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Anti-Consumption, Materialism, and Consumer Well-Being

Substantial research indicates a negative relationship between excessive consumption, namely materialism, and consumer well-being (CWB). Since anti-consumption is contradictory to materialism, and materialism has a negative relationship with CWB, logically, anti-consumption should have a positive influence on CWB. To explore this relationship, we review the literature on anti-consumption, materialism, and CWB, and ascertain the most prominent values by which anti-consumption and materialism differ. We then develop a framework based on four constructs (1. Control over consumption; 2. Scope of concerns; 3. Material desire; 4. Source of happiness), conceptually highlighting how anti-consumption and materialism differ in terms of CWB. Qualitative data and content analysis of online blogs, forums, and websites provide preliminary support for our propositions. Finally, we conclude with some implications for managers and policymakers.

I believe that the very purpose of life is to be happy. From the very core of our being, we desire contentment. Since we are not solely material creatures, it is a mistake to place all our hopes for happiness on external development alone. The key is to develop inner peace. (Dalai Lama XIV 1997)

For most consumers in developed countries, an important goal of consumption is happiness. Thus, it is interesting to find that materialism, a belief that acquisition and possession of material objects are the ultimate source of happiness and life satisfaction (Richins and Dawson 1992), is in fact related to diminished consumer well-being (CWB) (Burroughs and Rindfleisch 2002; Kashdan and Breen 2007; Sirgy 1998).

Alternatively, anti-consumption, which focuses on the reasons against consumption (Chatzidakis and Lee 2013; Iyer and Muncy 2009; Kozinets, Handelman, and Lee 2010; Lee, Motion, and Conroy 2009) provides a strong contrast to materialism. If obsession for material goods makes consumers unhappy, how does "being against consumption" affect

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CWB? Previous anti-consumption literature has focused on its different motivations, but the consequences of anti-consumption behaviors are less observable, and thus, the impact of anti-consumption values on CWB has not been examined. This research explores the relationship between CWB, materialism, and anti-consumption by: (1) examining the literature on anti-consumption, materialism, and CWB to ascertain the most prominent values by which anti-consumption and materialism differ, (2) developing a conceptual framework showing the antithetical relationship between materialistic and anti-consumption values, and (3) supporting the framework by online data collection and analysis.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Theory of Well-being

Well-being is a general term for the condition of an individual or group in various contexts, such as their psychological, physical, social, or economic state, and its importance is increasingly being recognized (Diener 2009; Lee et al. 2002; Malhotra 2006; Nakano, MacDonald, and Douthitt 1995; Scott, Martin, and Schouten 2014; Sirgy and Lee 2006). However, the term "well-being" has a myriad of definitions and measures, with different disciplines focusing on aspects of well-being relevant only to their area of interest. This results in terms such as psychological well-being, social well-being, or CWB. In this paper, the concept of CWB is most relevant.

CWB has been of interest to an increasing number of scholars and managers in various disciplines, such as psychology and marketing (Pancer and Handelman 2012). Like the general term "well-being," CWB also lacks a unified definition (Sirgy, Lee, and Rahtz 2007). However, broadly speaking, CWB refers to the well-being of a consumer or a group of consumers. Compared to the general concept of well-being, CWB specifically focuses on the well-being of an individual as a consumer and on the notion that it is important to consider consumption-related aspects.

Sirgy, Lee, and Rahtz (2007), in a comprehensive review, listed and explained current conceptualizations and measures of CWB. They observed that CWB could be divided into two sub-dimensions: objective and subjective components. The former takes an objective approach (i.e., cost of living), while the latter takes a subjective approach (i.e., satisfaction with possessions). However, all conceptualizations and measures of CWB listed in the review assume that the level of CWB influences general quality of life (QOL).

In the early era of CWB studies, objective conceptualizations and measures were dominant (Ahuvia, Scott, and Bilgin 2010; Pancer and

Handelman 2012). However, with the rise of subjective well-being and positive psychology, the importance of satisfaction and happiness were highlighted (Diener et al. 1999). Researchers then began to develop subjective conceptualizations and measures of CWB (Lee, Sirgy, and Su 1998; Lee et al. 2002; Rahtz, Sirgy, and Lee 2004), which now dominate the field over the objective approach. Most subjective models examine consumers' satisfaction with various aspects of consumption, such as acquisition and possession of material goods or the experience of retail and services. Indeed, materialism, a main topic of this research, is listed as one of the subjective models of CWB. Consequently, our paper focuses on subjective CWB; specifically we explore how materialism and anti-consumption may influence subjective CWB.

Materialism

Materialism is a concept often referred to in relation to life satisfaction and happiness. Individuals scoring high on materialism scales have higher hopes and expectations of material possessions and, perhaps, due to unrealistic aspirations, it may be harder for them to feel satisfied with their possessions compared to non-materialistic individuals (Richins and Dawson 1992; Sirgy 1998; Sirgy et al. 1998). Materialism is strongly identified with consumption, more so than any other personality trait, and the common notion of materialism is the importance one attaches to worldly possessions, and the belief that acquisition of material possessions is the ultimate source of happiness and life satisfaction (Ahuvia and Wong 2002; Belk 1985; Richins and Dawson 1992; Richins and Rudmin 1994; Sirgy 1998).

There have been various attempts to measure materialism by examining personality traits or attitudes (Belk 1984; Inglehart 1981). Most well-known is Belk's (1984, 1985) conceptualization of materialism as a personality trait, comprising three traits of envy, possessiveness, and nongenerosity. However, measuring the complex and multidimensional nature of materialism as a personality trait was problematic owing to low and inconsistent scale reliability (Richins and Dawson 1992).

In an effort to address this problem, Richins and Dawson (1992) developed a conceptualization and measure of materialism as an individual consumer value. Their Material Value Scale comprises three main themes (Acquisition Centrality, Acquisition as the Pursuit of Happiness, and Possession-defined Success), which together explain the overall construct of materialism. Their model has been acknowledged to be reliable and has

been employed by a number of researchers (Burroughs and Rindfleisch 2002; Kasser and Ryan 1996; Pieters 2013).

Why Are Materialists Unhappy?

Although a myriad of studies examine the negative relationship between materialism and well-being measures such as life satisfaction and happiness (Ahuvia and Wong 2002; Burroughs and Rindfleisch 2002; Diener 2009; Diener and Biswas-Diener 2002; Kashdan and Breen 2007; Kasser and Ahuvia 2002; Kasser and Ryan 1993; Sirgy 1998; Tatzel 2002), there has been some research on the positive impact of materialism. Richins and Rudmin (1994) suggest that materialism may have some positive impact on economic and personal well-being by promoting material growth and personal wealth, particularly in the 18th century, when the ability to meet basic needs was challenging for most people (Smith 1863). In such circumstances, desire for material possessions and wealth may have been prevalent and even encouraged as a means to escape from poverty and increase well-being.

