ASSOCIATION FOR CONSUMER RESEARCH

Can Sustainability Be Luxurious? a Mixed-Method Investigation of Implicit and Explicit Attitudes Towards Sustainable Luxury Consumption

Benjamin G. Voyer, ESCP Europe, UK

Daisy Beckham, London School of Economics, UK

The present research uses a mixed-method approach to investigate implicit / explicit attitudes towards sustainable luxury. Quantitative results showed participants predominantly associated luxury with unsustainability, clarifying inconsistent results in the literature. Qualitative results depicted a more complex picture, pointing to a contrast between internally and externally-derived labels of sustainable luxury.

[to cite]:

Benjamin G. Voyer and Daisy Beckham (2014) ,"Can Sustainability Be Luxurious? a Mixed-Method Investigation of Implicit and Explicit Attitudes Towards Sustainable Luxury Consumption", in NA - Advances in Consumer Research Volume 42, eds. June Cotte and Stacy Wood, Duluth, MN : Association for Consumer Research, Pages: 245-250.

[url]:

http://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/1017922/volumes/v42/NA-42

[copyright notice]:

Can Sustainability be Luxurious? A Mixed-Method Investigation of Implicit and Explicit Attitudes towards Sustainable Luxury Consumption

Daisy Beckham, London School of Economics, UK
Benjamin G. Voyer, ESCP Europe Business School & London School of Economics, UK

INTRODUCTION[1]

The ecological impact of our day-to-day consumption has been called one of the greatest concerns of modern times (Randers, Meadows, Behrens, & Meadows, 1974; Turner, 2008). Existing research has addressed the issue by focusing on sustainable commoditized products, such as food (e.g. Johnston, Szabo & Rodney, 2011; Verbeke & Viaene, 1999) or cosmetics (Freestone & McGoldrick, 2008; Ngobo, 2011). Despite commodity consumption's much larger market share and environmental impact, the luxury goods market is a major influence on the consumption and production habits of lower-end goods (Kapferer, 2013). Existing studies investigating the issues of sustainability in the luxury industry are scarce, and mainly focus on advertising strategies (cf. Boenigk & Schuchardt, 2013; Steinhart, Ayalon, & Puterman, 2013). Yet many consumer sectors attempt to capitalise on consumers' desire to own luxury goods by mimicking dominant social representations surrounding the luxury sector. A notorious example is 'fast fashion' – low-cost clothing quickly produced in line with luxury trends – which tries to mimic the luxury industry's exclusivity through limited functional life, planned obsolescence, and quick turnaround of production (Fletcher, 2008; Guiltinan, 2009; Joy, Sherry, Ventakesh, Wang, & Chan, 2012).

The luxury-goods market thus fuels the extravagant expenditure and over-production which characterises mass-market consumption, and is in direct opposition of the notion of sustainability. In the present research, we explore the associations between luxury consumption and sustainability, investigating attitudes towards sustainable luxury.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Luxury and Sustainability in Socio-Historic Contexts

The social histories of luxury and sustainable consumption indicate a conceptual opposition, suggesting that the juxtaposition of the two concepts may be ill-received by consumers. For instance, Berry (1994), analysing the concept of luxury notes that its inherent values of hedonism, expense, rarity, affluence, and inessentiality mean that it has, particularly in Europe, been historically perceived as a social and moral transgression. To Plato, a luxury-consuming society was an 'unhealthy', 'fevered' polis in contrast to 'healthy' societies that limit themselves to necessities, and Hobbes (1651) argued that man's natural insatiability for luxury leads to violence and anarchy. Weber's (1930) seminal study reveals how these overtones have emerged from Europe's religious history: how Protestantism's reaction against Catholic ostentation gave rise to an enduring social context in which wealth was ethical only when industriously gained and austerely used. Luxury was seen as moral and spiritual depravity: 'idolatry of the flesh' and rebellion against the innate social order (Slater, 1997). This legacy shapes views of luxury even today (cf. Hilton, 2004).

