ASSOCIATION FOR CONSUMER RESEARCH

Exploring the Dimensions of Ethical Consumption

Isabelle Szmigin, The University of Birmingham
Marylyn Carrigan, The University of Birmingham

Ethical consumption is part of a broader consumption picture. This paper conceptualizes ethical consumption by theoretically positioning it within Holt's typology of consumption practices (1995). In particular it focuses upon ethical consumption as an integration process, identifying four possible dimensions of ethical consumption as, a distinction process, as hedonistic pleasure, as a sign of love and as engaging an aesthetic response. The theoretical underpinnings for these dimensions are considered and some recent communications from fairly traded producers are examined to see how they correspond with the dimensions suggested.

[to cite]:

Isabelle Szmigin and Marylyn Carrigan (2005) ,"Exploring the Dimensions of Ethical Consumption", in E - European Advances in Consumer Research Volume 7, eds. Karin M. Ekstrom and Helene Brembeck, Goteborg, Sweden : Association for Consumer Research, Pages: 608-613.

[url]:

http://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/13699/eacr/vol7/E-07

[copyright notice]:

Exploring the Dimensions of Ethical Consumption

Isabelle Szmigin, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom
Marylyn Carrigan, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

Ethical consumption is part of a broader consumption picture. This paper conceptualizes ethical consumption by theoretically positioning it within Holt's typology of consumption practices (1995). In particular it focuses upon ethical consumption as an integration process, identifying four possible dimensions of ethical consumption as a distinction process, as hedonistic pleasure, as a sign of love and as engaging an aesthetic response. The theoretical underpinnings for these dimensions are considered and some recent communications from fairly traded producers are examined to see how they correspond with the dimensions suggested.

INTRODUCTION

All purchase behavior is in some sense ethical, involving moral judgments (Burke et al. 1993), but most consumers pressured with the concerns of daily living, are unlikely to be making moral decisions over each product and brand choice. Nevertheless, ethical consumption is part of a broader consumption picture. As more ethical choices both positive, in terms of buying fairly traded or environmentally friendly goods, and negative, in terms of boycotting or avoiding certain goods or companies, enter consumers consciousness, understanding ethical choices becomes an important focus for consumer research. This paper develops thinking about ethical consumption by theoretically placing it within an existing typology of consumption and exploring the possible dimensions of ethical choice. It begins by considering the concept of the ethical consumer positioning him or her firmly within the realm of consumption rather than non-consumption. Our argument is that ethical consumers are first and foremost consumers; they may be motivated by many factors but their behavioral context is one of pro-active consumption choice. The moral dimensions of consumption are then discussed, and ethical consumption is framed within an existing consumer research context, namely Holt's typology of consumption practices (1995), and in particular we suggest that ethical consumption is an integration process. Four possible dimensions of this process are proposed; ethical consumption as distinction, as hedonistic pleasure, as a sign of love and as engaging an aesthetic response.

CONSUMPTION VERSUS NON CONSUMPTION

We begin by making a distinction between ethical consumers and voluntary simplifiers which we see as fundamentally two sides of dialectic between consumption and non consumption. Voluntary simplifiers restrict their consumption, resisting what Cherrier and Murray (2002) describe as the new millennium Descartes; life defined by 'I shop therefore I am'. Seeing a society at risk, voluntary simplifiers are galvanized to modify their lifestyle to seek a more meaningful existence. Etzioni (1998) uses voluntary simplicity as a generic term for foregoing maximum consumption and possibly income. Such downshifting can effectively be a self-centered response to the pressures of a modern lifestyle; people seeking more quality time and not necessarily having concern for other moral issues of consumption. In contrast to downshifting, Shaw and Newholm (2002) distinguish ethical simplifiers as actively concerned about environmental, social and animal welfare issues. In practice voluntary simplification may be difficult to implement requiring a moral commitment which represents commercialized culture as morally bad, damaging both the environment and those