However, in economically developed nations, the relationship between economic indicators (i.e., income, material possessions) and well-being is more complex (Burroughs and Rindfleisch 2011; Pancer and Handelman 2012). Once basic needs are met, other factors moderate the level of happiness (Kasser and Ryan 1993; Zavestoski 2002), and materialistic values may begin to have a negative impact on CWB.

One negative component of materialistic values is the lack of control over consumption. That is, rather than consuming with the sense of autonomy or via a careful decision making process, materialistic values result in a desire for material possession and are more likely to lead to a loss of control over wise consumption behaviors. This negative feature of materialism has been implied through terms indicating a lack of control, such as *falling into the trap* of materialism (Sivanathan and Pettit 2010) or being *caught in the loop* of materialism (Pieters 2013). Rather than being conscious or reflective about their consumption, materialistic people "allow material possessions to play a central role in their lives" (Sirgy, Lee, and Rahtz 2007, 346). Kashdan and Breen (2007) argue that this lack of autonomy has a strong relationship with materialistic values, which leads to decreased self-determination and meaning in life. Overall, the literature suggests materialists view consumption as an escape, and that they lack the sense of control over consumption which in turn leads to diminished well-being.

Materialism has been associated with self-centred traits such as selfishness (Bauer et al. 2012), envy, or nongenerosity (Belk 1985). Having money-oriented values makes a person focus on one's own wealth and

well-being rather than on other people's well-being. Thus, having materialistic values negatively impacts on the ability to consider macro level concerns such as environmental or community issues (Burroughs and Rindfleisch 2002; Kilbourne and Pickett 2008). This micro level focus may lead to a further problem of incongruity between one's desired self and one's real, materialistic self. Since people do not want to regard themselves as selfish, inconsiderate, and environmentally damaging consumers (Kilbourne and Pickett 2008), such incongruity may also lead to the sense of dissatisfaction and unhappiness.

A strong desire for material possessions is central to materialistic values (Richins and Dawson 1992), and may be associated with diminished life satisfaction and well-being. First, psychological dissatisfaction will be greater for materialistic individuals when they cannot afford what they desire (Ryan and Deci 2001). Such cases occur because even individuals with low income may score highly on measures of materialism (Karabati and Cemalcilar 2010). Second, even for those with high income, money, and wealth does not always guarantee perceived well-being (Diener and Seligman 2004). Due to their insatiable desire and unrealistic expectations, materialistic individuals find it more difficult to be satisfied with their QOL compared to unmaterialistic others (Shaw 2002). Therefore, even with increased consumption, one may feel unhappy because one's aspirations are heightened as well. This effect is known as hedonic adaptation or the hedonic treadmill (Brickman and Campbell 1971; Lyubomirsky 2011). Lastly, people scoring high on materialism are more prone to compare themselves to wealthier others, this may lead to envy and a sense of inequity and anger, which also leads to diminished life satisfaction and happiness (Sirgy 1998).

Studies also find that materialism inherently shifts a person's focus onto extrinsic rather than intrinsic goals (Kasser and Ryan 1996; Tatzel 2002). Materialistic individuals rely on factors outside of the individual, such as financial success and acquisition of possessions, to achieve satisfaction and happiness. Such preoccupation with material possession may lead to neglect in other life domains, such as social and interpersonal relationships (Kasser and Ahuvia 2002; Kasser and Ryan 1993). Maslow (1954) proposes that self-actualisation is at the top of his "hierarchy of needs" but unlike lower-order needs, self-actualisation cannot be obtained solely by material possessions and wealth (Kasser and Ahuvia 2002; Maslow 1954; Zavestoski 2002). These findings suggest that the pursuit of material ambition alone cannot deliver sustainable well-being (Diener 2009; Diener and Biswas-Diener 2002). Therefore, excessive consumption, as encapsulated by materialistic values, may have

a negative impact on the well-being of consumers regardless of income level.

So far we have discussed how materialism may be negatively linked to happiness and well-being. Continuing along this train of reasoning, if materialistic values make people unhappy, and materialism is contradictory to anti-consumption, then anti-consumption values may improve CWB. This premise is an interesting, and previously unexamined, avenue that enables us to explore the possible consequences of anti-consumption.

However, before we discuss the literature on anti-consumption, we feel it is necessary to delineate between non/anti-materialism and anti-consumption, which we believe are related but different constructs. Non/anti-materialism is opposite to materialism with both concepts occupying opposite ends of a continuum. Materialism is focused on the acquisition of the material possessions in the pursuit of happiness (Holt 1995; Richins and Dawson 1992; Scott, Martin, and Schouten 2014); therefore, non/anti-materialism focuses on the rejection of material possessions. In contrast, anti-consumption revolves around the reasons against consumption, and is predominately concerned with the plethora of reasons and processes that lead to a person being against consumption (Chatzidakis and Lee 2013; Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman 2009).

So, while all acts of non/anti-materialism involve anti-consumption, not all acts of anti-consumption involve non/anti-materialism. Basically, if a person is against the acquisition of material then they are automatically against consumption; however, a person who is driven by reasons against consumption of goods or services, may not necessarily be a non/anti-materialist. To illustrate, consider a person practicing anti-consumption against IKEA or other mass-produced furniture. The reasons motivating their anti-consumption may involve perceptions of quality, avoidance of multinationalism, prior negative experiences, or rumors about corporate irresponsibility. Their avoidance of IKEA may also motivate them to consume products from local furniture manufacturers, or make their own furniture, as in the case of voluntary simplifiers, etc. So we see an acceptance of materiality in this case of anti-consumption. On the other hand, materialism is focused on the role that material possessions play in happiness; therefore a non/anti-materialist would reject the idea of furniture being necessary to have a happy life, whether that furniture is IKEA-bought or locally made.

We posit that "non/anti-materialism" is a redundant term since it is nearly impossible to be truly non/anti-material, and thus we propose that, within the realm of consumer affairs, anti-consumption is actually a more appropriate contrast for materialism. Indeed, it would be very difficult for

most modern-day consumers to attain any level of CWB while practicing non/anti-materialism, whereas the practice of anti-consumption is often compatible with the CWB. Even non/anti-materialists espousing the value of consumption experiences such as river rafting or dematerialized e-books still rely on material components to make their experience a reality. In contrast, anti-consumption does not deny the role of the physical, since all acts of anti-consumption involve a simultaneous push away from one source and pull toward another, which invariably results in some manner of material consumption.

Overall, anti-consumption and materialism are not exact opposites on the same continuum; however, they are antagonistic concepts and therefore it makes sense to compare them against one another and, more importantly, alongside CWB. Non/anti-materialism is the true opposite of materialism, but non/anti-materialism is virtually impossible and not applicable for the majority of people. Therefore, this paper removes non/anti-materialism from the "CWB equation," opting only to compare materialism with anti-consumption, since these two contrasting concepts have a more practical relationship to CWB than non/anti-materialism.

