privilege of having the resources to make a difference, and the feeling of making a difference can form the basis for some narratives concerning the individuals and the communities they are members of.

5.2.2.5. The individual boycott

The boycott of eggs from battery hens occurs, according to Julie, due to a regard for the animals. Julie does not wish to support a form of production that accepts that the hens cannot move around. She expresses it quite simply:

Julie: "I think, quite simply, it's a pity for the hens".

The boycott is in this case based on ethical considerations related to the way animals are kept. On the question of why she boycotts battery eggs, she responds:

Julie: "Well, I just think that it's wrong that they should live in such a tiny little cage and be tormented. I don't like such a thought."

Interviewer: Why?

Julie: "Hmm, well I guess it's something to do,.. yes it's a little difficult to explain the deeper meaning of it, but...yes, when all's said and done I would rather see myself as someone who is also caring towards animals, that is to say, showing consideration where you can.."

With the formulation of her ethical consideration and boycott of eggs from battery hens, Julie wishes to distance herself to this kind of production. She refers to ethical motives, which invite her to boycott the product, where the animals in her eyes have had a miserable existence, and she expresses that she would like to see herself as the type of person who considers animal welfare. Indirectly, she is influencing the demand for certain products that do not reach the shelves to the same extent. There is thus an indirect political influence on the demand for other types of eggs, which can according to Beck & Holzer (2001) be described as a form of passive subpolitics as, regardless of the lack of political intentions, it releases a political influence. Julie does not consider the action as political on equal terms with her boycott. The political aspect of her consumption is not active and present, and she does not, therefore, fulfil the criterion of being conscious of her political intentionality.

The thought of battery hens getting mistreated gets Julie and most of the informants to refrain from buying these, which is clearly made explicit in the cases that follow (among others, Else, Emma and Hans). It is indicated that the informants have a lower limit for what they will support, provided the effort is relatively limited. The boycott of battery eggs can exemplify that for only a small amount of money, it is possible to reject a product that appeals to our humane values and conscience. This is a situation where the individual includes ethical motives into the consumption behaviour.

5.2.3. Application of assessment criterion 2

The fact that Julie, with her boycott of organic food products primarily satisfies personal needs, she does not consider herself part of a wider community having the purpose of exercising political influence through her consumer behaviour. Neither does she think politically in relation to her boycott. She does not here directly fulfil personal aims, but rather attempts to live up to ethical standards. She sees her consumer identity as an isolated aspect and does not have any thoughts about whether others are purchasing organic food products. Reflection takes place concerning the extent to which other people belong to the same type, have similar values, could consider buying organic products etc. This can however also be an expression of how one would like to be perceived, rather than it being an expression of thinking in terms of political communities, albeit loosely based ones.

In relation to the four basic motives for ethical consumption, which were outlined above, Julie's motive for boycotting battery eggs belongs in principle to the private motives, more specifically the social motive. Julie expresses that she would like to see herself as a particular type of person, who incorporates animal welfare into her product choices, and, thereby, she indicates her affiliation to certain social values. Something points towards the fact that, in relation to her boycotts, Julie is very conscious of belonging and identifying herself with certain social communities when, in relation to her earlier student network and subsequent work-related network, she was preoccupied with promoting the discussion of the positive aspects of organic food products. If this is compared with Julie's justifications concerning boycotts, then it also indicates that the identification with particular values, and the simultaneous dissociation from individuals that, for instance, accept battery eggs as a possible product choice is important. Julie also states that she is an opponent of this production

form, but she does not explicitly use the consumer role as a form of political participation. Even though it could be claimed that Julie's statements contain a hidden public motive, there is no conscious expression relating to a political aim.

5.2.4. Case summary and response to research question a

The above case illustrates a person that, in her boycott of organic food products, states health related motives. She wants to minimize herself and her family from the exposure of unnecessary chemicals, the effects of which are unknown. Environmental concern also exists, but this is formulated as a motive that is closely tied to the health motive. Thus, the health and environmental motives are closely related motives, where the regard for the environment is based on the assumption that a cleaner environment leads to the production of healthier food products. In the end, the aim is to satisfy personal needs.

For Julie, boycotting is a question of whether ecology communicates values, such as responsibility, caring for the family's health and security, is linked to the role of a responsible mother who prepares healthy and nutritious food that is not full of pesticides. In that way, she feels that she gives her children the best possible conditions for avoiding illnesses like asthma, allergies, etc. She adopts the role of a responsible adult in boycotting the food products she considers healthiest. In addition, the ecological values also concern the creation of an image that signals the type of person she is. For Julie, ecology is a supplement to her lifestyle, where she constructs a life based on left-wing orientated values with products that illustrate environmental consideration.

In relation to her boycott, Julie states her opposition towards the way battery eggs are produced, and her animal welfare consideration is thus expressed. The boycott exemplifies an action signalling dissociation towards a particular form of production, where Julie's demand is the decisive precondition for these changes. It cannot be claimed that a public motive exists with reference to the described ethical motives. Julie expresses a desire to change the production related conditions, but there is no explicit expression or consciousness about the fact that she exercises a form of politics via the market. Julie does not consider her boycott as a political act, even though the motive can be interpreted as public. Based on Holzer & Sørensen's (2001) discussion of the subpolitics concept, the boycott can perhaps be considered as a form of passive subpolitics. The demand ultimately contributes to changes in society, but where there are no explicit political intentions behind it.

Julie is not conscious of her political role as a consumer and does not consider the market as a political arena. She does not think of politics in relation to her boycott of organic food products, and is not interested in whether others boycott similar products. Criteria 1 and 2 are not fulfilled, and on the basis of the above descriptions Julie is not considered a person who ascribes her boycott to political motives, and she is, therefore, not seen as a political consumer. On the other hand, Julie is considered to be driven by health related aspects in her product choices, and I choose to designate her boycott and boycott as *"health-driven consumer choices"*. Based on the discussion of the motives for boycott and boycott, it could be claimed that Julie expresses a public motive in relation to her boycott, as she desires changes to the production of eggs. Conversely, she is not always conscious of her political influence, and the assessment is that she is to a greater degree conscious of her social identity, and the values she represents. It is my assessment that Julie predominantly has a private motive, specifically the social motive.

5.3. Case description B: Hans - *"It's all about behaving reasonably"*

Hans is 51 years old and lives in North Jutland with his wife, Inge. Hans has a master of science in engineering. Together, the couple have 2 children who have both left home. Hans votes for the Socialist People's Party (SF). Inge is the one primarily responsible for cooking in the home, but they often manage the shopping jointly. They do, however, share the same views on ecology and the production of battery eggs, so there is no deviation from ecological principles regardless of who is doing the shopping.

Hans and Inge live on an old farm with approximately 16 acres of land, where they have lived since 1983. When the couple originally acquired the property, they decided to practice organic farming, mostly for their own consumption, and over a number of years they were self-sufficient in corn and vegetables. Today, the land is not cultivated, as the local plan for the county contains a clause that the land shall be used for the extraction of raw materials subject to demand. When the need for a North Jutland high way arose, the land was compulsorily purchased and for a period converted to a gravel quarry. The high way between Aalborg and Frederikshavn is, therefore, as Hans puts it: *"A stretch of organic motorway."*

Hans' interest in organic food products does not originate from his work with converting the farm property to organic farming, but originates from the end of the 1970's. The decision to boycott organic products was influenced by Hans' and Inges' political interests, and in particular the fact that Hans was politically active within the environmental area. Over a number of years, Hans was on a voluntary basis engaged in a political support group that supported a politician from The Communist League party (Kommunistisk Forbund – KF), who had a seat on the Planning and Technical Committee of Fyn County Council. Hans was, in this connection, especially occupied with the procurement of information related to both the working environment and nature preservation. This political interest has in addition led to Hans and Inge at one point being politically active in the society "Nuclear Power – No Thanks" (Atomkraft Nej Tak), and they supported sustainable energy forms in the form of windmills by purchasing shares in windmill projects. Furthermore, Hans was involved in the starting of SF in the Aalborg constituency when the couple moved to the district, but today he is no longer a member of the party. Local politics is less interesting than before, and he thinks the agendas have become too narrow. Finally, Hans has tried to make an influence politically through the school parents' organisation when the children were younger, and through the years has attempted to exert political influence in areas that have been significant for him and his family. His political work and interest in the environment have led to organic food products being a natural choice when they began to appear in the stores, and when the possibility to produce his own food products arose later on, there was no doubt that these should be produced based on ecological principles.

5.3.1. Application of assessment criterion 1

In the following paragraphs, assessment criterion 1 is applied to, respectively, Hans' individual boycott and boycott.

5.3.1.1. The individual boycott

The desire to conserve nature, animal life and the ground water are the primary reasons for Hans boycotting organic food products. Via the conservation of the environment, Hans believes that better possibilities are created to maintain necessary survival conditions for plants and animals, and at the same time better chances are created for producing healthier food products for both people and animals. He formulates it in the following way:

Hans: "If we compare our beautiful Danish nature, which it is in most places, with that nature you find in certain parts of the world, where people are totally indifferent, then there is a motivation involved, yes.. to learn to conserve the nature we have...(pause) with what that implies concerning survival conditions for plants and animals, and of course also that...the other side of it is that we need healthier food products out of it....both the food products we ourselves need, but also the foodstuffs our animals need"

Environmental consideration takes first priority, and the production of organic food products is a healthier consequence, which Hans approves of. However, the health aspect is more an added value than the real motive. Basically, Hans does principally trust the food industry, and the consumption of food products and the health related consequences are not something that Hans loses sleep over. This is apparent in the response below to the question of to what extent the boycott of organic food products is a form of risk minimisation.

Hans: "No, I don't look upon conventional food products as being harmful to your health, no not at all; I wouldn't get stressed over that ...!"

Hans' concern for the environment is partly due to his political work, but also his own experiences with food production. He emphasizes that the animal life on the organically farmed land is much richer than on the conventionally farmed land that border his property. For instance, he mentions that the seagulls always prefer his land, because it is here that the earthworms can be found, while the seagulls avoid the conventionally farmed land on the other side of the hedge. He takes this as a sign of the overuse of pesticides and their impact on the animal life. In addition, Hans highlights the problems he sees with regard to the percolation of pesticides into the ground water and the problems this is bound to give in the future if the ground water resources are no longer useable as drinking water.

He thinks it is a sad and a very un-Danish situation if fresh water can no longer be drunk from the taps, and that people shall start transporting water home in large containers, which is also an extra burden on the environment. He thus sees his role as a consumer one of taking a responsibility and behaving reasonably, and making an effort where you can. On a basic level, he believes that you should be brought up to behave reasonably, which he understands as looking after the resources that are available. At the same time, Hans also has the view that it's not just about him, here and now, but that the environment is a resource that ought to be maintained for the coming generations.

Hans' motives for boycott are, overall, directed at improving the conditions for nature preservation and food production, which is why a societal perspective exists here rather than a satisfaction of his own needs. His personal needs exist at more secondary level. The experience of purchasing organic food products as a political act is no longer something Hans reflects over, but in the beginning, when ecology was new and a theme that you were required to take a position on, it was a political signal that you wanted to send out.

Hans: "Today, I don't think about it as politics anymore, asyes, it's not as if I stand with a litre of organic milk each time and think....now I sure am being political, but back then, when ecology was new and trendy, I thought quite a bit about it..., also all that about ecology coming out of a political ideology ..."

Hans is thus an example of a consumer who has explicit environmental motives that concern nature preservation more than his personal health, and at the same time, he is conscious about his political role as a consumer.

5.3.1.2. The individual boycott

With regard to the boycott of eggs, Hans chooses organic eggs or barn eggs if organic eggs are not available on the shelves. He boycotts organic because it is now the way he shops for the family, and because the basic idea behind the organic eggs contains a consideration of animal welfare. To buy battery eggs is not a possibility, because it is simply:

"Sad for the poor hen,"

and Hans adds that:

"You cannot in my eyes allow yourself to buy a product where the animals suffer, because we want some eggs."

Hans indicates hereby that there is a limit for what one can allow oneself or bring oneself to do, and that to produce eggs under such circumstances is not considered decent. In that way, the boycott of eggs becomes a question of being a decent, humane person. The assessment of Hans' statements concerning motives for the boycott is that there is no declaration of or reference to private motives

in relation to the described private motives for ethical consumption. Hans' focus is not directed towards himself and, as with his motives for boycotting organic food products, it would probably occur that Hans also in relation to boycott would give motives that were public rather than private. His motive for boycotting relates to animal welfare, and he is generally not concerned with the more private consumption related aspects. Therefore, I assess Hans' motives for boycott to be based on a public engagement with the intention of changing the conditions for the production of food products, which in relation to the determination of ethical motives refers to the public motive.

5.3.2. Application of assessment criterion 2

As Hans' reflections concerning the boycott of organic food products and the boycott of eggs from battery chickens were carried out many years ago, when the products began to gain a foothold, he does not think much over his influence as a consumer any more. He is though very conscious concerning the fact that he is a part of a consumption community that is able to influence the supply of goods. He states that he hopes that more and more will support organic farming so that a volume can be achieved making a wide range of organic food products available on the market.

5.3.3. Case summary and response to research question a

Hans is an example of a consumer that very explicitly formulates environmental and animal welfare considerations as motives for boycott and boycott. The health aspect is part of the overall consideration in the boycott situation, but the health related advantages, which can possibly be achieved via the production of organic food products, are seen as more of a spin-off from the environmental improving aspects.

The explanation as to why Hans states society based motives rather than more personal reasons can be due to his political consciousness and his political engagement, which he has shown over the last 20 years. Thus, an approach including a political intention in his consumer behaviour exists, which is expressed through his motives and consumer awareness. The criteria for classifying consumption behaviour as political are in this case fulfilled. Therefore, such boycott and boycott acts can be classified as *“political consumption acts”*.

5.4. Case description C: Morten – *“My mother’s ecological principles”*

Morten is 25 years old and lives on the island of Fyn, where he is studying medicine in his 5th year. Morten lives together with his girlfriend. In terms of politics, he votes for the The Danish Social Democrats (Socialdemokraterne). Morten is the driving force behind the purchase of organic food products, and he attempts to convince his girlfriend that she also should buy organic products, but she is more inconsistent in her buying patterns. She considers the price a lot, and mostly boycotts the organic alternative provided the price is approximately the same as the conventional product. The couple take turns to do the shopping and cook meals depending on who happens to have time or is passing a supermarket.

The interest in boycotting organic food products originates from home, where Morten’s mother has been very proactive concerning the promotion of ecological values ever since Morten was a little boy. Since the end of the 1970’s, there has been a desire to exclusively purchase and consume organic food products, as far as the budget allowed it. The mother, who is a nurse, had a desire to give the family the healthiest living conditions based on her own definition hereof. The consumption of food has played a significant role in her aim of establishing these healthy living conditions. Morten sees his mother’s interest as an expression of two things. Partly a political involvement and partly a deeper interest in consumer related issues, which often involved health related aspects. These reasons can explain why a conscious involvement concerning food products and their production has played a significant role. On the question of what really is the basis for his mother’s interest in ecology, Morten responds:

Morten: *“I think it is a normal involvement, both as political involvement and also as a consumer....my mother is always very much a kind of conscious consumer and has always been this, both because of economic reasons, but also to make sure that you basically get something that you can serve to your kids, you know, and there I think it is that consumer wave – it’s really this that my mother can do, and then it has rubbed off on me, you know. Then she has always been very interested in what kind of raw ingredients she can get – I simply believe it’s because organic food products are marketed as being healthier than others, and that you must choose to believe this or not. I fully believe it, and also even though it’s not scientifically proven, and therefore I also believe it is the main reason that we have begun to buy organically, that is especially with regard to, say, corn products, where you also, when my mother was a young first-time mother...where we talked about all kinds of things with these straw-shortening agents, and what they mean for your children and yourself, you know, and it’s absolutely certain that...in organic milk they don’t use straw-shorteners and they don’t use pesticides, and so it is obviously here that the reasons lie”*

After Morten has left home and he has begun to reflect over shopping and eating habits, his mother's inspiration has given him a reason to continue with boycotting organic food products. As a student, there are occasional economic constraints but the ecological option has been implemented in Morten's way of living.

5.4.1. Application of assessment criterion 1

In the following paragraphs, assessment criterion 1 is applied to, respectively, Morten's individual boycott and boycott.

5.4.1.1. The individual boycott

Morten's motives for boycotting organic food products are divided into two, and they are formulated very explicitly. The first motive that is verbalised is the health related aspect, which is also apparent from the above quotation, where Morten believes that organic food products are considered healthier than conventional food products. He is conscious that there is no scientific evidence for this, but he chooses to believe that an avoidance of pesticides is good for your health. In addition, Morten states the environment as the second motive, where he evaluates the tendencies within food production, where the issue of over-fertilisation is seen as problematic. Morten's formulations of these motives are made apparent in the extract below, in which he explains what the reasons are for his boycott of organic food products:

Morten: *"It is the belief that it is healthier, not just for myself, of course – it's there you start, you isn't it – this is healthier for myself in the long term, yeah, and it will also be healthier for your children, if you have any sometime, you know, and then also on the basis of that, seen purely in political terms, I think that it is the right way to go, and here I'm thinking especially about both the environment and agriculture, because food production depends of course a lot on your farming, and here I think that the way farming has developed since the 80's – yes, that industrialisation there has been – that has taken us way over the abyss, meaning that all that with over fertilisation, yes and also the use of pesticides, all in all things that we cannot entirely judge the consequences of yet – it becomes kind of suppressed, I think, and it is also political, that is to say it's no secret that there is also disagreement among the political parties about how restrictions on farming should be, you know, and there I think that it is important that you go in and take a position, and I have also, far out you might say, the thought, the hope that if everyone now began to buy, say, organic milk, then there would actually appear more organic milk on the shelves, you know"*

Morten has a health motive that comes first, and an environmental motive that supports food production in which the health aspect plays a significant role. In contrast to the informants Julie and

Nanna (later), Morten assigns the regard for the environment a different role, as the political side of the boycott is formulated more explicitly, and it is more apparent that the boycott of organic food products is a political question for him concerning how food production shall be organised. Moreover, there is a different external focus that concerns the development of society, where consumption and politics are connected in a way that the above mentioned informants are not conscious of. Morten is not a member of a political party or organisation, but is generally interested in politics. His political interests are primarily connected to aspects that relate to his everyday life, in which food production is an aspect that is significant and relevant within his education.

5.4.1.2. The individual boycott

Morten differentiates himself from all the informants with regard to his motives for boycott. He always boycotts organic eggs because he supports ecological principles, but he has no ethical problems about buying battery eggs. He does not, therefore, boycott battery eggs based on any ethical considerations, but this is rather more a case of a definite boycott of organic eggs. It appears from the quotation below that the ethical motives are not decisive:

Morten: "Yes, and that's where I think that I really stand out, because there are lots of people who buy those free range (eggs), because they think that it is so damn sad for the hen that it has no space to walk around, but I think that's nonsense. I think that's the wrong attitude to have, because it is not animal welfare you should think about first. That might be an added bonus – I think that's totally okay, but we simply cannot avoid the fact that it is us who have put these hens in their cages so that we can get some eggs to eat, you know, but that it then turns out that if they get to walk around, if they are raised organically, that they are free to walk around – because when they are raised organically, you must also then consider that they also use the organic foodstuffs, which are produced in a way that I think is much better for the environment, so, therefore, everything is connected.

The assessment made is that Morten considers health as the primary motive in the boycott situation, which is a traditional and natural consumer motive, and, secondly, regard for the environment is emphasised, where societal changes are discussed in relation to consumption. In relation to the boycott, as far as Morten is concerned, this is not actually a case of a definite boycott, as he does not boycott battery eggs based on ethical aspects, but rather boycotts organic eggs because he supports this form of production. The boycott as a possible way of signalling politics, therefore, ceases in this case. Morten is, however, seen as a consumer that fulfils the conditions in criterion 1.

as he explicitly states the possibilities for contributing to political changes in food production via the boycott of organic food products.

5.4.2. Application of assessment criterion 2

It is apparent from the extracts presented above that Morten, in one form or another, thinks in communities, as he hopes for the establishment of what might be described as a "consumer community". He understands that the consumer demand sets the agenda for the products that can be found in the supermarkets. The experience of being able to influence of the supply of goods is part of Morten's consciousness.

5.4.3. Case summary and response to research question a

This case describes an informant, where the boycott of organic food products is motivated partly by regards to own health, and partly a regard for the environment. The motivation for boycotting organic food is heavily influenced by the mother. Morten's choice of education reflects a person who concerns himself with the overriding health related aspects that are connected to everyday living. The environmental regard is also connected to the health related aspects, but Morten formulates a more explicit external focus, where consumption is related to changes in society. The boycott does not figure as a possible form of participation, as Morten does not boycott battery eggs, but boycotts organic eggs.

Morten represents a consumer type with multi-dimensional motives, where both personal and societal motives are combined. He consciously expresses a link between consumption and political influence. Morten is assessed to be a consumer who, via his consumption, wishes to exercise political influence, and at the same time fulfils ordinary health related consumer motives. The criteria for classifying this consumer behaviour as political are fulfilled, but the political element is not the most dominating motive. Considering the above, Morten's boycotts and boycotts are characterized as "*both and*" consumption acts.

5.5. Case description D: Lone – *”My background in this health service sector”*

Lone is 62 years old and educated a nurse. She lives in North Jutland together with her husband. The couple has no children. Politically, Lone votes for the Socialist People's Party (SF). Lone and her husband share the shopping and the cooking, and they both consciously boycott organic food products. Furthermore, they subscribe to various local food product schemes, which at the present time means that they have fruit and vegetables delivered to their door, as well as having an agreement with a local farmer for the supply of meat. The local community provides them with organic food products and Lone and her husband try as far as possible to buy products that are produced locally.

Lone's interest in boycotting organic food products originates from her professional background as a nurse, where available information and research concerning the damaging effects of chemicals on organisms convinces her that organic products are a healthier alternative to the conventional, sprayed goods. This is apparent in the extract below, which is a response to the question of why she became interested in buying organic food products:

Lone: *”Well, I think it has something to do with, hmm, that is.....it has a bit to do with my background in this health service sector, where the information you get or the information there is about food products... err, you notice this when you've got such a background, you know, I think so, particularly, err..I also have a husband who is very interested in alternative movements, kind of on a society level, world economics level, so err..it's very much in the same style what we do in everyday life, you know, yes and it's also a bit connected to allergy development in Denmark, you know and children's allergies and yes I am also a bit allergic, not actually to food products, but all in all the environment is terribly full of lots of substances, you know”*

Interviewer: *”What type of information are you thinking of here?”*

Lone: *”Well, it's not because I'm fanatically obsessed by it, but I collect the information ..err..I see in the media..oh..and it actually makes a bit of an impression on you when you hear about how root plants and onions take up different unpleasant things, you know and are sprayed for mould..err and, where it gets into the onion, so..”*

Her professional connection to the health sector has thus influenced Lone so that she boycotts organic food products and likewise has influenced her primary motives, which appear in the following.

5.5.1. Application of assessment criterion 1

In the following paragraphs, assessment criterion 1 will be applied to, respectively, the individual buycott and boycott.

5.5.1.1. The individual buycott

As is apparent in the above quotation, Lone is very preoccupied with the health related aspects in relation to her food consumption. Her professional healthcare background influences to a great extent her perspective on ecology, and ecology is linked together with healthier and cleaner products. Lone also refers to her husband, who has another relationship to ecology, which incorporates a more societal and perhaps political focus. Lone mentions that her perspective on ecology is probably related to what she calls *"Something in the same style we do in everyday life,"* such that the approach and perspective on ecology is to a great extent determined by background, involvement and employment.

Lone is very detailed in her description of specific consequences of spraying food products, where she is concerned about the effect these chemicals can have on the organism in the longer term. This is apparent below:

Lone: *"Heavy metals are something I am particularly concerned about, because they are actually very poisonous for the liver err..generally it is something to do with avoiding the effects if you can err..and you can actually, if you buy organic, you know"*

Lone expresses clearly health related motives in relation to her buycott of organic food products. Her concern about the environment likewise relates itself to the minimisation of harmful substances in nature, through which the influence of harmful substances on the organism is reduced.

The interesting aspect, which should be added to the description of Lone, is that she is very politically active and a member of SF in Aalborg. In spite of her political connection to a party, she does not experience her individual buycott as being political signals or acts. She reports that political actions via consumption are in her eyes more about boycott actions, where she recently had rejected an American restaurant because of the country's invasion and participation in the war against Iraq. Lone experiences and performs her political initiative as a consumer via concrete

boycott demonstrations, but does not see the buycott of organic food products in the same way. The interesting aspect is, therefore, that in spite of Lone's general political awareness and interest, there is no connection between her individual everyday purchasing behaviour and politics. The reason is presumably that there is no direct political message behind the action and, therefore, she does not think in terms of political influence via her buycott strategy, but the boycott strategy, in the form of boycott actions, is more seen as a concrete political consumer weapon.

5.5.1.2. The individual boycott

The boycott of eggs by Lone concerns ethics, i.e. regard for the animals. She distances herself from the production method. Lone does not indicate that this is a political standpoint, but describes it more as a form of decency, which she thinks she ought to show as a consumer. She thus refers to a norm or social value which is her standard for what she allows herself to put into the shopping basket. Discussing the boycott of battery eggs, Lone describes a lack of transparency as regards the production. Often the problem is that the consumers are not able to assess how the product is produced and whether it should be buycotted or boycotted. Lone describes it as follows:

Lone: "Well with regard to eggs, I think that actually, err...yes, there you can almost not allow yourself to buy those battery eggs, you know, well it is of course terrible that way they live in those cages,.. no I kind of have that attitude that such products, where we know that the animals are in bad condition, yes err..yes there I think there is just no doubt about err.., that here you must simply choose another product, so I choose the organic, you know, but err sometimes it can also be a bit difficult to know how a product is produced, but particularly with battery eggs, there I actually believe that here are some of the hens that have had a slightly better life"

The motives for the boycott can, in Lone's case, be interpreted as being both concerned with showing regard to animal welfare and, via her purchasing decisions, signalling that you do not support such production methods. At the same time, it is also possible to interpret the boycott as an enforcement of personal norms and values, where you act in accordance with these. Lone's boycott can be seen as a mixture of political and private motives, but the political motives must be seen in relation to the fact that Lone formulates regard for animal welfare aspects and opposition to the form of production, as was the case with Julie. It is, however, interesting that both Julie and Lone do not explicitly see their engagement in the supermarket as a political engagement, but more as a personal project. It is, therefore, difficult both to reject and accept Lone's boycott as being politically motivated, as there is an expression of wanting to do something in relation to the

production forms, but on the other hand the role of consumer is not connected with that of being a political player. The consumer role and the political role can theoretically be linked together in relation to the individual consumption in everyday life, but in Julie's and Lone's cases, there is a lack of consciousness regarding the fusion of these roles.

5.5.2. Application of assessment criterion 2

Lone's way of understanding communities in relation to consumption is the common attitudes and opinions which exist among friends and colleagues. She particularly refers to the "philosophy club", which is a collection of good old friends who meet, eat together and discuss literature and various other subjects. The verbalisation of attitudes related to ecology and food products take place within that community and there is an exchange of, what are also to a great extent relatively uniform views on food production. This forum is thus the value-community which Lone experiences herself as being part of. In addition, Lone does not feel that she is a part of a greater consumption community, but sees herself as a person acting individually in the market.