in developing countries working to support the Western lifestyle (Schor 1998). Schor's recommendations for deconstructing the commercial system requires individuals to practice an asceticism which may appear extreme to those embedded in consumer society; staying away from shops, chucking catalogues in the recycle bin and avoiding new sports as such activities inevitably require consumption of equipment and lessons. The voluntary simplification literature is often morally driven with prescriptive ideas of what is right and wrong, requiring complex purchase decisions. Those who decide to buy second hand goods may be criticized for deluding themselves that they bypass responsibility for their production (Shaw and Newholm 2002). But probably the most significant difference between voluntary simplifiers and ethical consumers is that voluntary simplifiers choose to reduce consumption whereas ethical consumers are usually refining it. This is an important distinction as it can after all be argued that there is a fundamental contradiction between the terms ethical and consumption (Shaw and Newholm 2002). Ethical consumers cannot ensure that all they purchase is ethically produced and as such their consumption behavior is likely to have a number of ethical anomalies (Strong 1997). In light of this fundamental dichotomy the following section will consider some of the moral aspects to consumption before further exploring the dimensions of ethical consumption. In using the term ethical consumption in this paper, we are describing pro-active choices to purchase ethically produced goods and as such we are not commenting on the ethical position of those who do not purchase such goods. Following Harrison, Newholm and Shaw (2005, 2) we use ethical consumption in a broad sense understanding that ethical purchasers 'have political, religious, spiritual, environmental, social or other motives for choosing one product over another' but that what unites them is a concern regarding the effect their purchasing has on the external world.

THE MORALITY OF CONSUMPTION

For some, the problem with the puritan approach of the voluntary simplifier described above is its lack of recognition for the joy of consumption. There is a polarization in the literature that often assumes we are either shopping addicts or self-righteous simplicity seekers; a dichotomy possibly derived from the ideological concern to demonize materialism (Miller 2001). Miller suggests we should accept the benefits of consumption and focus on developing an empathetic concern with the desire to eliminate poverty and an ethics based on understanding the desire for greater access to material resources that would help relieve such poverty. It is a self-righteous luxury to be writing about the evils of consumption from a position where we can effectively decide to what extent we downshift. Such downshifting would always be a matter of degrees of comfort as compared to those people who desperately need more consumption, more food, pharmaceuticals, housing and books (Miller 2001). If as Miller (1998) argues there is to be any consistency between our academic perspective and our private lives we must acknowledge the benefits of the commodities that we can afford and do buy. We must also be wary of our own hypocrisy as Rotzell (1992) points out, when citing George Will's opinion that, it is an affectation and sign of condescension to hold consumer culture in contempt. Most people enthusiastically welcome commercialism and find authentic sources of meaning in the goods they buy. Goods do have a democratizing dimension; the social transfor-

mation in Eastern Europe, for example, was driven by economic as well as political aspirations. It is a mistake to assume that people's relationship with consumption is any less authentic than their relationship with production (Miller 1998). While there has been a growing awareness of the social and environmental impacts of consumption (Klein 2000; Shaw and Clarke 1998), as Miller points out, accepting that people will desire goods does not actually detract from critiques that attack the way companies sell or exploit people or resources. Miller believes that the moral stance taken by many writers in consumer research reflects more their own anxiety than the reality of actual consumers and empirical consumption studies. Any form of voluntary simplicity is working within the consumer society (Etzioni 1998) and may even be subsumed by it (Miles 1998). Already companies have identified the marketing opportunities for social responsibility, with the branding consultant Wolf Olins pronouncing that the next point of differentiation for brands will be to show that they behave well (Szmigin 2003). This reflects Whitely's (1993) assertion that the increasingly high profile of the 'green consumer' in the 1980s was just the exploitation of a consumer niche. Similarly it is important to remember that a well known company such as the Body Shop is primarily part of the cosmetics industry and financial priorities are likely to be put before ecological concerns (Miles 1998). Empirical studies of voluntary simplifiers reveal that a choice to downshift from say cars to cycles brings further consumption, such as the latest high quality cycling equipment (Holt 2002; Shaw and Newholm 2002). Having fewer possessions does not mean that you will place less value on them rather those who live with fewer objects may assign more importance to them (Holt 1995; Hill and Stamey 1990). So if the aim of voluntary simplifying is to free oneself from the hegemony of the consumer society, in practice it is unlikely to be achieved. The distinctive feature of consumer society is its emancipation from its past instrumentality that defined its limits with functional bonds (Bauman 2001); our choice of transport is not constrained and so we can choose a mode that may be less harmful in terms of pollution but then we are still left with many and other consumption choices say of which bike to ride and how to equip it.