Anti-consumption

Anti-consumption is a burgeoning field of research that studies the phenomena and reasons against consumption (Black and Cherrier 2010; Chatzidakis and Lee 2013; Cherrier 2009; Dalli, Romani, and Gistri 2006; Hogg, Banister, and Stephenson 2009; Iyer and Muncy 2009; Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Lee et al. 2011; Lee, Motion, and Conroy 2009; Odou and de Pechpeyrou 2011; Sandikci and Ekici 2009; Thompson, Rindfleisch, and Arsel 2006; Zavestoski 2002). It is the voluntary and intentional avoidance of consumption, and occurs either in a general or in selective fashion (Iyer and Muncy 2009). Anti-consumers choose to reject, reduce, or reclaim certain goods, services, or brands (Lee et al. 2011) due to a number of reasons such as negative experiences in relation to a product or brand, symbolic incongruence (Lee, Motion, and Conroy 2009), and/or political animosity (Sandikci and Ekici 2009). Other anti-consumers resist the consumerist mainstream and strive to make their own consumption decisions (Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Lee, Motion, and Conroy 2009; Zavestoski 2002). Overall, anti-consumption is a conscious and deliberate choice based on decisions that are consistent with one's values (Kozinets, Handelman, and Lee 2010).

Anti-consumption behaviors may also be driven by macro level environmental and societal concerns. As consumption increasingly plays a

central role in modern society, there has been growing concerns about the negative impact of excessive consumption (Alcott 2008; Cherrier and Murray 2002; Dobscha 1998; Evans 2011), consumerism (Gabriel and Lang 2006), and materialism (Belk 1988; Pepper, Jackson, and Uzzell 2009) on the environment and society. The field of green consumption focuses on the consumption behaviors motivated by environmental and sustainability concerns (Banarjee and McKeage 1994; Black 2010; Black and Cherrier 2010; Evans 2011; Gilg, Barr, and Ford 2005). Typically, individuals with macro level concerns may use their consumer power to reject the brands or products which they believe are damaging society (Chatzidakis and Lee 2013; Littler 2005).

Another motivation for anti-consumption is the pursuit of a simpler lifestyle. This is best represented in the practice of voluntary simplicity, which represents a purposeful rejection and/or reduction of overall consumption in order to achieve a simpler lifestyle (Black and Cherrier 2010; Brown and Kasser 2005; Craig-Lees and Hill 2002; Elgin and Mitchell 1977; Etzioni 2004; Huneke 2005; Leonard-Barton 1981; McDonald et al. 2006; Shaw and Newholm 2002; Zavestoski 2002). Voluntary simplifiers believe over-consumption and excessive desire for material possessions have a negative impact on the environment and personal well-being. Therefore, they engage in anti-consumption behaviors in order to pursue a simpler and stress-free lifestyle (Iyer and Muncy 2009; Zavestoski 2002), but as mentioned earlier, voluntary simplification does not necessarily mean less emphasis on materiality. For example, setting up a vegetable garden involves a high level of materiality, and therefore could not really be classified as non/anti-materialism. However, the reasons for wanting to grow one's own vegetables are likely to be partially driven by anti-consumption motivations such as the rejection of highly processed foods, genetically modified organisms, monoculture, pesticides, or chemical fertilizers.

While stress and fatigue of the consumerist lifestyle is a central motivation for voluntary simplicity, it is not the only motivation for the trend. By reducing unnecessary consumption, anti-consumers pursue a more meaningful life by shifting their concerns and spending more time and effort on intrinsically satisfying focal activities (Borgmann 2000; Zavestoski 2002). In the hierarchy of needs, Maslow (1954) proposes self-actualisation as the highest order of needs, which can be achieved by intrinsic growth. Relatedly, self-actualisation is a common motivation for anti-consumption behaviors, which are associated with fulfilling intrinsic goals (Zavestoski 2002). The pursuit of intrinsic goals implies that anti-consumers seek happiness from internal factors, such as personal growth, rather than from external factors such as financial success or social status. This is supported

by findings from qualitative research examining the motivations for downshifting (Craig-Lees and Hill 2002; Huneke 2005).

In the present review, the different motivations for anti-consumption behaviors were discussed. It is important to note that these motivations are not mutually exclusive and some anti-consumption behavior may be explained by multiple motivations. For instance, an anti-consumer may avoid a company's brand because of its poor environmental record and because of a personal negative experience.

Gap in the Literature: Consequences of Anti-consumption

The preceding sections position anti-consumption as the most appropriate anti-thesis to materialism. However, compared to materialism, which has been examined in relation to CWB, there are no studies explicitly linking anti-consumption values with CWB. Part of this may be due to the fact that unlike materialism, anti-consumption values are yet to be developed. Without a clear idea of anti-consumption values, it is difficult to examine anti-consumption in relation to other topics such as CWB.

Therefore, this research fills the gap in literature by developing a set of anti-consumption values, comparing these values with materialistic values to highlight the contrasting relationship, and, finally, linking both values to their influence on CWB. If anti-consumption values contain contrary attributes to materialistic values, which are strongly associated with diminished CWB, it seems logical to propose that anti-consumption values may be related to increased CWB.

CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT

The literature review above compared various characteristics of materialism with well-being and anti-consumption. This process has identified four anti-consumption values which are contradictory to materialism: (1) control over consumption; (2) scope of concerns; (3) material desire; and (4) source of happiness.

Table 1 highlights the first construct, sense of control over consumption. The literature reveals a lack of control and autonomy in the consumption of materialistic individuals. On the other hand, people with anti-consumption values show a highly controlled approach to consumption. In general, anti-consumption behaviors include voluntary rejection or reduction of consumption that is not driven by factors, such as financial difficulties or lack of resources. This suggests that anti-consumption behaviors are inherently autonomous, unlike materialistic behaviors.

TABLE 1
Control over Consumption

	Materialistic Values	Anti-consumption Values
Control over Consumption	*LOW sense of control* • Materialism related to diminished self-determination and autonomy (Kashdan and Breen 2007). • Materialists tend to be swayed by advertising messages, reinforcing their materialistic values (Sirgy et al. 1998). • Materialistic behaviors are often described as something which people *fall* into or get *trapped* within. These behaviors are seen as an *escape* from unpleasant emotions (Pieters 2013; Sivanathan and Pettit 2010).	*HIGH sense of control* • Anti-consumption behaviors are inherently *voluntary* and *autonomous* (Kozinets, Handelman, and Lee 2010). • Anti-consumers are *conscious* about their decision making and take into account their values and thoughts in consumption (Fernandez, Brittain, and Bennett 2011; Lee, Motion, and Conroy 2009). • Anti-consumers *choose* to reject consumption in order to seek other sources of satisfaction (Zavestoski 2002).

