#### INTRODUCTION

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Consume Less and Be Happy? Consume Less to Be Happy! An Introduction to the Special Issue on Anti-Consumption and Consumer Well-Being\*

In the last two decades of the new millennium, we have seen consumer well-being affected in two vastly opposing ways. On one hand, we see an ever-increasing conglomeration of corporations, leading to larger, more ubiquitous, and hegemonic companies—often resulting in a reduction of consumer well-being. On the other hand, with the advent of Web 2.0, ever-improving mobile technology, the increasing use and proliferation of social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest, and numerous consumer advocacy and review websites, we see an augmentation of consumers' abilities to fight back, and in many cases, increase their well-being. These two diametrically opposing developments (larger and more powerful companies versus increasingly empowered and connected consumers) are in a constant battle, and consumer well-being is the issue at the core.

#### BACKGROUND

In this special issue of the *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, we suggest anti-consumption as one lens by which scholars, practitioners, and policymakers can look at these current and ongoing events. Anti-consumption centers on the reasons against consumption (Chatzidakis and Lee 2012; Lee et al. 2011); relevant topics include, but are not limited to: boycotting,

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\*Invited editorial.

The Journal of Consumer Affairs, Spring 2016: 3-17

DOI: 10.1111/joca.12104

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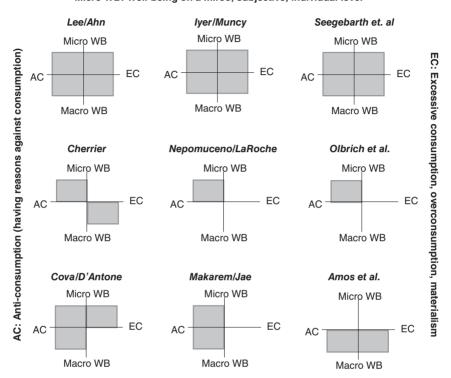
consumer resistance, activism, culture jamming, dissatisfaction, complaining behavior, undesired self, organizational disidentification, voluntary simplification, and brand avoidance. When consumer well-being is negatively impacted by markets, corporations, or brands, anti-consumption may occur as one consequence. Likewise, when instances of anti-consumption occur, researchers should look at the possible causes from the consumers' points of view.

To provide a forum for researchers to discuss the relationship between consumer well-being and anti-consumption, the 5th ICAR (International Centre of Anti-Consumption Research) Symposium was hosted by the University of Kiel, Germany, on July 4–5, 2014 with the theme of "anti-consumption and consumer well-being." A number of the papers in this special issue were first presented and discussed at this lively and stimulating meeting. It is heartening to see that they were improved by the subsequent double-blind review process and are now published in the *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, the premier journal devoted to peer-reviewed, multidisciplinary research on the interests of consumers in the marketplace.

## A CATEGORIZING FRAMEWORK

The papers included in this special issue cover a wide spectrum of specific research questions centered on the relationship between anti-consumption and consumer well-being. It is apparent that there are several dominant perspectives. While some papers put a special focus on one or many forms of anti-consumption, other papers contrast anti-consumption practices with aspects of excessive consumption, overconsumption, and materialism. With regard to well-being, the second major concept in this special issue, some papers focus on well-being on a micro level (including happiness, life satisfaction, and subjective and objective well-being), others focus on well-being on a macro level (including societal, environmental, and political issues), and others yet focus on both. Therefore, we categorize the papers in this issue according to (anti- vs. over)consumption and (micro vs. macro) well-being (Figure 1). For example, Cherrier's article contrasts the micromotivations of nudists against the macroexcessive consumption of fashion by mainstream society, while Amos et al.'s paper contrasts the macrolevel anti-consumption of environmentalists with the macrolevel motivations for anti-environmentalism. In contrast, Cova and D'Antone's paper explores the tensions that occur when consumers love a brand at the micro level, but due to macrolevel anti-consumption of the same

FIGURE 1 A Framework Categorizing the Scope of the Papers in This Special Issue



Micro WB: Well-being on a mirco, subjective, individual level

Macro WB: Well-being on a marco, societal, environmental level

environmentally damaging brand, they begin to hate that brand from their own microperspective.