Of course certain areas of consumption can and are challenged through boycotts or latent discontent, as in the case of GM foods in Europe. Parents may object to vending machines in schools and company sponsorship of community projects, and such action may have an important role in curtailing the power of large corporations to dictate what we consume. But this type of action is not an objection to consumption per se rather to the activities of certain companies and in particular, where such companies appear to invade and coerce the vulnerable, reduce effective choice or disadvantage other forms of production. More often the frustration with consumption is voiced in some extreme statement such as the hope that Euro Disney 'burns to the ground' (Rotzell 1992) which does not reflect the reality of most people's acceptance of the consumer society. It would take a critic with a strong sense of moral and ethical absolutes to suggest we revert to a form of instrumental consumption. More importantly as Miller argues, what right do we have to deny consumption to others when it has made our lives if not morally better then certainly more comfortable?

DEFINING ETHICAL CONSUMPTION

An ethical consumer may also be a voluntary simplifier just as one would expect that consumption within the voluntary simplifier lifestyle to be ethically driven, although there is some empirical evidence to show this relationship cannot just be assumed (Bekin et. al. 2005). While ethical consumers are concerned about consumption levels, they are not necessarily radical anti-consumerists (Shaw and Newholm 2002). Rather they are making decisions around

whether to consume with sensitivity through selecting ethical alternatives. Values may drive ethical consumption behavior but where ethical issues are often many and complex, positive choices may not always be made (Shaw and Clarke 1998). Other authors provide a more general approach to consumer ethics; for Muncy and Vitell (1992) it is 'the moral principles and standards that guide behavior of individuals or groups as they obtain, use, and dispose of goods and services'. This moral dimension is contained in other definitions, for example Smith (1990, 178) presents ethical purchasing as being 'an expression of the individual's moral judgment in his or her purchase behavior'. Crane and Matten (2004, 290) suggest that the main essence of the concept of ethical consumption is 'the conscious and deliberate decision to make certain consumption choices due to personal moral beliefs and values'. In developing their definition they make clear that ethical consumption may mean the conscious choice of particular products such as detergents low in bleach as well as the rejection of others such as purchasing gasoline from Esso because of the company's approach to global warming. As well as worries about pollution, waste and animal welfare, ethical consumers are likely to be concerned with the developing world and principally that producers should get fair wages and improved working conditions (Shaw and Clarke 1998). It might also be argued that this growing awareness of the environmental and social impact of consumption has led to a positive demand for ethical products; the growth, for example in fair trade brands and the recent decision by the Co-Op in Britain to only use fairly traded ingredients in its own-brand coffee and block chocolate products.

For the purpose of this discussion we suggest that a key identifier of ethical consumption is that while socially and environmentally aware, it is firmly placed within an existing framework of the consumer society. Ethical consumers do not deny consumption but rather choose goods that reflect their moral, ethical and social concerns. Ethical consumption is as much part of the active social process of consumption with its material and symbolic dimensions as any other form of consumption; we should not view it in isolation but accept that ethical attributes will be measured by consumers along with others relevant to their choice decisions (Shaw and Clarke 1998). Ethical consumption can be integrated into our general understanding of how consumers consume and as such, requires further exploration and investigation in terms of what it means to consumers beyond external and instrumental reasons such as welfare, pollution and appropriate disposal. What other factors drive the choice of an ethical product or brand and what satisfactions are derived from its purchase and use? In particular we wish to explore how ethical consumption can be integrated into our picture of consumer behavior. While we recognize that this opens up a realm of possibilities in terms of existing theories of consumption and in particular decision making processes and attitude and behavioral models, we have chosen in this paper to use Holt's (1995) typology of consumption practices to inform our discussion. Holt's typology was developed from a research tradition describing important aspects of how consumption objects are used, and situated within this tradition, it provides a comprehensive framework of how consumers consume. Using this all encompassing approach was considered a useful starting point for further exploration of the nature of ethical consumption and, as detailed below, the integration dimension was particularly appropriate for developing the discussion of the dimensions of ethical consumption.