5.5.3. Case summary and response to research question a

The case describes a person who, given her profession as a nurse, is motivated by health related aspects in her boycott of organic food products. Her regard for the environment is justified by reasons which are connected with primarily health. Her boycott fulfils personal aims. In spite of Lone's active political membership, she does not see her consumption of organic food products as political, but refers to concrete boycotts or boycotts as examples of political actions. A form of value-community is recounted, which exists with persons to whom she has a close relationship, and who share the same attitudes towards food production. Given the discussion above, where personal aims are placed in the foreground, Lone's boycotts are characterised as "*health-driven consumption acts*" and the motives for her boycott can both be seen as being public, i.e. political, as well as private. The overriding focus on private motives in connection with her boycott means that her boycott can also be motivated primarily by private, social motives, as it is not known to what extent a political intentionality exists. The fact that reference is made to a value community is more a question of ecology being discussed and opinions exchanged, but because ecology is so decisively coupled with health, the community is considered here as an expression of a politically joint concern.

5.6. Case description E: Henrik: *"I think about the coming generations"*

Henrik is 65, lives in North Zealand with his wife, Kirsten. Altogether, the couple have 4 children who live in various places in Denmark. Henrik has a master of science in engineering. Politically, Henrik votes for the Danish Social Democrats. The responsibility for shopping and cooking is primarily Henrik's, and he attempts, as far as the available quality and choice allow it, to purchase organic products in the local supermarket. Kirsten does, however, do some of the daily shopping, but she is not so deliberate about buying organic food. She bases her choices more on whether the goods look fresh, and she doesn't necessarily look first at the organic goods. She often, however, boycotts organic milk and other organic groceries, because here she experiences a uniformity in the quality, but, overall, the conscious boycott strategy for organic food products behind Kirsten's shopping is not as well established as with Henrik.

Henrik has boycotted organic food products since they began to appear in the shops in the 1970's. At that time, it began with milk products but gradually, as the products appeared on the shelves, the variation and number of organic food products has steadily increased. Henrik is beginning to boycott organic products, because he knows from his natural science background as well as his work related involvement in solving problems surrounding nature and the environment that the environment is impoverished and destroyed through an overuse of fertilisers and pesticides. He has with great concern seen how the animal life around various wetlands has disappeared over the years, and he also thinks about that the tap water for the next generations must remain as drinkable and available as it is today.

5.6.1. Application of assessment criterion 1

In the following paragraphs, assessment criterion 1 will be applied to, respectively, the individual boycott and boycott.

5.6.1.1. The individual boycott

The motives for boycotting organic food products primarily relate to regard for the environment. By promoting organic food production, Henrik sees better possibilities for the maintenance of a rich animal and plant life, and at the same time avoiding the risk of pesticides percolating down to the ground water. This viewpoint is expressed in the following extract:

Henrik: " It is because when you look over the Danish landscape and the surrounding coastal areas, they are unbelievably damaged compared to similar areas in our neighbouring countries. Denmark is such a low lying country with many wetlands, and if you want to see how it could look, then you could take a trip to the northern part of Poland, where there is an unbelievably rich animal and bird life with amphibians and all kinds of animals that cannot exist in Denmark because of the strain of the fertilising salts and various poisons. In my opinion we need a more sustainable agriculture. We should run a farm in a way which does not involve a ruthless exploitation of our natural resources, so that future generations can also live off them. What we are doing at the present time is we are drawing on life resources which the future generations should have"

The motive for boycotting is directed towards environmental improvement provisions. Especially the coming generations' possibilities for what he terms as a basis for living are important. On the question of how far Henrik experiences a risk connected with eating conventional foods, he responds dismissively, and he states that he has a fundamental trust in the Danish control system for food products:

Interviewer: "Do you trust in the production of conventional food products?"

Henrik: "Yes, as far as you can, you know – there will also be risks associated with eating organic food products, but I trust that the control system that we have in Denmark is fairly effective."

Henrik has no health related motives either, which relate to his boycott of organic food products. He also perceives potential risks associated with eating organic products, so the health related aspects are not part of the motives for boycotting. The lack of a health related focus is apparent below:

Henrik: "Actually, at the end of the day, I think it's more a question about generally living healthily, you know,...that you, for example, eat enough vegetables and maybe not so much meat and this type of thing, you know,...I believe more in that than if you once in while buy organic food."

Henrik's motives, which are characterised by a strong focus on the environment as the main motive, would in relation to the existing research become classified as political consumption. The interesting aspect, however, is that Henrik, despite his environmental motives, does not connect his buying decisions with the desire to exercise political influence or send political signals. He expresses this below:

Interviewer: "Do you see the role of consumer as a form of political player, where, through your purchase of organic food products, you can influence something?"

M: No, I have never thought of it in that way. Of course, I believe that if there are many people who buy organic food, then the farmers will deliver the goods, but I haven't thought about whether I am political in that sense. I believe more now that the changes which have happened within, for example, environmental management in Denmark and in Europe have come from pressure from various organised movements rather than coming from the individual consumer who buys particular products."

Interviewer: "So you are not conscious of a political role when you are out shopping?"

M: No, I believe there are more politics involved when it, for example, comes up in the media, because then you react to that which you're not satisfied with. When I buy organic food products, for example, then of course I would like the trend to continue, and that more people jump on the bandwagon, but that is more something that happens rather than I am aware of the idea that I want to change something."

Henrik is thus an example of a consumer who has a clear environmental aim, but does not explicitly have a political intention as regards his consumption. Politics for Henrik is much more about organised influence through organisations or, in a consumer context, when the media place individual cases on the agenda. Henrik is therefore, pointing towards the idea that consumers perhaps do not connect the possibility of political influence together with their daily shopping, but that one is more likely to take a position through the traditional channels for political influence.

5.6.1.2. The individual boycott

In contrast to Henrik's boycott of organic food products, where the environmental motive dominates, he does not choose organic eggs as a first priority, but attempts to acquire eggs from free range hens. He states that precisely with eggs, the position is different, as here he would like to maintain the consideration for animal welfare, and he considers eggs a product where animal welfare takes priority over the environment. Henrik's thoughts in connection with the boycott of eggs from battery hens and the boycott of alternatives are:

Henrik: "I always look for whether I can get some of those free-range – that which means the most with these eggs, I suppose, is that I think that these battery hens and all that,... it's quite appalling. I try to find some, where they can convince me with the packaging that the animals have had slightly better conditions, even though I know very well that they are a bit smart with the way they formulate things sometimes."

Interviewer: With regard to battery hens – what kinds of thoughts have you had?"

Henrik: "It's things like animal ethics, I think. There must be a limit to how badly you can treat animals."

Henrik attaches greatest importance to animal welfare in connection with his choice of eggs. He avoids battery eggs, because he sees the hens' living conditions as "appalling", and he indicates that he, via his boycott of battery eggs and buycott of other egg types, can contribute to setting some limits to how animals can be treated in connection with food production. The explicit ethical perspective with focus on living conditions is anchored in public motives, and Henrik does not express more private motives in connection with his boycott. As Henrik in his buycott shows an interest and engagement in relation to environmental aspects, the motives for his boycott could likewise express a desire to improve the conditions for hens, thus expressing public motives in both situations. However, the political intentionality does not exist in relation to his buycott, even though his motives could be characterised as public and thereby political.

5.6.2. Application of assessment criterion 2

Henrik sees himself as part of a community in the sense that he hopes and believes that there are more people "out there" who are having similar thoughts concerning buycott and boycott. He refers to a concrete consumption community, where people's demand communicates to producers that they should deliver particular products. At the same time, he also states that the others "think just like him", i.e. a value set is indicated, which Henrik has in common with the other consumers. Henrik's statement below indicates that also an implicit indication of a form of value community is given:

Henrik: "I think in this way..that if there are lots of people who do the same, and there are actually many who think a bit like me, and if there is a market for organic products, then the farmers will deliver the goods. If there is no market, then the farmers will not deliver the goods, as that would be commercial suicide, you know, so it's a bit up to the people to decide."

Interviewer: Do you believe that if the community makes an effort, then we can really influence something or other in the market?"

Henrik: "Yes, I think about the fact that there are bound to be others who do the same, and when I talk to others. There are many who talk to each other, then it spreads itself nice and slowly. It's my impression, not having done any thorough homework, that it is that which has happened ever since the 1970's, and that it's perhaps a bit stagnated at the moment, because there aren't exactly any new organic products. You reach a point where you can't really go much further – I don't know if it's right, something to do with the market being saturated."

5.6.3. Case summary and response to research question a

The above case describes an informant who, in his buycott, has explicit environmental motives, but at the same time does not link the consumption act with a political intention. Rather than thinking in terms of political influence as a conscious strategy, Henrik thinks much more in terms of supply and demand. He sees his efforts in relation to his buycott of certain products as a traditional consumer role, where he can, just as with all consumer goods, influence the supply through his choices. In that way, his buycott of organic food products is no different than with other consumer goods. In relation to his buycott, Henrik is motivated by consideration for animal welfare, and he attempts to live up to his own established standards for what he will buy as a consumer. Both his buycott and boycott do not, therefore, express political consumer acts. With regard to the aspect concerning belonging to a community, reference is made to a consumption and value community, but, again, this concerns the fact that Henrik to a great extent understands the community within a consumption context dominated by supply and demand.

Henrik thus expresses environmental consideration without ascribing his consumption to a political aim. This is different from the other informants, as most informants who do not have political intentions have health motives as the primary motivation for their buycott. As Henrik's focus on the health related motives does not exist, his motives for buycott and boycott cannot be categorized under the health-driven nor the political consumption acts. Therefore, Henrik's consumer choices have been characterised as "*neither nor*" consumption acts. This group of consumption acts characterised by having primary motives that are neither political nor health related. These could be environmental motives without being connected to health related aspects, price, quality, etc.

In relation to his boycott, Henrik is very explicit about his ethical motives, and he indicates that he hopes for, through his consumer choices, better living conditions for animals. In that way, his boycott can be interpreted as a political and public motive, where he wishes to change specific societal conditions. Again, it is, however, difficult in Henrik's case to classify the boycott as politically motivated, as he does not see his consumer role as political, which is something that is observed repeatedly for a number of the informants.

5.7. Case description F: Emma: "It's about the values you put on the table"

Emma is 37 years old, and lives in North Zealand. She is married with Jonas, and together they have a 5 year old son. In addition, Emma has two further children aged 11 and 12 years old, who also live with the couple. Emma is educated as a nurse. In terms of politics, she votes for The Conservative People's party. The responsibility for both shopping and cooking lies primarily with Emma. Jonas rarely cooks meals due to his working hours, and Emma also prefers to do this herself. When, however, Jonas occasionally does do the shopping, it is based on a shopping list prepared by Emma. It is thus Emma who decides what is purchased and which meals are prepared.

The interest in boycotting organic food products originates in a desire to feed the family with, in all its simplicity, some raw ingredients that have not been sprayed. Emma is very aware about the fact that there is no scientific evidence to show that organic food products are healthier but has, regardless of this, over a number of years decided to believe that they are so. She has, however, recently begun to reject organic food products, because she doubts whether they actually are healthier, and she reasons that if they really were healthier, then someone would have done some research to prove this, almost 30 years after their introduction. Her viewpoint is expressed in the following extract:

Emma: "I think in this way, that if you knew and could prove that it was healthier to eat the organic food products, then you would surely have put the evidence on the table,.. that is I think there can't be any better marketing message than that it's healthier, you know, so it's probably because they haven't really figured out how to measure whether they actually are healthier, you know"

The reason that Emma now and again rejects organic food products is that the health related proof is lacking, combined with the fact that prices of organic food products are much higher. Emma is very price conscious and, therefore, weighs up advantages and disadvantages whenever she has to pay extra for organic food products. At the same time she also more often buys non-organic food products because she perceives them as fresher. The less significance she attaches to the health related aspects of organic food, more importance is connected to criteria such as price, quality and freshness.

5.7.1. Application of assessment criterion 1

In the following paragraphs, assessment criterion 1 will be applied to, respectively, the individual buycott and boycott.

5.7.1.1. The individual buycott

As indicated above, Emma's primary motive for buycotting organic food products is based on the health related aspects. Her buycott is carried out based on personal aims that are directed at fulfilling the role of a responsible and caring parent/mother, where ecology simultaneously signals some values that are connected to an understanding of how to be a responsible and caring mother. Organic food products are buycotted based on a health motive, but ecology contains some symbolic aspects as well. The symbolic meaning of ecology for Emma is that she is not only putting healthy food on the table, but communicating a range of values that are connected to these products, such as romance, nostalgia, the good housewife, time for each other, etc. This is expressed in the extract below:

Emma: *"Well in one way or another, now I come to think about it a bit more, so, err..that with ecology, yes that is.. what you connect with ecology, ..that is.. err..it is something with brown paper bags, smart packaging, a romantic country farmhouse like in the old days and that kind of thing..."*

Interviewer: *"And what do you connect that with?"*

Emma: *"I think a bit that it is something to do with the idea that it's not just about healthy food,.. that is if you can follow me..it is err.., yes, it's a bit of a question of putting some values on the table as well, ..that you for instance, yes that you want to signal some of the same things that run through the whole ecology concept,.. that is with the paper bags, and back to the old days when you had time for each other and that kind of thing, yes that's all quite in at the moment I think,.. that about going back to the old values, now that we stress ourselves so much. For example, take that advertisement from the Old (jam) Factory (den Gamle Fabrik), that one with the jam, yes,.. that's a totally idyllic image they're using."*

Both the health related aspects and the symbols that relate to some of Emma's core values concerning responsibility and care (Rokeach, 1979) are motives that can be characterised as serving ones own purposes, i.e. they are directed at the person and not towards more aggregated effects. In this way, Emma is considered to be a person that, in relation to her buycott, does not fulfil the criterion.

5.7.1.2. The individual boycott

Emma rejects battery eggs, because she, like most of the informants, thinks that it constitutes a act of cruelty to keep animals on very limited space. She doesn't think about the extent to which her boycott influences the supply of other types of eggs or products in general, and she buys the type of eggs which she has the best feeling about:

Emma: "First of all, I would like to say that I think eggs are very expensive in general, but err..., yes I don't choose the cheap battery eggs, because I think that all the same it's sad for the animals. Here, I must admit that I get a picture of these hens with much too little space, and, consequently, then I get a bit of a bad conscience if I were to choose those instead of some other, so at the end of the day it's maybe because I get a better feeling when I don't buy those, err.. battery eggs..."

With reference to the ethical consumption motives, Emma's motives can be interpreted as being private. Particularly the pleasure motive is considered to be in the foreground when Emma rejects eggs, as she describes her boycott as being caused by a feeling of bad conscience, and that the boycott of other eggs is to a certain degree influenced by what she has the best feeling about. One can thus characterise Emma's boycott as an attempt to soften her bad conscience and create the previously mentioned "feel-good" values or "feel good about yourself" where the behaviour can be characterized as politically correct. The boycott is, therefore, in Emma's case considered not to be a public motive but rather, to a greater degree, to be a private motive, which can possibly also be seen in relation to the private health motive in connection with her boycott.

5.7.2. Application of assessment criterion 2

The consumption behaviour is considered by Emma as isolated actions that concern her and the rest of the family. She does not experience herself as belonging to either an ordinary consumption community or a social community sharing common values. This is expressed in the following quotation:

Interviewer: Do you think about whether there are others who buy organic food and whether that can influence something in society?

Emma: " No, no, I don't think about that at all, no, I don't actually think about whether others are buying organic food, or err..that whether that, for example, means something for which products there are on the shelves, no, I must really admit that there, yes, I really just buy in relation to what's there, and don't think so much about whether there are others that also do it.."

The interpretation of the above is that the question appears a little unexpected to Emma, and she is surprised that she has not reflected over her consumption and possible consequences. She does not consider the extent to which others carry out similar actions, and the idea about a community does not exist, and the consequences of her boycott and boycott are directed towards herself and the family.

5.7.3. Case summary and response to research question a

This case shows a person who boycotts organic products based on health related considerations, as well as more symbolic motives that are related to central values about being a responsible and caring mother. In the boycott situation, private ethical motives are present, which can be ascribed to the pleasure motive. Both the motives for the boycott and boycott are difficult to characterise as a way of exercising politics. No or little consciousness exist surrounding the idea that consumption can be coupled together with conducting politics or contributing to changes in society. Emma's motives for her boycott are, therefore, assessed as belonging to the category "health-driven" consumer boycott, while her boycott is assessed as belonging to the private motive, the pleasure motive.

5.8. Case description G: Iben - "*No trust in the conventional system*"

Iben is 52 years old and resides in South Jutland. She is educated as a kindergarten teacher. Iben lives alone, following her husband's death, and their 3 children have all left home. In terms of politics, Iben votes for the Danish Social Democrats. Iben has always had the responsibility for shopping and cooking, and uses quite a bit of time on both activities. She likes to use time on seeking out good raw ingredients and visits a few different shops, often speciality shops. She often thinks the supply of fresh organic fruit and vegetables is poor, and subscribes, therefore, to an organic fruit and vegetable delivery service, and gets a box delivered to her door. She is often inspired by the recipes that accompany the fruit and vegetable boxes, and attempts thereby to vary her meals.

The boycott of organic food products is, as far as Iben is concerned, something that has slowly been implemented in first the family's, and later her own every day life. Her interest in ecology stretches, in principle, back to a time during the 1980's when she, however, only bought a few organic

products. Over the years, she has gradually become more and more sceptical towards agriculture and the conventional way of producing food. She does not like the fact that there are the remains of medicine in food products, which can possibly affect the human organism. Her boycott of organic food products has, therefore, become a question of avoiding the consumption of potentially harmful substances, the consequences of which one is not aware of, and ecology simultaneously supports a desire for a healthier lifestyle.

5.8.1. Application of assessment criterion 1

In the following paragraphs, assessment criterion 1 will be applied to, respectively, the individual boycott and boycott.

5.8.1.1. The individual boycott

Iben states that due to a lack of trust in the production of conventional food products, she has chosen to buy organic food products. She thus describes how her boycott of organic products has become more consistent and implemented in her shopping patterns:

Iben: "I have definitely become more sceptical over the years, yes.. that is now, for example, all that you hear about traces of medicine in pork, and that the farmers are almost just filling the animals with medicine, you know, so that's why I don't really have a lot of trust towards the entire conventional system, and then....yes, I don't actually know if it's any better with the organic farmers, they can also be cheats, but there I choose to believe, or what can you say?.. yes, there I believe that in spite of everything.. that the products aren't so artificial"

Interviewer: "But what kind of thoughts do you have when you boycott organic products rather than conventional ones?"

Iben: "Yes.. that is, there I think about, for example, whether these traces of medicine can affect my body in one way or another.. yes, just a couple of years ago, my husband died of cancer, you know... and since then I have begun to think a bit more about health aspects.. that is I pay more attention to taking exercise those 30 minutes a day that they recommend, and yes, then all that with ecology as part of a perhaps healthier lifestyle, you know... when something happens close to you, you become a little bit more aware that you're not exactly young anymore and must think a bit more about how you live"

It appears that Iben is preoccupied by the health related and risk aspects in relation to her food consumption. Her boycott of organic food products underpins her overriding desire for a healthier lifestyle. Ecology and health, therefore, are two concepts that for Iben are connected to each other. In addition, there also exists a risk appraisal in her boycott of conventional food products and

boycott of organic food products. She intends through her boycott, to minimise the risk of consuming substances which she does not know the effects of. She also refers to her husband's illness, where the illness aspect has come into focus and become a personally relevant issue which she has accustomed herself to. On the basis hereof she has made some lifestyle related choices that including the boycott of organic products. The boycott concern the management of personal health and safety related considerations. Not even the environmental motive, which for many of the respondents is connected to the health related ones, is mentioned.

5.8.1.2. The individual boycott

The boycott of battery eggs for Iben is all about the idea that animals should not suffer more than absolutely necessary for the production of food products. She mentions that we, of course, eat and use the animals in food production, but that she would like to see that the production takes place in a humane way:

Iben: "I never buy battery eggs... that is if I have the possibility for getting other types. There can be some occasions when you just need a tray of eggs from the petrol station, but otherwise I really avoid them.. that is I feel really bad when I think about how badly off the animals are, and if I should think about that every time I took an egg out of the fridge at home, I wouldn't be able to bear it... no, there I feel better if I don't buy the eggs... no, it is actually a bit funny, because I can remember one time when I had forgotten to buy eggs, and we were expecting guests, and I needed to make some kind of desert or cake or whatever it was, and so I popped down to the petrol station that was nearby.. and there I can remember that I stood with these battery eggs in my hand and really felt that people were staring at me and thinking, 'No, look at her there. She's buying those eggs, where the animals are treated so badly...'"

Iben thus verbalises how she would like to see herself as a person and a consumer. She wishes to practice decent, humane and ethical consumption, because she does not like the thought of animals suffering. She explains through the example of the "petrol station", how she almost sees the purchase of battery eggs as a crime, where she feels that the others in the shop are looking grimly upon her. Iben thus does not wish to be connected with an indecency, which she herself attaches to the purchase of battery eggs. It is apparent that a distancing from the purchase takes place, and that she certainly does not want to be identified with the values that are associated with an individual who purchases battery eggs. Iben's thoughts indicate that she, via her boycott, thereby indicates her association with a particular group of people who have the same social values as her in relation to certain consumer choices. The motive that lies behind this can be characterised as the social motive;

that is a private motive where Iben indicates her social identity and explains how she does not wish to become categorised as a bad person. The motives for Iben's boycott can even be understood in a pleasure-motivated perspective, where Iben expresses that she gets a better conscience through rejecting eggs from battery chickens, as she is then not confronted with thoughts about cruelty to animals every time she uses eggs at home. It is assessed, therefore, that the boycott in Iben's case can be summed up under the two private motives: the social and pleasure motive. A declaration of the idea that, for Iben, ethics concerns a public involvement where one fights for the animal welfare case as such, does not occur.

5.8.2. Application of assessment criterion 2

Iben has not considered the idea that she is part of a kind of consumption and/or value community. She seems surprised when the question is asked and her answer reflects this:

Iben: "Whether I experience being part of a greater consumption community?...err... no, I have never thought about that as such, no... that is I just do the shopping, whatever I want to, and don't actually think so much about what other people buy... that's up to them... that is I might think when I'm standing in the supermarket that the woman next to me shouldn't buy this and that, because they are overweight, and that woman there is buying organic food just like me, but otherwise I don't think at all about what other people buy."

The thought of a community thus does not exist, which in principle is in line with Iben's expressed personal motives. As there are no political motives, it is natural that neither is there any thought of communities.

5.8.3. Case summary and response to research question a

Iben is an example of an informant who, both in her buycott and boycott, is motivated by private considerations. Her buycott is motivated by health and safety considerations, and her boycott seems on the face of it to concern social values and a good conscience. There is no expression of membership of a consumption or value community in any way. Iben is assessed, based on her statements, as being a person who has focus on the personal aspects of her consumption, and she does not think of politics in relation to her consumption. Therefore, she is assessed to be an informant that sees her buycott as "health-driven" consumer buycott, and the motives for her boycott can be characterised as private; more specifically as the social and pleasure motive.

5.9. Case description H: Rikke – ”An awareness surrounding the connection between food and illness”

Rikke is 35, lives in a small town in South Jutland together with her husband Jacob and their two daughters aged 3 and 1. Rikke has a master of science in business administration and a Ph.D degree in economics. Politically, she does not identify herself with a particular party, but orientates herself around the centre parties. Shopping for food takes place jointly, and the couple agree about buying organic food products. In the summer, Rikke and Jacob grow vegetables in their own kitchen garden, and in that way are self-sufficient with regard to a buycott of organic vegetables. With regard to cooking, the overall responsibility lies with Rikke.

Rikke's interest in organic food products begins during her upper secondary education, when she leaves home and begins to rearrange her eating habits. From more traditional Danish food, she moves over to eating more fruit and vegetables, without actually being a vegetarian. This rearrangement has a positive effect on her health, and gets her to focus more on healthy raw ingredients. This changed focus means that she slowly begins to develop an interest in ecology. The reason that ecology gains more ground in Rikke's life is also due to Jacob's influence. Jacob comes from a family that has always been very conscious of food's health related implications for the body. Rikke's personal experience of the effect of food products on her health, together with Jacob's awareness concerning the connection between food and possible illness means that her buycott of organic food products becomes implemented in her daily life. At the same time, illness in the family has caused increased focus on the idea of not exposing the human organism to unnecessary additives and pesticides. In light of the unknown consequences of pesticides and the effects of additives, Rikke considers it, therefore, a principle of her consumption to buycott organic food products.

5.9.1. Application of assessment criterion 1

In the following paragraphs, assessment criterion 1 will be applied to, respectively, the individual buycott and boycott.

5.9.1.1. The individual boycott

Rikke's experience of organic food products is that they are healthier, as they do not contain different forms of chemicals in the form of additives, pesticides and gene-modified material. The health motive dominates when questions are asked concerning the motives for buying organic products. She is very preoccupied by the consequences that various chemicals can have for the body and the development of illness, and attempts, therefore, through her boycott to minimise the risk factors that she does not know the effects of. This is expressed in the following quotation:

Rikke: "Really, for instance, such a thing like they found out that now they had gone in and removed straw-shorteners from lots of bread products, and then we discovered, for example that straw-shorteners still exist in oats, and we go around here thinking that you are eating healthily because you're eating oats. With such information, then I go straight over to an organic product, simply to insure myself against getting any straw-shorteners in my product...It's these kind of things which I think mount up in the body and which can have an effect on the body, and I think you should avoid exposing yourself to that risk by prioritising doing these things."

The primary purpose with the boycott of organic food products is to protect oneself, and the purpose of this consumption behaviour serves primarily personal aims. Rikke expresses, however, that the environment plays a role, and that she wishes to show a certain consideration when she buys products. The environmental motive for Rikke is, however, a motive that couples itself to the primary health motive. Rikke's motives for protecting the environment are interpreted as a question of minimising the damaging substances that are sent out in the environment, which can have an effect on the human organism in the end. The background for assessing Rikke as a person for whom the health aspect dominates, and where the environmental aspect supports this, is due to the fact that Rikke in relation to her boycott of food products focuses on the health related aspects. On the other hand, the environmental consideration is not mentioned in this context, but emerges in connection with products that are not eaten, such as washing powder and cleaning products, where the environmental motive is more obvious. On the basis of Rikke's explanation of her interest in ecology growing out of health related reasons, together with her concern for the unknown consequences of conventional food products, the motives for her boycott are characterised as being personal.

5.9.1.2. The individual boycott

The boycott of eggs from battery hens is, as with many of the other informants, motivated by consideration for the animals' welfare. Rikke mentions here that it is not so decisive that the eggs are organic, but that she to a greater extent tries to consider the egg types where the animals have had the best conditions. She adds, however, that it is difficult to figure out which conditions the animals have had, and she, therefore, bases her choice on her feelings. Rikke describes how her feeling for which hens have lived under the best conditions steers her choice of egg type, and here she focuses, in relation to her general consistent purchase of organic food products, more on the animal-ethical aspects rather than the ecological and more health related aspects. There is, however, still no explicit political motive behind her actions, but, on the other hand, a more personal desire to contribute to protecting the animals against unreasonable conditions. One can discuss how far Rikke's motives for rejecting battery eggs should be considered as a social motive or whether it is a case of a certain "feel-good" value related to the boycott. On the face of it, Rikke's motives could be based in both of these private motives, and the point is perhaps more that there is no reference to the public motive in connection with the boycott.