As will become apparent when reading this special issue, there is a multitude of ways in which anti-consumption and well-being can be combined and interrelated. A naïve and materialistically oriented idea about the direction of the relationship between anti-consumption and well-being could be that lower levels of consumption foster well-being on the macro level (e.g., environmental protection due to resource reduction) but simultaneously reduces well-being on a micro level owing to restriction of symbolic and functional consumption benefits. However, as this special issue demonstrates, the relationship is far more complex and colorful and it is a worthwhile endeavor to explore many perspectives. For example, the leading paper by Lee and Ahn provides a conceptual framework to understand why reducing one's level of consumption may actually

increase subjective well-being on the micro level. And the quantitative empirical papers by Iyer and Muncy and Seegebarth et al. at least partly confirm this claim. Browsing through this special issue discloses many facets of how our levels of consumption and our personal and societal well-being are interwoven. In sum, the results of such papers are quite promising in that some humans may be happy with less consumption. Our papers also provide various implications for policymakers, for example, sustainability-motivated consumption reduction. In the following, we briefly describe the scope of each paper.

# THE PAPERS

Lee and Ahn (2016) start their paper "Anti-Consumption, Materialism, and Consumer Well-Being" with the observation that, according to extant research, excessive consumption negatively affects consumer well-being. It is therefore interesting and almost ironic to see that consumers in developed countries often still consider the striving for material goods as the primary source of happiness. Lee and Ahn consequently ask whether anti-consumption is the better option to find happiness and satisfaction in life. Hence, this opening article explicitly poses the questions that implicitly or explicitly guide all papers in this special volume: Can we be happy although we reduce consumption? Or do we even have to consume less to be happy? Lee and Ahn conceptualize anti-consumption and materialism as antitheses and they build on this distinction to highlight the respective values. As a result, they come up with a new framework comprising the following four aspects. First, materialistic consumers suffer from a lack of control and autonomy in consumption. By contrast, anti-consumption involves a high level of control. Anti-consumers are, for instance, less vulnerable to attempts of persuasion by mass media. The greater level of control fosters self-determination and self-actualization and thus leads to a higher level of consumer well-being. Second, Lee and Ahn argue that materialistic individuals and anti-consumers differ in the scope of their concerns. Materialistic consumers focus on fulfilling personal goals on a micro level, such as having the most expensive car, while consumers engaging in anti-consumption often emphasize macrolevel objectives, such as ethical, social, or environmental issues. Doing or being good in turn is a source of well-being. Third, the authors consider the role of material desire arguing that materialism cannot feasibly help humans reach an enduring state of life satisfaction due to the process of hedonic adaption. Anti-consumption (in particular in terms of voluntary simplification) reduces the level of materialistic aspiration and individuals consequently feel relieved; fatigue and stress are thus reduced. Finally, Lee and Ahn argue that the source of happiness differs across materialistic individuals and anti-consumers. Materialistic consumers focus on extrinsic goals (such as income, reputation), while anti-consumers pursue intrinsic goals. The latter are more directly related to sustainable satisfaction and happiness. Lee and Ahn develop their framework on the basis of prior literature and content analysis of online blogs, forums, and Web sites. It is interesting to see that the quantitative papers in this special issue also tackle and confirm some of the aspects of the framework. This is especially true for the paper of Iyer and Muncy.