Conversely, sustainability's inherent ethically-grounded values of altruism, restraint, and moderation contrast with luxury's inherent hedonism, aestheticism, rarity, affluence, superfluity, and its immoral socio-historical narrative (Carrier & Luetchford, 2012).

The Self, Luxury, and Power

Luxury possessions also reflect a particular manifestation of social self. There is a consensus within the literature (Bourdieu, 1984; Douglas & Isherwood, 1996; Veblen, 1899) that luxury consumption is a highly communicative act, signalling status, wealth, class and thus social and economic power (see also, Eastman, Fredenbergwe, Campbell, & Calvert, 1992). Power is commonly conceptualised as the capacity to influence others while resisting external impositions of influence (Hogg &Vaughan, 1995). Indeed, studies suggest that powerful individuals have a greater capacity to resist external normative influence, making them more likely to behave in socially-unacceptable ways (cf. Brown & Levenson, 1987; Caspi, Lynman, Mofitt, & Silva, 1993; Harnett, 2010; Magee, Gruenfeld, Keltner, & Galinsky, 2005; Xianchi & Fries, 2008). Moreover, there are indications that individuals can also gain status and power by breaking social norms. In four studies, van Kleef, Homan, Finkenauer, Gundemir, and Stamkou (2011) showed that participants perceived individuals violating norms – by, for example, dropping cigarette ash on the floor or taking food from others – as much more powerful than non-norm-violating individuals. The researchers concluded that rule-breaking aids in ascendance of power in others' eyes.

Altogether, these findings suggest that consumers use luxury consumption to enhance status and power, and that this might also result in being more likely to violate social norms related to responsible and sustainable consumption rather than actively engaging with them.

Sustainable Luxury: Mixed Findings

Although the past two years have seen a few relevant qualitative and quantitative investigations examining consumer attitudes towards sustainable luxury, these have presented a range of inconsistent or contradictory conclusions. Steinhard, et al. (2013) conclude that an environmental claim positively enhanced consumer perceptions of both utilitarian and luxury products through an experiment in which subjects were asked to imagine scenarios in a supermarket setting in which they came across toilet paper (a 'utilitarian' product) or 'fancy napkins' (their example of a luxury) that were either marked with an eco-label or not (see also Boenigk & Schuchardt, 2013). Ducrot-Lochard and Murat (2011) theorised that the luxury industry will logically evolve towards sustainability as luxury customers have extended their high quality expectations to include environmental factors. Additionally, Kapferer (2013) reasoned that luxury already possesses sustainable characteristics, calling it "the business of lasting worth" and durability.

However, other evidence suggests sustainable luxury goods are perceived more negatively, and seen as less desirable, than regular, non-sustainable luxury products. Achabou and Dekhili (2013) presented affluent male and female French participants with labels for luxury Hermès-branded shirts, some of which were described as containing recycled material. A significant negative correlation was found between the perception of the product and the presence of recycled fibres. Also, a brand's environmental commitment was the least important selection criterion in luxury purchasing decisions (with quality, price, and brand reputation the most considered; see also Joy et al., 2012). Similarly, Davies, Lee, and Ahonkai (2012) found that consumers considered sustainability and ethics much less in their luxury consumption decision-making process than in their commodity consumption decisions, although luxuries were perceived as relatively more sustainable

when compared with commodity products. Participants also perceived luxury goods as having a lesser impact on the ethical image portrayed to peers, and thus fewer social consequences.

A MIXED-METHOD APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF SUSTAINABLE LUXURY

The present research offers a mixed-method approach to the study of sustainable luxury consumption. Consumers' attitudes towards sustainable luxury consumption were explored using implicit (studies 1 and 2) and explicit attitudes measures (study 3). The notion of sustainable luxury was further explored using a focus group (study 4). The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods addresses recent calls for mixed-method research (Peracchio, Luce, & McGill, 2014), and was used as a triangulation tool to further understand the basis upon which consumers attitudes towards sustainable luxury goods are held. As previous research (e.g. Davies et al., 2012) has observed that men have a higher degree of ambivalence towards luxury consumption, only women were included in these studies.