In relation to her buycott and boycott, Rikke does not consider her actions as political, i.e. she does not see the market as a political arena, because politics takes place over a longer time period, and whether it is of any use is unknown, i.e. whether a message is actually sent that reaches some sort of receiver. In that sense, she experiences participation in referendums and demonstrations as more visible and direct forms of political participation. Rikke is, however, conscious that she is sending a signal to the companies about the fact that she desires certain products, and that they, for instance, must behave decently, but she does not experience this as political actions. This is apparent from her statements below:

Rikke: "I don't really know if it is in that way political... that is, it is towards some companies, but something like ecology and buying washing powder can be like voting indirectly, but we do it to contribute to making sure that it in any case is not our washing powder that harms nature. In this way, then it's more of an interplay between me and nature, and my health and the companies in the sense that now they must behave decently. It is mostly that it's maybe something about influencing society in that sense.."

On the basis of Rikke's expression of the health motive as the primary one, albeit supported by environmental consideration, combined with the political instrumentality of the action not being

experienced as such, results in the intention behind her boycott and boycott not being to influence the aggregated societal conditions.

5.9.2. Application of assessment criterion 2

The experience of belonging to a community working towards increasing both knowledge of and the supply of organic food products does exist. Rikke does not experience it in a concrete sense, but she verbalises her positive perception of ecology to friends and family and hopes through this to create a greater network of consumers that boycott certain products. Rikke thus attempts to communicate a form of value community, in which she promotes the case for ecology by placing the debate on the kitchen table agenda in family and friends related contexts.

5.9.3. Case summary and response to research question a

The above case describes a person who, based on considerations about the minimisation of harmful chemicals and additives, boycotts organic food products because this is seen as the healthiest alternative to conventional products. Consideration towards the environment is not widely mentioned in relation to the boycott of food products, but concern for the ground water is mentioned as a reason for choosing washing powder and cleaning materials according to whether they carry certain environmental labelling. The concern for the environment is principally based on the thought of creating conditions that will make a healthier way of living possible. The boycott is carried out based on consideration for the animals, but there is no actual political signal behind this action. The boycott concerns to a great extent having a better feeling about oneself by not purchasing battery eggs, and thereby an indication is given that the motives to a greater degree can be characterised as private rather than public. As the motives for the boycott are based on personal health and security, as well as the fact that Rikke does not experience her acts of consumption as being political, this results in Rikke not being assessed as a person who ascribes her boycott to political motives. On the other hand, Rikke attempts, via a verbalisation of the case for ecology, to make others aware of the advantages surrounding these food products, and thus contributes to initiating and extending organic consumption communities that in their function are naturally comprised of atomised consumers who are uncoordinated and act individually, but nevertheless act, as it were, in the common interests of the ecology cause. Criterion 3 is thus fulfilled, but the community that is verbalised is more a question of promoting the health and safety aspects, particularly by boycotting organic food products, and, therefore, seen in its entirety, it is assessed

that Rikke's boycott and boycott can be grouped under the "*health-driven*" consumer boycott, and that, overall, the boycott can be said to be motivated by private, personal motives.

5.10. Case description I: Nanna – "*I get a better feeling by eating organic food*"

Nanna is 42 years old and lives in South Jutland. She is married and has two children, who live at home. Nanna is educated as a kindergarten teacher. Politically, Nanna votes for the Danish Social Democrats. Nanna's role in relation to shopping and cooking is that she is the one who prepares the shopping lists, plans the family meals, as well as actually preparing the food, while her husband often does the planned shopping. Nanna has discussed ecology with her husband since the subject was put on the agenda in the kindergarten where she works, and the couple have reached agreement on buying organic products, provided they are available. Nanna's husband, however, often thinks that it is difficult to find the organic products on the shelves and was, therefore, in the beginning when they decided to buy organic products irritated about having to use so much (unnecessary) time in finding the products. Now, however, he shops almost exclusively at the local supermarket and has, therefore, become accustomed to the placement of the products, and now he actually looks to see whether any new products have appeared.

The interest in boycotting organic food products is one that has recently arisen (2000) and comes from the fact the children's food has been changed from conventional to organic products in the kindergarten. In connection with this reorganisation, she has been through a process in which she has read and accumulated lots of information surrounding ecology and thereby gained an insight into what ecology is all about. This insight has convinced her that ecology is a more appropriate way of producing food, and she especially thinks that non-sprayed fruit and vegetables are of interest. At the kindergarten, a local agreement has been made with fruit and vegetable suppliers, who deliver directly from the place of production, and she experiences the products in their pure form, i.e. covered in dirt and earth. This results in her experiencing organic food products as more natural, and she says, "*I get a better feeling by eating organic food, so I am prepared to pay a bit extra for that.*"

5.10.1. Application of assessment criterion 1

In the following paragraphs, assessment criterion 1 will be applied to, respectively, the individual buycott and boycott.

5.10.1.1. The individual buycott

For Nanna, the buycott of organic products is about her wanting to avoid spray-pesticides from conventional farming. She mentions that you can of course wash fruit and vegetables, but, as she says:

Nanna: "You never know how much has been absorbed into the vegetables, and whether it is something that in the long term can be damaging"

Organic food products are experienced as healthier, as understood in relation to the pesticide problem. Nanna sees both conventional and organic fruit and vegetables as healthy, but wishes to simply minimise the risk of being affected by substances that one really doesn't know the effects of. She says:

Nanna: "There are, for example, more and more children who get allergies and child eczema, and such things... that's what we experience in any case that there has been a growth in, and that's what they're saying in the media, you know... that there are more and more who become allergic, and so I think.., yes all that as well with cancer and other illnesses which I don't really think we know enough about... there I think that actually, food is very important.., yes, it's just my own philosophy, but it is probably also why I have begun to eat organic food, yes as I said before, I just get a better feeling by eating organic food"

Nanna refers to the link between health and food, where the ecological aspect is seen as an important element. In spite of the fact that Nanna, in connection with the kindergarten's decision to purchase and consume organic food, has studied information concerning ecology, she does not mention environmental motives or consideration for animal welfare. She is primarily occupied by the aspect of consuming non-sprayed food products. The motives for buycott are thus related to the fulfilment of personal aims, and there is no reflection over the extent to which Nanna's individual purchasing acts are an expression of a political action. This is expressed in the quotation below, which concerns whether Nanna considers her consumption as a way of expressing a political position:

Nanna: "No, I had not thought about that at all, but I don't really have much interest in politics... that is to say of course I follow what's happening and that kind of thing, but err... I have never really thought about the idea that I signal something political, no I really haven't. I think more about whether.. err.. it is good for myself and my family and such things, or whether it is too expensive, or the quality is a bit too withered or whatever.."

The above indicates that Nanna does not see her consumption or the market arena as a place where she participates as a political actor. Again, this is a case where the boycott of organic food products has something to do with satisfying more personally beneficial aims. In Nanna's case, it is not a situation where she first prioritises her personal aims and thereafter wishes to show political consideration. She exemplifies an individual for whom the political dimension simply does not exist as an present motive in the consumption behaviour.

5.10.1.2. The individual boycott

Boycott, for Nanna, is about her not supporting that animals shall produce eggs under conditions that do not have a certain ethical standard. She expresses that Denmark, as a welfare state in the style of other countries within the EU, ought to live up to some higher ethical guidelines in connection with food production. She does not think that the production of battery eggs does this. She thinks that production methods such as the production of battery eggs belong to the less developed countries. This opinion is apparent below:

Nanna: " I think it is completely grotesque that we treat animals in that way in Denmark, and that people buy these products..., yes I just can't understand it. I think that it should be forbidden in the EU to treat animals in that way, and that means..err..., yes, that is... that we altogether must live up to a certain standard, you know, when it concerns animals and food production"

The above extract indicates that Nanna's boycott concerns expressing a distance, and at a more overall societal level signalling that she does not consider the production of battery eggs as reasonable. She verbalises her own standards for what she considers acceptable, and hereby expresses her affiliation to certain social values, and to the social groups that have similar values. Nanna's motive for her boycott can, therefore, be categorised as the social motive. It seems that Nanna's concern refers to certain social values and communities more than it concerns buying herself, via her politically correct consumption, a clear conscience. Nanna expresses in relation to

her boycott that she has not thought of the action as political. For her, it is more a personal question that animals live under reasonable circumstances.

5.10.2. Application of assessment criterion 2

Even though, in relation to both the buycott and boycott, motives have been expressed that relate to personal, private aims, it appears in relation to the boycott that Nanna thinks in terms of a form of value or consumption community. She considers, however, her consumption as an individual action, and her motives for this are, as she says, "*exclusively something that means something for me*". At the same time, she indicates a social boundary to the type of individual who, for example, supports the production of battery eggs by buying them.

5.10.3. Case summary and response to research question a

Nanna represents an individual who ascribes both her buycott and boycott to private motives. Risk minimisation and health are mentioned as the primary motives for her buycott. Her boycott is justified in private, social motives that relate to Nanna's values. Both her buycott and boycott are not carried out with the purpose of contributing to political changes, and the political aspect is in this case definitely not a motive she is conscious of. Due to the personal motives and the lack of political awareness, she focuses primarily in relation to her boycott on the social value communities, which is described as an identification with a particular social value-network. Nanna's buycott is based on the above considered as belonging to the group of "health-driven" consumer buycotts, and the boycott can be considered as a privately motivated choice, here the ethical consumption social motive.

5.11. Case description J: Peter: "*The most concrete political position I take at all*"

Peter is 55 years old and lives on the island of Fyn together with his wife. Together, the couple have two daughters, who have left home. Peter holds a master degree in Danish and history. Politically, Peter votes for the Danish Socialist Party (SF). Peter is very interested in cooking and, therefore, does most of the food shopping. He is thus responsible for the preparation of the daily meals and particularly enjoys using time in the weekends on cooking and shopping. He especially likes to visit the fruit and vegetable markets, where he can get really fresh organic ingredients.

Peter has since his youth been very preoccupied with the environmental issue and interested in alternative production forms of food products. He sees production methods involving the application of chemical substances as problematic for nature, and he places the preservation of the environment high on his agenda. Already in lower secondary school, he was preoccupied by publications concerning a sustainable society, and he considers himself as a front runner for the grassroots movements of the 1970's. In the 1980's, he was very engaged in the starting of an organic restaurant, where he could establish a practical project instead of only exercising political influence through the representative system. The interest in organic food products thus stems from his involvement in environmental issues.

5.11.1. Application of assessment criterion 1

In the following paragraphs, assessment criterion 1 will be applied to, respectively, the individual boycott and boycott.

5.11.1.1. The individual boycott

Peter formulates very explicitly his environmental consideration as the primary purpose in boycotting organic food products. His environmental interest, which has followed him through the years, is influencing his consumption patterns. He directly formulates his desire to influence the development of society via his consumption. In other words, Peter is conscious of the fact that his consumption is a way in which he can change the conditions within agriculture, and his consumption of organic food products is seen as being in opposition to the established conventional agriculture. Environmental consideration in relation to his boycott, as well as the explicit political instrumentality is apparent in the extract below:

Peter: *"It is fundamentally a political interest... that is in the sense that it has something to do with influencing society's development. That which has especially motivated me to buy organic products has been the idea that this production form... that is to say the traditional production form has been damaging...in any case our ground water and other nice things which really ought to be able to exist alongside food production."*

Interviewer: *"Is it something you are very conscious of in relation to that consumption?"*

Peter: *"Yes, I am, very much... I guess I believe that the most important thing is that you vote with your shopping trolley or with your feet, or whatever you might say... that you try to adjust your own behaviour in relation to your consumption – it's a bit like being in opposition to the established farming."*

In relation to other motives for the boycott of organic food products, such as the health motive, which for a wide range of informants is the primary motive, Peter formulates very clearly that he is not convinced that control over his own health can occur via food intake. Again, he points out instead the environmental problems with the entire conventional agricultural production, and again formulates that for him it is a political standpoint. On the question of whether he thinks of his own health, he responds thus:

Peter: *"No, because I am not convinced that you can control your own health, not with what you eat. For me, it has a lot to do with the fact that I see chemical agriculture as yet another example of a twisted way of solving problems with both transport, yes and the shelf life of food products, and the realisation of different food products with the use of substances and packaging that we have no control over... I am actually just as uneasy about the use of plastic as I am over the use of spray pesticides – it is easy to say concerned, because it doesn't actually get me down, but I see it as the most concrete political standpoint that I ever take."*

In relation to his boycott, there is clear that Peter fulfils the requirement of influencing towards changed societal conditions via his consumption behaviour.

5.11.1.2. The individual boycott

Peter boycotts eggs from battery hens and instead he boycotts organic eggs, which he to some extent produces in his back garden. He feeds his chicken with organic feed and leftovers. The motives for his boycott are dominated by ethical considerations for the animals. At the same time he produces organic eggs from his own chickens in order to actively implement an environmental consideration, and then also offer the animals better living standards. The motives are justified, therefore, by both ethical and environmental considerations, which are apparent in the quotation below:

Peter: *"It is precisely on this point that I take an ethical position. That with the hens, yes that also started in connection with the whole organic project, because when I got the hens, goodness knows how many years ago, in the house-share where I live, it was to reduce the amount of refuse.. that is, the idea with the hens is that you sort your rubbish and then give the hens whatever they can eat – they then produce large amounts of manure and if you mix this up with hay, it's simple chemistry – they produce large amounts of nitrogen and the hay contains large amounts of carbon and these two chemicals together neutralise each other, you know, that is you get a compost mix out of it,*

which you can spread out in the garden, and this is actually an alternative to having a compost mound lying there – you can just as well, and then it is a bit more spectacular to have hens around, don't you think, so it's also a form of lifestyle characteristic that with the hens... that they can walk around and have a good life.”.

The ethical consideration expressed indicates an external, public focus, where Peter consciously seeks to combine consideration for the environment with his choice to keep hens, and this choice also incorporates a boycott of battery eggs. Peter's motives can be characterised as being more public than private, which can be seen as a natural extension of his political engagement related to organic food products. There does not exist a dividing line between his motives for, respectively, his buycott and boycott, in that there are more obvious political motives for his buycott, while in relation to his boycott there are more private motives. It seems that his motives for both buycott and boycott are embedded in public, political motives. A general political engagement in connection with his consumption is reflected in his motives for both buycott and boycott. Peter's linkage between politics and consumption consequently influences and institutionalizes a conscious political shopping behaviour. With reference to the discussion of buycott and boycott, Peter fulfils this criterion.

5.11.2. Application of assessment criterion 2

Peter reports that he feels connected to one or another form of community, which, however, is experienced as a diffuse non-active dimension. Peter sees in the same way as being a part of a segment, where there is a consciousness of belonging to a target group. Peter experiences that he is involved in an ecological community, in which you can actually participate passively but still mark your position via your behaviour. This can be interpreted as Peter experiencing a membership and perhaps solidarity with the consumers that exercise a similar consumption behaviour, only the community is not actively defined. This is interpreted on the basis of the following extract, which is a response given to the question of whether Peter experiences that he belongs to a form of community:

Peter "Yes, but only in the same way as if you are part of a segment, you know, that is not an active community.. that's of course a static unit.. that is I have concerned myself more and more with it as such on a theoretical level than I do at the moment, partly through the investigation that I referred to, and partly as I was involved in that eatery, because when you're involved in the milieu, then you are asked for a range of explanations for your attitudes, you know, but you can of course practice an ecological existence without either expressing it globally or acknowledging being involved in

some or other interest... I feel strongly about this aspect. Her you vote with your feet instead of, say, putting a visible cross on a voting form.”

The above indicates that Peter’s consciousness and knowledge surrounding political communities and political modes of operation play a role. His thought process is characterised by background considerations on the pursuit of political aims, and that he knows that there needs to be a certain number of people supporting a cause in order to create attention around the issue. Peter’s understanding of the role of communities is that as more people purchase organic products the more this will be reflected in the supply side.

5.11.3. Case summary and response to research question a

The above case describes a person who very explicitly expresses political intentions in relation to both his buycott and boycott. Environmental consideration is the dominating motive, and this is not linked to the possibility of producing healthier food products that can ultimately benefit the individual. Consideration for the environment concerns more the preservation of natural resources and ensuring a more careful food production that does not involve excessive transport, packaging, spraying, etc. The ethical consideration regarding animal welfare as well as the consequences for the environment are formulated as reasons for the boycott, and there is on a personal consumption level a wish to contribute to socio-political changes. The case furthermore illustrates a person who is familiar with practicing politics in a local context, and who is conscious of how politics can be practiced more individually, outside the representative democracy. This awareness means that Peter very explicitly links the possibility for carrying out politics via the market. As all criteria are fulfilled, with reference to the above discussion, Peter’s motives for his buycott and boycott are characterized as political, and he is, therefore, classified under the group of informants who see their consumption as “*political consumption acts*” and where the motive for boycott has a public perspective.

5.12. Case description K: Else: ”*Memories of my mother’s herb and vegetable garden*”

Else is 53, spends her time at home and lives in North Zealand together with her husband, Ingo. The couple have 2 children, who have both left home. Else is registered as a German citizen, due to her German husband, and has, therefore, no right to vote in district, county and national referendums in

Denmark. If she had the right to vote, she would vote for a specific candidate and not for a particular party. It is exclusively Else who is responsible for both the shopping and cooking in the home. Else covers the tasks that concern the home, while Ingo looks after his business. Else considers it very important to prepare meals and serve good food for the family, and she sees it as an important task to ensure that the family is served good food. For Else, to serve good food also means that good healthy raw ingredients are used, which she links together with the use of organic food products.

Her interest in organic food products goes back to Else's childhood, where her parents were gardeners and implicitly passed on a love for the earth and nature. Else's mother had a huge vegetable garden, from which vegetables were collected and prepared for the evening meal. The fresh ingredients were harvested directly from their own soil and Else perceives this as equivalent to organic farming practices today. Conventional farming is for Else the epitome of industrialisation and artificial food production. Else attempts today to pass on her parents' values to her family by preparing meals with organic ingredients, so that aspects on preservation of nature, solidarity of the family and healthy ingredients are brought together.

5.12.1. Application of assessment criterion 1

In the following paragraphs, assessment criterion 1 will be applied to, respectively, the individual buycott and boycott.

5.12.1.1. The individual buycott

Else's motives for buycotting are based on a desire to pass on some central values, which are fundamental in her understanding of being a good mother and housewife. In the formation of this identity, the preparation of meals is an important element, and ecology plays a central role, as this for Else signals healthy, fresh unsprayed products similar to those which came from her mother's vegetable garden. In addition, the meal becomes an important element in the establishment of family values. For Else, ecology is partly being able to serve "pure" healthy ingredients, and partly to preserve nature by avoiding the use of spray pesticides. This is apparent from the extract below:

Else: "Well, I don't want to fill myself with all those poisons and things they spray on. It is disgusting to see, when you see one of those aeroplanes, ..now it might be down in some of the less developed countries, but they come with their tractors and spray all over the other vegetables as

well, so it's the thought of that. I think it is a lovely thought to see a farmer's wife working with the soil, ..for instance my mother had a huge vegetable garden, and that feeling of coming home and getting a pure vegetable, and that was all she had in that garden, and she really put a lot into it, and we thought it was great."

The motives for her boycott are, therefore, based in the minimisation of chemical traces from food products, but in addition Else expresses an environmental consideration that not only relates itself to the health aspects, but an environmental consideration where she is preoccupied with the consequences for society and others in general. This is reflected below:

Else: "Really, I am probably a bit self-righteous in that direction... (laughs).., that is if there is something, where you can do something for the environment, ..that is I don't like to hear about something being destroyed, which the next generation should have had the benefit of, and that the environment is getting destroyed. They can't know what it is they're doing, whether it has the effect which they say. So much is said and I can't see why it should be this way, so I do it because I am a bit convinced about it"

That an environmental concern is explicitly expressed, which does not exclusively relate to the health consequences, is supported by Else's statement on the question of how far she believes that organic food products are safer:

Else: "I don't actually know what my impression is, but it doesn't matter so much anyway.. it is again the fact that at the end of the day it must be healthier because it has so much to do with whether I do it, and then it should kind of preferably catch a bit on, and then there is finally something that must go even further, a bit like rings in the water spreading, and so in the end I think it has an effect on the environment, because I think things are looking pretty bad."

It is apparent that the health motive is present for Else, as she sees it as a natural long term consequence that organic production will result in healthier food products, but it is not an expressed motive to the same extent as with other informants. The assessment is thus that while Else does have a health motive, it is less pronounced, and that the environmental motive is, therefore, characterised by having a societal focus rather than a personal focus.

There is no expression of the boycott being a political action, but on the other hand Else sees it as her individual agenda to *"strike a blow"* for the spread of ecology, and that the environment gets better conditions. The political awareness in relation to the consumption role is not conscious and explicit.

5.12.1.2. The individual boycott

The boycott of eggs relates to animal welfare. She thinks that it is wrong to keep animals and produce food products in this way. There is no conscious political statement in her boycott, but it concerns living up to some personal ethical standards:

Else: " *I could never dream of buying those battery eggs. I just get goose pimples when I see pictures of those poor hens., no there I think you should just avoid them., as a consumer and human being I will not be involved in supporting it*"

Else explains that she as a human being and consumer does not wish to support a product, where the animals have been treated badly. She verbalises a certain contempt towards the fact that animals can be treated in this way, and she clearly distances herself from this product. She indicates, broadly speaking, that she belongs to a different group of people than those individuals who purchase battery eggs. Based on Else's statements regarding her motives for boycotting, together with the values she holds in connection with ecology, I understand the primary motive behind the boycott, with reference to the ethical consumption motives, to be a social motive. The motive could also be public, as she, in connection with her boycott of organic food products is very conscious of placing the case for ecology on the agenda, and she hopes for a greater spread of its popularity. She just does not think explicitly in terms of political influence in relation to her effort as a consumer, but her statements indicate that she thinks in terms of societal change.

5.12.2. Application of assessment criterion 2

With reference to the earlier quotation, Else expresses that she sees her own efforts as part of a greater whole. She hopes that ecology in general will be more widespread as she discusses the topic with friends and family. Thereby, she verbalises a form of community where the aim is to communicate and expand the interest for organic foods in particular.

5.12.3. Case summary and response to research question a

The case describes a person, who in relation to her boycott has both a health motive and, in addition, expresses a consideration for the environment that is directed towards improving the conditions for coming generations. Else's perspective on health in relation to food products is that organic food production in the end will result in healthier raw ingredients, and the motive is,

therefore, very long term. The aim with the buycott is both personal and societal. Her boycott is to a great extent concerned with distancing herself from the production method and at the same time signalling which values she represents. The humane aspect is considered part of Else's value set. Likewise, Else expresses that she belongs to a community that consists of other consumers, where the aim is to support the ecological cause. The community is understood within an effectiveness frame of reference. Based on the discussion of the criteria for political participation, Else's buycott and boycott are considered to belong to the group of "*both and*" and consumer buycott, as Else to a much lesser extent has the same consciousness about whether her actions represent a political act than is the case with the informants Peter and Hans. But still, for Else, thoughts on the idea that perhaps she can contribute positively to promoting organic products via her consumption exist, but as politics are not a particularly conscious part of her daily life, she does not link the concepts of politics and consumption. She buycotts based on the conviction that she wants to do something for the environment that does not relate to her personal health, but there is no consciousness of the idea that in this way one is behaving politically. Not including Else's buycott and boycott as political actions due to a lack of political intentionality does not appear to be appropriate since Else verbalises the political concept in another way. The situation is perhaps that politics and consumption cannot generally be connected, because we understand the political concept in a very traditional and narrow sense as a citizen, and at the same time, politics for many individuals is not something that involves us at the level of our daily lives.

5.13. Case description K: Rune: *"It's probably all about health in the end"*

Rune is 31 years old and lives in Copenhagen. He holds a master degree in literature. Rune presently lives alone and as yet has no children. Politically, he votes for the Social Democrats. Rune is responsible for both shopping and cooking, and even though he doesn't manage to prepare complicated meals every day, he likes to cook, and uses time for cooking when time allows it.

Over the last 6-7 years, Rune has become more ecologically conscious, and he attempts to shop for organic food consistently, if it is not too inconvenient. His interest in organic food products stems from the fact that in his circle of close friends there are people who are very dedicated in relation to promoting the ecological cause. One of Rune's friends is married to a chef who believes in the

quality and taste of organic products. When he is invited to dinner with them, they always discuss ecology very much, and he has in that way become more aware of organic food products. Another friend is very interested in ecology because of the health related aspects, and Rune feels that his friends' arguments have convinced him that ecology is a better alternative to conventional products. He says:

Rune: "I don't actually know if I would have begun to buy organic products if my friends had not influenced me in that direction – I don't really know, but now it is such, yes that is after I have taken the decision, yes, now I have kind of got a greater interest in the subject, and I don't have any doubts that it is the right decision...the more people hear about animals becoming resistant to medicine and that kind of thing, the more certain I am in my conviction that it is best to buy organic products."

5.13.1. Application of assessment criterion 1

In the following paragraphs, assessment criterion 1 will be applied to, respectively, the individual buycott and boycott.

5.13.1.1. The individual buycott

Rune's motives for his buycott of organic food products relate to health aspects. In the beginning, he had another approach to his buycott, in that he had a perception that organic food was often produced by the small local dairies, and that the taste and the quality was, therefore, better. Today, he has a slightly different perception. He does not experience a great difference between organic and conventional products with regard to taste and quality, so now the most important thing is that he believes that an avoidance of spray pesticides is good for his health. He is very aware of the messages concerning men's reduced ability to reproduce themselves that have in recent decades come via the media, and the food scandals one hears of within conventional farming. He formulates it in this way:

Rune: "It might well be that there is a difference in the quality and taste, but there I must admit, yes there perhaps I have not got the technical expertise to assess it, but as an ordinary consumer, I can actually not taste a difference. I was probably quite influenced by the advice of my friend's wife about ecology, and her advice was very much based on taste and quality, but now I don't dare... is what I think about...that is I am much more preoccupied by the consequences which I think food products can have on our body. For example, we know that too much fat gives loads of problems with heart disease, so why shouldn't pesticides and all types of different chemicals also affect our health? Yes, just take that about men's sperm quality being reduced, really, I think what causes that, for example, you know?"

Interviewer: "Well, what is then the primary reason that you buy organic products today?"

Rune: "Well, it is probably in the final analysis something to do with health, I think, yes, I don't know if it is, but on the other hand, I don't know the consequences of farming using all these chemicals, so it is probably my own way of kind of taking some precautions, I think – when all said and done. it probably gives me a feeling of having control over something myself, even though perhaps in reality I don't have it".

On the question of whether Rune experiences his purchase of organic food products as a way of signalling some political messages, he responds:

Rune: "No....I haven't actually thought of it in that way. I just think that what I put in my mouth should be healthy, and that if I buy organic products I can maybe avoid some unhealthy chemicals – as I said, then I have a bit more control over it, I think."

Interviewer: "But how do you understand politics – what is politics for you?"

Rune: " Hmm... yes for me, politics is probably something to do with the big picture I think, that is to say there are some politicians who tell about their plans for education, immigration, etc., and then I can relate to that and vote for them, if I think they're saying something sensible."

It appears that Rune has not considered the fact that politics can be carried out in the supermarket with the boycott of organic food products. He describes it as his own personal agenda, which he pursues, and he feels that with the boycott of certain products he has more control over what he exposes his body to. He refers to politics in a very traditional sense, in that he describes the participation in referendums as a way of practicing politics.

5.13.1.2. The individual boycott

Rune describes his motives for the boycott of battery eggs in the following way:

"I have actually read a number of articles on this with battery hens, because we have worked with animal welfare at the school where I work, and there I must say that, really, I didn't buy battery eggs much either before, but maybe only now and again, in any case I didn't think so much about that with the animals, but afterwards, now that I know how the poor animals exist, then I reject them totally consciously. I simply think it's disgusting that we treat animals in that way."