ETHICAL CONSUMPTION AS INTEGRATION

Holt's typology of consumption practices (1995) identifies four distinctive metaphors to describe how people consume. Consuming as experience, integration, classification, and play provide

what Holt describes as a vocabulary for how consumers consume. The metaphor of consuming as integration is particularly potent for the examination of ethical consumption as it highlights the methods used to enhance the value of ethical choices within people's existing consumption choices and as a reflection of their identity. Here we propose four ways that consumers use their ethical consumption choices for integration: as a form of distinction; for hedonistic satisfaction; for love and for aesthetic appreciation. In developing these four dimensions of the integration metaphor we also build on the work of Schaefer and Crane (2001) who developed three alternative views of green consumption which in particular questioned the green consumer as a rational decision maker. They investigated green consumption as hedonistic self indulgence, as a form of identity construction and as part of social relationships.

The consuming as integration metaphor used in our conceptualization refers to 'methods used by consumers to enhance perception that a valued consumption object is a constitutive element of their identity' (Holt 1995, 6). Integration can be automatic for activities, such as photography, where consumers are significantly participating in the consumption object but are more difficult where mass produced consumption objects are concerned. While many ethical consumer goods will be classified as alternatives to other mass produced items, e.g. coffee and chocolate, they may well engender a feeling of significant participation, requiring a highly conscious choice. Those making consumption choices on the basis of ethical consciousness can still be subject to the production of identity through consumption (Bauman 1988; Giddens 1991), defining themselves through the goods they buy and reject. The symbolically significant is arbitrary; there is no reason why personal identity may not be expressed through rejection of material culture and disciplined asceticism.

Distinction

Ethical consumption as distinction may imply conspicuous consumption (Veblen 1970) or issues of taste as distinguishers (Bourdieu 1984), apparently antithetical to an ethical stance. It is, however, widely accepted that the cultural meaning of goods is more diverse than Veblen's focus on status was able to recognize (McCracken 1988). Indeed, Veblen never suggested that the symbolic significance of material goods should be limited to their function as signs of pecuniary prowess (Ramstad 1999). The concept of distinction may also be seen to stem from an important debate in the 19th century related to a focus on productive and unproductive consumption (Hilton 2004). While originally associated with productive and unproductive labor it also became associated with the more general moral categories of virtue and vice, use and abuse, rational and irrational etc. informed by the 'social possibilities of economic chivalry' (Marshall 1907/1925), civic-minded philanthropic Victorians often saw themselves as having consuming obligations and a duty to consume with a concern for others; prohibiting unproductive consumption and promoting that which was morally, economically or socially productive (Hilton 2004), publicly eschewing irrational luxuries and making positive measures to provide productive forms of leisure and appropriate consumption for others. Similarly ethical consumption requires the consumer to distinguish themselves through proactive purchasing and rejection. Strong (1997) emphasizes that participation in fair trade requires consumers to pay more for products, make a greater effort to purchase them and engage in extensive search activities to ensure the ethical attributes of their purchases. Whether or not the consumer seeks status gains from such activity there is likely to be a degree of social visibility inherent in such behavior. Just as conspicuous consumers are not deterred by high prices, similarly

ethical consumers are often less concerned with the price of the commodity but look for reassurance that the goods have the appropriate ethical attribute. This may involve patronizing only certain retail outlets and rejecting products accepted by others. Such consumption activities are performed in public, often involving explanations to friends or colleagues of one's behavior and choices and so offering opportunities for social differentiation and distinction which become integrated into the person's consumption behavior. The choice of ethical brands can reflect life style choices and statements of personal identity as much as prestige alternatives. For example the director of Ethical Media, Keith Patton, identifies the Toyota Prius which runs on a mix of petrol and electricity as speaking 'of a lifestyle that is not hippie-woolly jumper but sleek, clean and modern living' (Anonymous 2001, 9). Similarly Wright's (2004) interpretation of Cafédirect advertising suggests that the line ' So do yourself a favor and drink some' is used as a form of distinction confirming the consumer's superior taste and social status in a similar manner as the L'Oreal campaign slogan 'Because I'm worth it'.