Consumption plays a central role in the modern society, in which consumers are bombarded with marketing messages encouraging material consumption. Nonetheless, anti-consumers have their own reasons for going against consumer culture, which shows a high degree of control over consumption. Materialistic values seem to indicate less control owing to an obsession and aspiration for material possessions (Kashdan and Breen 2007), while anti-consumption values signal a more conscious and reflective decision making style. Indeed, an interviewee from a qualitative study on voluntary simplifiers said: "*It's exciting to take control of your life, to take control over consumption choices and your lifestyle*" (Zavestoski 2002, 160), which clearly demonstrates a sense of control and consequent positive emotion.

In some cases, anti-consumers achieve a sense of control by resisting marketing messages (Lee, Motion, and Conroy 2009; Rumbo 2002), again showing that individuals with anti-consumption values more consciously, and critically, evaluate their consumption patterns. On the other hand, television viewership research conducted by Sirgy et al. (1998) suggests that materialistic individuals are influenced by advertising messages, which enhance their desire for material possession. Such literatures demonstrate the contrast between anti-consumption and materialistic values in terms of control over consumption.

TABLE 2
Scope of Concerns

	Materialistic Values	Anti-consumption Values
Scope of Concerns	*MICRO LEVEL concerns* • Materialistic consumption is mainly about personal concerns (Burroughs and Rindfleisch 2002). • Materialism associated with self-centered attributes: selfishness (Bauer et al. 2012); envy and nongenerosity (Belk 1984). • Negative impact on environmental beliefs – leading to incongruence between desired and true self (Kilbourne and Pickett 2008).	*MACRO LEVEL concerns* • Motivated by both societal and personal concerns (Iyer and Muncy 2009). • Anti-consumption behaviors driven by environmental concerns (Black 2010; Dobscha 1998). • Anti-consumption behavior can be driven by societal/ethical concerns (Chatzidakis and Lee 2013; Fernandez, Brittain, and Bennett 2011; Hoffmann and Müller 2009).

Having control and autonomy over their decision making enhances an individual's sense of self-determination and self-actualisation, which leads to increased CWB (Maslow 1954; Ryan and Deci 2001). Therefore, it can be presumed that the autonomous quality of anti-consumption values positively impacts one's perception of life satisfaction and happiness.

Table 2 describes the second construct: scope of concerns. For materialistic individuals, the literature suggests that their consumption is mainly driven by micro-level concerns, such as fulfilling their own material desire or self-enhancement (Burroughs and Rindfleisch 2002). This devotion to personal goals restrains them from having a broader scope of concerns, such as sustainability or ethical issues (Kilbourne and Pickett 2008). In contrast, macro-level concerns often motivate anti-consumption behavior (Shaw and Newholm 2002), such as boycotting, voluntary simplicity, or consumer resistance. The extant literature shows that anti-consumption behaviors are often driven by the concerns for sustainability or as a form of resistance toward unethical practices in marketing (Black and Cherrier 2010; Dobscha 1998; Evans 2011). For instance, research on dumpster diving shows that resisting the mainstream market helps some individuals establish a heroic self-image (Fernandez, Brittain, and Bennett 2011), while others protest against the loss of jobs by boycotting companies who relocate their factories offshore (Hoffmann and Müller 2009).

In general, anti-consumers display a broader scope of concerns for their consumption compared to materialists, with such altruistic beliefs leading

TABLE 3
Material Desire

	Materialistic Values	Anti-consumption Values
Material Desire	*HIGH desire for material acquisition/possession* • Excessive and obsessive material desire (Belk 1985; Richins 1994; Sirgy 1998). • Unreasonably high aspiration of material acquisition/possessions (Shaw and Newholm 2002). • Cycle of desire or the hedonic treadmill (Belk, Ger, and Askegaard 2003, Brickman and Campbell 1971; Lyubomirsky 2011).	*LOW desire for material acquisition/possession* • Lower level of material desire for voluntary simplifiers (Craig-Lees and Hill 2002; Etzioni 2004). • Desire to reduce stress caused by consumption-focused lifestyle (Zavestoski 2002). • Preference for experiential spending (Carter and Gilovich 2010; 2012; Tatzel 2002).

to increased CWB. The belief that they are doing a good deed for the environment and society establishes the congruence between their ideal self and the true self. This is supported by a number of studies, which confirm that pro-social behaviors such as helping others (Weinstein and Ryan 2010) or donating to charity (Harbaugh 1998) impact positively on the well-being of the actor.

Table 3 compares materialism and anti-consumption in regards to material desire. Prior materialism literature suggests a negative relationship between strong material desire and diminished life satisfaction and well-being (Shaw 2002; Sirgy 1998). Materialists pursue high quantity and quality of material goods; however, due to hedonic adaptation theory (Brickman and Campbell 1971; Lyubomirsky 2011) they are likely to remain dissatisfied and fall into the cycle of desire (Belk, Ger, and Askegaard 2003). On the other hand, individuals with anti-consumption values are likely to exhibit a lower level of material desire, due to its inherent nature *against* consumption (Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman 2009). Instead, anti-consumers seek to simplify their lives (i.e., voluntary simplicity) and reduce the desire of material acquisition and possession (i.e., downshift). Zavestoski (2002, 150) describes the practice of voluntary simplicity as "reducing clutter in one's life, eliminating burdensome time commitments, and creating peaceful personal space to enjoy life." Similarly, the anti-consumption literature supports the notion that simplifiers reduce feelings of fatigue and stress by purposefully withdrawing from the fast-paced consumerist society (Etzioni 2004; Iyer and Muncy 2009).

Findings from happiness research suggest that often, the most important sources of life satisfaction are nonmaterial in nature (Myers and Diener 1995). Therefore, individuals with anti-consumption values may achieve greater life satisfaction and CWB by being less materially driven, perhaps emphasizing experiences over possessions. A study supported this notion by examining the differences between the consumption patterns of materialistic and non-materialistic individuals, and found that non-materialistic individuals spent more money on experiential consumption (i.e., travel), which provided a greater and more sustained sense of satisfaction (Carter and Gilovich 2010, 2012; Tatzel 2002). Overall, without being as extreme as non/anti-materialists, anti-consumption values are associated with reduced desire for material possession, which leads to enhanced CWB.

Table 4 illustrates how materialistic values and anti-consumption values contrast in terms of the final construct: source of happiness. The materialism literature suggests that materialistic individuals rely on the extrinsic goals (i.e., financial success, reputation) to achieve life satisfaction and happiness (Kasser and Ryan 1996). However, extrinsic rewards do not guarantee a sustained sense of happiness, so values placed on pursuing such goals may contribute to the negative relationship between materialism and well-being (Tatzel 2002). Research shows that pursuing intrinsic goals are a more direct and effective way of achieving sustained satisfaction and happiness (Diener and Biswas-Diener 2002; Maslow 1954; Tatzel 2002), and this supports the argument that anti-consumers are, in general, happier than materialists.