It appears that Rune has been through a process, where, via information concerning the production of battery eggs, he has become more conscious about how animals are living. This has meant that he is now more consistent in his boycott of battery eggs. On the question of what more precisely has caused his more consistent consumption behaviour, he says:

"Well, it is that I have become clearer about some things, that is I have got more factual information, and you can say that now that I am perhaps less ignorant, then I also feel a greater sense of duty to reject them, you know....I simply do not like the fact that we torment the animals, because we want eggs on the breakfast table."

Rune refers to that he, because of his increased knowledge, now feels a greater sense of responsibility to reject battery eggs.. In other words, Rune indicates that he feels a certain disgust that we as consumers treat animals so badly at the same time we consume the products in relation to a cosy breakfast situation. Rune thereby personally distances himself from this and indicates that he has a personal standard, which he wishes to maintain, and which is reflected in the given product boycott. Rune's motives for boycott are identical with several of the informants, in that he expresses a distancing towards the production method, and he makes it very clear that he does not wish to be identified with this. It is, to a great extent, about displaying surplus capacity and consideration in his consumption, and thereby indicating that maintaining certain ethical standards has a central place in his value set. Boycott can for Rune be considered as a social motive, where it is important to signal identity and social values, and his boycott is, therefore, in similarity with his buycott, primarily a question of considering private aims.

5.13.2. Application of assessment criterion 2

Rune does not experience his consumption behaviour as political, and refers quite explicitly to the idea that ecological consumption concerns promoting the health related aspects of food consumption. The motives for boycotting are also personal. This is presumably the reason why Rune also does not experience his consumption behaviour as a community-forming activity. On the question of how far he experiences his behaviour as being part of a greater community, he says:

"No...., again I just think that I see it as my own little consumption, where there are some products that I can choose from – I don't think about the idea that I can join others in influencing something, no..there I probably have the view that it's more the producers than me, who control what reaches the shelves, you know – that is I know very well that there are others than me who buy organic products, and I actually speak to quite a few people about it, but I haven't really thought about the idea that I'm involved in a community that influences something"

5.13.3. Case summary and response to research question a

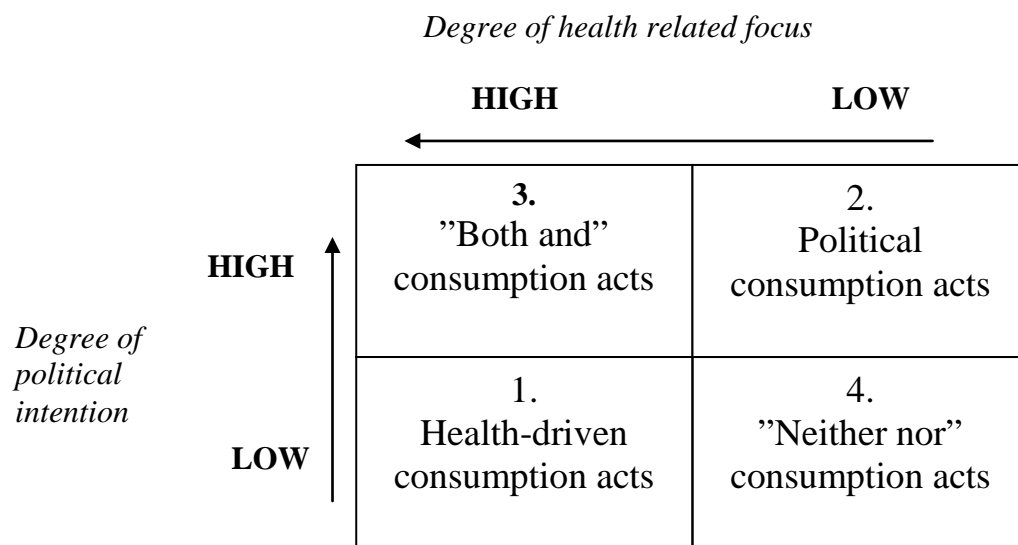
Rune is an example of an individual who primarily ascribes the consumption of organic food products to health motives, and the boycott of battery eggs to social motives, which is why both

buycott and boycott in Rune's case concern the management of private aims through his food consumption. At the same time, Rune expresses that he has not thought of political influence in relation to his food product consumption, and that he experiences politics in a very traditional sense. Furthermore, it is apparent that Rune experiences his acts of consumption as being very isolated and individualistic, and that the community way of thinking is not something that is part of his considerations in relation to his consumption choices. Based on the above case description, Rune is, therefore, assessed as an informant who perceives his buycotts as health-driven consumption acts, and his boycott as a private, social motive.

5.14. Cross-case analysis

Based on the results from the above cases, the attempt is made to present motive categories covering the informants' perception of their buycott of organic food products. Furthermore, a summary of the ethical motives is presented, based on the informants' statements and compared with the suggestions of the Nordic Council of Ministers (2001) on motives for ethical consumption. The motive categories illustrate the various perceptions that the informants have of their buycott of organic food products, which are identified from the informants' primary motives for their buycott. The motive categories are presented below:

Figure 5.1. Motive categories for the informants' perception of buycotting organic food



The figure has two dimensions. On the vertical axis the "degree of political intention" can be found. The labelling is based on the criteria for assessing the political in relation to consumption acts. On the horizontal axis the "degree of health related focus" is emphasized, which is the most prevalent motive in the analysis and, as such, can be characterised as a traditional consumer motive. The analysis of the informants' motives for boycotting and boycotting is made and hereafter placed into the matrix in relation to the dimensions.

5.14.1. Possible motive categories in relation to the boycott

In the following section, the various types of consumption acts in relation to the boycott of organic food are elaborated.

5.14.1.1. Boycotting as health-driven consumption acts

The "*health-driven*" consumption acts, which in the thesis is assessed as applying to 7 out of 12 informants is rooted in a primary interest in the health related aspects of the consumption of organic food products. The health- driven consumption acts are characterised by a low degree of political intention. The environmental motive is not expressed as an explicit motive by the informants who perceive their boycott as health-driven. Among some of the informants a consideration for the environment is expressed, but the environmental consideration finally relates to personal aims of wanting to improve the possibilities for a healthier food production. With reference to the existing research on political consumption, a consumer who expresses environmental consideration would

figure as a politically motivated consumer. The environmental motive is implicitly assumed to be a political motive for the consumer. The qualitative approach applied here, however, shows that the environmental motive ought to be seen in a more nuanced way. The motive stated should be compared with the consumers' primary motives to enable an assessment of the content and focus the consumer ascribes to the environmental motive. The informants, who state the health motive as their primary motive, see environmental consideration as a motive that supports the primary motive concerning health. The environmental motive can in such a case be interpreted more as a private motive rather than a public motive. The environmental motive can, therefore, be seen as a concept with two perspectives. First it can include a concern for one's own health and safety, and second the environmental motive can contain political intentions.

Characteristic of the health-driven consumption acts is that the informants do not experience their shopping as a way in which they signal political positions. Politics is understood in a very traditional sense, such as participation in referendums, demonstrations or actual boycotts. The boycott as an individual form of participation is seen as a form of political expression in contrast to their everyday life boycotts.

The informants, who are primarily motivated by the health related aspects of their boycotts, even see their actions in an individual perspective, and do only to a limited extent think in terms of consumption communities. In other words, these informants express that they do not reflect upon the concept of communities, and neither do they think about whether they influence the demand for particular products via their consumption, or that they feel affiliated with a form of fictive value or social community.

The informants who see their boycott of organic food products as a health-driven consumption act are not so consistent with regard to the consumption practices that relate to the environment, ethics and social responsibility, as the informants who see their boycott as a political consumption act. None of the informants mention products which they have boycotted or boycotted based a consideration of the above. Cleaning and washing products, weed killers and insecticides are boycotted to a high degree based on other criteria, where aspects of importance are price, smell, getting rid of the ants, rather than consideration for the environment. A few of the informants, however, think about the environment trying to minimise the impact of allergy-causing substances

in their surroundings. For most of the informants in this group, there are no considerations concerning energy use in the home. The informants do not use low-energy light bulbs, they take long and frequent showers, wash clothes whenever they need to, and turn out lights to a much greater degree due to economic considerations rather than environmental ones. Just 1 out of the 8 informants are members of a non-governmental organisation, otherwise the interest for this type of activity within the group is low. Contributions are often made to charitable organisations, and, again, Red Cross and Save the Children are the primary recipients. Most in this group also practice recycling. They deposit empty bottles, paper, batteries, etc., into the appropriate containers.

5.14.1.2. Boycotting as political consumption acts

The informants who see their boycott of organic food products as a “*political consumption act*” comprise 2 out of 12 informants. These informants attach very little importance to the health related aspects of their consumption. In contrast, they are very conscious about the political intentions that their consumption entail. Their motives involve environmental consideration, which primarily is connected to the consequences that the application of spray pesticides has for the natural environment, animal life and the availability of natural resources such as the ground water. The health aspect in relation to consumption of organic food products does not preoccupy them especially. They generally trust the food safety system, but prefer alternative production forms to the conventional one due to the stated reasons.

The informants who see their boycotts as political consumption acts display a strong and conscious understanding of politics, and the informants in the dissertation have at some point in their lives been politically active, e.g. in party politics or in concrete political projects. This understanding of and insight into how political work functions and can be practiced, means that these informants also have a clear understanding that the market can function as a potential way of exercising influence.

With an understanding of how politics is practiced in different contexts, there also follows a greater consciousness of the idea of belonging to a form of political or value/social community. In that way, it appears that the informants who practice political consumption acts to a high degree, think in terms of consumption communities, i.e. that the idea that “we influence as a group via the shopping trolley” exists. Belonging to a certain value community is not expressed explicitly. The perception

of belonging to a group of consumers that share attitudes and values relating to their consumption pattern is not clearly stated. Future studies on political consumption could investigate whether a such value community is present among consumers who engage themselves in individualized political consumption acts.

Furthermore, the informants who see their boycott as a political consumption acts also had a special focus on other related consumption patterns. With regard to non-food products, both informants were aware of boycotting products that, for instance, were produced environmentally or ethically responsibly. Examples that can be named are organic Christmas trees, which two informants had boycotted, as well as focusing on the "swan label" or EU environmental labelling in connection with their boycott of products. At the same time, chemical weed killer and pesticides were not used. In relation to the subject of donations, 1 was a member of a charitable organisation, and all had within the last 6 months donated money to especially Red Cross and Save the Children. With regard to energy consumption, washing and cleaning routines both informants had fixed routines of turning out the light when leaving a room, and one had low-energy light bulbs installed. The reason that both did not have low energy light bulbs in the home was due to not getting round to doing it, and another explanation was that the light from a low-energy bulb was thought to give a poorer and more "neon-like" light. As far as possible, one tried to fill the washing machine up before use and reduce the water consumption. It was, however, added that one did not compromise so much with, for instance, water consumption in relation to bathing routines, as it was considered as being part of the personal luxury that one would not do without. Finally, recycling was practiced as far as possible, i.e. garden waste, batteries, paper and bottles were deposited at the recycling centres.

5.14.1.3. Boycotting as "both and" consumption acts

Perceiving boycotting as a "*both and consumption acts*" is found among 2 out of 12 informants. The informants have motives that refer to both dimensions in figure 5.1. The informants are motivated in the same way as the health-driven informants primarily due to regard to their own and the family's health. However, they differentiate themselves from the informants who see their boycotts as health-driven consumption acts on the viewpoints they express in relation to the environment. They express an environmental consideration with an external focus. One informant expresses dissatisfaction with the conventional production form because it damages the natural environment and, at the same time, a strong political consciousness is expressed in relation to using

the market as a political arena. Expressing motives that are public and political is different from the informants who practice health-driven consumption acts. The informants who see their boycott as a “both and” consumer boycott have thus both a political intention in relation to their boycott, and are at the same time concerned about the health related consequences of consuming “sprayed” products. The informants who see their boycott as “both and” consumption acts indicate that they in one or another way relate their actions to a greater community of consumers. There exists a hope that their boycott of organic food products will bring about corresponding actions by other consumers in the market.

5.14.1.4. Boycotting as “neither nor” consumption acts

In this motive category we finally find one informant who practice “*neither nor*” consumption acts. This informant is very preoccupied by carrying out daily routines that are “green” in order to reduce the pressure on the environment. The informant focuses especially on the environmental aspects of the consumption, but the reason that the informant, in spite of focusing on environmental aims is characterized as practising “neither nor” consumption acts is that the informant does not link environmental aims with political aims. Furthermore, the informants who have no political intentions with their consumption acts have a perception of their boycott as a health-driven consumer boycott. The informant placed within this motive category has also no health related motives for boycotting. Summing up, the informant does not express political intentions neither does he focus on health related issue. The informant is simply interested in preserving the environment.

The reason why the “neither nor” consumption acts is included as a possible motive category despite only one informant fitting the characteristics is that a larger survey could possibly find consumers that precisely fit into this group, where neither the health motive nor the political motive have the primary significance. One can imagine that individuals who more randomly, and less frequently boycott organic products, carry out the purchase when the price difference is minimal or non-existent in relation to conventional products. In this case the price becomes the decisive reason for the boycott. Ecology thus becomes something that the consumer gets as an additional feature without having to pay extra for it. For future investigation it could be interesting to study how significant boycotting with the characteristics of the neither-nor consumption acts actually is.

5.14.2. Analysis of the boycott

Based on the case descriptions, it is difficult to give an unambiguous suggestion as to whether the boycott of food products, in this specific case the boycott of eggs from battery hens, in everyday life has something to do with politics. Based on the empirical analysis carried out, the indications are that the boycott, just as the buycott, is to a high degree motivated by personal, private motives, but that, correspondingly, informants also see both their buycott and boycott as political consumption acts and thereby express their political engagement in the market.

With reference to the Nordic Council of Ministers (2001) four basic motives of ethical consumption, the assessment made is that the consideration for animal welfare for some of the informants is an explicit public motive, while this for other informants is verbalised more as a private motive. Given the limited number of informants, the data showed that most of the informants had a private motive. More specifically, it emerged that the informants tried to market their social values, as well as signal their social identity through their boycott. It was, therefore, assessed that the social motive being an example of a private motive, constituted the most prevalent motive among most of the informants. The analysis, however, also discovered that, among the informants, private motives could be found which could be classified under the described pleasure motive, where some of the informants expressed that they got a better feeling, a kind of "feel-good" value out of boycotting battery eggs. Finally, it also emerged that some informants perceived their boycott as a possibility to influence animal welfare conditions, and these informants expressed their public engagement quite clearly. It turned out, that the same informants who understood their buycott as being a political consumption act were also the informants who had a public motive in connection with their boycott. The informants who in that way primarily understood their buycott as being a health-driven consumption act were also primarily motivated by private motives in relation to their boycott.

Overall, the analysis showed, however, different motives in relation to boycotting that were both privately and publicly anchored, which suggests that in future research on ethical consumption and political consumption, an attempt should be made to understand the animal welfare motive both as a possible private and a possible public motive. That the boycott influences the demand for other goods, which are buycotted, is, as such, no new phenomenon in a market context. The boycott can,

however, be wrongly interpreted as a political signal, but the motives can apparently be much more complex, and it is difficult to know the extent to which ethically justified consumer boycotts are also political consumer boycotts.

5.14.3. Summarised response to research question a

The response to research question a is that the informants to a high degree are motivated by personal aims, such as health and security, as well as being motivated by private social motives. Political consumption and the political consumer do exist, but the extent of the phenomenon is difficult to assess, as the informants express a range of both private and political motives in relation to their boycott and boycott. The analysis of the 12 informants' statements can, however, indicate that the public political engagement in connection with the boycott and boycott of food products is more limited than it has until now been assumed in several quantitative empirical investigations (e.g. Goul Andersen & Tobiasen, 2000, Tobiasen, 2004; Micheletti & Stolle, 2004). The background for concluding that the political aspect is not such an integral part of consumption is that the informants included in this research are all very conscious as regards their boycott and boycott of the specific food products. They represent, possibly, a group of consumers that could potentially contain a more deliberate political consumption strategy than found in the thesis. Instead the information given show that these individuals to a greater extent boycott and boycott particular food products based on classical consumer motives rather than political motives. Assessing political intention in relation to consumption acts should there perhaps be investigated more specifically within various consumption areas and the prominence of political motives could thus be evaluated better.

5.15. Summary

In this chapter the empirical analysis was carried out and a response to research question (a) was attempted. 12 cases were analysed with help from the criteria set out in chapter 4, and the extent to which they practiced political consumption acts was discussed. The analysis of the 12 case descriptions resulted in a matrix of possible motive categories. The matrix presented four different types of consumption acts based on the most frequently mentioned motives for the boycott. The motive categories were, respectively, *health-driven*; *political*; *both and*; as well as *neither nor* consumption acts. Out of the 12 cases, 7 of the informants were characterized as practising health-

driven consumption acts, 2 as practising political consumption acts, 2 as practising both-and consumption acts, and 1 informant practising neither-nor consumption acts. The assessment, therefore, was that the informants to a high degree perceived their boycott as motivated by health aspects, and most of the informants did not experience their consumption act as a political act. The empirical analysis showed that the environmental motive should be understood in a more nuanced way. Comparing the environmental motive with the informants' primary motives for boycott, it is possible to assess the political intention of the environmental motive. Informants who expressed the health motive as their primary motive regarded environmental consideration as a motive which supported the primary motive concerning health. The environmental motive could in such cases be interpreted as more of a private motive rather than a public motive. Informants for whom the primary motive was political assigned the environmental motive another meaning than the informants who had the health motive as their primary motive. Among the politically motivated consumers, the environmental motive had an external, public focus rather than a private one. The environmental motive could, therefore, be regarded as a multidimensional concept, which might be applied to evaluate the extent to which environmental consideration refers to one's own health and safety, and the extent to which it refers to political intentions.

In relation to the boycott of battery eggs consideration for animal welfare was for some of the informants an explicit public motive, while for some of the other informants it was verbalised as a private motive. Given the limited number of informants, the data showed that most of the informants had a private motive. More specifically, it emerged that the informants tried to market their social values, as well as signal their social identity through their boycott. It was, therefore, assessed that the social motive being an example of a private motive, constituted the most prevalent motive among most of the informants. The analysis, however, also discovered that, among the informants, private motives could be found which could be classified under the described pleasure motive, where some of the informants expressed that they got a better feeling, a form of "feel-good" value out of boycotting battery eggs. Finally, it also emerged that some informants perceived their boycott as a possibility to influence animal welfare conditions, and these informants expressed their public engagement quite clearly. It turned out, that the same informants who understood their boycott as being a political consumption act were also the informants who had a public motive in connection with their boycott. The informants who in that way primarily understood their boycott as

being a health-driven consumption act were also primarily motivated by private motives in relation to their boycott.

"Understanding consumers' product knowledge and consumer-product relationships requires that marketers examine the meanings by which consumers represent product attributes and link those meanings to higher-ordered meanings, such as the psychosocial consequences and values in consumers self-schemas."

(Peter and Olson in Consumer Behaviour and Marketing Strategy, 2002:99)

Kapitel 6: Dataanalysis – Consumer cognition in relation to boycotting organic food

The purpose of this chapter is to answer research questions b. Research question b concerns the investigation of cognitive structures activated in a politically motivated purchase compared to a purchase, where the political motive is absent. The purchase here is exemplified through the boycott of organic food. The question will be answered through the empirical analysis, departing from the means-end theory, and the application of the laddering technique. Finally, validity and reliability aspects will be discussed in relation to the results.

6.1. Presentation of informants and procedure

Uncovering the cognitive structures of the consumers is done by the *laddering*-technique, which was described in the chapters 3 and 4. The data were gathered among the same group of informants as described in chapter 5. The interviews were carried out after the in-depth interview on boycotting and boycotting, and the interviews had an estimated duration of 30 minutes. The informants were initially posed the question: *"Why do you buy organic food instead of conventional food?"* This question was though reformulated after two interviews to: *"Which factors influence your decision to buy organic food?"*. The reason for this change was that one of the first interviews showed, that the informants to a wider extent than expected thought of attributes instead of abstract consequences, when the question was posed in a different way, and thus easier to work with afterwards. Another positive outcome of the changed formulation of the question was that the informants also came up with remarks to why they sometimes rejected organic foods despite their deliberate and consequent boycott strategy. Some of the informants actually mentioned the price aspect as having an involuntary influence on the buying behaviour. Even though the purposive informants did initially not consider price an important parameter in relation to boycotting organic food, the price for some organic products simply exceeded the consumers' willingness to support the organic production form.

The first step in the laddering-procedure (*elicitation of salient criteria*) was not carried out in praxis, because the product category was determined in advance and the informants' expression of salient attributes divided between various products or brands was therefore outside the relevance of this thesis. Instead, it was important to uncover the informants' cognitive structures specifically for organic food. The boycott of eggs from battery chickens were not included in the laddering interviews, because the spectrum of motives appeared as too limited to create new and meaningful knowledge.

The second step of the laddering procedure (*salient attributes*) was started with the initial question stated above, where the informants tried to specify which factors they viewed as salient for their decision to buy organic food, and these answers became the starting point in the construction of ladders.

The interviews were recorded and transcribed, and with reference to Reynolds and Gutman's (1988) and Woodruff and Gardinal's (1996) recommendations for qualitative coding of laddering data, the constructed means-end chains were noted emphasizing the placement of responses with respect to the attribute, consequence and value levels. The coding procedure was therefore very much about the assessment of how the answers could be fairly placed according to the respective levels. In this coding procedure, Olson and Reynolds (1983) recognized categorization, describing the content of the individual categories, worked as inspiration (see Chapter 3). Meanwhile it seemed difficult to assess whether the responses should be assigned to the consequence or value level. For example, a statement like; "I get a better feeling when I eat organic food" be interpreted as a psychosocial consequence of the products not containing pesticides (physical well-being), but at the same time the response could relate to values like the terminal value "inner harmony" (Rokeach, 1973) or for example Schwarz' value about "spirituality" and "hedonism" (Schwarz, 1992). In the concrete example the response was characterized as a terminal value, because the statement was expressing the final produced step in the ladder, which had the following flow:

Interviewer: "*Which factors influence your decision to buy organic food?*"

Informant: "*I don't like that they (conventional) are sprayed with all sorts of chemicals*"

Interviewer: "*Why is it important for you that they are not sprayed*

Informant: *"That's because I believe that is healthier for the body not to expose yourself to these chemicals"*

Interviewer: *"Why is important for you that it is healthier for your"*

Informant: *"Yes Well, that is probably because you hope maybe to live a bit longer that way, right, or not to become as much sick and well, and then yes because I all in all get a better feeling by eating organic products"*

Interviewer: *"Why do you think that you get a better feeling?"*

Informant: *"Well, I don't know that really it is just I feeling I have – it is difficult to explain"*

Based on the produced ladder above it seemed appropriate to place the statement "I get a better feeling" in the value category. The informant states, that he through his food consumption focuses on health related aspects which ultimately could lead to a longer life, which according to both Rokeach and Schwarz can be characterized as goals at the informants' value level, because there is a reference to an end state or goal.

The coding procedure has been carried out and described and weighing made as regards the individual informants' means-end chains. The coding has been performed by the author as well as an extra external coder to enhance the trustworthiness of the analysis. The arrangement of the summarization matrix presenting the different attributes, consequences and values, which the laddering data comprised, will be presented later in the construction of the implication matrix.

As opposed to other empirical studies using the laddering technique e.g. Reynolds and Gutman, 1988; Claes et al., 1995; Bech-Larsen et al., 1996) this thesis involves fewer informants. The reason is, that the access to the purposive selected informants is limited, due to their special characteristics. A greater number of respondents would have enhanced the validity of the results and provided a more generalizable foundation, that could have been of value to both researchers and practitioners. On the other hand, the intention was not to create absolute and general knowledge, but merely to create new research ideas and propose alternative methods to studying political consumption. The results generated on the basis of the laddering data should thus be seen as a supplement to existing knowledge on political consumption and maybe more important, the results should be seen in combination with the in depth interview and produced with few informants with special characteristics. The application of a qualitative approach in the investigation of the political in

specific boycott and boycott situations had an impact on the application of the laddering data as well. In order to make a comparison between the responses from the in-depth interviews and the laddering interviews I needed to maintain the same group of informants. Boycotting a new and maybe larger group of informants would make it difficult to draw any inferences, even though the ones drawn might be statistically weak, about the connection between how political the informant perceives his consumption and the values activated. The purpose of carrying out the laddering interviews on the limited number of informants was therefore to present only tentative analytical differences among the informants, and not to generalize about the overall cognitive structures for political versus non-political consumer types.

As a consequence of the informants being asked only to respond to the motives for boycotting organic food items, and not comparing various products and brands, made the number of produced means-end chains limited compared to other empirical studies, where laddering has been applied. The variety of motives for organic food is limited to a few, which is the reason why the number of produced means-end chains will be lower than usual. The average number of produced means-end chains was 2, with a variation between the informant from 1-3. The data material was therefore relatively easy to manage, and could be handled by means of the recorded and transcribed interviews. Based on the responses, the means-end chains and an implication matrix was constructed as well as a hierarchical value map. The procedure and the empirical results are presented in the following.

6.2. From laddering data to implication matrix and hierarchical value map

According to Reynolds and Gutman (1988) the first step in the data analysis is to provide a so-called content analysis. The procedure is to list all means end chains produced by the informants. Starting with this procedure and the development of a summary content codes of the attributes, consequences and values prevalent in the data material as well as a specification of a matching code needed in the implication matrix and for establishing the hierarchical value map. The categorization and analysis of the laddering data is made manually according to Reynolds and Gutman (1988) recommendations. It was not carried out with help from the software programme LADDERMAP that would have constructed the implication matrix and the hierarchical value map.

6.2.1. The construction of summary content codes

The process of establishing a complete list of all means-end chains was made by the author, who also provided a temporary list of categories that could encompass the variety of statements. Due to reliability issues another coder provided a list of categories (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988). The categories were hereafter compared, discussed and the final summary content codes were established. The summary content codes thus includes the terms agreed upon which were seen as retaining the meaning sufficiently so the placement of the various statement could be done accordingly. An example might illustrate this:

In the data material a number of different statements were given concerning the problems of using pesticides and chemicals in producing conventional food and conversely the positive aspects of not using it in the production of organic food. Statements such as; *“I don’t like, that they are sprayed and I just think about the picture of an airplane flying over a field and spraying a lot of chemicals out- I am not keen on eating such food”* or another statement. *“ The (organic) are without artificial preservatives and other chemicals”* Such statements are to a wide extent expressing the same content, namely that organic food are boycotted because they are free of pesticides/chemicals. These statements are assigned as an attribute under the content code “no pesticides” in the summary content codes. The same coding procedure was performed in relation to the content codes. The final result of this process is captured in the figure below.

Figure 6.1. Summary content codes of the established categories and adjacent codes

| |
|--|
| <p><i>Values</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">16. Family health and security17. A strong health/live longer18. Taking a responsibility/Show consideration for others19. Inner harmony and solidarity with nature20. Self respect21. Ambitious22. Social recognition |
| <p><i>Consequences</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">6. Healthier for me7. Good for the kids and the family8. Better for the environment9. Signal who you are10. Prepare more tasty food11. Influencing consistency in the shopping behaviour12. Some products to expensive13. New food experiences14. Makes the dayly life easier15. Beeing a better host/house wife |
| <p><i>Attributes</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. No pesticides2. Taste/Quality3. Exclusivity4. Price5. Convenience |

According to Olson and Reynolds (1983), six levels exist in the means-end chains, two at the attribute, consequence and value level respectively, which was described in Chapter 3. The figure above does not include all six level which Reynolds and Gutmans (1988) and Peter and Olson's argue as an unnecessary analytical and practical distinction. Thus in the following only three levels are included. The unnecessary distinction was particularly evident with reference to Rokeach's division of values into instrumental and terminal values. Below Rokeach's values are shown.