Hedonism

Holbrook and Corfman (1985) defined a moral or virtuous consumption experience as intrinsically motivated where the appreciation of the experience is an end it itself, where virtue is its own reward. We suggest that the experience in the form of an ethical purchase can offer hedonistic pleasure. The term hedonism may be associated with instant gratification and a connection with an egoistic, individualistic materialism conjuring up ideas of excess and selfish behavior, yet as Gabriel and Lang (1995) reveal there are many and contradictory opinions as to what it means to be hedonistic in modern society. An important informant for their discussion is Campbell (1987) whose modern hedonist seeks pleasure in emotion accompanying all kinds of experiences, including those which may be sad and painful. Historically there have been many interpretations of what hedonism may imply. Sidgwick (1874/1981) described *egoistic hedonism* as where the ultimate good is defined as the happiness of the individual, whereas *universalistic hedonism* akin to utilitarianism, suggests that we should act in a manner which brings about the most pleasure to the greatest number in the long term. Similarly *ethical hedonism* requires actions that produce pleasure and prevent pain. In choosing to purchase ethical goods, consumers can be said to be acting hedonistically both in relation to their own feelings of pleasure from the purchase and in terms of the good they may bring to others. Human motivation may include wishing to see ourselves as possessing good qualities; we may gain pleasure from responding to what we consider to be our moral obligations Campbell (1987). Hedonism can be a legitimate dimension of ethical consumption if we accept that doing the 'right thing' may be associated with feelings of self –respect which in turn give us feelings of pleasure. While consumer preferences are often driven by the anticipated hedonic experience, this may still be within parameters of self-control or moral dimensions; consumers will even gain hedonic benefits from manipulating the choice sets they face (Wertenbroch 2002). So an ethical choice may be more appealing when made in the presence of less ethical choices.

Love

The search for self-identity has been presented in terms of our requirement for love both of loving and being loved (Luhman 1998). The need for love exemplified in Maslow's model (1968) has been successfully interpreted into a myriad of marketing opportunities to meet people and have human contact. Similarly much advertising relies on the image of people together as couples

and families, conveying the understanding that the purchase of a brand will act as a defense from being alone (Csikszentmihaly 2000). Consuming provides opportunities to demonstrate our love for one another through the care and attention we give to the purchases we make. There are times when we define ourselves through the love we feel for others. Prothero (2002) revealed the level of importance she placed upon the consumption choices for her child, often reflecting an inner conflict of doing the best for him, while at the same time balancing her environmentalist opposition to over-consumption. Schaefer and Crane (2001) recognized that we may make special purchases for those dear to us, such as buying organic baby food when we do not normally buy organically grown goods for ourselves. The feeling of responsibility expressed in Prothero's account is part of the greater context of love (Miller 1998) and it is love which is often expressed in our shopping and provisioning for others. Miller suggests that we might use other terms such as care, concern, obligation and responsibility but essentially these terms can be encompassed in a normative ideology of long term commitment rather than an idealized romantic form. Importantly this version of love is long lasting and influenced by general beliefs about what we should do in our social relations. In Miller's ethnographic study of families in north London he examined the form love takes in its manifestation of shopping and caring for others. He showed how daily decisions are made in the context of moral questions about what is good or bad. This form of love serves as an important dimension to ethical consumption which encompasses deep feelings of concern for family members and friends expressed through provisioning with care for their environment, and ensuring the goods provided are not sullied by exploitative practices. Ethical consumption can be used as a basis for emulation, indicating values and moral codes. In a broader sense ethical consumption shows an active concern for people and societies both local and further afield that may be affected by consumption choices. It is no surprise that research shows important perceived attributes of patronizing farmers markets include; the enjoyable experience of getting to know the stallholders, and knowing your purchasing gives support to the local producers (Young and Holden 2002). Clearly this does not discount the positive instrumental outcomes people expect from such exchanges but supporting a local fair trade community over shopping at the nearest supermarket can also be described as an act of love for that community and the broader issues it espouses.

Aesthetic Appreciation

There is a strong historical tradition for producing things that are aesthetically pleasing, useful and non exploitative. The Arts and Crafts movement began in England in the 1860s as a reform movement with John Ruskin as its philosophical leader. It made a direct connection between art, nature and morality with William Morris combining aesthetics and social reform into the production of goods. Morris had observed the dreadful working conditions in factories and believed that if the quality of design could be improved, this would have a positive effect on the character of the person producing the goods which in turn would improve society. His famous statement 'Have nothing in your houses that you do not know to be useful, or believe to be beautiful' (Morris 1880, 51) encapsulates the belief that, in today's language, ethical consumption can and should be aesthetically pleasing. In practice it was not easy to translate the principles into reality; at a time of growing industrialization it was difficult to produce hand crafted items that could be bought by anyone other than the well off, and the market for many of his goods was limited in terms of taste too. Veblen attacked Morris's Kelmscott Press produced books as not even

being serviceable–arcane in their production, expensive and not appropriate for modern use, interestingly though he still thought they could act as a form of distinction.