Does the way individuals feel and think about consumption affect their subjective well-being? This is the basic question considered by Iyer and Muncy (2016) in their paper entitled "Attitude toward Consumption and Subjective Well-Being." There are already ample studies analyzing the relationship between actual consumption, materialism, or income with well-being (e.g., Easterlin 1995; Tatzel 2014). These studies show for example that money can buy happiness only up to a certain point and that consumer materialism tendency is associated with lower levels of subjective well-being (Burroughs and Rindfleisch 2002; Kahneman and Deaton 2010). However, less is known about the effect of consumption attitudes on well-being. Iyer and Muncy demonstrate that the influence of attitudes on well-being is more complex than one would initially think. This is due to the fact that attitudes as well as well-being are multidimensional constructs. The authors develop a well-structured set of criteria that have to be considered when we want to answer the question. They introduce two dimensions of well-being, namely societal/personal and cognitive/affective. Building on Sirgy and Lee (2006), they argue that well-being could be considered on a societal (macro) level and on a personal (micro) level. Cognitive well-being refers to the question whether consumers think that they are well and fine—a consideration which is often operationalized as life satisfaction. Affective well-being measures whether consumers feel well, which is associated with happiness. Iyer and Muncy argue that our cognitions often tell us, for example, that we need more money to be satisfied. Yet this is often not reflected in the affective dimension of well-being. Iyer and Muncy also introduce different dimensions of consumption. They distinguish positive and negative attitudes toward consumption. Positive attitudes toward consumption include consumer materialism, for example, while negative attitudes toward consumption are different facets of anti-consumption. Iyer and Muncy stress that consumers are often very critical toward consumption from a macro perspective, for example, due to environmental concerns. Yet, the same consumers might have positive attitudes toward consumption on the micro level, meaning they like shopping, owning, and using things. For that reason, the authors distinguish the four categories micro pro-consumption, micro anti-consumption, macro pro-consumption, and macro anti-consumption. The empirical study, based on an online survey with 871 respondents of diverse age groups, demonstrates that micro pro-consumption and micro anti-consumption attitude levels affect subjective well-being. Remarkably, the sign of the relationship is identical in both cases, in such a way that both support well-being. Iyer and Muncy argue that if people develop strong attitudes toward consumption, they are more happy and satisfied. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that the anti-consumption attitudes have a stronger (positive) effect on well-being than the pro-consumption attitudes. By contrast, attitudes on the macro level have an inverse effect on subjective well-being. Iyer and Muncy argue that control is the relevant variable to explain this unexpected finding. While micro attitudes increase autonomy and control, macro attitudes make individuals doubt their level of control. The study provides interesting implications for policymakers: If they wish to change societal-level consumption, they should not directly focus on that aspect. By contrast, they should stress the positive personal effects on the micro level.

One important motivation for engaging in anti-consumption practices is the wish to consume more sustainably. This motivation is particularly interesting as consciousness of environmental pollution and climate change has been rising in the populations of most industrialized countries and calls for consumption reduction are often heard. Still, in most consumers' everyday lives, such ecological concerns are not translated into consumption reduction. The marketing discipline has already discussed the link between sustainability and anti-consumption, for example, in the paper by Black (2010), Black and Cherrier (2010), or Cherrier, Black, and Lee (2011). However, so far, no quantitative empirical study has comprehensively analyzed the relationship of the two concepts. To fill this void, the paper "The Sustainability Roots of Anti-Consumption Lifestyles and Initial Insights Regarding Their Effects on Consumers' Well-Being" by Seegebarth et al. (2016) introduces the new concept of "sustainability roots of anti-consumption lifestyles" (SRAC). This concept comprises different anti-consumption practices, including voluntary simplicity, collaborative consumption, and participation in consumer boycotts. The authors consider how the consumer's desire to consume more sustainably motivates these practices. Seegebarth and colleagues therefore build on a concept of consciousness for sustainable consumption (CSC), which the same team of authors introduced to the literature (Balderjahn et al. 2013). Interestingly, the authors also analyze how SRAC relates to overconsumption, which in turn is measured as product possession, impulsive buying and spending, as well as indebtedness. The empirical study builds on a series of three studies with the first study confirming the measurement models. The second study, which is based on a representative sample of almost 2,000 consumers, then widely affirms the suggested negative relationships between aspects of SRAC and consumer overconsumption dispositions. Overconsumption is a practice with adverse effects on the environment (Sheth, Sethia, and Srinivas 2011). Finally, the third study tests how different aspects of SRAC are related to consumer well-being. As expected, collaborative consumption contributes to well-being. Yet, no relationship was found for voluntary simplicity and boycotting. The relationships between overconsumption and well-being are quite surprising. Although indebtedness is negatively related to well-being, there are positive influences of product possession and impulsive buying and spending on well-being.