Figure 6.2. Overview of instrumental and terminal values by Rokeach

| <i>Instrumental values</i> | <i>Terminal values</i> |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ambitious | A comfortable life |
| Broadminded | An exciting life |
| Capable | A sense of accomplishment |
| Cheerful | A world at peace |
| Clean | A world of beauty |
| Courageous | Equality |
| Forgiving | Family security |
| Helpful | Freedom |
| Honest | Happiness |
| Imaginative | Inner harmony |
| Independent | Mature love |
| Intellectual | National security |
| Logical | Pleasure |
| Loving | Salvation |
| Obedient | Self-respect |
| Polite | Social recognition |
| Responsible | True friendship |
| Self-controlled | Wisdom |

Kilde: Rokeach, Milton 1973. *The Nature of Human Values*, New York:Free Press.

The number and the content of the single categories of values made them difficult to work with as the rather overwhelming number of values (36 in total) complicated the summarization of the informants' statements and the values had a fragmented character, which complicated the process of assigning responses to the Rokeach values. The problem was that the responses referred to several of the Rokeach values and further that some of the values simply did not cover the content of the

responses. There seemed to be a need for gathering the values almost under joint conceptualizations appeared as covering the statements.

Within the literature on values, Schwarz and Bilsky (1987, 1990) and Schwarz (1992) have argued for a toning down of the distinction between instrumental and terminal values. Instead they argue for a distinction between individualistic and collectivistic values, which also for this thesis seem more appropriate with reference to the distinction between public, society oriented motives versus private, self-relevant motives characterizing the buy- and boycott of the selected products. The categorization from Schwarz therefore seemed more useful in the process of assigning the stated values in the empirical material. This categorization of values/domains is shown in the table below.

Figure 6.3. Overview of the values by Schwartz

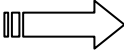
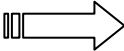
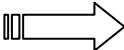
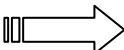
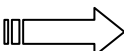
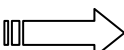
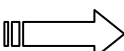
| Term | Encompasses the following values/domains |
|------------------------|---|
| Self-direction: | <i>Creativity, freedom, choosing own goals</i> |
| Stimulation: | <i>A varied life, an exiting life, daring</i> |
| Hedonism: | <i>Pleasure, enjoying life</i> |
| Achievement: | <i>Ambitious, successful, capable, influential, intelligent</i> |
| Power: | <i>Authority, wealth, social power, preserving my public image, social recognition</i> |
| Security: | <i>Social order, family security, national security, reciprocation of favors, clean, sense of belonging, healthy</i> |
| Conformity: | <i>Obedient, self-discipline, politeness, honoring parents and elders</i> |
| Tradition: | <i>Respect for tradition, humble, devout, accepting my portion in life, moderate</i> |
| Spirituality: | <i>A spiritual life, menacing in life, inner harmony, detachment</i> |
| Benevolence: | <i>Helpful, loyal, forgiving, honest, responsible, true friendship, mature love</i> |
| Universalism: | <i>Broad-minded, social justice, equality, a world at peace, a world of beauty, unity with nature, wisdom, protecting the environment</i> |

Source: Schwarz, Shalom H. 1992. *Universals in the Content and Structure of Values: Theoretical Advances and Empirical Tests in 20 Countries*. In Zanna M.P (red.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. CA: Academic Press. p. 1-65.

A comparison between the values in the summary content codes with the classification and categorization by Schwarz show a certain similarity and thus indicating a possible identification with the values/domains. For example, a value such as the “*family’s health and security*” can be compared to the value “*Security*” in Schwarz’ terminology, which encompasses values such as family security and health. Since the categorization by Schwarz seemed more appropriate and

useful compared to Rokeach, this was chosen, and the table below shows how the values presented in the summary content codes is compared to the values/domains by Schwarz.

Figure 6.4. The values from the summary content codes compared to the values by Schwarz

| <i>Values extracted from the laddering interviews</i> | | The values by Schwarz |
|--|---|------------------------------|
| <i>Family health and security</i> |  | Security |
| <i>A good health / live longer</i> |  | Hedonism |
| <i>Take a responsibility / show consideration for others</i> |  | Benovolence |
| <i>Inner harmony and solidarity with nature</i> |  | Universalism |
| <i>Self respect</i> |  | Universalism |
| <i>Ambitious</i> |  | Achievement |
| <i>Social recognition</i> |  | Power |

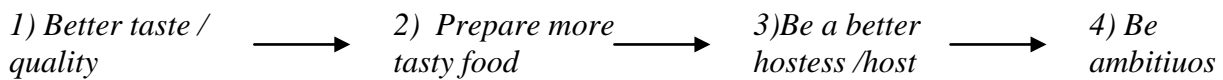
Source: Own construction based on the work by Schwarz (1992)

After establishing the summary content codes and assigning codes, the implication matrix is constructed.

6.2.2. Constructing the implication matrix

The implication matrix represents an overview of the number of times a response causes another response. The enumeration is done by listing how often for example a response such as (1) no pesticides leads to the response (9) better for the environment and this procedure is continued for

the complete data set. Finally, this results in a matrix expressing the aggregated ladders for the group of informants. The implication matrix illustrates the relations between the stated responses. The relations are composed of both direct relations and indirect relations. Characteristic for the direct relations is that there is a direct connection between the responses. An example of a means-end chains where the relations are direct is



The direct element relates to the fact that there is a sequential order expressed by the numbers (1-4). 1) *Better taste/quality* causes the response 2) *Prepare more tasty food* by which there exist a direct relation. The same applies for the response 2) *Prepare more tasty food* which has a direct relation the response 3) *Be a better hostess /host*. These direct relations are shown in the implication matrix as the number before the comma. Meanwhile also indirect relations exist in the data material, which in relation to the example above could be exemplified by the response 2) *Prepare more tasty food* and 4) *Be ambitious*. Indirect relations are in the implication matrix shown after the comma, so the number indicates:

The number of direct relations between responses. The number of indirect relations between responses

Based on the summary content codes and the aggregated enumeration of direct relations between responses the implication matrix for the boycott of organic food is constructed.

Figure 6.5. Implication matrix for boycotting organic food

| | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
|------------------|-------|------|------|---|----|------|----|----|----|------|------|------|------|------|----|------|
| 1. No Pesticides | 11.00 | 8.05 | 8.04 | | | | | | | | 0.12 | 0.13 | 0.02 | 0.04 | | |
| 2. Taste/quality | | | | | | 2.00 | | | | 0.02 | | | | | | 0.01 |

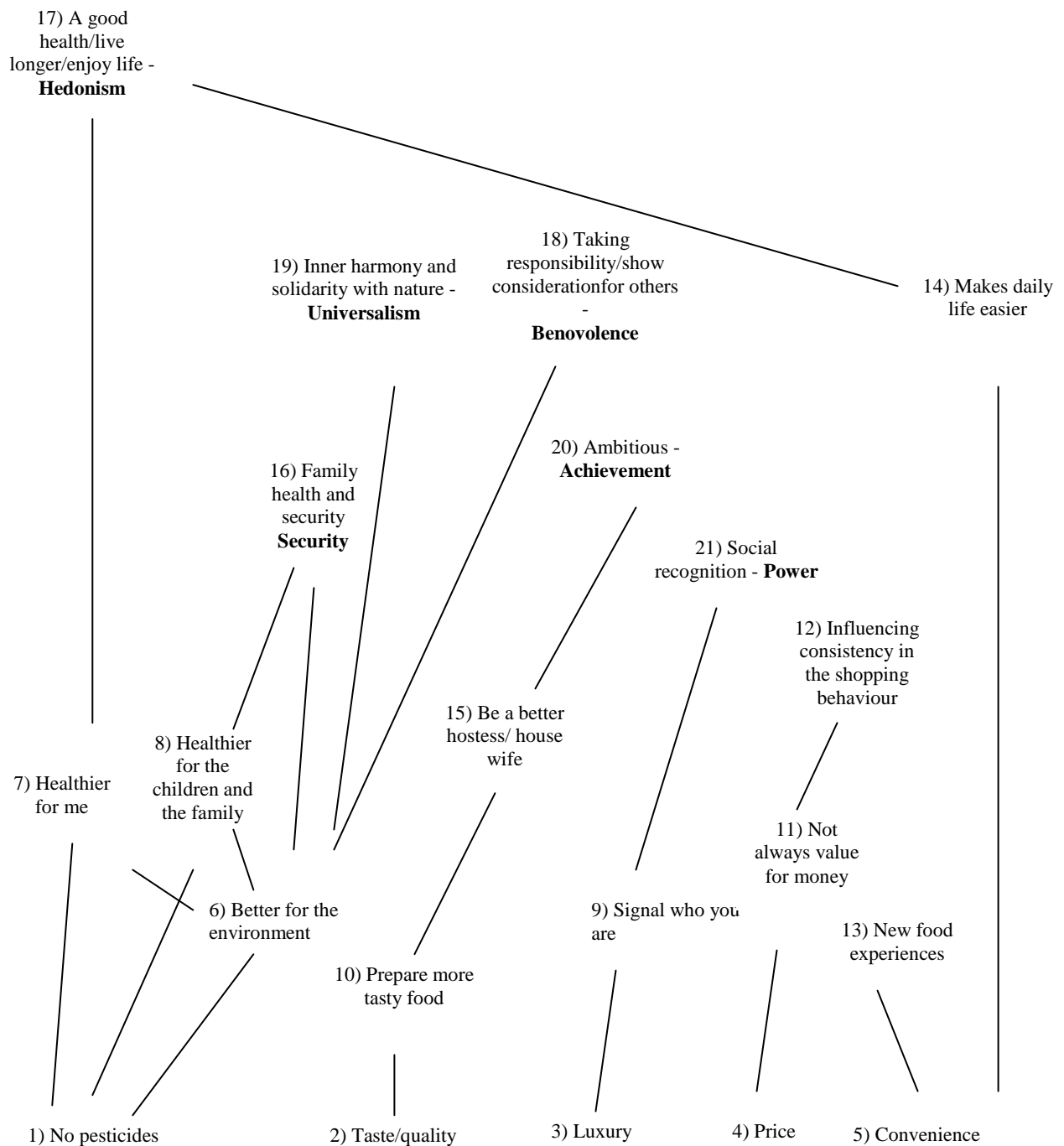
| | | | | | | |
|---|------|------|------|------|-------|-----------|
| 3. Luxury | 3.00 | | | | | 0.02 |
| 4. Price | | 4.00 | 0.03 | | | |
| 5. Convenience | | | | 2.00 | 2.00 | 0.02 |
| 6. Better for the environment | 5.00 | 4.00 | | | | 4.00 2.00 |
| 7. Healthier for me | | | | | | 13.00 |
| 8. Healthier for the children and the family | | | | | 12.00 | |
| 9. Signal who you are | | | | | | 2.00 |
| 10. Prepare more tasty food | | | | 2.00 | | 0.01 |
| 11. Not value for money | | | 3.00 | | | |
| 12. Influencing consistency in the shopping behaviour | | | | | | |
| 13. New food experiences | | | | | | |
| 14. Make the daily life easier | | | | | 2.00 | |
| 15. Be a better hostess/house wife | | | | | | 1.00 |
| 16. Family health and security | | | | | | |
| Security | | | | | | |
| 17. A good health/live longer/enjoy life | | | | | | |
| Hedonism | | | | | | |
| 18. Taking a responsibility/show consideration for others | | | | | | |
| Benevolence | | | | | | |
| 19. Inner harmony and solidarity with nature | | | | | | |
| Universalism | | | | | | |
| 20. Ambitious | | | | | | |
| Achievement | | | | | | 2.0 |
| 21. Self-respect | | | | | | |
| Universalism | | | | | | |
| 22. Social recognition | | | | | | |
| Power | | | | | | |

The implication matrix above is the starting point for the construction of the following hierarchical value map. The hierarchical value map is a graphical and visual representation of the relations between the informants' responses. Since investigations based on the laddering method mostly involve a larger number of informants/respondents it is often inevitable to limit the number of relations from the implication matrix, otherwise the hierarchical value map would visually appear as enormous and the value of it limited. Therefore, Reynolds and Gutman (1988) argue for a cut-off level, determining the frequency level. Depending on the number of respondents a cutoff level between 1 and 5 is chosen. Reynolds and Gutman (1988) use in their article a cutoff level of 4 having a number of respondents of 50-60. This means that at least 4 respondents have indicated a relation between two statements, which in their hypothetical example is that the carbon acid (*carbonation*) is refreshing (*refreshing*).

In this thesis the number of informants is as mentioned earlier 12 and a cutoff level of 1 is chosen. This means that the total number of frequencies is shown in the hierarchical value map. The amount of data and the number of relations is limited, why information would be lost if not all relations were shown in the implication matrix.

According to Reynolds and Gutman, the hierarchical value map is the most important contribution in the analysis of the laddering data as it gives an overall visual presentation of the results without assessing the previous step of the analysis. This knowledge is especially valuable for product development or marketing tasks. With point of departure in the hierarchical value map constructed in this thesis, the idea is in the final chapter to discuss the practical implications for marketing of organic products. Below the hierarchical value map is constructed based on the implication matrix.

Figure 6.6. Hierarchical value map for the boycott of organic food



In the following the results obtained from the hierarchical value map will be discussed. Related to this the results will be compared to the empirical results from chapter 5. The intention is to assess if

the cognitive structures from the hierarchical value map are distinct among the various types of informants identified and whether this distinction influences the degree of involvement.

6.2.3. Results summarized in the hierarchical value map

The hierarchical value map above shows the means-end chains that were expressed via the laddering interviews. In the following, the results will be presented shortly. After this, the most dominating cognitive representations will be determined. The determination of dominating cognitive representations is primarily appropriate when the number of respondents is larger and the data material more extensive. The terminology dominating cognitive representations is though kept despite the smaller number of participants because it is the term used by Reynolds and Gutman (1988). The appropriateness of this concept for this thesis can be questioned due to the qualitative approach and to conclude that some cognitive representations are more dominating or prevalent than others would stretch the conclusion to an extent where validity issues can be questioned. To show empirically sound dominating cognitive representations would require additional, more quantitatively based data.

6.2.3.1. Means-end chains for the attribute "No pesticides"

The attribute "no pesticides" causes different means-end chains, resulting in various responses both at the consequence and value level. That organic foods are free of pesticides is by some of the informants seen as an important factor in boycotting organic products, but different ladders are constructed. For example, the attribute "no pesticides" produces at the consequence level the responses "healthier for me", "healthier for the children and the family" as well as "better for the environment", which again relates to different values among the informants. The consequence "healthier for me" relates exclusively to the informants' personal wish for a longer and healthier life, where the individual strives for a life condition dominated by harmony and enjoyment, so the value hedonism is applied in this case. The consequence "healthier for the children and the family" also related to the value hedonism, men at the same time this response also related to the value security. Wanting food free of pesticides because it considers the health of children and family reflects a personal interest in enjoying life together with the family but also considering the health and security of external people. Consuming organic food here is therefore about minimizing potential risks, where the well-being and security of family members is considered. Finally, the

consequence “better for the environment” is stated by some informants, which considers the long-term positive perspectives in organic food production, and thus related to thinking about nature as a fragile resource and showing consideration for others by behaving in a way that show solidarity with nature. The value that relates to the response “better for the environment” is argued to be benevolence.

6.2.3.2. Means-end chains for the attribute ”taste/quality”

The attribute taste/quality produces the consequences “prepare more tasty food” and “be a better hostess”. A single informant stated, that this referred to being the star in the kitchen, and the housekeeping and cooking was a territory where personal ambitions were accomplished and thus signalled to the external world. This is the reason why “being a better hostess” relates to the value achievement.

6.2.3.3. Means-end chains for the attribute “luxury”

Organic foods are by some informants perceived as premium products and more luxurious. This perception is based on for example the packaging, the image, the type of product etc. The attribute luxury produces the consequence “signal who you are” which relates to social recognition achieved by being able to exclusively buy these types of products. The most appropriate value encompassing the content of signalling who you are is Power.

6.2.3.4. Means-end chains for the attribute ”price”

An often “unreasonably” high price on some organic products was a factor that influenced the buying behaviour of some informants. Some informants stated that they did not to the extent that they wanted boycott organic products because they perceived the price-value relation for the product as too low. The attribute price thus caused responses that could be captured as the consequence “not always value for money” which further lead to the consequence “influencing consistency in the shopping behaviour”. As regards the attribute “price” the responses did not reach the value level but remained responses that could be assigned to the consequence level.

6.2.3.5. Means- end chains for the attribute ”convenience”

The last attribute mentioned among the informants is labelled convenience, referring to something that is easier or more comfortable. The convenience term arose out of responses coming from informants subscribing to an online delivery service of especially organic fruit and vegetables

(Årstiderne, Mettes Frugt, Coop Danmarks organic fruit and vegetable basket). These informants stated that the organic dimension and the form of distribution were considered under the same umbrella and it was argued to be easier, more convenient and more exiting in daily life. The excitement of opening up the boxes or baskets with tailor-made recipes in was one aspect that was described as a value adding aspect that made this service attractive. In the case of the informants subscribing to the delivery of organic products, it can be difficult to answer clearly, what is more important, convenience or the fact that the products are organic or maybe more likely that it is a mixture of several value adding aspects. Nevertheless, the informants said, that they would not subscribe to a delivery service offering conventional baskets or boxes. This could indicate that organic food and the distribution to the front door are two important parameters supplementing each other well, and the convenience issue is a value-creating element that goes well in hand with boycotting organic foods. The attribute convenience produced the consequence "makes daily life easier", which ultimately meant that the informants had more time for things that were perceived as self relevant, increasing their personal welfare, referring to the value hedonism.

6.2.4. Determination of "dominating" cognitive representations

After the construction of means-end chains based on the hierarchical value map the next step in the coding procedure would be determining the strength of the single means-end chain. In other words, the most prevalent cognitive representations are determined. Even though, as argued previously, the number of informants is small and the relevance of determining the most dominant cognitive representations can be discussed, the task is done anyway in order to follow the logic of the classical coding procedure. The interpretation of the most dominating cognitive representation will therefore be done cautiously.

Table 6.1. Division of the single chains on internal relations

| 0 | 1 | 7 | 17 | 0 |
|----|------|------|-------|-------|
| 1 | 0.00 | 8.05 | 0.13 | 8.18 |
| 7 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 13.00 | 13.00 |
| 17 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| 0 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 21.18 |

The table shows that the means-end chain “no pesticides – healthier for me – hedonism” has a total strength inside the chain of 21.18. The strengths of the remaining chains are summarized in the table below based upon the process outlined above.

Table 6.2. Summary of the strengths of the means-end chains

| <i>The name of the means-end chains</i> | The total strength of the chain |
|--|--|
| <i>No pesticides – healthier for me – hedonism</i> | 21.18 |
| <i>No pesticides – healthier for the children and family – security</i> | 21.16 |
| <i>No pesticides – better for the environment – benevolence</i> | 15.02 |
| <i>No pesticides – better for the environment –healthier for me - hedonism</i> | 37.18 |
| <i>No pesticides – better for the environment – healthier for me – security</i> | 35.16 |
| <i>No pesticides – better for the environment - universalism</i> | 13.04 |
| <i>Taste/quality – prepare more tasty food – be a better housewife/hostess - achievement</i> | 5.04 |
| <i>Luxury– signalwho you are - power</i> | 5.02 |
| <i>Price – not ikke altid value for money – påvirker konsistens i indkøbet</i> | 7.03 |
| <i>Convenience – nye madoplevelser</i> | 2.00 |
| <i>Convenience – gør hverdagen lettere - hedonism</i> | 4.02 |

The results above indicate that the informants participating in the study, to a high degree relate their food consumption to values involving the security and health of themselves and the family. The boycott of organic food deals according to the laddering results with pursuing personal interests.. Meanwhile, the results also indicate, that the environmental aspect also plays a central role in relation to the buycott and as can be seen from table 6.2 the means-end chains showing the greatest total strengths are the “*No pesticides – better for the environment – healthier for me – hedonism*” with a score of 37.18 and “*No pesticides – better for the environment – healthier for the kids and the family – security*”, with a total score of 35.16. What though appears is, that the environment as a factor influences the boycott of organic food and creates different means-end chains, having a varying degree of cognitive dominance. It seems that the environmental motive linked to values concerning the personal and family health and security represents the most important cognitive structures. In the means-end chains, where the environmental motive is linked to values, such as showing consideration for others (*benevolence*) as well as for the nature (*universalism*) the same

strength within the chains is not achieved. This means that the meaning of the environmental motive is essential in understanding if consumers more generally relate their consumption to political, more external motives, or they put emphasis on traditional consumption motives. The environmental aspect can be seen as encompassing a more multifaceted content, which could be an important understanding in the research into political consumption.

6.2.5. Answering research question b

The laddering results reveal means-end chains that relate to different consequences and values among the participating informants. Comparing the constructed means-end chains of the informants with the placement in the typology from chapter 5, the following pattern can be outlined. The informants who according to the presented typology perceive the boycott of organic food as a politically motivated consumption act, activate other cognitive structures than the informants where boycotting of organic food is not primarily dominated by a political motivation. The informants who primarily boycott organic food for political reasons activate means-end chains where the responses at the consequence and value level relate to others more than they do. Thus, means-end chains with an external, societal focus occur. These informants thus activate the following means-end chains:

- 1) No pesticides – better for the environment – take a responsibility /show consideration for others (benevolence)*
- 2) No pesticides - better for the environment – inner harmony and solidarity with nature (universalism)*

Having the limitations of the data material in mind, the constructed means-end chains above could indicate, that there is a connection between the primary motives of these particular informants and the cognitive structures they activate when boycotting organic foods. That is, the environmental issue concerns preserving the nature and showing consideration for it more than safeguarding ones personal health. The informants boycott for political reasons thus activate values that foremost concern a consideration for others.

As regards those informants who boycott organic food and where the primary motive is not political, different means-end chains are activated. The laddering data show that the responses given

at the consequence and value level relate to fulfilling personal or family goals. Among these informants the following means-end chains are activated:

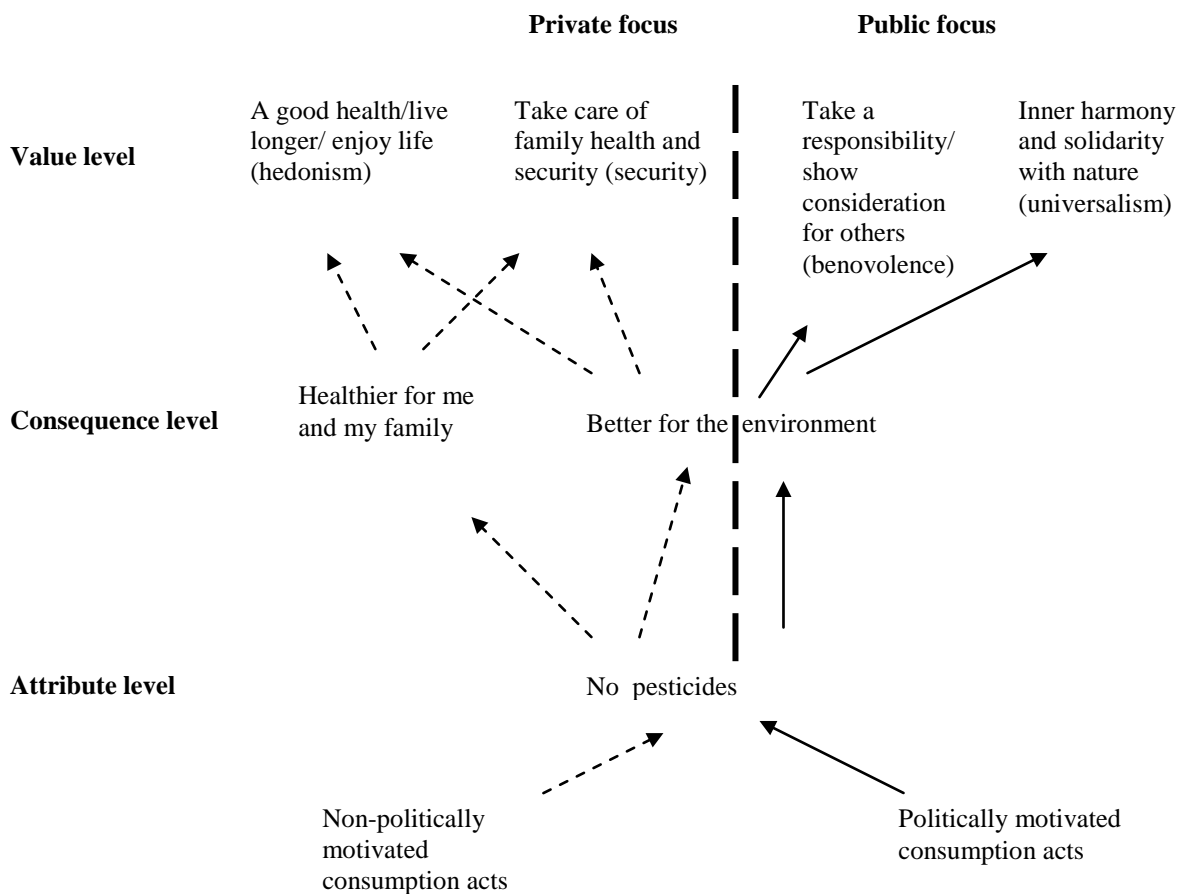
- 1) *No pesticides – healthier for me – a good health / live longer/enjoy life (hedonism)*
- 2) *No pesticides – healthier for the children and the family – take care of the family health and security (security)*
- 3) *No pesticides – better for the environment – healthier for me – a good health/live longer/enjoy life (hedonism)*
- 4) *No pesticides – better for the environment – healthier for the children and the family-take care of the family health and security (security)*

The means-end chains show that some of the informants primarily boycott organic food for personal or family related reasons. There appears to be greater degree of internal focus, where the personal health is more important than general preservation of nature. What also can be seen though is that the informants view boycotting of organic food as being better for the environment but that this concern relates to promoting internal security and health. This indicates that the informants perceive the statement “*better for the environment*” differently depending on their motives for boycotting organic food. This means that the environmental aspect can not automatically be assumed to be a political motive but can also be an aspect that is closely linked to personal motives. The laddering data therefore indicate, that especially the environmental aspect in relation to boycotting organic foods can contain both political and/or more personal motives, which is one thing that need to be considered in future studies of political consumption. Understanding environmental issues solely as political motives might enlarge the spread of political consumption and could characterize some consumption acts as political where they could maybe more be personally motivated.

The similarities in the constructed cognitive structures are, that all the informants conceive the attribute “*No pesticides*” as important but then the similarities also end. When we move to the consequence and value level, the differences between informants who buycot for political versus non-political reasons are prevalent. The figure below summarizes the differences in the cognitive structures. The dotted lines indicate the means-end chains for those informants who tend to perceive boycotting of organic food as a non-politically motivated consumption act, whereas the complete

arrows express the means-end chains for those informants who to a greater extent perceive boycotting of organic food as a politically motivated consumption act.