STUDY 1: IMPLICIT ATTITUDES TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE LUXURY

The purpose of the first study was to test the hypothesis H1 that consumers will more readily associate luxury with unsustainability than with sustainability.

Method

Implicit attitudes towards sustainable luxury consumption were examined using the Go/No-Go Association Task (Nosek, & Banaji, 2001). The test investigates implicit attitudes by assessing the strength of a participant's automatic associations between mental representations by measuring response latencies in sorting words into categories. Faster responses indicate easier pairings and thus stronger implicit associations than slower or inaccurate responses. In this study the object category 'luxury' was paired with the attribute categories 'sustainable' vs. 'unsustainable' to study participants' associations of luxury and sustainability. 31 women were surveyed in a pre-test, to collate text stimuli for the attribute categories 'sustainable' and 'unsustainable. These participants wrote down as many words associated with 'sustainable' that they could in 90 seconds (e.g. green, eco-friendly…). 31 additional women aged 16-51 (M=31.16, SD =10.59) took part in the subsequent Go/No-Go association task.

Results

Subjects' scores showed a greater sensitivity to the pairing of luxury brands and words associated with unsustainability (,) than for the pairing of 'luxury' + 'sustainability' (,). A t-test revealed a statistically significant difference between consumers associations of luxury and unsustainability, compared with luxury and sustainability (. Table 1 summarizes the results.

STUDY 2: IMPLICIT ATTITUDES TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE LUXURY VS. COMMODITY

The purpose of study 2 was to further explore implicit attitudes towards sustainable luxury goods, by adding commodity consumption products as a context. Davies et al. (2012) suggest that a context of commodity consumption induces consumers to perceive luxury products as comparatively more sustainable. Study 2 therefore tested the hypothesis H2 that, when high-street brands are added as a context, luxury brands would not be associated with unsustainability.

Method

Procedures were similar to study 1, with the exception that the object categories 'luxury' vs. 'high-street' were paired with attribute categories 'sustainable' vs. 'unsustainable' to test whether a change in

context affects implicit attitudes. The words for the category 'luxury' (Céline, Gucci…) were the top 18 brands from the World Luxury Index Report (2012). Eighteen well-known women's high-street brands were chosen for the 'high-street' category (Marks & Spencer, Primark…), as no equivalent report was found. Well-known mid to low-price point brands were chosen to prevent any overlap with the 'luxury' brand category. 21 women aged 22-61 (M=31.43, SD =12.41) took part in the study.

Results

No effect of pairing direction was found in Study 2, supporting hypothesis H2 that participants would not associate luxury with unsustainability against a context of high-street brands. Table 1 summarises the results.

STUDY 3: THE EFFECT OF A SUSTAINABLE LABEL OF EXPLICIT ATTITUDES TOWARDS LUXURY GOODS

The purpose of study 3 was to further explore attitudes towards sustainable luxury by looking at the effect of a sustainable product label on consumers' explicit attitudes towards luxury goods. Study 3 used a within-subject experimental design to test the hypothesis H3 that consumers will find luxury items less luxurious when labelled 'sustainable'.