For instance, an individual with materialistic values may strive to achieve extrinsic goals by working more, earning more, and spending more, which they believe will bring happiness. However, research shows that following these goals does not lead to self-actualisation even when consumption is successful (Kasser and Ryan 1993; Maslow 1954; Zavestoski 2002). On the other hand, self-actualisation is itself a common goal for anti-consumers who downshift (Zavestoski 2002); they work less, earn less, and consume less, but instead spend more time following intrinsic goals, such as establishing meaningful relationships or practicing personal growth and self-mastery (Craig-Lees and Hill 2002; Elgin 1998; Huneke 2005).

Some readers may perceive the terms “micro level” and “intrinsic” to be similar, in the notion that both terms refer to concepts that are personal and individual to a human being. However, “micro level” concerns in materialistic individuals refers to the self centered and self-serving nature of their consumption, whereas the “intrinsic” goal of anti-consumers refers

TABLE 4
Source of Happiness

	Materialistic Values	Anti-consumption Values
Source of Happiness	*EXTRINSIC goals in pursuit of happiness* • Materialistic individuals focus more on extrinsic goals such as financial success, and approval from others (Kasser and Ryan 1996). • Preoccupation with material desire and possession leads to neglecting other important domains (i.e., interpersonal) (Kasser and Ahuvia 2002; Kasser and Ryan 1993). • Extrinsic consumption patterns of materialism leads to lowered well-being (Tatzel 2002). • Extrinsic goals cannot lead to achieving self-actualisation (Kasser and Ryan 1993; Maslow 1954; Zavestoski 2002).	*INTRINSIC goals in pursuit of happiness* • Individuals with anti-consumption values tend to pursue intrinsic goals, (i.e., personal growth) which originate from one's internal values (Craig-Lees and Hill 2002; Huneke 2005). • Pursuit of intrinsically satisfying activities such as having quality time with friends and family (Brown and Kasser 2005; Huneke 2005). • Downshifting involves a conscious shift away from material goals and toward intrinsically satisfying pursuits (Elgin 1998). • Self-actualisation is a common motivation for voluntary simplifiers (Zavestoski 2002).

to the pursuit of self-actualisation through personal growth and reflection. Therefore, these terms are distinct.

Conceptual Framework

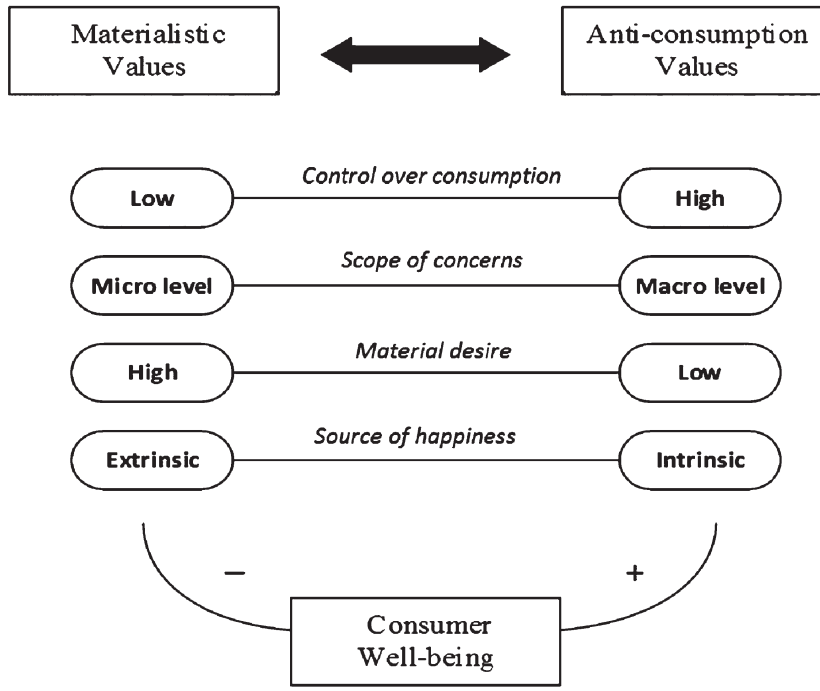
Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between CWB, materialistic values, and anti-consumption values. As explained in previous sections, this research focuses on the subjective component of CWB. The conceptual framework suggests three propositions, which will clarify the relationship between the three topics of interest and address the research objectives presented at the beginning of this paper.

The review on the materialism literature supports a negative relationship between materialistic values and CWB. Thus:

P1: Materialistic values have a negative relationship with CWB.

In the conceptual development process, the contrasting attributes of materialistic values and anti-consumption values were identified and categorized into four groups. Therefore:

FIGURE 1
Relationship Between Materialistic Values, Anti-Consumption Values, and CWB



P2: Materialistic values and anti-consumption values contrast on four key constructs: a. Control over consumption; b. Scope of concerns; c. Material desire; d. Source of happiness.

Figure 1 contrasts each construct on a continuum, indicating the degree of difference between anti-consumption and materialistic values.

P1 proposed a negative relationship between materialism values and CWB. Therefore, synthesizing *P1* with *P2* (the contrasting nature of anti-consumption values and materialistic values) leads to:

P3: Anti-consumption values have a positive relationship with CWB.

METHODOLOGY

Our data collection is based on theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss 1967), which involves the use of "information to shed light on an emerging theory" (Charmaz 2000, 519). Therefore, to explore the plausibility of our propositions and emerging ideas (rather than prove causality in a positivistic sense) we conducted online data collection and analysis by

gathering publicly available information in online forums, such as blogs, websites, and online discussion. Since a materialistic mind-set and associated behaviors are often socially criticized, people may be hesitant to reveal what they really think and do, thus online research is a valid tool enabling preliminary access to honest opinions about sensitive topics.

First Approach

Initially we searched for blogs strongly associated with the topics of materialism and anti-consumption. The reason we prioritized blogs was that it is the most suitable place for people to express their personal thoughts and feelings.

We started by Googling keywords such as "materialism" or "anti-consumption" to find blogs where these terms were mentioned. As a result, we found blogs which were closely related to the topic of materialism or anti-consumption, such as "The Everyday Minimalist." This blog records and shares the various ways to live a "minimalistic" life; most blogs contained rich information due to their high involvement. Following this initial exploration, we expanded our search to include "neutral" blogs which are not specialized in the area of materialism or anti-consumption. These blogs may be personal blogs, with diary-like posts talking about everyday life, or focused on specific topics of interest (i.e., photography, mobile phones).

However, these search strategies still provided limited data, since people may not necessarily use conceptual words such as "materialism" or "anti-consumption" even when they talked about relevant things.

Second Approach

We used the data gained from the initial group of blogs to find new keywords to search. After reading posts from these blogs, we identified some words that were often mentioned, such as "shopping" or "simple living." We also tried using whole phrases such as "I hate shopping," "I love shopping," "Is being materialistic bad?," "Consume less," and so on. These keywords related to our topics, and were practical since they were used in everyday language. Furthermore, in this second approach, we did not restrict our search to blogs, but expanded to other forms of online opinion.