Figure 6.7. Differences in means-end chains between politically and non-politically motivated consumption acts



6.4. Validation of the laddering results

The attempt to provide valid laddering results is done by following Reynolds and Gutmans (1988) recommendation for coding. An important aspect in the coding procedure is the content analysis,

which is the establishment of the total number of means-end chains and the characterization of attributes, consequences and values. The limited number of informants and possible attributes makes the data material relatively clear but at the same time the conclusions must be considered tentatively and cautiously and a validation in the classical sense with a greater number of informants was not possible.

To ensure validity, Reynolds and Gutman (1988) recommend to include an independent person in the process to check the coding procedure. Therefore, a colleague of mine was asked to evaluate the data material, where after comparisons between mine and his analysis were made. This rather standardized procedure for coding laddering data resembles the positivistic ideals for coding data, which ensures the possible assessment of the results. Comparing the different perceptions of boycotting, which are presented in the typology, some patterns emerge which possibly can be used to validate the laddering results. Those informants who perceive boycotting as primarily a politically motivated consumption act activate values that have a societal and public focus. This means that the informants not only state that they are political but that the political intention is also uncovered in centrally anchored values that are linked to product attributes. Moreover, critique is often posed, that individuals are capable of reproducing discourses that concern how they would like to perceive themselves e.g. the construction of identities (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). As topics such as the environment and animal welfare often confront the individual with a lacking consistent consumption behaviour and displays a feelings such as guilt and bad conscience, consumers might try to express themselves in a way that is coherent with their self-perception. This would then display an individual, who is behaving humanely, behaving socially responsible etc. This construction of discourses is though not something I have recognized during my interviews, Most of the informants state that they are interested in taking care of themselves and their family when boycotting organic foods. It does not seem as if the informants construct politically correct discourses.

6.5. Summary

The chapter intended to answer research question *b*. Comparing the means-end chains of the informants with the characterization of them in the typology, the following emerged. Those informants who according to the typology dimensions perceived boycotting of organic food as

primarily politically motivated, activated other cognitive structures than the informants who perceived boycotting of organic food as primarily non-politically motivated consumption. Those informants who perceived boycotting as political activated means-end chains where the responses at the consequence and value level referred to something other than themselves. The means-end chains activated revealed an external and public focus. Thus, the environmental motive referred to preserving nature and showing responsibility more than promoting personal health.

The informants who perceived boycotting as a more traditional consumption acts with a non-political intention activated different means-end chains. Here, the statements given at the consequence and value level were about fulfilling personal or family related purposes. The focus was thus internal and private and an environmental concern was ultimately related to personal goals.

Chapter 7: Implications

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the implications of the findings for research and practice. This means that the conclusions drawn in answering research questions a and b are discussed.

The thesis has argued for the need to understand the phenomenon political consumption as an individualized and more consistent form of political participation better. Through a qualitative methodological approach the attempt was made, first to create more context specific knowledge on the motives behind the more individualized, non-organized boycotting and boycotting of food products, in particular organic food and thus to understand to what degree the informants' motives are also linked to the intention of wanting to influence politically. The intention of this thesis was thus to provide a more nuanced understanding of the degree to which politics is part of a consistent and well established buying pattern among the informants who participated.

The decision to choose a qualitative approach means that the findings should be considered tentatively and used only for analytical generalizations such as inspiration or input for other perhaps larger surveys or other qualitative studies, which focus on exploring other details about the presence of political intention in consumer behaviour. The intention has therefore not been to draw any general conclusion in a statistical sense so the findings have a very contextually based transferability. This means that the conclusions should be seen as hopefully valid for this group of informants and for the boycotting and boycotting of the particular products. The implications of the results obtained and the conclusions drawn in the thesis should therefore be considered mainly in relation to the field of investigation i.e. organic food and in relation to the understanding of the embeddedness of political intention in consumer acts. The interviews with the 12 informants intended to provide a deeper understanding of how the political aspect is embedded in individualized, everyday consumption practices.

7.1. Measuring political intention in consumption acts

The findings of the thesis concern very much the already discussed problematic on measuring political intent in relation to consumer acts. The findings thus focus on issues that could be relevant in measuring the phenomenon in the future.

7.1.1. The environmental motive as having potential for both political and non-political content

The environmental motive has in previous research very much been considered a political motive and probably often it does contain a political intention. Nevertheless, consumption of organic food seems to be a case where the environmental motive is not necessarily always linked to a political intention but seems to be more about securing healthier products and life conditions in a narrower more self-oriented sense. Investigations on the motives for buying organic or green products show that health is a major determinant, so it is not surprising that boycotting organic food primarily is motivated by private health related issues. What though seem to be interesting in relation to research on political consumption is that the environmental aspects that are an essential element in the production of organic food is evaluated and considered mainly in relation to personal issues. This means that the products being produced in an environmentally friendly way support the perception of the products being more healthy than conventional products. The implication of this could be that the dominating motives for boycotting affect whether the consumer has a tendency to be oriented more towards traditional consumption values or more public community oriented values. In the case of organic food the informants in this thesis were very much motivated by health issues which might explain why only few very consistent organic shoppers did not consider their purchasing as political. Those informants who had a different perspective or approach to boycotting organic food such as hindering an environmental disaster or securing clean drinking water for future generations actually expressed a political intention. This means that some products or services probably have a larger built-in potential for political consumption, especially if only few traditional consumption motives are present. However, as Sørensen (2004) has pointed to in the cited quotation in Chapter 5, goods are first and foremost purchased because they fulfill a traditional consumer need. We buy fair trade coffee because we are first of all thirsty for coffee and not primarily because we want to help people get better life conditions in the third world. Depending on the dominance of traditional consumer motives the potential of political intention will probably vary. This could indicate that political consumption is a very product/service and context dependent phenomenon, which is something that future research might investigate a little deeper.

Of course, some people do have a political intention and a “we” perspective in their consumption behaviour which was also revealed. The informants who have a political intention in relation to

boycotting activate different cognitive structures compared to informants with a more health and security related focus. This means that political consumption is an existing phenomenon, which is supporting other existing political channels, but for the individualized, non-organized form, more research is needed on how prominent this phenomenon is.

Assuming that the environmental motive in relation to individualized boycotting always involves a political intention might be a too general conclusion in that sense that environmental motives can entail different content depending on whether you study transportation, energy or food consumption. As the motives for boycotting organic food seem to be closely linked to personal goals e.g. health and security, the environmental issue is also implicitly tied closely to health aspects. Whether environmental concern reflects a political interest could depend on the specific consumption area and specifically food exemplifies an area where the consumption plays an important role for the individual health and well-being. This means that future studies measuring the embeddedness of political intention in relation to food items should at least consider the environmental motive as having potential for both political and not political content, because the environmental motive could be closely linked to personal self-relevant goals and values. One reason is the already addressed one, that potential benefits or risks of food consumption and the fact that this type of consumption is experienced as very individual this could consequently mean that self-relevant goals and values are more prominent. In assessing the political intent of buying behaviour in future studies, I would therefore argue for a distinction among personal and public aims of the environmental motive as it possibly could involve both aspects.

Studying political consumption as a phenomenon could therefore benefit from more detailed investigations on especially the more individualized non-organized forms. The fact that consumers act in an individualized, unorganized way within specific consumption areas could indicate a lacking emphasis on political issues simply because traditional more egoistic consumption motives are usually in the forefront and thus seen as more important. If this is the case for different consumption acts across various empirical fields, a discussion is needed on how to uncover the political intention without biasing the responses. In other words, when can motives truly be said to encompass a political intention of consumers. Motives that today figure as political motives, such as animal welfare and environmental reasons are perhaps not always political, but could possibly also be connected with more personal issues. A theoretical discussion is required in order to define when

consumption motives are political and how to measure that in the future. A better understanding of to what degree the perception of the political is an integrated mental construct among consumers purchasing products that entail potential political motives is therefore needed.

7.1.2. Measuring the spread of political consumption in a more context specific way

Political consumption seen as a widespread individualized, non organized form has been questioned in this thesis. Not only based on the informant interview but based on previous measurement problems in existing research. Previous studies have thus tried to measure the spread of political consumption, estimating that app. 40-50% are involved in individualized, non organized political consumption. Based on this, political consumption can appear as a widespread phenomenon but still, the spread is an issue for continuous debate in academic fora, in particular because of measurement problems (Stolle et. al., 2005). Thus, there seems to be a need for research to discuss the problems related to measuring political intention, as political intention is one the important criteria in distinguishing political consumption acts from traditional consumption acts. More attention needs to be paid to, when the buying behaviour can rightfully be said to be political or what some authors discuss as the political character (Stolle et. al., 2005). In other words, what constitutes political behaviour in relation to the more individualized market based consumer behaviour, which consequently requires cross-disciplinary interaction. Related to measuring the spread of political consumption this could also be carried out more specifically related to certain product areas, such as fair trade products, energy consumption, transportation forms etc. in order to make cross comparisons and to possibly emphasize the perhaps varying degree of political intention depending on the field of investigation.

This is also suggested by other authors, who think this would give a more nuanced and precise picture of how political different consumption behaviour is and give a better understanding of how to measure political consumption in the future (Diamantopoulos et al., 1994; Pickett, 1991). For example, Terragni and Kjærnes (2004) have investigated the puzzle of why ethical consumption is so low in Norway compared to other countries that apparently are similar on a number of variables, that have proved to explain the degree of political consumerism e.g. income, educational level, political interest etc. The authors find that context dependent factors, such as a very protective and concentrated food provision system leads to a limited supply of ethical products, thus influencing

the availability of an ethical alternative and ultimately the spread of ethical consumption. Concluding that Norwegians are less ethical and perhaps political, measuring only how much they buy and how often would overlook the highly relevant contextual influence. The suggestions for future investigations on measuring the spread of political consumption would thus be to emphasize the contextual factors more in order to get a more holistic understanding of the political character in relation to that particular study.

Continuing to measure the spread of political consumerism before we know more about the meaning and importance of different motivational triggers proposes a methodological problem. The individual, who chooses to drive with her colleague to work for a number of different reasons e.g. social, economic, environmental etc. illustrates the need for digging deeper into the complex cognitive structures. If the environmental concern is one thing that occupies the individuals' mind this would traditionally and maybe rightfully be claimed to entail a political intention and this behaviour could be characterized as political. On the other hand, the individual states a range of motives where many of them could relate to more personal goals. At least one question can therefore be raised. Should the motive encompassing a political intention also be the dominating motive in order to classify consumption behaviour as political if there are multiple motives behind the consumption act or are consumption acts simply political when the political intention is present? If we accept that consumption acts are political as long as the one of the motives entail political intent, even though other traditional co-existing motives exist which actually appear to be dominating the decision making process, some problems occur. The extent of political consumption would appear to be large since every politically motivated consumption act would count as such. Consumption acts based on multiple motives could be taken for political whilst the primary motives could be traditional consumer motives. In the case of co-sharing a car, cost savings or expanding the social network could be the most important triggers for choosing this transportation form and then subsequently the benefits for the environment.

This presents research into political consumption with some challenges. How prominent should for example the political motives be in order to characterize consumption as political. The problem is though that once the private and the public motives become blurred it is difficult to measure and assess how political the acts really are. To overcome this problem it could be interesting to look for empirical examples where the product or service should be bought and consumed due to its societal

or more public benefits. This would give a more clear picture of the degree to which people are interested in consuming according to more altruistic values. My suggestion for future measurements of political consumption is to discuss a possible way of dealing with a range of both personal and societal motives and also, if possible, how dominating the political motive should be compared to other co-existing motives in order to characterize consumption acts with mixed motives as political. Still to be researched are issues that relates to how widespread the individualized, non-organized boycotting and boycotting is. However before this can be done we need to continue the discussion on how to measure the extent to which individualized boycotting and boycotting is political and how political and non-political motives are balanced and interpreted among consumers.

7.1.3. Comparing the informants having a political intention with the political consumer profile

Looking at the characteristics of those informants who state that they want to influence politically through their buycotts and boycotts, the following similarities can be found, still keeping in mind the limited number of informants. The active participation and engagement in politics is one element that can be found among the informants that have political intentions. The informants who are politically aware in their consumption pattern are well-educated, their political affiliation is orientated to the left and live closer to the larger Danish cities. The characteristics seem to be in line with the characteristics of the political consumer found in several international surveys (Goul Andersen and Tobiasen, 2004; Strømnes, 2004; Stolle and Micheletti, 2005). Still it should be noted that the small number of participants does not deliver any validation to the political consumer profile but in this particular case there seems to be a good match between the informants who act politically and the variables that have been found to characterize a political consumer.

7.1.4. Assessing value orientations in estimating the market potential for political products

Some implications for practitioners can also be stated due to the findings. Even though little still is known about the extent to which consumers consciously try to influence society through their consumption acts, studies show that consumers have begun at least valuing social and ethical goals in their decision making process. Even if consumers do not actually link every day purchases with the possibility to use their buying power politically, consumers are still evaluating and looking for responsible companies. Over the last two decades companies have therefore begun implementing

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programmes and practices because consumers emphasize issues as social or ethical responsibility in their decision making (Dawkins and Lewis, 2003). The concept of CSR appears in both management and marketing literature and the main principle behind it is that no company can act isolated in opposition to or isolated from the issues in society (De Bakker et. al., 2005; Maignan et. al., 2005) or formulated along the same vein that companies have responsibilities towards society and the environment that go beyond their own interests and the legal obligations (Podnar, 2008). The emphasis on CSR by companies is indeed on the agenda and the perception of the importance that CSR has for companies has undergone a dramatic change over the last three decades. In the 1970'ies a study reports that less than half of the Fortune 500 companies had mentioned CSR in their annual reports whereas in the 1990'ies nearly 90% had embraced CSR as an essential part of their organizational goal (Min-Dong, 2008). If this focus on CSR reflects a changed reality of businesses because consumers and other stakeholders evaluate products and companies by non-traditional attributes, then companies need to act according to that in order not to get punished as an irresponsible company (Smith, 2000). Even though consumers might not connect ethical or environmental concern to concrete political aims, the fact that products that contain non-traditional attributes experience a growing market share in many countries could indicate a growing consumer awareness and involvement, which then has implications for marketing and marketing communication strategies. If consumers express ethical, social and/or environmental values through their buying behaviour, companies and products need to be repositioned to be in line with contemporary values. The findings in this thesis showed that the informants activate different means-end chains depending on their motivational goals. Some informants were more concerned about the environment in a public "we" sense while other informants activated more self-enhancing values in relation to boycotting organic food.

For practitioners a more comprehensive study of consumer values related to "politicized" products or services would provide knowledge about the important value set and thus make it easier for companies to meet consumer or stakeholder expectations. Some authors argue that Western society has been facing a shift in consumer values from "me" to "we" in that sense that consumers tend to be less materialistic and instead engage themselves more in pro-social behaviour (Macchiette and Roy, 1994). This means that self enhancement values such as achievement and power are becoming less important compared to values such as benevolence and universalism (Schwarz, 2003). Further other studies find a link between individual values, pro-social behaviour and CSR (Basil and

Weber, 2006) which then support the idea for changed marketing communication strategies adapted to current values.

Understanding consumers value orientations in relation to products or services that activate both traditional motivational goals as well as goals that are oriented towards others is important in designing future marketing strategies. Serving markets with a built-in potential for politically motivated decisions requires companies to emphasize the content of the the so-called give and get components in order to deliver superior customer value (Zeithaml, 1988). Delivering superior customer value implies that marketing managers consider both the “get” and the “give” components of their offerings and thus understands how and to what degree the political aspects influences individuals’ decision making. So even if political consumption is not as widespread as some surveys indicate, products with an ethical, environmental or social profile could still be perceived as attractive by consumers due to these extra benefits even though the consumers might not link the actual purchase with overall political aims. For companies, a growing sales volume of products with a social, ethical or political content means at least a greater willingness to pay for additional aspects surrounding the products or service. Thus companies developing products or services with a built in potential for political, ethical, social etc. content, should consider how to communicate the bundle of traditional and “altruistic” attributes, consequences and values in their marketing efforts.

Characterizing consumers as being either ethical, political or socially responsible and then directing their marketing messages based on this perception could give a to simplified picture of what is valued by the consumer. A further investigation of the complex network of motives connected to certain consumption acts could provide a better basis for developing marketing strategies for companies selling commodity products in consumer markets but also for organizations serving markets where consumption motives are both private and public. Future investigations of consumer goals and values could benefit from more situation specific analysis within different empirical areas such as food, energy, transportation etc.

8. References

- Aagaard Nielsen, Kurt, Greve, Anni, Hansson, Finn og Rasborg, Klaus (red.) 1999. *Risiko, politik og miljø i det moderne samfund – en antologi om en aktuel kontrovers*. Frederiksberg: Forlaget Sociologi.
- ACR Special Session 1985. *Applying Humanistic Methods to Consumer Research: Four Practical Examples*. Advances in Consumer Research. Vol. 13.
- Ajzen, Icek 1991. *The Theory of Planned Behaviour*. Organizational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes. Vol. 50 (2). pp. 179-212.
- Ajzen, Icek and Martin Fishbein 1977. *Attitude-Behaviour Relations: A Theoretical Analysis and Review of Empirical Research*. Psychological Bulletin. Vol. 84. pp. 888-918.
- Ajzen, Icek and Martin Fishbein 1980. *Understanding Attitudes and Predicting Social Behaviour*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey.
- Aluusatati, Peerti 1995. *Researching Culture. Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies*. London. Sage Publications
- Andersen, Johannes, Christensen, Ann-Dorte; Langberg, Kamma, Siim, Birte og Torpe, Lars 1993. *Medborgerskab. Demokrati og politisk deltagelse*. Herning: Forlaget Systime.
- Anderson, Benedict 1990. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London; New York: Verso
- Anderson, John R 1985. *Cognitive Psychology and its Implications*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.
- Anderson, Paul F. 1986. *On Method in Consumer Research: A Critical Relativist Perspective*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol.13. September. pp.155-173.
- Anderson, Paul F. 1989. *On Relativism and Interpretivism – With a Prolegomenon to the “Why Question”*. In Hirschman, Elisabeth C (Eds.). *Interpretive Consumer Research*. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research. pp.10-23.
- Andersen, Paul F. and Michael J. Ryan 1984. *1984 AMA Winter Educators’ Conference: Scientific Method in Marketing*. Proceedings Series. Chicago, III.
- Anderson, Thomas W. Jr. and William H. Cunningham 1972. *The Socially Conscious Consumer*. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 36. July. pp. 23-31
- Anderson, Thomas W., Henion, Karl E. and Eli P. Cox 1974. *Socially vs. Ecologically Responsible Consumers*. In *The Combined Conference Proceedings*, No. 36. Curhan, Ronald C. ed. Chicago: American Marketing Association. pp. 304-311.

- Antil, John H. 1984. *Socially Responsible Consumers: Profile and Implications for Public Policy*. Journal of Macromarketing. Vol.4. Fall. pp. 18-32.
- Antil, John H. and P.D. Bennett 1979. *Construction and Validation of a Scale to Measure Socially Responsible Consumption Behaviour*. In Henion, Karl E. and Thomas C. Kinnear (Eds.). The Conserver Society. American Marketing Association. Chicago. pp.51-68.
- Arbuthnot, Jack 1977. *The Roles of Attitudinal and Personality Variables in the Prediction of Environmental Behaviour and Knowledge*. Environment and Behaviour. Vol. 9. pp. 217-232.
- Bagozzi, Richard P. 1975. *Marketing as Exchange*. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 39. October. pp. 32-39.
- Bagozzi, Richard P. and Pratibha A. Dabholkar 1994. *Consumer Recycling Goals and Their Effect on decisions to Recycle: A Means-End Chain Analysis*. Vol. 11 (4). pp. 313-340.
- Baker, Susan, Keith E. Thomson and Julia Engelken 2004. *Mapping the Values Driving Organic Food Choice: Germany vs. the UK*. European Journal of Marketing. Vol. 38 (8).pp. 995-1012.
- Balderjahn, Ingo 1988. *Personality Variables and Environmental Attitudes as Predictors of Ecologically Responsible Consumption Patterns*. Journal of Business Research. Vol.17. pp.51-56.
- Bang, Henrik P. og Eva Sørensen 1997. *Fra græsrodder til hverdagsmagere. Et studie i politisk identitet på indre Nørrebro*. Del IV af pilotprojektet omkring ”Demokrati fra neden”. Arbejdsrapport 3.
- Bang, Henrik P., Torben B. Dyhrberg og Allan D. Hansen 1997. *Elite eller Folkestyre – Demokrati fra oven og/eller fra neden?* In Grus. Nr. 51.
- Barnes, Samuel H and Max Kaase 1979. *Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*. Beverly Hills. Sage Publications.
- Barnett, Clive, Clarke, Nick, Cloke, Paul and Malpass, Alice 2005. *The political Ethics of Consumerism*. Consumer Policy Review. Vol.15 (2). pp. 45- 51.
- Bartels, Robert 1968. *The General Theory of Marketing*. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 32. January. pp. 29-33.
- Bartels, Robert 1977. *General Theory of Marketing*. In Greenberg, Barnett A. and Danny N. Bellenger. Chicago, Illinois: American Marketing Association. pp. 549-550

- Basil, Debra Z. and Deanne Weber 2006. *Values Motivation and Concern for Appearances: The Effect of Personality Traits on Responses to Corporate Social Responsibility*. International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing. Vol.11. No.1.pp. 61-72.
- Basu, Kaushik 2001. *A Better Mousetrap*. In Fung, Archon, O'Rourke, Dara and Sabel, Charles, Eds., *Can We Put an End to Sweatshops?*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Bateson, Gregory, 1972. *Steps to Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballantine.
- Bauman, Zygmunt 1991. *Modernity and Ambivalence*. UK: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Zygmunt 1999. *In Search of Politics*. UK: Polity Press.
- Bech-Larsen, Tino 1993. *Overvejer forbrugerne emballagens funktions- og miljøegenskaber, når de køber fødevarer*. MAPP working paper. No. 7.
- Bech-Larsen, Tino 1996. *Danish Consumers' Attitudes to the Functional and Environmental Characteristics of Food Packaging*. Journal of Consumer Policy, No -. Vol 19. pp. 339-363.
- Bech-Larsen, Tino., N.A. Nielsen, Klaus.G. Grunert og Elin. Sørensen 1996. *Means-End Chains for Low Involvement Products – a Study of Danish Consumers' Cognitions Regarding Different Applications of Vegetable Oil*. Mapp Working Paper, Nr. 41. Århus: Handelshøjskolen i Århus
- Beck, Ulrich 1986. *Risikogesellschaft. Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne*. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a.M.
- Beck, Ulrich 1993. *Die Erfindung des Politischen. Zu einer Theorie reflexiver Modernisierung*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp
- Beck, Ulrich 1994. *Self-dissolution and Self endangerment of Industrial Society: What does this mean?* In Beck, Ulrich, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash 1994. *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Beck, Ulrich, 1996a. *Das Zeitalter der Nebenfolgen und die Politisierung der Moderne*. In Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash: *Reflexive Modernisierung – Eine Kontroverse*. Frankfurt/Main.
- Beck, Ulrich 1996b. *World Risk Society as Cosmopolitan*. Ecological Questions in a Framework of Manufactured Uncertainties i: *Theory, Culture and Society*. Vol. 13 (4). pp. 1-32.
- Beck, Ulrich 1997a. *The Reinvention of Politics – Rethinking Modernity in the Global Social Order*. Translated by Mark Ritter. Polity Press.

- Beck, Ulrich 1997b. *Subpolitics. Ecology and the Disintegration of Institutional Power*. Organization and Environment. Vol. 10 (1). Pp. 52-65.
- Beck, Ulrich and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim 2002. *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism & Its Social & Political Consequences*. Acta Sociologica. Taylor & Francis Ltd. Vol. 45. Issue 2, pp. 172-175.
- Beckmann, Suzanne C., Brockmose, Susanne and Robert L. Lind 2001. *Danske forbrugere og økologiske fødevarer. ØKO foods II projektet*. København: Handelshøjskolens Forlag.
- Belk, Russell W. 1984. *Against Thinking*. In Anderson, Paul F. and Michael J. Ryan (eds.). *Scientific Method in Marketing*. Chicago: American Marketing Association. pp. 57-60.
- Belk, Russell W. 1988. *Possessions and the Extended Self*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol. 15. September. pp. 139-168.
- Belk, Russell W. 1991a. *The History and Development of the Consumer Behaviour Odyssey*. In Belk, Russell W. (Eds.). *Highways and Buyways: Naturalistic Research from the Consumer Behaviour Odyssey*. Provo. UT: Association of Consumer Research. pp.1-12.
- Belk, Russell W. 1991b. *Highways and Buyways: Naturalistic Research from the Consumer Behaviour Odyssey*. Provo. UT: Association of Consumer Research.
- Belk, Russell W., Mayer, Robert and Driscoll, Amy 1984. *Children's Recognition of Consumption Symbolism in Children's Products*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol. 10. March. pp. 386-397.
- Belk, Russell W., Sherry John.F. and Wallendorf, Melanie. 1988a. *A Naturalistic Inquiry into Buyer and Seller Behaviour at a Swap Meet*. Journal of Consumer Research, Vol. 14. March. pp.449-470.
- Belk, Russell W., Wallendorf, Melanie, Holbrook, Morris and Roberts, Scott 1988b. *Collectors and Collecting*. Advances in Consumer Research. Vol.15. pp. 548-553.
- Bennulf, Martin and Henrik Selin 1993. *Skiftningar i Grønt. Om livsstilar och Miljö i Olika Sociala Grupper*. Forskning om Livsstil och Miljö. Stockholm: FRN.
- Berger, I.E. and R.M. Corbin 1992. *Perceived Consumer Effectiveness and Faith-In-Others as Moderators of Environmentally Responsible Behaviours*. Journal of Public Policy and Marketing. Vol.11. pp. 79-89.
- Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckman 1967. *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York. Irvington Publishers.
- Berger, Joseph, Zelditch, Morris and Anderson, Bo 1982. *Historical and Generalizing Approaches to Sociology*. In Bredo, Eric and Walker Feinberg. *Knowledge and Values in Social and Educational Research*. Philadelphia. PA: Temple University Press.

- Bjerke, Flemming 1992. *Forbrugernes interesse for økologiske produkter*. Roskilde Universitetscenter: Forlaget Samfundsøkonomi og planlægning.
- Blumer, Herbert. 1954. *What is Wrong with Social Theory*. American Sociological Review, Vol.19. pp. 3-10.
- Blumer, Herbert 1969. *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. New York: Prentice Hall.
- Bonsu, Samuel K. and Detlev Zwick 2007. *Exploring Consumer Ethics in Ghana, West Africa*. International Journal of Consumer Studies. Vol. 31 (6). pp. 648-655.
- Boulstridge, E and Marilyn Carrigan 2000. *Do Consumers Really Care about Corporate Responsibility? Highlighting the Attitude-Behaviour Gap*. Journal of Communication Management. Vol.4. (4). pp. 355-368.
- Brooker, George 1976. *The Self-Actualizing Socially Conscious Consumer*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol. 3. September. pp. 107-112.
- Børsen, 5.1.1998. *ISS og Cheminova under hårdt etisk pres*. Nr.2. Årgang 103. s. 10-13.
- Calder, Bobby J. and Alice M. Tybout 1987. *What Consumer Research is....* Journal of Consumer Research. Vol.14. June.pp.136-140.
- Cambell, Colin. 1987. *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Carrigan, Marilyn and Ahmad Attalla 2001. *The Myth of the Ethical Consumer – Do Ethics Matter in Purchase Behaviour?* Journal of Consumer Marketing. Vol. 18 (7). Pp.560-577.
- Carrigan, Marilyn, Szmigin, Isabelle and Wright, Joanne 2004. *Shopping for a Better World? An Interpretive Study of the Potential for Ethical Consumption within the Older Market*. Journal of Consumer Marketing. Vol.21 (6). pp.401-417
- Chakrabarti, Somnath and Rajat K. Baisya 2007. *Purchase Motivations and Attitudes of Organic Food Buyers*. Decison. Vol. 34. No.1. January-June.
- Chinnici, Gaetano, Mario D'Amico and Biagio Pecorino 2002. *A Multivariate Statistical Analysis on the Consumers of Organic Products*. British Food Journal. Vol. 104 (3/4/5). pp. 187-199.
- Claes, C. A. Swinnen, P. Vanden Abeele, 1995. *Consumers' Means-End Chains for „Think“ and „Feel“ Products*. International Journal of Research in Marketing, Vol. 12. pp. 193-208.