Method

41 women aged 17-66 (M=29.87, SD =11.97) took part in the study. Participants taking the survey were shown six pictures of well-known luxury handbags, in randomised order, as visual stimuli. Each bag was accompanied by a short standardised description giving the bag's name and brand. Three bags were randomly labelled 'sustainable versions' by a computer, with the remaining three left unlabelled. This label was left non-specific – not clarifying what was meant by 'sustainable', as it was desired that the results give a general attitude towards sustainable luxury consumption, and providing greater detail would have limited the results' scope. Participants were then asked whether they liked each bag, how much they believed each bag to cost, how much they would pay to own each bag, and ranked how luxurious, how desirable, and how sustainable they found each bag out of 100. Each bag had a specified £1000 price range to anchor estimations of cost and ensure that they were comparable across participants (ranging from £1000-£2000 to £3500-£4500). Finally, participant's self-perceived power was measured on a 7-point scale using a measure adapted from Smith, Wigboldus, and Dijksterhuis (2008). Scores of luxury, desirability, and sustainability were normalised within participants to control for subjects' individual sensitivity to these concepts: for example, all the bags may have seemed highly luxurious to one participant, but mundane to another. To obtain this normalised ranking, each score was compared to that subject's average score across each category.

Results

A manipulation check confirmed that participants ranked bags labelled sustainable as 6.94 percentage points more sustainable than unlabelled bags (). Controlling for participants' own assessments of bags' sustainability, bags labelled sustainable were ranked on average 4.87 percentage points less luxurious than bags without such a label (), supporting hypothesis H3, that subjects would deem luxury items less luxurious when labelled sustainable. Sustainability labels did not affect bags' desirability. Additionally, although subjects rated a bag more luxurious when they were told that its price range was higher (with a £1000 increase in price range corresponding to a 4.74-point increase in luxury scores;), price had the opposite effect on assessments of

Table 1: Summary of the Quantitative Studies (1-3)

Study 1 – *Participants' Mean Sensitivity (d') and Standard Deviations for GNAT Conditions in which Luxury Words Are Paired with Words Associated with Sustainability and Unsustainability*

	Luxury + Sustainability	Luxury + Unsustainability
Mean Sensitivity [$\bar{d}'$]	1.51	1.68
(SD)	(.92)	(.90)

Study 2 – *Participants' Mean Sensitivity (d') and Standard Deviations for GNAT Conditions in which Luxury Is Paired with Sustainability and High-Street with Unsustainability, and Vice Versa*

	Luxury + Sustainability & High-Street + Unsustainability	Luxury + Unsustainability & High-Street + Sustainability
Mean Sensitivity [$\bar{d}'$]	1.38	1.39
(SD)	(.75)	(.58)

Study 3 – *Coefficients of Regression and Standard Errors for Survey Items*

	Response Variables			
	1	2	3	4
Fixed Variables				
Labelled 'Sustainable'	1.47 (2.11)	6.25 *** (1.94)	-2.99 [a] (2.03)	-.033 (.107)
Given Price Range (in '000s)	.421 (1.39)	-4.59 *** (1.27)	4.74 *** (1.31)	.197 *** (.069)
Response Variables				
1. How desirable do you find it?	- [b]	.151 * (.060)	.395 *** (.057)	.007 * (.003)
2. How sustainable do you find it?	.171 * (.068)	-	.168 * (.066)	.002 (.003)
3. How luxurious do you find it?	.422 *** (.061)	.159 * (.062)	-	-.002 (.003)
4. How much would you pay (in '000s)?	2.55 * (1.27)	.688 (1.20)	-.748 (1.23)	-
Interaction Term [c]				
How sustainable do you find it?	-.330 (.390)	-	-.694 * (.312)	3.61 (14.6)
Self-perceived power	.000 (1.30)	-	.000 (1.04)	104 (48.6)
How sustainable X Self-perceived power	.179 * (.079)	-	.209 ** (.063)	.665 (2.93)

Note. Coefficients and standard errors are calculated by regressing linearly each of the four columns on the response variable above (1-4), along with responses to 'Do you like it?' and 'What do you think is the price?'. Multiple regressions on variables 'Do you like it' and 'What do you think is the price?' are not reported here as no significant effect of sustainability label, sustainability ranking and luxury ranking emerged from the analysis.

[a] This relationship is significant when 'Labelled Sustainable' is regressed on 'How luxurious…', controlling for 'How sustainable…'. (See text.)