There are parallels which can be drawn between the Arts and Crafts movement and the perceptions and realities of ethical consumption. In comparison to mass market goods, ethically produced ones are likely to be more expensive, and there has also been a perception that a green lifestyle is associated with more rugged artifacts, 'macramé and coir matting' as one commentator has described the stereotypical vision of ethical household goods (Muir 2004). Today, however, the arguments for an aesthetic dimension to ethical consumption are more compelling. Such a position is fundamentally informed by Featherstone's (1991) assertion that everyday life has become aestheticized. The boundaries between art and life and the distinction between high art and mass popular culture are in the process of removal, which has ultimately led to a cultural de-classification, an 'assumption that art can be anywhere or anything' (1991, 268). One might argue that this process refers to all aspects of every day life and consumption rather than a particular emphasis on ethical consumption. Featherstone, however, identifies three particular senses of the aestheticization process one of which is especially relevant to the historical tradition of aestheticization and social reform discussed earlier. This is the project of turning life into a work of art. The desire for a life for all that was useful and beautiful in content and purpose, espoused by Ruskin and Morris, is encapsulated in Featherstone's assertion that a life of aesthetic consumption and the need to form life into an aesthetically pleasing whole is part of the desire to construct distinctive lifestyles. Recent work in consumer research has also critiqued the Kantian elimination of all non cognitive responses from an aesthetic experience (Joy and Sherry 2003), suggesting that aesthetic experience can be embodied. Similarly, the consumption of ethical goods can embody a particular aesthetic experience that is built, not only upon the knowledge of consuming something different to other mass produced goods, but also on the understanding that the good has been produced in the context of fair trade or an environmentally appropriate form.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE ETHICAL DIMENSIONS OF CONSUMPTION

As Prothero and Fitchett (2000, 46) have pointed out, one of the problems we face when addressing the relationship between capitalism and the environment is that the representation is often one of 'irreconcilable opposition'. They go on to say, however, that consumption does not need to depend only on negative notions but can be seen in a more positive ecological light. The same can be said for the concept of ethical consumption; if we can accept that 'ethics' and 'consumption' can lie together we are better placed to firstly understand the nature and motivations of those who do consume ethically, and then communicate with them in an appropriate fashion. Already we can see, through examining advertising for ethical companies, an understanding of some of the issues of concern to consumers above and beyond the basic benchmark of buying an ethical good. As mentioned earlier in relation to Cafédirect, most advertisers of fairly traded goods make a point of distinguishing their products in terms of superior taste. Green and Black's chocolate company for example state on their website ' fairly traded products have to be as yummy-or yummier than what else is out there or shoppers won't buy something more than once and the lives of third world farmers and growers won't be transformed' (greenandblacks.com). Wright suggests that the depiction of far-flung places in the Cafédirect advertising 'can be read as an appeal to the imagined consumer's cultural capital, whose enjoyment of

travel and tourism will ensure their appreciation' (2004, 668). Hedonism is likely to be more apparent in advertising for products such as chocolate that may be classified as an indulgence. In our analysis of advertising we found this to be so, however, in the case of Divine chocolate this was always tempered with a strong mention of the fairly traded attribute. One advertisement addresses the consumer thus: 'It's time you indulged in some gorgeous chocolate with a clear conscience' and the line used in all their advertising is 'Heavenly chocolate with a heart'; we are first addressed as consumers encouraged to partake in hedonistic pleasure and secondly as potentially ethical purchasers. Love, in advertising for ethical goods, is primarily presented as doing the right thing for your family, in line with Miller's interpretation of love in the consumption context. Ecover, ecological washing up liquid, for example, shows a man washing up with his young child and the simple line ' We made ours an Ecover home', similarly all their products carry the line 'for people who care' implying a concern not only for the environment but for using environmental friendly products in the family setting. The wine company Thandi's name is actually the Xhosa word for love, again implying an appreciation by the producer of the importance of this facet to understanding consumer's motivations in purchasing. Finally, we suggest that the aesthetic dimension is prevalent throughout the advertising for ethical goods. The producers have, perhaps unconsciously, taken up Morris's maxim understanding that the goods and the advertising for those goods need to be part of a consumer culture where the aestheticization of the everyday is the norm. From the simple bold colors of Green and Black or the often mysterious landscapes of Cafédirect, the aesthetic dimension is integrated into the visual rhetoric (Scott 1994) of the advertising.