- Cleveland, Mark, Kalamas Maria and Laroche, Michel 2005. *Shades of Green: Linking Environmental Locus of Control and Pro-environmental Behaviours*. Journal of Consumer Marketing. Vol. 22 (4). pp. 198-212.
- Clouder, Scott and Rob Harrison 2005. *The Effectiveness of Ethical Consumer Behaviour*. In Harrison, Rob, Newholm, Terry and Shaw, Deirdre 2005. *The Ethical Consumer*. London: Sage Publications. pp.89-104.
- Coddington, Walter 1990. *It's No Fad: Environmentalism is Now a Fact of Corporate Life*. Marketing News. Vol.15. October. pp.7.
- Cook, Thomas D. and Donald T. Campbell 1979. *Quasi-Experimentation: Design and Analysis Issues for Field Settings*. Boston: Rand McNally
- Cowe, R and S. Williams 2001. *Who are the Ethical Consumers?* Co-operative Bank/Mori Survey, Co-operative Bank, London.
- Creyer, Elisabeth.H. and William T. Ross Jr. 1997. *The Influence of Firm Behaviour on Purchase Intention: Do Consumers Really Care about Business Ethics?* Journal of Consumer Marketing. Vol. 14 (6). pp. 421-433.
- Dahab, Debra J. and James W. Gentry 1995. *New Ways to Reach Non-Recyclers: An Extension of the Model of Reasoned Action*. Advances in Consumer Research. Vol. 22 (1). pp. 251-256.
- Dawes, Robyn M. 1980. *Social Dilemmas*. Annual Review of Psychology. Vol. 31. pp.69-93.
- Dawes, Robyn M. and David M. Messick 2000. *Social Dilemmas*. International Journal of Psychology. Vol.35 (2). pp. 111-116.
- Dawkins, Jenny and Stewart Lewis 2003. *CSR in Stakeholder Expectations: And their Implications for Company Strategy*. Journal of Business Ethics. Vol.44. No. 2-3. pp. 185-193.
- De Bakker, Frank G.A., Groenewegen, Peter and den Hond, Frank 2005. *A Bibliometric Analysis of 30 Years of Research and Theory on Corporate Social Responsibility and Corporate Social Performance*. Business and Society. Vol. 44. No. 3. pp. 283-317.
- Dembkowski, Sabine. and Stuart HammerLloyd 1994. *The Environmental Value-Attitude-System Model: A Framework to Guide the Understanding of Environmentally-Conscious Consumer Behaviour*. Journal of Marketing Management. Vol. 10 (7). pp. 593-603.
- Denegri-Knott, J., Zwick, D. and Schroeder, J. 2006. *Mapping Consumer Power: An Integrative Framework for Marketing and Consumer Research*. European Journal of Marketing. Vol. 40 (9/10), pp. 950 – 971.

- Denzin, Norman K. 2002. *Interpretive Interactionism*. Second Edition. London: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, Norman K and Yvonna S Lincoln 2000. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, Norman K and Yvonna S Lincoln 2000. In Denzin, Norman K and Yvonna S Lincoln 2000. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. pp. 157-162.
- Deshpande, Rohit 1983. *Paradigms Lost: On Theory and Method in Research in Marketing*. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 47. Fall. pp.101-110.
- De Young, R. and S. Kaplan 1985-86. *Conservation Behaviour and the Structure of Satisfaction*. Journal of Environmental Systems. Vol. 15. pp. 223-292.
- Diamantopoulos, Adamantios, Bohlen Greg M. and Bodo B. Schlegelmilch 1994. *Predicting Green Purchasing Decisions from Measures of Environmental Consciousness: A two Sample Comparison*. Conference Proceedings Marketing Education Group. July. pp. 252-261.
- Dickinson, Roger and Stanley C. Hollander 1991. *Consumer Votes*. Journal of Business Research, Vol 23 (1). pp. 9-20.
- Douglas, Mary and Byron Isherwood 1979. *The World of Goods. Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*. New York: Routledge.
- Douglas, Mary 1982. *Food as a System of Communication*. In Douglas, Mary (ed.). In the Active Voice. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Eagly, Alice H. 1982. *Uneven Progress: Social Psychology and the Study of Attitudes*. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. Vol. 63. pp. 693-710.
- Easton, David 1965. *A Framework for Political Analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Eden, S.E. 1993. *Individual Environmental Responsibility and its Role in Public Environmentalism*. Environment and Planning. Vol. 25. pp.
- Eisenhardt, Kathleen M, 1989. *Building Theories from Case Study Research*. Academy of Management Review. Vol. 14 (4). pp. 532-550.
- Eisenhardt, Kathleen M. 2002. *Building Theories from Case Study Research*. In Huberman, Michael A. and Matthew B. Miles, The Qualitative Researcher's Companion. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications. pp. 5-36

- Ellen, Pam Scholder 1994. *Do we Know What We Need to Know? Objective and Subjective Knowledge Effects on Pro-Ecological Behaviours*. Journal of Business Research. Vol (30). pp.43-52.
- Ellen, Pam Scholder, Wiener, Joshua Lyle and Cobb-Walgren, Cathy 1991. *The Role of Perceived Consumer Effectiveness in Motivating Environmentally Conscious Behaviours*. Journal of Public Policy and Marketing. Vol. 10 (2). Fall. pp.102-117.
- European Social Survey 2002. *European Social Survey Dataset*. www.europeansocialsurvey.org.
- Falk, Pasi 1994. *The Consuming Body*. London. Sage Publications.
- Fazio, R.H. 1986. *How do Attitudes Guide Behaviour*. In Sorrentino, R.M. and E.T. Higgins (Ed.). *The Handbook of Motivation and Cognition: Foundations of Social Behaviour*. New York. Guilford Press. pp. 204-243.
- Featherstone, Mike 1990. *Perspectives on Consumer Culture*. Sociology. Vol.24 (1). February. pp.5-22.
- Fischer, Frank 1998. *Ulrich Beck and the Politics of the Risk Society*. Organization and Environment. Thousand Oaks. March.
- Folkes, V.S. and M.A. Kamins 1999. *Effects of Information about Firms' Ethical and Unethical Actions on Consumer Attitudes*. Journal of Consumer Psychology. Vol. 8 (3). pp.243-259.
- Follows, Scott B. and David Jobber 2000. *Environmentally Responsible Purchase Behaviour: a Test of a Consumer Model*. European Journal of Marketing. Vol. 34. Issue 5/6. pp. 723-747.
- Forbrugerstyrelsen 1997. *Fakta om miljø. Vaske- og rengøringsmidler*. København.
- Fransson, N. and P. Davidsson m.fl. 1993. *Miljömedvetenhet: Begrepsdefinitioner, mätmetoder och tidigare forskningsresultat*. Psykologiska Institutionen. Göteborg Universitet.
- Friedman, Monroe 1999. *Consumer Boycotts. Effecting Change through the Marketplace and the Media*. New York: Routledge.
- Gallup 1997. *Den etiske forbruger*. København: Gallup A/S
- Geertz, Clifford 1973. *Thick Descriptions: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture*. In Geertz, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Culture*, New York: Basic Books. pp. 3-30.

- German Institute for Market and Environmental Societies 2001. *Shoppers Worry less about Green Issues*. Dairy Industries International, Vol. 66. pp.11.
- Giddens, Anthony 1990. *Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Giddens, Anthony 1991. *Modernity and Self-identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gill, J., Crosby L., and Taylor J. 1986. *Ecological Concern, Attitudes, and Social Norms in Voting Behaviour*. Public Opinion Quarterly. Vol. 50. Winter. pp. 537-554.
- Goetz, Judith. P., and Margaret.D. LeCompte 1984. *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research*, San Diego: Academic Press.
- Goul Andersen, Jørgen 1993. *Politik og samfund i forandring*. Forlaget Columbus.
- Goul Andersen, Jørgen, Torpe, Lars and Andersen, Johannes 2000. *Hvad folket magter. Demokrati, magt og afmagt*, København: Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag.
- Goul Andersen, Jørgen og Jens Hoff 2001. *Democracy and Citizenship in Scandinavia*. Houndsmills: Palgrave
- Goul Andersen, Jørgen og Mette Tobiasen 2001. *Politisk forbrug og politiske forbrugere. Globalisering og politik i hverdagslivet*. Magtudredningen, Århus.
- Goul Andersen, Jørgen and Mette Tobiasen 2004. *Who are these Political Consumers Anyway. Survey Evidence from Denmark*. In Micheletti, Michele, Follesdal, Andreas and Stolle, Dietlind. *Politics, Products and Markets – Exploring Political Consumerism Past and Present*. pp. 203-222.
- Granzin, Kent, L. and Janeen E. Olsen 1991. *Characterizing Participants in Activities Protecting the Environment*. Journal of Public Policy. Vol.10 (2). pp. 1-27.
- Grunert, Susanne C. 1992. *Everybody Seems Concerned about the Environment. But is this Concern Reflected in (Danish) Consumers' Food Choices?* Handelshøjskolen i Århus, Institut for Informationsbehandling, ØFP Working Paper 4.
- Grunert, Suzanne C. and Kai Kristensen 1995. *Den danske forbruger og økologiske fødevarer*, Odense Universitet: Working Papers in Marketing no. 1.
- Grøn Information 1995. *Modgift*. Kampagnemateriale.
- Guba, Egon G. 1981. *Criteria for Assessing the Trustworthiness of Naturalistic Inquiries*. Educational Communication and Technology Journal. Vol. 29. pp. 75-92.
- Guba, Egon G. 1990. *The Paradigm Dialog*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

- Guba, Egon G. and Yvonna S. Lincoln 1981. *Effective Evaluation*. California, USA: Jossey-Bass Inc. Publishers.
- Guba, Egon G. and Yvonna S. Lincoln 1989. *Forth Generation Evaluation*. CA: Sage Publications.
- Guba, Egon G. and Yvonna S. Lincoln 2000. *Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions and Emerging Confluences*. In Denzin, Norman. K and Yvonna. S Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Second Edition, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. pp.163-188.
- Gullestad, Marianne 1989. *Kultur og Hverdagsliv*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Gutman, Jonathan 1977. *Uncovering the Distinctions People Make Versus the Use of Multi-Attribute Models: Do a Number of Little Truths Make Wisdom*. Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Conference of the Advertising Research Foundation, New York, pp.71-76.
- Gutman, Jonathan 1982. *A Means-End Chain Model based on Consumer Categorization Processes*. *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 46. pp. 60-72.
- Gutman, Jonathan 1997. *Means-End Chains as Goal Hierarchies*. *Psychology and Marketing*, Vol.14 (6). pp.545-560.
- Gutman, Jonathan and S. Alden 1984. *Adolescents' Cognitive Structures of Retail Stores and Fashion Consumption: A Means-End Analysis*. In Jacoby, Jacob and Jerry C. Olson (red.), *Perceived Quality of products, Services and Stores*, Massachusetts: Lexington Books.
- Gutman, Jonathan and Thomas J. Reynolds 1979. *An Investigation of the Levels of Cognitive Abstraction Utilized by Consumers in Product Differentiation*. In *Attitude Research under the Sun*, Chicago: American Marketing Association. pp. 128-150.
- Gutman, Jonathan and Thomas J. Reynolds 1988. *Laddering Theory, Method, Analysis and Interpretation*. *Journal of Advertising Research*, February. pp. 11-31.
- Hackett, Paul 1995. *Conservation and the Consumer. Understanding Environmental Concern*. London: Routledge.
- Halkier Bente 1993. *Grønt hverdagsliv – 90'ernes udtryk for den nye miljøbevægelse? – en eksplorativ undersøgelse af grønt forbrug som en anderledes form for politisk aktivitet og af aktivitetens betydning for de involverede*, Speciale ved Institut for Statskundskab, Aarhus Universitet, juni 1993.
- Halkier, Bente 1994. *Grønt forbrug – politik?* *Grus* nr. 44. s. 23-39.
- Halkier, Bente 1998(a). *Miljø til daglig brug? Forbrugernes erfaringer med miljøhensyn i hverdagen*. Frederiksberg: Forlaget Sociologi.

- Halkier Bente 1998(b). *Forbrug og miljø: Betydningen af hverdagslivets erfaringer*. Sociologi i dag. Vol. 28 (2).
- Halkier, Bente 1999. *Consequences of the Politicization of Consumption: The Example of Environmentally Friendly Consumption Practices*. Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning. pp. 24-41.
- Halkier, Bente 2001a. *Consuming Ambivalences. Consumer Handling of Environmentally Related Risks in Food*. Journal of Consumer Culture. Vol. 1(2). pp. 205-224.
- Halkier, Bente 2001b. *Risikohåndtering i forbrug: Behov for at "kreolisere" sociologiske begreber*. Universitetsforlaget. Sociologisk tidsskrift. Vol. 9. s. 156-179.
- Halkier, Bente 2001c. *How Political is Politicised Consumption? Risk-handling in Food Consumption as example*. Paper presented at the International Seminar on Political Consumerism, Stockholm University, May 30 – June 3.
- Hammersley, Martyn 1992. *What's Wrong with Ethnography*. London. Routledge,
- Hansen, J., Holm, L., Frewer, L., Robinson P. and Sandøe, P. 2003. *Beyond the Knowledge Deficit: Recent Research into Lay and Expert Attitudes to Food Risks*. Appetite. Vol. 41 (2). pp.111-121.
- Harrison, Rob, Newholm, Terry and Shaw, Deirdre 2005. *The Ethical Consumer*. London: Sage Publications
- Heath, Timothy B. 1992. *The Reconciliation of Humanism and Positivism in the Practice of Consumer Research: A View from the Trenches*. Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science. Vol.20 (2). pp.107-118.
- Heberlein, Thomas A. and Stanley J. Black 1981. *Cognitive Consistency and Environmental Action*. Environment and Behaviour. Vol. 13. pp. 717-734.
- Henion, Karl E.1972. *The Effect of Ecologically Relevant Information on Detergent Sales*. Journal of Marketing Research. Vol.9. pp. 10-14.
- Henion, Karl E. 1976. *Ecological Marketing*. Grid Series in Marketing. Ohio: USA.
- Henion, Karl E. and William H. Wilson 1975. *The Ecologically Concerned Consumer and Locus of Control*. American Marketing Association Proceedings. First National Workshop on Ecologically Marketing.
- Henson, S. and J. Northen 2000. *Consumer Assessment of the Safety of Beef at the Point of Purchase: A Pan-European Study*. Journal of Agricultural Economics. Vol.51 (1). pp 90-105.

- Hines, J.M., Hungerford, H.R. and Tomera A.N. 1987. *Analysis and Synthesis of Research on Responsible Environmental Behaviour: A Meta-Analysis*. Journal of Environmental Education. Vol. 18 (2). Winter. pp. 1-8
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. *Exit, Voice and Loyalty- Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations and States*, A Harvard Paperback.
- Hirschman, Elisabeth C. 1986. *Humanistic Inquiry in Marketing Research: Philosophy, Method and Criteria*. Journal of Marketing Research. Vol. 23. August. pp. 225-239.
- Holbrook, Morris B and Elisabeth C. Hirschman 1982. *Hedonic Consumption: Emerging Concepts, Methods and Propositions*. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 46 (3). pp. 92-101.
- Holbrook, Morris B. and John O'Shaughnessy 1988. *On the Scientific Status of Consumer Research and the Need for an Interpretive Approach to Studying Consumption Behaviour*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol. 15. December. pp. 398-402.
- Hopper, J.R. and J.M. Nielsen 1991. *Recycling as Altruistic Behaviour: Normative and Behavioural Strategies to Expand Participation in a Community Recycling Program*. Environment and Behaviour. Vol. 23. pp. 195-220.
- Holzer, Boris and Mads P. Sørensen 2001. *Subpolitics and Subpoliticians*. Arbeitspapier 4 des SFB 536 Reflexive Modernisierung. München, July.
- Holzer, Boris and Mads P. Sørensen 2002. Politik i det refleksive moderne: fra livspolitik til subpolitik. I Slagmark – tidsskrift for idéhistorie, forår, nr. 34.s. 61-78.
- Hudson, Laurel Anderson and Jeff B. Murray 1986. *Methodological Limitations of the Hedonic Consumption Paradigm and a Possible Alternative: A Subjectivist Approach*. Advances in Consumer Research. Vol. 13. pp. 343-348.
- Hudson, Laurel Anderson and Julie L. Ozanne 1988. *Alternative Ways of Seeking Knowledge in Consumer Research*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol. 14. March. pp. 508-521.
- Hunt, Shelby D. 1971. *The Morphology of Theory and the General Theory of Marketing*. Journal of Marketing. Vol.35. April. pp. 65-68.
- Hunt, Shelby D. 1983. *General Theories and the Fundamental Explananda of Marketing*. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 47. Fall. pp. 9-17.
- Hunt, Shelby D. 1989. *Naturalistic, Humanistic, and Interpretive Inquiry: Challenges and Ultimate Potential*. In Hirschman, Elisabeth C. Interpretive Consumer Research. Provo. UT: Association for Consumer Research. pp. 185-198.

- Hunt, Shelby D, 1991. *Positivism and Paradigm Dominance in Consumer Research: Toward Critical Pluralism and Rapprochement*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol.18. June. pp. 32-44.
- Hunt, Shelby D. 1993. *Objectivity in Marketing Theory and Research*. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 57. pp. 76-91.
- Institutet for Fremtidsforskning i samarbejde med Greens Analyseinstitut 1996. *Den politiske forbruger – en holdningsundersøgelse*. København.
- IFF (Institutet for Fremtidsforskning) og Elsam 1996. *Den politiske forbruger*. Elsam. Fredericia.
- IFKA 2001. *Danskerne 2001 - Vælgernes dagsorden og det nye mediebillede*. København: Institut for Konjunkturanalyse.
- IFKA 2003. *Danskerne 2003 - Mellem velfærd og afmagt*. København: Institut for Konjunkturanalyse.
- Iversen, Trine 1996. *Miljøproblematikken i hverdagslivet*. Speciale ved Institut for Antropologi. Københavns Universitet. København.
- James, A. 1993. *Eating Green(s). Discourses of Organic Food*. In Milton, Kay (Ed.). Environmentalism. The View from Anthropology. ASA Monographs. London: Routledge Vol. 32. pp. 203-218.
- Jensen, Mette 1997a. *Benzin i blodet. Kvalitative del*. DMU. Faglig rapport. Nr. 191.
- Jensen, Mette 1997b. *Benzin i blodet. Kvantitative del*. DMU. Faglig rapport. Nr.200.
- Jolly, Desmond A. 1991. *Differences Between Buyers and Nonbuyers of Organic Produce and Willingness to Pay Organic Price Premiums*. Vol.9. No.1. pp. 97-111.
- Karl, Helmut and Carsten Orwat 1999. *Environmental Labelling in Europe: European and National Tasks*. European Environment. Vol. 9 (5). September/October. pp. 212–220.
- Kassarijian, Harold H. 1971. Incorporating Ecology into Marketing Strategy: The Case of Air Pollution. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 35. July. pp.61-65.
- Kerlinger, Fred N. 1973. *Foundations of Behavioural Research*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Kilbourne, William E. and Suzanne C. Beckmann 1998. *Review and Critical Assessment of Research and the Environment*. Journal of Marketing Management. Vol.14. pp.513-532.
- Kinnear, Thomas C., James R. Taylor and Sadrudin A. Ahmed 1974. Ecologically Concerned Consumers: Who are they? Journal of Marketing. Vol. 38. April. pp. 20-24.

- Kirk, Jerome. and Marc.L. Miller 1986. *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research*. CA: Sage publications.
- Klint, Jacob 1995. *Er der salg i etik? – erfaringer med salget af dyreetiske, økologiske og bæredygtigt handlede varer*. København. CASA.
- Kok, G and S. Siero 1985. *Tin Recycling: Awareness, Comprehension, Attitude, Intention and Behaviour*. Journal of Economic Psychology. pp.157-173.
- Kooiman, Jan 1993. *Modern Governance. New Government – Society Interactions*. UK: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Kotler, Philip 1982. *Marketing for Non-Profit Organizations*. Englewood Cliffs. NJ. Prentice Hall Inc.
- Kotler, Philip and Sidney Levy 1969. *Beyond Marketing. The Furthering Concept*. California Management Review. Vol. 12 (2). pp. 67-74.
- Kover, Arthur 1967. *Careers and Non-communication: The case of Academic and Applied Marketing Research*. Journal of Marketing Research. Vol. 13. November. pp. 339-344.
- Kuhn, Thomas 1962(1970). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kvale, Steinar 1996. *InterViews. An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Lavik, Randi 1990. *Det Vanskelige Valget. Forbrukernes Miljøbevissthet*. SIFO. Arbejdsrapport. No.14.
- Lavik, Randi and Anniken Enger 1995. *Environmental Conscious Consumers: Who are They and What Explains the Variation in Environmental Consciousness*. Paper presented on The International Conference on Sustainable Consumption. Lillehammer.
- Lash, Scott, Bronislaw Szerszynski and Bryan Wynne 1996. *Risk, Environment and Modernity. Towards a new Ecology*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Lazer, William 1974. *Marketing Research: Past Accomplishments and Potential Future Developments*. Journal of the Market Research Society. Vol. 16 (3). pp. 183-202.
- Lee, Julie Ann and Stephen J.S. Holden 1999. *Understanding the Determinants of Environmentally Conscious Behaviour*. Psychology and Marketing. Vol.16 (5). August. pp. 373-392.
- Levi, Margaret and April Linton 2003. *Fair Trade: A Cup at a Time*. Politics and Society. Vol.31 (3). pp. 407-432.

- Light, Richard, Judith J. Singer, and John B. Willett 1990. *By design: Conduction Research on Higher Education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S. 1990. *The Making of a Constructivist: A Remembrance of Transformations Past*. In Guba, Egon G., *The Paradigm Dialog*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications. pp. 67-87.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S. and Egon G. Guba 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. CA: Sage Publications.
- Lindén, Anna-Lisa 1994. *Människa och Miljö*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Luck, D.J. 1969. *Broadening the Concept of Marketing – too far*. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 33. July. pp.53-55.
- Macchiette, Bart and Abhijit Roy 1994. *Sensitive Groups and Social Issues: Are you Marketing Correct?* Journal of Consumer Marketing. Vol. 11. No. 4. pp. 55-64.
- Magnusson, Maria K., Arvola, Anne and Hursi, Ulla-Kaisa Koivisto, Åberg, Lars, Sjöden, Per-Olow 2001. *Attitudes towards Organic Foods among Swedish Consumers*. British Food Journal. Vol.103. No.3. pp. 209-226.
- Maignan, Isabelle, Ferrell, O.C. and Ferrell, Linda 2005. *A Stakeholder Model for Implementing Social Responsibility in Marketing*. European Journal of Marketing. Vol. 39. No. 9-10. pp. 956-977.
- Malmsten, N. 1993. *Attitydbegreppet i eet miljöperspektiv*. Cognition and Decision Research Unit. Department of Psychology. University of Stockholm. HUMI: Rapport PS 8.
- Mason, Jennifer 1996. *Qualitative Researching*. London. Sage Publications.
- Masterman, Margaret 1970. *The Nature of a Paradigm*. In Lakatos, Imre and Alan Musgrave (Ed.), *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 59-90.
- Max Havelaar Fonden. 2001. *Årsrapport 2000*. <http://www.maxhavelaar.dk/information/aktuelt/03072001/maxhavelaar2000.pdf>
- Maxwell, Joseph A. 1996. *Qualitative Research Design. An Interactive Approach*. Applied Social Research Methods Series. Vol. 41. London: Sage Publications.
- McCarty, John A. and L.J Schrum 1994. *The Recycling of Solid Wastes: Personal Values, Value Orientations, and Attitudes about Recycling as Antecedents of recycling Behaviour*. Journal of Business Research. Vol. 30. pp. 53-62.

- McCracken Grant 1986. *Culture and Consumption: A Theoretical Account of the Structure and Movement of the Cultural Meaning of Consumer Goods*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol. 13. June. pp. 71-84.
- McCracken, Grant 1990. *Culture and Consumption. New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Mcgrath, Allan J. 1992. *Marketing of the Green*. Sales and Marketing Management. October. pp. 31-32.
- Mennell, S. Murcott, A. and Otterloo, A.H. 1992. *The Sociology of Food. Eating, Diet and Culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- Micheletti, Michele 2001. *Why Political Consumerism. A Theoretical Context for Understanding the Phenomenon*. Paper for the International Seminar on Political Consumerism, May 31-June 3, 2001, City University of Stockholm, Sweden.
- Micheletti, Michele 2002. *Individualized Collective Action*. Unpublished Paper for the Nordic Political Science Association's Meeting Workshop. Politisk demokrati och deltagande i Norden: gamla och nya former, Aalborg, Denmark.
- Micheletti, Michele 2003. *Political Virtue and Shopping: Individuals, Consumerism, and Collective Action*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Micheletti, Michele, Follesdal, Andreas and Stolle, Dietlind 2004. *Politics, Products, and Markets : Exploring Political Consumerism Past and Present*. New Brunswick. NJ : Transaction Publishers.
- Micheletti, Michele and Dietlind Stolle 2004. *Swedish Political Consumers: Who They are and Why They Use the Market as an Arena for Politics*. In Boström, Magnus, Føllesdal, Andreas, Klintman, Michael, Micheletti, Michele and Sørensen, Mads P.. Political Consumerism: Its Motivations, Power and Conditions in the Nordic Countries and Elsewhere. Proceedings from the 2nd. International Seminar on Political Consumerism. Oslo. August 26-29.pp. 145-164.
- Mick, David Glen 1986. *Consumer Research and Semiotics: Exploring the Morphology of Signs, Symbols and Significance*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol.13. September. pp. 196-231.
- Miles, Matthew B. and Michael A. Huberman 1984. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods*. CA: Sage Publications.
- Miles, Matthew B. and Michael A. Huberman 1988. *Drawing Valid Meaning from Qualitative Data: Toward a Shared Craft*. In David M. Fetterman (ed.) Qualitative Approaches to Evaluation in Education: The Silent Scientific Revolution. New York: Praeger. pp. 222-244.