[b] A dash indicates that this variable was excluded from analysis.

[c] These rows were regressed separately on the response variables above.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .005$.

sustainability (with the same £1000 increase decreasing sustainability assessments by 4.59 percentage points; ; see table 1).

Other findings indicated a more complex relationship between luxury and sustainability. For example, sustainability labels or sustainability scores did not affect how much subjects were willing to pay for the bags. There was also a positive association between subjects' own rankings of sustainability and luxury, with a one-point increase in sustainability scores corresponding to a 0.168 increase in luxury rankings . Similar positive relationships were observed between luxury scores and desirability rankings and between sustainability scores and desirability rankings (see Table 1). Furthermore, significant interaction effects of self-perceived power on the relationship between subjects' sustainability ratings and luxury and desirability ratings were found. A one-point increase in subjects' self-perceived power scores increased the coefficient of the relationship between sustainability and luxury scores by 0.209 , and increased the coefficient of the relationship between sustainability and desirability scores by 0.179 Therefore, while people with high self-perceived power scores had a strong positive relationship between sustainability and perceived luxury, and between sustainability and desirability scores, these effects decreased in size for people with lower self-perceived power scores (Table 1 summarizes the full results).

STUDY 4: A QUALITATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON SUSTAINABLE LUXURY CONSUMPTION

A focus group was used to further probe results from the three previous studies, particularly the contrasting findings on the effect of sustainability labels (whether externally-labelled sustainable, or deemed sustainable by the participant) on luxury ratings. 6 women, aged 21-25, were selected following a purposive heterogeneous sampling procedure, on the basis of including a mixture of regular and infrequent luxury customers with varying interests in sustainable practices. The focus group was transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, see figure 1 for thematic networks).

Figure 1: Summary of the Qualitative Study (4): Thematic Networks
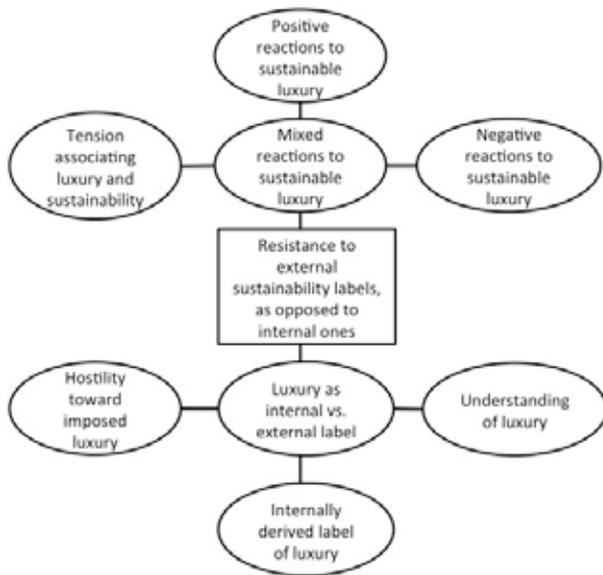
A perceived incompatibility between sustainability and luxury for luxury consumers.

Participants disagreed with the argument that luxury may already be viewed as intrinsically *sustainable* because of its higher quality and *durability*. Likewise, the conceptual differences between 'sustainability' and 'luxury' and their corresponding divergent social histories were referenced by the group. Luxury consumption's intimate connection with class, status, and social stratification was mentioned 8 times. Conversely, sustainability was spoken of as a social responsibility.

When discussed generally, sustainability and luxury were often implied to be incompatible, with participants apprehensive and uncomfortable when discussing their juxtaposition. Five of the group members opined that luxury shoppers would react negatively to sustainable luxury ("*The people who normally buy from Gucci would not be inclined to buy sustainable shoes…I think it takes away the 'special factor' for that market*", participant 1). This was also related to the notion of status, with participants implying that sustainable luxury bags do not carry as much status-increasing social capital as non-sustainable luxury bags.