To write a full post in a blog, a person may think that they need to be a topic expert. Moreover, the length of posts, which are typically at least one page long, may discourage people from writing a post about a topic. We wanted to find other sources in which people feel less pressured

to express their opinion. Therefore, we included "comments" as part of the data. These comments included remarks left in the bottom of other sources of media, such as blogs, articles, videos, or as a part of discussion boards. The benefit of collecting comments is that there are a higher number of comments that are relevant to our research compared to the number of blog posts. Moreover, in most cases, comments are written as feedback or replies, therefore the people who leave comments often express their opinions on the issues being discussed. Thus it was straightforward to ascertain if they agree (or disagree) with the main statement/opinion. Furthermore, comments in discussion boards tended to be polarized. Since we needed data to support our framework, which depicts the contrasting relationship between materialism and anti-consumption, it was beneficial to find comments that confront each other.

Including comments as part of the data gave us another unexpected outcome. Occasionally, we would find some comments left from other bloggers, who promoted their own blogs. They often had similar interests with the blogs we initially found, and wanted the blog owner (and other visitors) to visit their own blog and share ideas. Therefore, these subsequent blog discoveries were often relevant for our research. Sometimes the blog owners themselves would mention other "neighbor" blogs and recommend that visitors refer to them for other interesting posts. This "spider-web search" of finding connections between blogs was an efficient way to find a number of blogs with similar themes. Changing the keywords to a more casual language and widening the scope of the research also resulted in more data.

Overall, we collected a total of 59 relevant text units, which provides preliminary support for our framework. For this paper, only the most salient quotes are used as examples. See Table 5 for a representation of the sources and the amount of data collected.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Control Over Consumption

Our data supports the first part of our framework: individuals high in materialistic values tend to have lower control over their consumption, whereas people high in anti-consumption values tend to have higher control over their consumption. The following quote conveys the loss of control driven by materialistic behavior.

> "In the beginning stage, the goal is mostly monetary wealth, and I see no problem with that. Money is a big and exciting part of our culture. And most of us start out with our arms and legs tangled up in the stuff to the point that it is a source of stress, status, and a *loss of autonomy*. The need for money is forcing us to set alarm clocks

TABLE 5
Main Sources of Data and Amount of Data Collected

Source Type	Number	Examples
Blog	25	Blogs with specific purposes, i.e., http://www.bornrich.com http://www.everydayminimalist.com Personal blogs, i.e., http://mandibelle16.wordpress.com http://ourwalrusroom.blogspot.co.nz
Comments under discussion board	18	Discussion board in online community, i.e., http://boards.straightdope.com http://community.babycenter.com
Comments under online news article	12	Comments left under online articles, i.e., http://www.dailymail.co.uk
Online news article	2	Online news articles from http://www.dailymail.co.uk http://www.psychologytoday.com
Video	2	Youtube videos

> and drive to other cities every morning, give up on the chance of raising our own kids, and sign up for terms of voluntary slavery that can extend 45 years or longer." (http://www.mrmoneymustache.com/2012/09/18/is-it-convenient-would-i-enjoy-it-wrong-question/)

This text was written by a blogger called "Mr Money Mustache," who writes about how to "enjoy" money wisely while getting out of the lifestyle he explains as a "debt-powered treadmill." His quote suggests that people are "forced" to spend more time working because of the need for money, which signifies a loss of autonomy. He criticizes the "earn-more-spend-more" lifestyle, describing it as "voluntary slavery." Essentially, he argues that following a materialistic lifestyle leads to loss of control and autonomy.

Another quote supports the relationship between materialistic values and a loss of control, but specifically within a consumption context:

> "I too am a shopaholic, sales especially … what a bargain … no it isn't. They sit in the wardrobe, and it gets fuller and fuller, I end up wearing the same half dozen pieces, because I can't find other things amongst the overloaded hangers, etc. When I decide to find something else, I come across things I'd forgotten I bought. The guilt is horrendous, but I continue to do it. Is there something that can be done to that part of the brain to stop it??!!!!! Clearly I understand drug addicts, because *clothes shopping is a drug for me! H E L P!!!*"
> (http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2546427/How-adding-cost-clothes-curing-shopping-addiction.html?ITO=1490&ns_mchannel=rss&ns_campaign=1490)

A journalist for the Daily Mail wrote an article describing her obsession with clothes and how she was trying to reduce her wardrobe and change

her consumption habits. Her article generated 194 responses where people shared their thoughts on materialistic lifestyles. This quote was one such comment and shows how a person might fall into the trap of materialistic consumption, feeling like they are addicted to shopping. The writer clearly expresses his or her inability to change her habits. The difference between the first and second quote is perhaps that the writer of the second quote is aware of her loss of control, whereas the people described by "Mr Money Mustache" in the first quote may not be aware of a loss of autonomy associated with materialistic values.

In contrast, the next two quotes address the higher sense of control associated with anti-consumption values. The following quote depicts how managing one's spending on clothing is related to self-control.

> "But what is really in the balance here besides financial stability is self-control; and one must always have *self-control* to some extent. In this case, it is okay for me to buy an outfit once a month, it is not okay for me to do this every week."
> (http://mandibelle16.wordpress.com/2012/12/11/im-so-sick-of-shopping-and-fashion/)

This was written as a comment to a blog discussing the fatigue caused by frequent shopping. This person points out the importance of having control for her urge to spend beyond her financial ability. This shows that she is aware of her financial status and is thinking sensibly to avoid falling into the trap of materialism. Her quote also highlights our earlier distinction between anti-consumption and non/anti-materialism. Here we see that she is *against over-consumption* rather than strictly practicing non/anti-materialism.

The next quote highlights the power of marketing and advertising, arguing that ads are made to "attract the eye of the consumer."

> "Now I will give advertisers their due. They have studied and researched their targeted audience. They have come to understand with precision how to attract the eye of the consumer, but when we understand their goal, their bias, we can then make the decision of whether or not to ignore, turn off or turn away from their pleadings so that we put ourselves back in control. Ultimately choosing to consume less, *puts us in the driver's seat*, rather than the world that is swirling around us. It is the primary premise of living a simply luxurious life that we be selective about what we bring into our lives so as not to be drowning in unnecessary excess that reduces our ability to enjoy the life we want to live."
> (http://www.thesimplyluxuriouslife.com/why-not-consume-less/)

This quote is from the blog "Simply Luxurious Life," which revolves around the pursuit of a simple yet luxurious life. From the blogger's perspective, a consumer's loss of control is partly due to marketing and advertising, therefore a consumer has more control if they make their own

decisions rather than being swayed by advertising messages. These quotes are in line with the findings from the literature review and therefore provide support to our framework.

Scope of Concerns

In our framework, materialistic values are associated with a micro scope of concerns, such as self-centeredness. The following quote, which is another comment from the Daily Mail article, poignantly criticizes a woman for her materialistic lifestyle: that she is a "self-absorbed narcissist."