In the paper "Material Presence and the Detox Delusion: Insights from Social Nudism," Cherrier (2016) utilizes narratives of social nudism to elucidate the mythic construction of the clothed body. In doing so, she challenges us to consider social nudism as one of the most radical forms of anti-consumption, since the consumption of clothing is so ubiquitous, it has become a routinized, habitual, and taken-for-granted component of human civilization. Yet Cherrier's paper showcases the reflexive benefits of absolute clothing anti-consumption. Through telephone interviews, several interesting themes emerge showcasing how social nudists reject notions of the clothed-body myth. First, in "prescribed beauty ideals" nudists describe how their anti-consumption of clothing rejects conventional media-perpetuated ideals of beauty. In "just look and know," nudists explain how society's consumption of clothing has led to individuals prejudging others based on clothing cues. In Cherrier's third theme, "public gaze," nudists compare their experiences of being clothed and unclothed in public. They argue, paradoxically, that being naked under the public gaze actually increases the sense of privacy while reducing feelings of scrutiny and discrimination. They further contend that it is in fact the clothed body that is more objectified and dehumanized owing to the mystery beneath the garment. The fourth theme, "material performance," showcases the social nudist's fraught relationship with clothing. Unlike mainstream clothing consumption where clothing is used to construct one's self-identity, for nudists, clothing is seen as an imposition of societal demands. They believe that clothing does not help reveal their identity in any way and, in fact, conceals or "mutes" who they really are to the world. Since the unclothed body is less able to signal anything, the anti-consumption of clothes empowers nudists to express their true selves in any social interaction. Finally, the theme "modernity" runs true with other work on voluntary simplification (Zavestoski 2002). Here, participants see clothing as symbolic of modernity, with all its artificial and repressive trappings; they hold in contrast, the unclothed body as a romanticized ideal of humans in their most natural state. Overall, although nudism and the "shelving" of the clothed-body myth may well be linked to physical and psychological well-being, this phenomenon (along with other forms of material absence) will most likely remain a marginalized and stigmatized counter cultural movement, primarily due to the overwhelming pervasiveness of our material culture and, in this specific paper, the omnipresent and inescapable myth of the clothed body.

While the preceding papers give us a glimpse into the link between well-being and anti-consumption values, under fairly stable circumstances, the next paper investigates anti-consumption values under slightly more stressful circumstances, namely, when one is reminded of one's mortality. Different people hold different worldviews and differing degrees of commitment to their values—one question that is interesting to ask is, what happens to our worldviews in extreme circumstances? Such as those that call into question our very lives? On one hand, people with materialistic worldviews will consume more when faced with their mortality, so what happens when people with anti-consumption values are faced with similar notions of their own mortality? In "Do I Fear Death? The Effects of Mortality Salience on Anti-Consumption Lifestyles," Nepomuceno and LaRoche (2016) attempt to answer such a question. Participants first answer items in a questionnaire that determine whether they are high in anti-consumption value or low (the authors use voluntary simplification and frugality as established proxies for anti-consumption values). They then ask participants to either think of their death, or (in the control) think of something uncomfortable/painful yet non-life threatening, such as a visit to the dentist. The authors then conduct analyses seeking associations between the anti-consumption values of participants and their propensity to resist consumption, in the face of mortality salience. Overall, they find that the propensity to resist consumption remains unaffected in participants whom identify highly with anti-consumption values, whether such individuals are faced with their mortality, or a trip to the dentist. Interestingly, individuals who do not identify very strongly with anti-consumption values experience a reduced propensity to resist consumption (and hence, are likely to consume more) when faced with their impending mortality, reinforcing previous work on materialistic values and mortality salience.

The paper "Quantifying Anti-Consumption of Private Labels and National Brands: Impacts of Poor Test Ratings on Consumer Purchases" by Olbrich, Jansen, and Teller (2016) explores whether anti-consumption behavior arises in the aftermath of poor test ratings. By doing so, the authors focus on a specific aspect of anti-consumption, which could be termed as antiloyalty in Iyer and Muncy's (2009) vocabulary. Different to the other papers in this volume, the authors also take the perspective of retailers and question how they might react to avoid the impacts of poor test ratings. The authors expect that poor test ratings are more relevant for national brands than for private labels as the latter are generally considered as being of lower quality. Additionally, private labels are less salient than national brands and consumers might be less likely to remember prior decisions to avoid the label. Hence, they expect that in a long-term perspective, effects on the market share of private labels are less pronounced than that on national brands. The paper is quite unique within the anti-consumption literature as it takes a different perspective in many respects. In the extant, anti-consumption literature most empirical papers are based either on qualitative approaches (Hoffmann 2011; Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman 2009b; Lee, Motion, and Conroy 2009a), quantitative survey data (Hoffmann and Müller 2009), or experimental studies (Yuksel and Mryteza 2009). As such, they rather focus on reasons, beliefs, and attitudes underlying anti-consumption or at self-reported behavior. By contrast, Olbrich, Jansen, and Teller consider real market data and thus they are able to quantify effects on a large scale. The paper uses secondary panel data gathered by a market research agency that was collected in a 6-year period with more than 5,000,000 data points of 30,000 households. Olbrich and his colleagues show that the publication of poor test ratings leads to decreases in the market share of national brands as well as private labels. However, as expected, the negative effect is less strong for private labels in comparison to national brands. Additionally, the results show that price promotions for national brands decrease and the average prices increase when faced with poor test ratings.