However, when discussing more personal opinions, many group members had positive reactions to sustainable luxury. For example, when asked how she would feel about a sustainable version of a luxury bag she liked, one participant said: "*my opinion would change. I would be happier to buy them, but I would say that most of the people don't care.*" (participant 5). This suggests that individually-held attitudes are more complex than either being positive or negative towards sustainable luxury, and that the results of the Study 1 may indicate perceived wider social belief rather than individual attitudes (cf. Olson & Fazio, 2004).

Internal vs. external labels of luxury and sustainability

Communicating status through display of luxury was described in a negative light as something predominantly that others did or that was enforced upon individuals. Participants were averse to being defined by luxury possessions and brand image, and valued luxury purchases when they were a product of internal taste rather than an externally-imposed image. This same pattern – negative perceptions of imposed definitions and positive reactions to internally-derived labels – was replicated in the group's reactions to sustainable luxury. There were 20 separate vocalisations of cynicism towards brands' own labels of sustainability on luxury items, mostly due to expectations of ulterior motives of image or profit enhancement. When discussing sustainable luxury in these terms, the group showed no desire to own it, echoing study 3's result that bags labelled sustainable were ranked less luxurious than those not labelled. However, group members spoke of desiring to own sustainable luxury when this sustainability was premised on an internally-derived belief, mirroring the survey results that if subjects themselves ranked a bag as more sustainable, they would pay more to own it and rated it more luxurious ("*I still would consider [a sustainable luxury product] better. If it's sustainable more, then it's better…It has everything I want it to be*", participant 3*).* In both of these cases, attitudes towards luxury and sustainable luxury, participants cast themselves as in tension with and having opposite attitudes to the rest of society.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present research highlights the complexity of consumers' associations between luxury and sustainability consumption. In Study 1 participants more readily associated luxury with unsustainability than with sustainability. This was not the case when luxury was assessed against a context of high-street brands (Study 2). This latter result supports the findings of Davies, et al. (2012), that con-

sumers considered luxury products more sustainable when assessed against a context of high-street consumption. Additionally, in Study 3, subjects deemed luxury items less desirable and luxurious when labelled sustainable. Likewise, in study 4, focus group members experienced difficulty attempting to associate the two concepts, echoing established socio-historic legacies of sustainability and luxury, and voiced the belief that luxury shoppers would chose a non-sustainable luxury item over a sustainable one, as this would endow the owner more status, social power and prestige.

The present results, however, also paint a more complex picture, pointing to a contrast between internally- and externally-derived labels of luxury and sustainable luxury. In the experimental survey, subjects' own assessments of bags' sustainability were positively associated with desirability and luxury rankings, and how much subjects would pay for the bags. Similarly, when sustainable luxury was discussed from the point of view of participants themselves believing a product to be sustainable, focus group members displayed an individual preference for sustainable luxury goods, a marked difference to the cynicism which externally-imposed labels of sustainability elicited. Often, participants opined that 'everyone else' would have the opposite reaction.

The above definition of power as the ability to assert one's own influence while resisting others' (Hogg &Vaughan, 1995) appears to be an apt description of the phenomenon observed here. The negative reaction to society's impositions upon the individual – whether imposed characterisations based on inadvertent signalling of luxury status, or sustainability labels on goods – can be seen as a desire to resist society's objectification of the self, or external loci of power. Conversely, the privileging of individual taste and internally-derived labels of luxury and sustainability can be seen as a desire to retain and impose one's own power in resistance.

This interpretation of a struggle between external vs. internal *loci* of labels may be seen to be supported by, and might help reconcile, the contradictory extant research which has found both positive and negative reactions to sustainable luxury. Indeed, previous research which has asked participants to *imagine* sustainable luxury items has found positive reactions towards sustainable luxury (e.g. Steinhard et al., 2013), whereas research presenting sustainability claims on labels has found negative reactions (e.g. Achabou & Dekhili, 2013).

CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The external validity of the present study is limited to the nature of the sample used (female participants, most of which were students). In addition, the cultural Western individualist context might – at least in part – explain some of the findings, due to the socio-historical and cultural contingency of consumer practice and identities.

The small effect size and large variance from which the results of Study 1 suffered may have been due to the fact that the concepts contrasted in the GNAT were more complicated than those traditionally used in association tests (e.g., 'good/bad' and 'White/Black American') and do not necessarily elicit immediate or automatic reactions. Additionally, subjects were unlikely to have had experience with sustainable luxury goods in the past, and may have had no strong automatic associations to be measured (Bargh, Chaiken, Govender, & Pratto, 1992).

Overall, the present study provided a systematic investigation of attitudes toward sustainable luxury consumption. The apparent complexity of attitudes towards sustainable luxury lent itself well to a mixed-methods approach. From experimental research to consumer culture theory, future research on the topic should combine perspectives to account for the complexity of seizing attitudes towards luxury goods. This complexity could be further explored looking at the attitudes of different types of luxury consumers, for instance investigating whether 'patrician' vs. 'poseur' luxury consumers would express different attitudes towards sustainable luxury products (Han, Nunes, & Dreze, 2010). Additionally, a cross-cultural investigation of attitudes towards sustainable luxury consumption might reveal interesting differences between collectivist and individualist cultures.

REFERENCES

Achabou, M. A., & Dekhili, S. (2013). Luxury and sustainable development: is there a match? *Journal of Business Research, 66*(10), 1896-1903. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2013.02.011

Bargh, J. A., Chaiken, S., Govendor, R., & Pratto, F. (1992). The Generality of the Automatic Attitude Activation Effect. *Attitudes and Social Cognition, 62*(6), 893-912.

Berry, C. J. (1994). *The Idea of Luxury: A conceptual and historical investigation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boenigk, S., & Schuchardt, V. (2013). Cause-related marketing campaigns with luxury firms: An experimental study of campaign characteristics, attitudes, and donations. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Security Marketing, 18*(2), 101-121. doi: 10.1002/nvsm.1452

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgment of taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101

Brown, P., & Levinson, S.C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carrier, J. G., & Luetchford, P. (Ed.). (2012). *Ethical Consumption: Social Value and Economic Practice*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Caspi, A., Lynman, D., Moffitt, T.E., & Silva, P.A. (1993). Unraveling Girls' Delinquency: Biological, Dispositional, and Contextual Contributions to Adolescent Behavior *Developmental Psychology, 29*(1), 19-30.

Davies, I. A., Lee, Z., & Ahonkai, I. (2012). Do Consumers Care about Ethical Luxury? *Journal of Business Ethics, 106*(1), 37-51. doi: 10.1007/s10551-011-1071-y

Douglas, M., & Isherwod, B. (1996). *The World of Goods* (3rd. ed.). New York: Routledge.

Ducrot-Lochard, C., & Murat, A. (2011). *Luxe et développement durable: La nouvelle alliance*. Paris: Eyrolles.

Eastman, J. K., Fredenbergwe, B., Campbell, D., & Calvert, S. (1992). The relationship between status consumption and materialism: a cross-cultural comparison of Chinese, Mexican and American Students. *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice, 5*(1), 52-65.

Fletcher, K. (2008). *Sustainable Fashion & Textiles: Design Journeys*. Oxford: Earthscan.

Freestone, O. M., & McGoldrick, P.J. (2008). Motivations of the ethical consumer. *Journal of Business Ethics, 79*(4), 445-467.

Group, D. L. (2012). World Luxury Index™ Handbags (Vol. June).

Guiltinan, J. (2009). Creative Destruction and Destructive Creations: Environmental Ethics and Planned Obsolescence *Journal of Business Ethics, 89*(1), 19-28.