> "Her house is a mess, her garden's a bigger mess and she hasn't worked for years. But she STILL continues to spend thousands of pounds on clothes, shoes, bags, tanning products, hairdressers, eyebrow shaping, colonic irrigation, Gym sessions, specialised food supplements, anything at all that she thinks will make her a better person. Unfortunately, she's seen as a deluded, self-absorbed narcissist whose only interest in life is herself. She could have saved the money and put it to good use instead of squandering it away. These people need all the 'Stuff' as without it they have to take responsibility for their own lives and grow up."
> (http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2546427/How-adding-cost-clothes-curing-shopping-addiction.html?ITO=1490&ns_mchannel=rss&ns_campaign=1493)

In this quote, the woman in the description is blamed for living a life that is only for herself. It is interesting to see that she is also criticized for not spending her money toward "good use," perhaps referring to charity or donation. It was quite common to find people suggesting that materialistic individuals should spend more for others, rather than for themselves. However, others oppose this idea, arguing that people have right to spend their own money the way they want. As the next quote, extracted from a discussion board "Is buying expensive clothing wrong?" suggests:

> "Life's too short though, you've got to be a bit selfish, let's be honest. Enjoy yourself, might as well.
> And if you think about, some people should enjoy themselves a bit.
> And in reality, a bit of charity isn't going to help poverty, it's more of a developmental issue."
> (http://www.bungie.net/en/Forum/Post?id=2772888)

While this quote agrees that "enjoying themselves" may be selfish, it still validates the idea that it is acceptable for people to enjoy their life as they want. This quote also supports the framework by acknowledging self-centeredness as a materialistic value. However, it provides a different perspective; that it is okay for people to spend their own money the way they want.

In contrary, anti-consumption values were typically associated with having a macro scope of concerns, meaning that a person's anti-consumption behavior may be related to their concern for the environment or community. These views are reflected in the next two quotes. By rejecting what is not needed and reducing their ecological footprint, these people are trying to reclaim a more sustainable lifestyle.

> "I believe that it is not only up to residents, but also businesses to show care for the environment and lead by example. And as you already know, I strongly believe that one must 'Refuse the things that we do not need or do not want to support in order to be sustainable.'"
> (http://zerowastehome.blogspot.co.nz/search/label/Refuse)

The phrase "refuse the things that we do not need or do not want to support" precisely shows that anti-consumption may derive from the concerns for sustainability. Compared to the previous quotes about materialistic individuals, anti-consumers seem to consider more than their own well-being. The next quote shows a mother's concern for her daughter and the world she is going to live in 50 years later.

> "We often buy highly packaged food from our local supermarket chain just to save time. We drive our cars almost everywhere (again to save time). But this is going to change. I plan to blog our family's journey towards living a more sustainable life and decreasing our ecological footprint, particularly that of Little Eco. She (her daughter) is my main motivation for making these changes. It saddens me to think about what sort of earth we are leaving her. What will she think of us in 50 years' time when she looks back at the way we lived our lives? At this stage of her life we have total control of how big her ecological footprint is. Is it fair to leave her with an ecological debt that may take her years of sustainable living and good deeds to pay off?"
> (http://www.littleecofootprints.com/2008/12/my-eco-blogging-journey-begins.html)

Both quotes were from blogs related to sustainability and voluntary simplicity. For this reason, there were many postings about reducing waste and over consumption. The existence of these blogs supports our assumption that some anti-consumption values are driven by a wider scope of affairs, such as concern for the others and the environment.

Material Desire

The positive relationship between materialistic values and material desire is almost self-explanatory; materialistic people have a higher material desire. The following person from the Babycenter community colloquially explains that even though her family is "tight for money," she would still "almost die to have" some expensive fashion items.

> "I think it's a matter of the lifestyle you're accustomed to. My family is tight for money but that doesn't stop me from drooling over the 200 dollar purse or the 300 dollar boots I would almost die to have. It's a matter of you and what you want. There's nothing wrong with materialism. I don't agree with people who make that their self-worth but hey if you work hard for your money and you've done what you got to do to afford those things GO FOR IT. And to hell with anyone who has an issue with that. :)"
> (http://community.babycenter.com/post/a18258915/whats_so_wrong_about_being_materialistic?cpg=12)

She justifies her desire by saying that people should have rights to use their own money however they want, which is concurrent with quotes discussed in the previous section. It is interesting to see her defense toward the material desire, saying "there's nothing wrong with materialism." On the other hand, the next quote criticizes this desire as "greed."

> "I think it comes down to greed. These concerns and wants of materialistic items or money will only cause greed. It's like all of the Brawlmart stuff you see on Black Friday … it's sickening. "
> (http://soulpancake.com/conversations/view/122433/whats-wrong-with-being-materialistic.html)

This person refers to the extensive sales in the United States at Walmart on Black Friday, where people commonly "camp out" near the store, lining up to enter as early as possible. Rampant fights often occur among customers who are eager to grab the best priced items, which have earned Walmart the disgraceful name of "Brawlmart."

We also found contrasting data for anti-consumption, suggesting that anti-consumers have less material desire, which, again, appears self-explanatory:

> "However, my experiences with 'shiny new things' is that it never seems to be enough. There's always some newer, shinier object out there waiting to replace what you just bought.
> In my own life, I have been doing my best to get things back to a more simple level. I used to love to go shopping for gadgets and fun stuff all the time. Don't get me wrong, it is fun to go shopping, but I found that the fun wore off quickly and was back to shopping for more.
> Now it seems, I buy less and actually want less. *sigh* I must be getting old"
> (http://boards.straightdope.com/sdmb/showthread.php?t=199301)

This is another comment from the discussion "what is so wrong about materialism," an issue discussed on many boards in various websites. This person seems to be tired of the endless material desire that cannot be satisfied. This is coherent with the insatiable nature of materialistic values, which was discussed in the materialism literature. The last sentence,

"*sigh* I must be getting old" was particularly interesting because it reveals the writer's emotion about this "change" in his or her values. Here, "getting old" may refer to the maturity and discretion one obtains with age and wisdom in spending.

The following quote speaks to how anti-consumers achieve satisfaction despite having low material desire.

> "I've realised that having everything I want is within my reach. I don't need more money; I just need to want less.
>
> Simple living, sustainable living, voluntary simplicity, minimalism, or whatever you want to call it, isn't about deprivation. Living with less is about deciding what you really want and foregoing the rest. In the wise words of Henry David Thoreau, 'I make myself rich by making my wants few.'
>
> I've been questioning my wants: a new camera, tablet computer, slow cooker and so on. When I consider these wants against my greater life goals – get out of debt, have minimal impact on the environment, live in a clutter-free home – these wants become secondary. My greater life goals seem more important and all of a sudden I no longer want these things. They may move back onto my list of wants one day, but for now I like the idea of feeling like I want for little."
>
> (http://www.littleecofootprints.com/2014/01/how-to-want-less.html)

This quote supports the current definition of anti-consumption: that it is a *conscious choice* against specific consumption situations, not necessitated by limited resources. The text suggests that anti-consumption isn't about deprivation, or non/anti-materialism, but may sometimes be against over-consumption and reduced material desire, "wanting for little" rather than not wanting at all.