Continuing our focus on the anti-consumption of brands, in the paper "Brand Iconicity vs. Anti-Consumption Well-Being Concerns: The Nutella Palm Oil Conflict," Cova and D'Antone (2016) look at how brand lovers deal with anti-consumption activities that may surround their favorite brands. Utilizing an observational netnographic approach across three years of online data, including multiple newspaper articles, blogs, forums, discussion groups, and social networking sites, the authors explore consumer narratives about the moral conflict encircling Nutella. Specifically, they were interested in the tension brought about by

anti-consumption movements targeted at the iconic brand's use of palm oil. Analyzing the online discourses from people who are pro-Nutella and/or anti-palm oil, the authors discover the ambivalence that occurs simultaneously within the marketplace. In attempting to accommodate the obvious criticisms of palm oil and its negative effects on environmental, employee, and consumer well-being, Nutella lovers find three ways of dealing with the anti-consumption information that surrounds their favorite brands. One path is Neutralization, where consumers defend the brand in order to maintain the status quo and reinforce their brand devotion. They accomplish this by appealing to their sense of higher loyalty and bluntly siding with their brand, denying the damages, and/or condemning the condemners. The second more fraught approach is Interiorization, which results in consumers feeling the tension between changing the brand and changing themselves. The authors show, in this second case, how Nutella lovers backtrack between initial attempts to avoid the brand or reframe their tastes, and their inevitable return to Nutella due to their love of the brand, thus ultimately reinforcing the unique and irreplaceable relationship they have with the brand. Consequently, such consumers lobby the company to help resolve their inner tension by asking them to make the brand healthier and palm-oil free. The final and most critical approach to dealing with negative information about their favorite brand is Adhesion to the anti-consumption ideology. Here, consumers shamefully confess to the sins of using the deleterious brand, boycott Nutella, and in some cases produce and disseminate the value of alternative products, thereby putting the brand at risk.

Consumers usually engage in boycotting behavior for ethical, social, economic, or political reasons when they believe that a company's actions are opposing individual and societal well-being. Boycotts are often considered as a powerful tactic that consumers can apply to respond to practices of companies deemed immoral or unjustified (Friedman 1999; Hoffmann 2011; Klein, Craig Smith, and John 2004; Sen, Gurhan-Canli, and Morwitz 2001). Hence, boycotts are a form of anti-consumption with a strong tendency to consumer resistance (Hoffmann 2011). From the consumer behavior perspective, it is particularly interesting to analyze the motives for joining boycotts. Extant literature has widely explored these motives (Braunsberger and Buckler 2011). Yet studies are restricted to specific boycott cases. It is the contribution of Makarem and Jae's (2016) paper "Consumer Boycott Behavior: An Exploratory Analysis of Twitter Feeds" to explore motives, causes, and targets across different boycotts and product categories. The paper interestingly takes into account how boycott movements develop and diffuse in the age of social media. Although previous research applied netnographic techniques (Braunsberger and Buckler 2011; Hoffmann 2011; Kozinets and Handelman 1998), Twitter has been neglected. The authors content-analyze 1,422 tweets. The study reveals that human rights issues are the most frequent cause of boycotts. Yet there are also very often boycotts due to business strategy decisions and corporate failures. Boycott calls primarily focus on for-profit providers of products and services. The boycott literature (Friedman 1999) typically distinguishes between instrumental boycotts, which aim to urge the target to a different behavior, and noninstrumental boycotts. In the same vein, consumer motivation can differ. Makarem and Jae demonstrate that, via Twitter, consumers predominantly stress instrumental motives. Additionally, the scope of the paper is wider than previous content analyses as it also applies human sentiment analysis to qualify the postings emotionally, revealing that expressions of noninstrumental motives are usually accompanied by higher emotional intensity.