Han, Y. J., Nunes, J.C., & Dreze, X. (2010). Signaling Status with Luxury Goods: The Role of Brand Prominence. *Journal of Marketing, 74*(4), 15-30. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1509/jmkg.74.4.15

Harnett, T. (2010). *The Trivial Matters: Everyday power in Swedish elder care.* Jönköping University Jönköping

Hilton, M. (2004). The Legacy of Luxury: Moralities of Consumption Since the 18th Century. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 4*(1), 101-123. doi: 10.1177/1469540504040906

Hobbes, T. (1651/2008). *Leviathan*. Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks.

Hogg, M. A., & Vaughan, G.M. (1995). *Social Psychology*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Johnston, J., Szabo, M., & Rodney, A. (2011). Good Food, Good People: Understanding the Cultural Repertoire of Ethical Eating. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 11*(3), 293-318.

Joy, A., Sherry, J.F., Venkatesh, A., Wang, J., & Chan, R. (2012). Fast Fashion, Sustainability, and the Ethical Appeal of Luxury Brands. *Fashion Theory, 16*(3), 273-296. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.2752/175174112X13340749707123

Kapferer, J. N. (2013). All That Glitters Is Not Green: The Challenge of Sustainable Luxury. *The European Business Review*. Retrieved from http://politicalanthropologist.com/?p=2869; accessed on July 11, 2014

Magee, J. C., Gruenfeld, D.H., Keltner, D.J., & Galinsky, A.D. (2005). Leadership and the Psychology of Power. In D. M. K. Messick, R.M. (Ed.), *The Psychology of Leadership: New Perspectives and Research* (pp. 275-293). London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Ngobo, P. V. (2011). What Drives Household Choice of Organic Products in Grocery Stores. *Journal of Retailing, 87*(1), 90-100.

Nosek, B. A., & Banaji, M. R. (2001). The Go/No-Go Association Task. *Social Cognition, 19*(6), 625-664.

Olson, M. A., & Fazio, R.H. (2004). Reducing the Influence of Extrapersonal Associations on the Implicit Association Test: Personalizing the IAT. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 86*(5), 653-667. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.86.5.653

Peracchio, L. A., Luce, M. F., & McGill, A. L. (2014). Building Bridges for an Interconnected Field of Consumer Research. *Journal of Consumer Research, 40*(6), iii-vi. doi: 10.1086/675854

Randers, J., Meadows, D.L., Behrens, W.W., & Meadows, D.H. (1974). *The Limits to growth: A report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind*. New York: Universe Books.

Slater, D. (1997). *Consumer culture and modernity*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Smith, P. K., Wigboldus, D.H.J., & Dijksterhuis, A. (2008). Abstract thinking increases one's sense of power. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 44*(2), 378-385.

Steinhart, Y., Ayalon, O., & Puterman, H. (2013). The effect of an environmental claim on consumers' perceptions about luxury and utilitarian products. *Journal of Cleaner Production, 53*, 277-286. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2013.04.024

Turner, G. (2008). A comparison of the limits to growth with thirty years of reality *CSIRO Working papers*.

Van Kleef, G. A., Homan, A.C., Finkenauer, C., Gundemir, S., & Stamkou, E. . (2011). Breaking the rules to rise to power: How norm violators gain power in the eyes of others. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 2*(5), 500-507.

Veblen, T. (1899). *The theory of the leisure class: An economic study of institutions* London: Allen and Unwin.

Verbeke, W., & Viaene, J. (1999). Beliefs, attitude and behaviour towards fresh meat consumption in Belgium: empirical evidence from a consumer survey. *Food Quality and Preference 10*(6), 437-445.

Weber, M. (1930/1992). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Routledge.

Xianchi, D., & Fries, A. (2008). Power and Donation: Does Perceived Power Decrease or Increase Charitable Contribution? *Advances in Consumer Research, 35*, 984.

Figure 1: Summary of the Qualitative Study (4): Thematic Networks