Source of Happiness

The last construct in the framework is source of happiness, where we suggest that people high in materialistic values tend to seek happiness from extrinsic sources, while those with anti-consumption values tend to pursue an intrinsic source of happiness.

> "I think I am going to just answer the question in your title: What's so wrong with materialism? I find materialism wrong because it places things above people. It shows that your priorities are on transient items that can be bought and sold and not on people and relationships. Money and therefore things cannot buy happiness. If you are happy before you have money, you are going to be happy after you have money. If you are miserable broke, than you are going to be miserable rich. Money doesn't change that. If you think it makes you happy, why is that? Oh sure money can eliminate some worries, it can make life more comfortable, and it may eliminate stress, but it may make other things more stressful."
>
> (http://community.babycenter.com/post/a18258915/whats_so_wrong_about_being_materialistic?cpg=11&csi=2080789937&pd=−1)

This person criticizes materialism for promoting extrinsic matters (i.e., money) as the source of happiness. She also mentions the common idea that "money, and therefore things, cannot buy happiness," arguing that possessions and money are external to the individual; thus, if a person is intrinsically unhappy, focusing on external solutions are unlikely to improve his/her situation. This quote supports the various literature associating materialism with reduced CWB.

The next quote says that people expect "shiny new things" (extrinsic sources) to fill their "void," but such possessions do not. This quote also highlights the insatiable nature of materialistic desire.

> "I suspect that most are buying shiny new things either with the expectation that it will somehow fill some void that they perceive exists within them, or to impress others, which is really just another way to fill the void. Unfortunately, when the novelty of that shiny, new thing wears off, it becomes simply a dull, old thing. A shiny newer thing is now required.
> None of these actually fill the void, but merely distract the person from its existence."
> (http://boards.straightdope.com/sdmb/showthread.php?t=199301)

This quote suggests that when people want and buy materialistic possessions, they expect that it will fill the "void" and make them happier. This supports our framework by showing that materialistic individuals try to achieve happiness through extrinsic sources, like materialistic consumption.

In contrast, the following quote illustrates "A Minimalist's Train of Thought," explaining how caring less about "stuff" makes you happier and freer.

> "If you care less about stuff, it means you'll care less about image
> If you care less about image, you will care more about experiences and memories
> If you care more about experiences and memories, you will be happier with less
> If you are happier with less, you'll never want or need for more
> The less you want or need for more, the more you will feel free."
> (http://www.everydayminimalist.com/?p=3121)

This quote is from a blog called "Everyday Minimalist." As the name suggests, this blog is about living a minimalistic life, which shares many similarities with anti-consumption values. This quote is part of "A Minimalist's Train of Thought," which explains how a thought leads to another thought which ultimately demonstrates the mechanism of the minimalistic thinking. The quote says if you care less about extrinsic things such as "stuff" or "image," you will care more about intrinsic things such as "experiences and memories" that will ultimately make you happy, which supports our framework.

Overall, the theoretically sampled sources have provided preliminary support for our propositions. The extant literature and our data support P1, that materialistic values have a negative relationship with CWB. The text units gathered also provide evidence for P2, that materialistic and anti-consumption values are divergent on four key constructs (Control over Consumption; Scope of Concerns; Material Desire, and Source of Happiness). Finally, given P1 and P2 are supported, P3, that anti-consumption values have a positive relationship with CWB, also seems indicatively plausible given the qualitative data presented.

CONTRIBUTION AND IMPLICATIONS

The current anti-consumption literature lacks research on the consequences of anti-consumption, in particular about the impact of anti-consumption on individual consumers. This research contributes to the literature by exploring how anti-consumption values may be specifically related to CWB. This adds insights to the relatively new field of research, and enhances an overall understanding of anti-consumption. Moreover, we contribute to the CWB literature by suggesting a positive relationship between anti-consumption and CWB.

In terms of practical implications, as public and governmental attention turns toward subjective measures of CWB, more people may be interested in behavior that improves their well-being. Such goals may result in increasing numbers of people turning away from traditional material-driven consumption patterns toward more anti-consumption-based lifestyles, which we propose are highly compatible with CWB. For instance, spending money on experience (i.e., travel overseas), rather than material possessions (Carter and Gilovich 2010, 2012; Tatzel 2002). These people are likely to agree with anti-consumption values more so than materialistic values. Previously, anti-consumption phenomena were perceived as a challenge for marketers and managers due to their emphasis on rejecting consumption. However, the notion of experiential spending may have implications for marketing managers in terms of targeting individuals with anti-consumption values, especially if such a shift in society develops.

In terms of public policy, the positive relationship between anti-consumption values and CWB may be utilized to encourage pro-environmental behavior. Unlike the prevalent belief that there exists a conflict between sustainable consumption and personal satisfaction, our research argues that environmentally responsible and macro-oriented anti-consumption behaviors can also be positively associated with

happiness. Therefore, rather than focusing on negative reasons, such as promoting sustainability through fear of climate change, public policymakers could encourage environmentally friendly consumption by highlighting the positive effects of anti-consumption values on CWB, effects such as increased autonomy and intrinsic happiness.

LIMITATIONS, FUTURE RESEARCH, AND CONCLUSION

While this paper makes a novel contribution by proposing, for the first time, the relationship between materialism, anti-consumption, and CWB, we only assumed one direction of influence: from materialism and anti-consumption toward CWB. However, similar to most work on materialism, one question is whether lower (higher) CWB influences people to develop materialistic (anti-consumption) values in the first place, rather than their level of CWB being driven by these values. To remain within the scope of this paper, we did not address this issue of causality, which future research could consider.

The exploratory nature of the present research is another limitation. We collected online data that were publicly available; however, we did not conduct empirical research. In addition to testing our proposed relationships (perhaps with survey data or an experiment), future empirical research may also attempt to interview the bloggers and comment posters directly.

To conclude, we began by discussing why materialism is negatively associated with CWB. We then expanded this discussion to include the concept of anti-consumption. Anti-consumption, or the phenomena against consumption, provides a stark contrast to materialism. Thus, we proposed that if materialism has a negative relationship with CWB, then anti-consumption may have a positive relationship with CWB. A propositional framework was developed, and, using qualitative data collected from online blogs, forums, and websites, we provided preliminary support for our ideas, suggesting that future research would be worthwhile. Our brief discussion of the difference between anti-consumption and non/anti-materialism further contributes to the area by: (1) positioning anti-consumption as a more appropriate contrast to materialism, one that is positively associated with CWB and (2), highlighting that non/anti-materialism, which is the concrete opposite of materialism is not only impossible, but negatively associated with CWB. Overall, despite being exploratory, this research contributes to the special issue and domain by elucidating the relationship among anti-consumption, materialism, and CWB.

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