We note that our analysis of ethical consumption as integration may not be comfortable to many involved in the fair trade movement and in Wright's words our interpretations may read as ' minority world consumers can 'redeem' majority world producers by perpetuating consumer lifestyles prioritizing self-gratification' (2004, 678) and while we understand this point of view we also correspond with her observation that 'legitimizing consumer pleasure' (2004, 678) may be the price to pay for fairly traded goods reaching the mainstream. Understanding and exploring the dimensions of consumer pleasure are a necessary prerequisite to furthering the development of ethical consumption.

REFERENCES

Anonymous (2004), "Ethical Dilemma," *In-Store*, January, 9.
Bauman, Zygmunt (2001), "Consuming Life," *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 1, (1), 9-29.
_____ (1990), *Thinking Sociologically*, Oxford: Blackwell.
Bekin, Caroline, Marylyn Carrigan and Isabelle Szmigin (2005), "Defying Marketing Sovereignty: Voluntary Simplicity at New Consumption Communities," *Qualitative Market Research* (forthcoming).
Bourdieu, Pierre (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (trans. Richard Nice). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Burke, Sandra, J., Sandra J. Milberg, and N. Craig Smith, (1993), "The Role of Ethical Concerns in Consumer Purchase Behavior: Understanding Alternative Processes," *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol.20, ed Leigh McAlister and Michael L. Rothschild, Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research,119-122.
Campbell, Colin (1987), *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, Oxford: Macmillan.

Cherrier, Helene and Jeff Murray (2002), "Drifting away from excessive consumption: a new social movement based on identity construction," *Advances in Consumer Research* Vol. 29, ed. Susan M. Broniarczyk and Kent Nakamoto, Valdosta GA: Association for Consumer Research, 245-247.
Crane, Andrew and Dirk Matten, (2004), *Business Ethics*, Oxford: OUP.
Csikszentmihaly, Mihaly (2000), "The Costs and Benefits of Consuming," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 27, (September) 267-272.
Etzioni, Amitai (1998), "Voluntary simplicity characterization, select psychological implications, and societal consequences," *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 19, 619-643.
Featherstone, Mike (1991), *Consumer Culture and Post Modernism*, London: Sage.
Gabriel, Yiannis and Tim Lang (1995) *The Unmanageable Consumer*, London: Sage
Giddens, Anthony (1991) *Modernity and Self-identity*, Cambridge: Polity.
Harrison, Rob, Terry Newholm and Deirdre Shaw (2005) *The Ethical Consumer*, London: Sage.
Hill, Ronald Paul and Mark Stamey (1990), "The Homeless in America: An Examination of Possessions and Consumption Behaviors," *Journal of Consumer Research* 17, (December) 303-321.
Hilton, Matthew (2004) "The Legacy of Luxury" Journal of Consumer Culture, Vol.4 (1) 101-123.
Holbrook, Morris B. and Kim P. Corfman (1985), "Quality and Value in the Consumption Experience: Phaedrus Rides Again," in *Perceived Quality: How Consumers View Stores and Merchandise*, ed. Jacob Jacoby and Jerry C. Olson, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
Holt, Douglas B. (1995) "How consumers Consume: A Typology of Consumption Practices," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22, (June)1-16.
Holt, Douglas B. (2002) "Why do brands cause trouble?" *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29, (June) 70-90.
Joy, Annamma and John F, Sherry Jr. (2003) "Speaking of Art as Embodied Imagination: A Multisensory Approach to Understanding Aesthetic Experience", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 30 (September) 259-282
Klein, Naomi, (2000) *NoLogo*, London: Flamingo.
Luhman, Niklas (1998) *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy,* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
Marshall, Alfred. (1907/1925) "Social Possibilities of Economic Chivalry", in Arthur C. Pigou, ed. *Memorials of Alfred Marshall*, 323-46, London: Macmillan.
Maslow, Abraham (1968), *Toward a Psychology of Being*, New York: Van Nostrand.
McCracken, Grant (1988) *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer goods and Activities*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press
Miles, Steven (1998), *Consumerism as a Way of Life*, London: Sage.
Miller, Daniel (1998), *A theory of Shopping*, London: Polity Press
_____ (2001) "The Poverty of Morality," *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 1 (2) 225-243.
Morris, William (1880), "The Beauty of Life," in May Morris, ed. *The Collected Works of William Morris,* Vol. XXII.
Muir, Jenni (2004), "Doing your bit for Nature", *The Sunday Times*, August 15, 12.