- Miles, Matthew B. and Michael A. Huberman 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis. An Expanded Sourcebook*. Second edition. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications.
- Min-Dong, Paul Lee 2008. *A Review of the Theories of Corporate Social Responsibility: Its Evolutionary Path and the Road Ahead*. International Journal of Management Reviews. Vol. 10. Issue 1. pp. 53-73.
- Moisander, Johanna 2007. *Motivational Complexity of Green Consumerism*. International Journal of Consumer Studies. Vol. 31. pp. 404-409.
- Moisander, Johanna and Liisa Uusitalo 1994. *Attitude-Behaviour Inconsistency: Limitations of the Reasoned Action Approach in Predicting Behaviour from Proenvironmental Attitudes*. In Antonides, G. and W.F.v. Raaij (Ed.). IAREP/SABE Conference. Rotterdam. July. pp. 560-579.
- Muldoon, Annie 2006. *Where the Green Is: Examining the Paradox of Environmentally Conscious Consumption*. Electronic Green Journal. Issue 23. April.
- Mulvey, Michael S., Jerry C. Olson, Richard L. Celsi and Beth A. Walker 1994. *Exploring the Relationships between Means-End Knowledge and Involvement*. Advances in Consumer Research, Vol. 21. pp. 51-57.
- Muncy, James A. and Scott J. Vitell 1992. *Consumer Ethics: An Investigation of the Ethical Beliefs of the Final Consumer*. Journal of Business Research. Vol. 24. pp.297-311.
- Murray, Jeff B., Ozanne, Julie L. and Shapiro, Jon M. 1994. *Revitalizing the Critical Imagination: Unleashing the Crouched Tiger*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol. 21. December. pp. 559-565.
- Neale, A. 1997. *Organizational Learning in Contested Environments: Lessons from Brent Spar*. Business Strategy and the Environment, Vol. 6. pp. 93-103.
- Neller, Katja and Jan van Deth 2006. *Politisches Engagement in Europa*. Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte. No. 30–31. pp. 30–38.
- Newholm, Terry 2005. *Case Studying Ethical Consumers' Projects and Strategies*. In Harrison, Rob. Newholm, Terry and Shaw, Deirdre 2005. *The Ethical Consumer*. London: Sage Publications. pp.107-124.
- Nicholls, Alexander James 2002. *Strategic Options in Fair Trade Retailing*. International Journal of Retail and Distribution Management. Vol. 30 (1). pp. 6-17.
- Nordisk Ministerråd 2001. *Forbrugernes krav til fødevaremærkning og vareinformation. En pan-nordisk undersøgelse af forbrugeradfærd og holdninger til fødevaremærkning*. København: TemaNord: 2001: 501.

- Nordisk Ministerråd 2003. Etisk forbrug i Norden. *Hvordan engageres forbrugerne i etisk forbrug?* TemaNord: 2003:557.
- Norris, Pippa 2007. *Political Activism: New Challenges, New Opportunities*. In Boix C. and S. Stokes (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. In Press.
- O'Doherty Jensen, Katherine, Larsen, H.N., Mølgaard, J.P., Andersen, J-O., Marckmann, P., Astrup, Arne 2001. *Økologiske fødevarer og menneskets sundhed*. Rapport fra videnssynthese udført i regi af Forskningsinstitut for Human Ernæring. KVL. Tjele. Forskningscenter for Økologisk Jordbrug (FØJO).
- Olsen, Johan P. 1991. *Individuel autonomi, politisk autoritet og demokratiske institutioner*. Nordisk Administrativt Tidsskrift 1/91.
- Olson, Jerry C. and Thomas J. Reynolds 1983. *Understanding Consumers' Cognitive Structures: Implications for Advertising Strategy*. In Percy, Larry and Arch G. Woodside, *Advertising and Consumer Psychology*, Lexington Books. pp. 77-90.
- Olson, M. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge. MA: Harvard University Press
- O'Shaughnessy, John 1985. *A Return to Reason in Consumer Behaviour. A Hermeneutical Approach*. *Advances in Consumer Research*. Vol.12 (1).pp.305-312.
- O'Shaughnessy John. 1992. *Explaining Buyer Behaviour: Central Concepts and Philosophy of Social Science*. Oxford University Press. New York.
- Ottman, Jacquelyn 1994. *Green Marketing*. NTC Business Books.
- Ozanne, Julie L. and Laurel Anderson Hudson 1989. *Exploring Diversity in Consumer Research*. In Hirschman, Elisabeth C. *Interpretative Consumer Research*. Provo. UT: Association for Consumer Research. pp. 1-9.
- Ölander, Folke and John Thøgersen 1995. *Understanding of Consumer Behaviour as a prerequisite for Environmental Protection*. *Journal of Consumer Policy*. Vol. 18. pp. 345-385.
- Pattie, Charles, Seyd, Patrick and Whiteley, Paul 2003. *Citizenship and Civic Engagement: Attitudes and Behaviour in Britain*. *Political Studies*. Vol. 51 (3). October. pp. 443-468.
- Patton, Michael Q. 1988. *Paradigms and Pragmatism*. In David M. Fetterman (ed.) *Qualitative Approaches to Evaluation in Education: The Silent Scientific Revolution*. New York: Praeger. pp.116-137.
- Patton, Michael Q. 2002. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. 3rd edition. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications

- Pedersen, Lene Holm 1999. *Den grønne forbruger – en kolos på lerfodder*. <http://www.afk.dk/nyt/6lene.htm>.
- Pedersen, Lene Holm 2000. *The Dynamics of Green Consumption: A Matter of Visibility*. Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning. Vol. 2. pp. 193-210.
- Pedersen, Lene Holm og Eva Broegaard 1997. *Husholdningernes elforbrug – en analyse af attituder og adfærd på energi- og miljøområdet*. København: AKF Forlaget.
- Peter, Paul and Jerry C. Olson 1983. *Is Science Marketing*. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 47. Fall. pp. 111-125.
- Peter, Paul J. and Jerry C. Olson. 2002. *Consumer Behaviour and Marketing Strategy*. 7th edition, Boston: McGraw-Hill International Edition.
- Petersson, Oluf, Hermansson, Jörgen, Micheletti, Michele, Teorell, Jan and Westholm, Anders 1998. *Demokrati och Medborgarskap*. Stockholm. SNS.
- Pickett, Gregory M., Kangun, Norman and Grove, Stephen J. 1993. *Is there a General Conserving Consumer? A Public Policy Concern*. Journal of Public Policy and Marketing. Vol.12 (2). Fall. pp. 234-243.
- Pieters, Rik G.M. 1991. *Changing Carbage Disposal Patterns of Consumers: Motivation, Ability and Performance*. Journal of Public Policy and Marketing. Vol. 10 (2). Pp. 59-76.
- Podnar, Klement 2008. *Guest Editorial: Communicating Corporate Social Responsibility*. Journal of Marketing Communications. Vol. 14. Issue 2. pp. 75-81.
- Putnam, Robert D 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: New York University Press.
- Raij, Fred Van 1995. *A Hierarchy of Excuses for Not Behaving in a Pro-environmental Way*. Paper for Conference on Sustainable Consumption. Lillehammer.
- Rasmussen, Erik 1996. *Den politiske virksomhed – erhvervslivets svar på den politiske forbruger og på nye markedsvilkår*. København: Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen, Strategisk Forum.
- Reynolds, Thomas J. and Jonathan Gutman 1988. *Laddering Theory, Method, Analysis and Interpretation*. Journal of Advertising Research. Vol. 28. pp. 11-34.
- Rieff, Philip 1959. *Freud: The Mind of a Moralist*. New York: Doubleday.
- Rieff, Philip 1966. *The Triumph of the Therapeutic*. New York: Doubleday.

- Ritchie, J.R. Brent and Gordon H.G. McDougall 1985. *Designing and Marketing Energy Conservation Policies and Programs: Implications from a Decade of Research*. Journal of Public Policy and Marketing. Vol.4. pp. 14-32.
- Ritzer, George 1975. *Sociology – A Multiple Paradigm Science*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. Inc.
- Roberts, James A. 1996a. *Green Consumers in the 1990s: Profile and Implications for Advertising*. Journal of Business Research. Vol. 36. pp.217-231
- Roberts, James A. 1996b. *Will the Socially Responsible Consumer Please Step Forward?* Business Horizons. Vol. 39. pp. 79-84.
- Roberts Jr., Wayne A. 1984. *A Kuhnian Perspective on Marketing Science and the “Scientific Method”*. In Anderson, Paul F. and Michael J. Ryan, 1984 AMA Winter Educators’ Conference: Scientific Method in Marketing. Proceedings Series. Chicago, Illinois. pp.14-17.
- Rogers, D. 1998. *Ethical Tactics Arouse Public Doubts*. Marketing. Vol. 6. August. pp.12-14.
- Rokeach, Milton 1973. *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: Free Press.
- Rook, Dennis W. 1985. *The Ritual Dimension of Consumer Behaviour*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol. 12. December. pp. 251-264.
- Roozen, Irene T.M. and Patrick De Pelsmacker 1998. *Attributes of Environmentally Friendly Consumer Behaviour*. Journal of International Consumer Marketing. Vol. 10 (3). Pp. 21-42.
- Rothschild, Michael L. 1979a. *Marketing Communications in Non-Business Situations or Why it is so Hard to Sell Brotherhood like Soap*. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 43. Spring. pp. 11-20.
- Rothschild, Michael L. 1979b. *Advertising Strategies for High and Low Involvement Situations*. In Attitude Research Plays for High Stakes, Eds. John C. Maloney and Bernard Silverman, Chicago: American Marketing Association. pp. 74-93.
- Rubinstein, David 1981. *Marx and Wittgenstein*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Ryan, Gery W. and Russell H. Bernard 2002. *Data Management and Analysis Methods*. In Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln, Handbook of Qualitative Research, Second Edition, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications. pp. 769-802.
- Sall and Sall 2000. *Analyse af afsætningssituationen for økologiske fødevarer*. Projektrapport til Ministeriet for Fødevarer, Landbrug og Fiskeri, Direktoratet for FødevareErhverv. Udarbejdet af Rådgivningsfirmaet SallandSall. September.

- Salner, Marcia 1989. *Validity in Human Science Research*. In Kvale, Steinar (editor). *Issues of Validity in Qualitative Research*. Studentlitteratur. Lund: Sweden. pp. 47-71.
- Scherborn, Gerhard 1993. *Consumers Concern about the Environment and its Impact on Business*. Journal of Consumer Policy. Vol.13. pp.
- Schifferstein, Hendrik N.J and Peter A.M. Oude Opiuis 1998. *Health-related Determinants of Organic Food Consumption in the Netherlands*. Food Quality and Preference. Vol. 9. No.3. pp.119-133.
- Scherborn, Gerhard 1993. *Consumers Concern about the Environment and its Impact on Business*. Journal of Consumer Policy. Vol. 16 (2). June. pp.171-191.
- Schlegelmilch, Bodo B., Bohlen Greg M. and Diamantopoulos, Adamantios 1996. *The Link between Green Purchasing Decisions and Measures of Environmental Consciousness*. European Journal of Marketing. Vol. 30 (5). pp. 35-55.
- Schwandt, Thomas A. 1994. *Constructivist, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry*. In: Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. CA: Sage Publications. pp. 118-137.
- Schwartz, George 1965. *Nature and Goals of Marketing Science*. In Schwartz, George (eds.). *Science in Marketing*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. pp 1-19.
- Schwarz, Shalom H. 1992. *Universals in the Content and Structure of Values: Theoretical Advances and Empirical Tests in 20 Countries*. In Zanna M.P (red.). *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. CA: Academic Press. pp. 1-65.
- Schwarz, Shalom H. 2003. *A Proposal for Measuring Value Orientations Across Nations*. European Social Survey. London: Centre for Comparative Surveys.
- Schwarz, Shalom H and Wolfgang Bilsky 1987. *Toward a Universal Psychological Structure of Human Values*. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. Vol. 53. pp. 550-562.
- Schwarz, Shalom H and Wolfgang Bilsky 1990. *Toward a Theory of the Universal Content and Structure of Values: Extensions and Cross-Cultural Replication*. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. Vol. 58. pp.878-889.
- Schwepker Jr., Charles H. and Bettina T. Cornwell 1991. *An Examination of Ecologically Concerned Consumers and Their Intention to Purchase Ecologically Packaged Products*. Journal of Public Policy and Marketing. Vol. 10 (2). Fall,pp. 77-101.
- Seippel, Ørnulf 1995. *Fra Natur til Handling. En Empirisk Analyse av Forholdet mellom Natursyn, Forbruk og Politisk Atferd*. Oslo: Alternativ Framtid. Rapportserie. No.3.

- Semenik, R. J. 1983. *Cultural Materialism, the Role of Goods and Societal Symbolism as Research in Marketing*. In Hollander, S.C. and R. Savitt. First North American Workshop on Historical Research in Marketing. Proceedings of a Conference held at Michigan State University. Michigan. pp. 13-19.
- Sestoft, Christine 2002. *Med hensyn til den politiske forbruger*. København: Akademisk Forlag.
- Shaw, Deidre and Terry Newholm 2006. *Voluntary Simplicity and the Ethics of Consumption*. Psychology and Marketing. Vol. 19 (2). February. pp. 167-185.
- Shaw, Deidre and E. Shiu 2003. *Ethics in Consumer Choice: A Multivariate Modelling Approach*. European Journal of Marketing. Vol. 37. pp. 1484-1498.
- Shaw, D. S., Newholm, T. and Dickinson, R. 2006. *Consumption as Voting: An Exploration of Consumer Empowerment*. European Journal of Marketing. Vol. 40 (9/10). pp. 1049-1067.
- Shepherd, R. and C.A. Farleigh 1986. *Preferences, Attitudes and Personality as Determinants of Salt Intake*. Human Nutrition: Applied Nutrition. 40A. pp.195-208.
- Shepherd, R. and L. Stockley 1985. *Fat Consumption and Attitudes towards Food with a High Fat Content*. Human Nutrition: Applied Nutrition. 40A. pp. 431-442.
- Sherry, John F. 1983. *Gift Giving in an Anthropological Perspective*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol. 10. pp. 157-168.
- Sheth, Jagdish N., Gardner, David M. and Dennis E. Garrett 1988. *Marketing Theory: Evolution and Evaluation*. New York: Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Simon, F.L. 1996. *Global Corporate Philanthropy: A Strategic Framework*. International Marketing Review. Vol.12. pp. 20-37.
- Smith, A. G. and A.E Robbins 1984. *Multimethod Policy Research: A Case Study of Structure and Flexibility*. In: David M. Fetterman (ed.), *Ethnography in Educational Evaluation*, CA: Sage Publications, pp.115-132.
- Smith, N.C. 2000. *Changes in Corporate Practices in Response to Public Interest Advocacy and Actions. The Role of Consumer Boycotts and Socially Responsible Corporate Social Responsibility*. Working Paper. No, 00-704. January 2000. London Business School.
- Solér, Cecilia 1995. *Ecologically Friendly Buying. Theoretical Implications of a Phenomenological Perspective*. GRI Report. No. 2. Handelshögskolan. Göteborgs Universitet.
- Solér, Cecilia 1997. *Att köpa miljövänliga dagligvaror*. Akademisk Avhandling. Nerenius and Santérus Förlag.

- Solomon, Michael R. 1983. *The Role of Products as Social Stimuli: A Symbolic Interactionism Perspective*. Journal of Consumer Research. Vol. 10. December. pp.319-329.
- Sparks, Paul and Richard Shepherd 1992. *Self- Identity and the Theory of Planned Behaviour: Assessing the Role of Identification with Green Consumerism*. Social Psychology Quarterly. Vol. 55 (4). Pp.388-399.
- Stake, Robert E. 2000. *Case Studies*. In Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln, Handbook of Qualitative Research. Second Edition, CA: Sage Publications. pp. 435- 454.
- Steinholz, Daniel 1999. *Konsumtionsdemokrati*. Svenska Dagbladet. 26.maj. 35.
- Stern, Paul C. and Thomas Dietz 1994. *The Value Basis of Environmental Concern*. Journal of Social Issues. Vol.50 (3). pp. 65-84.
- Stern, P.C., Dietz, Thomas. and Kalof L. 1993. *Value Orientations, Gender and Environmental Concern*. Environment and Behaviour. Vol. 25. pp. 322- 348.
- Stolle, Dietlind and Marc Hooghe 2001. *What if Citizens still participated in politics? Emerging Action Repertoires and the debate about Social and Political Participation*. Paper presented at the International Seminar on Political Consumerism at the City University of Stockholm, Sweden. May 31 – June 3.
- Stolle, Dietlind and Marc Hooghe 2004. *Consumers as Political Participants? Shifts in Political Action Repertoires in Western Societies*. In *Politics, Products, and Markets : Exploring Political Consumerism Past and Present*. New Brunswick. NJ: Transaction Publishers. pp. 265-283.
- Stolle, Dietlind and Michele Micheletti 2005. *What Motivates Political Consumers?* First Draft for the Special Issue on “The Underestimated Consumer-Power – Prospects for the New Consumer Movement” in *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen*. No. 4.
- Stolle, Dietlind, Hooghe, Marc and Micheletti, Michele 2005. *Politics in the Supermarket: Political Consumerism as a Form of Political Participation*. International Political Science Review. Vol. 26. No. 3. pp. 245-269.
- Strandbakken, Pål 1995. *Bærekraftig forbruk*. Rapport. No.1. Lysaker. SIFO
- Strømnes, Kristin 2004. *Political Consumption in Norway: Who, Why – and Does it Have Any Effect?* In Boström, Magnus, Føllesdal, Andreas, Klintman, Michael, Micheletti, Michele and Sørensen, Mads P.. *Political Consumerism: Ist Motivations, Power and Conditions in the Nordic Countries and Elsewhere*. Proceedings from the 2nd. International Seminar on Political Consumerism. Oslo. August 26-29. pp.165-181.
- Suppe, Frederick. 1977. *The Structure of Scientific Theories*. Second edition. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

- Svendsen, Steen 1995. *Den politiske forbruger*. Politiken. 24. juli, Kultur og debat. s. 3.
- Szmigin, Isabelle and Gordon Foxall 2000. *Interpretive Consumer Research: How Far Have We Come*. Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal. Vol.3 (4). pp. 187-197
- Sørensen, Elin B. 2000. *Means-End Chains og Laddering i et kognitivt perspektiv*. Ph.d.-afhandling. Institut for Markedsøkonomi/Mapp Centret. Handelshøjskolen i Århus.
- Sørensen, Mads P. 2001. *Den politiske forbruger som subpolitiker*. I Kritik af den økonomiske fornuft – en antologi. Redigeret af Carsten Fenger-Grøn og Jens Erik Kristensen, København: Hans Reitzels Forlag A/S.
- Sørensen, Mads P. 2002. *Den politiske forbruger – en analyse af idéen og fænomenet*. Ph.d.-afhandling. Institut for Idéhistorie. Det Humanistiske Fakultet. Århus Universitet.
- Sørensen, Mads P. 2004. *Den politiske forbruger – i det liberale samfund*. København:Hans Reitzels forlag.
- Terragni, Laura and Unni Kjærnes 2004. *Ethical Consumption in Norway: Why is it so low?* In Boström, Magnus, Føllesdal, Andreas, Klintman, Michael, Micheletti, Michele and Sørensen, Mads P.. Political Consumerism: Its Motivations, Power and Conditions in the Nordic Countries and Elsewhere. Proceedings from the 2nd. International Seminar on Political Consumerism. Oslo. August 26-29.pp.471-485.
- Thulstrup, Jørn 1997. *Danskerne 1997 – Holdninger, adfærd, planer og forventninger*. København: Institut for Konjunkturanalyse.
- Thulstrup, Jørn 1998. *Danskerne 1997 – Holdninger, adfærd, planer og forventninger*. København: Institut for Konjunkturanalyse.
- Thulstrup, Jørn 2000. *Danskerne 2000 – på vej mod et nyt årtusinde*. København: Institut for Konjunkturanalyse.
- Thøgersen, John 1994a. *Monetary Incentives and Environmental Concern. Effects of a Differentiated Garbage Fee*. Journal of Consumer Policy. Vol. 17 (4).pp. 407-442.
- Thøgersen, John 1994b. *A Model of Recycling Behaviour, with Evidence from Danish Source Separation Programmes*. International Journal of Research in Marketing. Vol. 11. pp. 145-163.
- Thøgersen, John 1996. *Recycling and Morality: A Critical Review of the Literature*. Environment and Behaviour. Vol. 28. pp.536-558.
- Thøgersen, John 1997. *Understanding Behaviours With Mixed Motives. An Application of a Modified Theory of Reasoned Action on Consumer Purchase of Organic Food Products*.

Marketing and Environment Group. Department of Marketing. The Aarhus School of Business. Working Paper 1998-2. CeSaM Working Paper 1998:13.

- Thøgersen, John 1998a. *The Norm-Attitude-Behaviour Relationship. Theory and Applications in the Environmental Domain*. Marketing and Environment Group. Department of Marketing. The Aarhus School of Business. Working Paper 1998-3. CeSaM Working Paper 1998:14.
- Thøgersen, John 1998b. *Spillover Processes in the Development of a Sustainable Consumption Pattern*. Marketing and Environment Group. Department of Marketing. The Aarhus School of Business. Working Paper 1998-4. CeSaM Working Paper 1998:15
- Thøgersen, John 1999a. *The Ethical Consumer. Moral Norms and Packaging Choice*. Journal of Consumer Policy. Vol.22 pp. 439-460.
- Thøgersen, John 1999b. *Making Ends Meet a Synthesis of Research on Consumer behaviour and the Environment*. The Aarhus School of Business. Working Paper 1999-1.
- Thøgersen, John and Carl Folke Ølander 2002. *Human Values and the Emergence of a Sustainable Consumption Pattern: A Panel Study*, Journal of Economic Psychology. vol 23. pp. 605-630.
- Tobiasen, Mette 2004. *Political Consumerism in Denmark*. In Boström, Magnus, Føllesdal, Andreas, Klintman, Michael, Micheletti, Michele and Sørensen, Mads P.. Political Consumerism: Its Motivations, Power and Conditions in the Nordic Countries and Elsewhere. Proceedings from the 2nd. International Seminar on Political Consumerism. Oslo. August 26-29. pp. 113-144.
- Torjusen, Hanne 2001. *Økologisk mat. Hindringer og muligheter for forbruk av økologisk mat sett fra forbrukernes side*. Lysaker: SIFO. Rapport. nr. 16-2001.
- Torjusen, Hanne, Sangstad, Lotte, O'Doherty Jensen, Katherine and Kjærnes, Unni 2004. *European Consumers. Conceptions of Organic Food: A Review of Available Research*. SIFO. Professional Report No. 4. Norway: Oslo.
- Tregear, A., J.B.Dent and M.J. McGregor 1994. *The Demand for Organically Grown Produce*. British Food Journal. Vol.96. No 4. pp.21-25.
- Tsoukas, Haridimos 1989. *The Validity of Idiographic Research Explanations*. The Academy of Management Review. Vol. 14 (4) October. pp. 551-561.
- Tucker, W.T. 1967. *Foundations for a Theory of Consumer Behaviour*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson.
- Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen 1995. *Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen*. København: nr. 26. 7. august.

- Ulrich, P. and Charles Sarasin 1995. *Facing Public Interest: The Ethical Challenge to Business Policy and Corporate Communications*. Kluwer Academic Publications. London
- Uusitalo, Liisa. 1990. *Are Environmental Attitudes and Behaviour Inconsistent? Findings from a Finnish Study*. Scandinavian Political Studies. Vol. 13. pp. 211-226.
- Uusitalo, Outi and Reetta Oksanen 2004. *Ethical Consumerism: A view from Finland*. International Journal of Consumer Studies. Vol.28 (3). pp. 214-221.
- Verba, Sidney and Norman H. Nie 1972. *Participation in America. Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Vinson, Donald E., Jerome E. Scott and Lawrence M. Lamont 1977. *The Role of personal Values in Marketing and Consumer Behaviour*. Journal of Marketing. Vol. 41. April, pp. 44-50.
- Vogel, David 2001. *Dimensions of Political Consumerism: A Historical Perspective*. Paper presented at the International Seminar on Political Consumerism. Stockholm. May 30 – June 3.
- Von Alvensleben, R 1998. *Ecological Aspects of Food Demand: The Case of Organic Food in Germany*. AIR-CAT 4th Plenary meeting: Health, Ecological and Safety Aspects in Food Choice. Vol. 4. No.1.pp. 68-79.
- Wallendorf, Melanie and Russell W. Belk 1989. *Assessing Trustworthiness in Naturalistic Consumer Research*. In Hirschman, Elisabeth C (Eds.). *Interpretive Consumer Research*. Provo:UT. Association for Consumer Research. pp.69-84.
- Walker, Beth A. and Jerry C. Olson 1991. *Means-End Chains: Connecting Products with Self*. Journal of Business Research, Vol. 22. pp. 111-118.
- Wandel, Margareta and Annechen Bugge 1997. *Environmental Concern in Consumer Evaluation of Food Quality*. Food quality and preference. Vol. 8. No. 1. pp.19-26.
- Warde, Alan 1997. *Consumption, Food and Taste*. London: Sage Publications.
- Wax, Murray L. 1967. *On Misunderstanding Verstehen. A Reply to Abel*. Sociology and Social Research. Vol. 51. April. pp. 323-333.
- Webster, Frederick E. 1975. *Determining the Characteristics of the Socially Conscious Consumer*. The Journal of Consumer Research. Vol. 2. December. pp. 188-196.
- Weir, Mette og Carmen Calverley 1999. *Forbrug af økologiske fødevarer. Del 1: Den økologiske forbruger*. Faglig rapport fra DMU, nr. 272. København: Miljø – og Energiministeriet. Danmarks Miljøundersøgelser

- Weir, Mette og Sinne Smed 1999. *Forbrug af økologiske fødevarer. Del 2: Modellering af efterspørgselen*. Faglig rapport fra DMU, nr. 319. København: Miljø – og Energiministeriet. Danmarks Miljøundersøgelser.
- Wexler, Philip 1990. *Citizenship in the Semiotic Society*. In Bryan S. Turner, (ed.). *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity*. London: Sage Publications. pp. 164-175.
- Wiener, Joshua Lyle and Tabitha A. Doescher 1991. *A Framework for Promoting Cooperation*. *Journal of Marketing*. Vol.55. April. pp. 38-47.
- Wollebæk, Dag, Per Selle and Håkon Lorentzen 2000. *Frivillig innsats: Sosial integrasjon, demokrati og økonomi*. Bergen: Fagbokforlag.
- Woodruff, Robert B. and Sarah F. Gardial 1996. *Know your Customer: New Approaches to Customer Value and Satisfaction*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell
- Worcester, R. 1993. *Public and Elite Attitudes to Environmental Issues*. MORI. London.
- Yankelovich, Daniel 1981. *New Rules. Searching for Self-Fulfillment in a World Turned Upside Down*. New York: Random House
- Yin, Robert K. 1984. *Case Study Methods: Design and Methods*. CA:Sage Publications.
- Young, Shirley and Barbara Feigin 1975. *Using the Benefit Chain for Improved Strategy Formulation*. *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 39 (July). pp. 72-74.
- Zeithaml, Valarie A. 1988. *Consumer Perceptions of Price, Quality, and Value: A Means-End Model and Synthesis of Evidence*. *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 52. pp. 2-22.
- Økologisk Landscenter 1997. *Forbrugernotat*.
- Østergaard, Per 1997. *Træk af marketing disciplinens epistemologiske udvikling: En periodisering af amerikansk marketingteoris historie med fokus på accepten af de kvalitative metoder*. Afhandlinger fra det samfundsvidenskabelige fakultet på Odense Universitet. Institut for afsætningsøkonomi. Odense Universitet. juli.

Homepages:

- <http://www.aarstiderne.com>
- <http://www.alt-om-okologi.dk>
- <http://www.bodyshop.com>
- <http://www.hm.com>

- <http://www.danfoss.com>
- <http://www.dst.dk>
- <http://www.maxhavelaar.dk>
- <http://www.okoland.dk>
- <http://www.statistikbanken.dk>