Muncy, James A. and Scott J. Vitell (1992), "Consumer Ethics: an Investigation of the Ethical Beliefs of the Final Consumer," *Journal of Business Research*, 24, 297-311.

Prothero, Andrea (2002), "Consuming motherhood: an introspective journey on consuming to be a good mother," *Proceedings of the 6th Association of Consumer Research on Gender, Marketing and Consumer Behavior*, Dublin, June,211-225.

Prothero, Andrea and James A. Fitchett, (2000), "Greening Capitalism: Opportunities for a Green Community," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 20, 1, 46-55.

Ramstad, Yngve, (1998) "Veblen's propensity for emulations: is it passé?" In Douglas Brown (ed) *Thorstein Veblen in the Twenty-first Century: A Commemoration of the Theory of the Leisure Class, 1899-1999*. Massachusetts: Edward Elgar, 3-27

Rotzell, Kim B. (1992), "Meaning, Measure, and Morality of Materialism," *Advances in Consumer Research,* Vol. 19, ed. John F. Sherry and Brian Sternthal, Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 208-212.

Scott, Linda. M. (1994), "Images in Advertising: The need for a Theory of Visual Rhetoric," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21 (September) 252-273.

Schaefer, Anja and Andrew Crane (2001) "Rethinking Green Consumption" *Proceedings of 26th Annual Macromarketing Conference*, ed Don R. Rahtz and Pierre Mcdonagh, Williamsburg, VA: The College of William and Mary, 178-195

Schor, Juliet (1998) *The Overspent American: Upscaling, Downshifting and the New Consumer,* New York: Basic Books

Sidgwick, Henry (1874/1981), *The Methods of Ethics*, Indianapolis: Hackett.

Shaw, Deirdre S. and Ian Clarke, (1998) "Culture, Consumption and Choice: Towards a Conceptual Relationship," *Journal of Consumer Studies and Home Economics*, 22, 3, 163-168.

Shaw, Deirdre S. and Terry Newholm (2002) "Voluntary Simplicity and the Ethics of Consumption," *Psychology and Marketing*, 19, 2,167-85

Shove, Elizabeth and Alan Warde (1998), "Inconspicuous consumption: the sociology of consumption and the environment" http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Shove-Warde-Inconspicuous-Consumption.pdf

Smith, N. Craig (1990), *Morality and the Market*, New York: Routledge.

Strong, Carolyn (1997), The problems of translating fair trade principles into consumer purchase behavior, *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*,15,1,32-38.

Szmigin, Isabelle (2003), *Understanding the Consumer*, London: Sage.

Veblen, Thorstein (1899/1970), *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, London: Unwin.

Wertenbroch, Klaus, (2002) "Hedonic Interactions between Choice and Consumption", *Advances in Consumer Research* Vol. 29, ed. Susan M. Broniarczyk and Kent Nakamoto, Valdosta GA: Association for Consumer Research, 105-107

Whitley, Nigel (1993), *Design for Society,* London: Reaktion Books.

Wright, Caroline (2004), "Consuming Lives, Consuming Landscapes: Interpreting Advertisements for Cafédirect Coffees," *Journal of International Development*, 16, 665-680.

Young, Julie and Holden, Caroline (2002), "NW Consumer Direct Initiatives–Farmers' Markets and Farm Outlets", *Northwest Food Alliance in Collaboration with Myerscough College*.