Staving with online data as a rich source of information about anti-consumption, the final paper, "Rhetorical Analysis of Resistance to Environmentalism as Enactment of Morality Play between Social and Ecological Well-Being," by Amos, Spears, and Pentina (2016) focuses on an interesting phenomenon, the resisting of resistance. While much previous work in the area looks at the role of environmentalism as a catalyst in consumer resistance and anti-consumption, Clinton and coauthors focus on those whom are resisting environmentalism. Conducting a rhetorical analysis of YouTube videos from the Resisting the Green Dragon (RGD) movement, a religiously themed anti-environmentalism group, the authors discover five rhetorical themes used to persuade others into anti-environmentalism. The first theme centers on the "twisted worldview of environmentalists" where the RGD movement touts environmentalists' opinions as being un-American and anti-Christian. The second rhetorical theme claims that the science behind environmentalism is faulty and an "attack on truth," facilitated by left wing media. The third theme illustrates how the RGD movement demonizes environmentalists through language and use of auditory and visual cues, claiming that they are "morally bankrupt," valuing the earth over human life, preying on the fears of innocent children, and disregarding the plight of the impoverished. In contrast, the RGD movement positions themselves, in the fourth theme, as "moral protagonists" resisting environmentalism in the name of American values, and as defenders of the poor. In the final theme, emerging from rhetorical analysis of RGD videos, the movement argues that proper action should focus on "social well-being rather than ecological well-being." While it may be tempting to dismiss the opinions of the RGD movement as the voice of extremists, the authors demonstrate that we may yet learn from their rhetoric. The environmentalist agenda does appear to ignore the plight of the impoverished in many ways, after all, environmentally friendly products do often command a price premium, and lifestyles such as voluntary simplification are only practiced by those who have already experienced material success. The authors remind us that increased consumption can often help to improve human and social well-being to a certain extent, and suggest that perhaps the rhetoric of the RGM movement can explain why self-identified Christians beyond the RGD movement are more likely to report lower levels of environmental empathy. Finally, the authors propose that environmentalists preaching anti-consumption and people sharing similar perspectives to the RGD movement may find common ground if the emphasis is focused on health rather than reduced consumption, since health is an outcome that can only be maximized through enhancing both social and ecological well-being.

## CONCLUSION

The aim of this special issue is to extend our knowledge of anti-consumption and to answer the question of whether reducing one's own level of consumption and rejecting some brands/products fosters or hinders well-being. Understanding the many issues impacting on consumer affairs, whether on a micro (individual) or on a macro (societal or even global) level, requires in-depth knowledge about processes of, and overlaps between, anti-consumption and consumer well-being. Policymakers who want to promote sustainable development, for example, are keen to learn how to translate the goal of sufficiency to individual consumption lifestyles without creating mind-behavior gaps, consumer rationalizations, or rebound effects. Marrying the fields of anti-consumption and well-being is also needed in the fields of health, consumer empowerment. self-fulfillment, reduction of debt, and many other aspects. Therefore, we call for further future research that fruitfully combines anti-consumption and consumer well-being, beyond the contexts of sustainability and brand activism.

Reflecting on all the insightful presentations at the ICAR 2014 in Kiel and, in particular, the nine papers in this special issue, strengthens our belief that the overlap of anti-consumption and consumer well-being is a highly promising field of research. Yet there are no simple answers as to how these two aspects are related. The interplay between anti-consumption and consumer well-being is as complex as the two multidimensional concepts themselves. The concept of anti-consumption covers a wide range of

practices and lifestyles, and the reasons why consumers engage in these consumption patterns are even more diverse. To help manage such complexity, we attempt to categorize the phenomena covered in the special issue by proposing a two-dimensional model of anti-consumption and consumer well-being (Figure 1). We also call for studies that consider and compare different qualities of consumption habits and lifestyles located between the extreme poles of anti-consumption and excessive consumption. When researchers ask how these different lifestyles affect well-being, they should bear in mind that well-being can be conceptualized at a micro and at a macro level. Likewise, as this special issue highlights, effects of anti-consumption lifestyle may also differ on the micro level and the macro level, depending on the form of anti-consumption. For instance, voluntary simplification may increase personal well-being, but it may have only marginal effects on societal well-being. Consumer boycotts, by contrast, may elicit more immediate effects on well-being at the macro level, but they place a burden on the individual. Therefore, future research may, ideally, help to further develop an overarching theory of the bidirectional relationships between (anti-)consumption and different forms of well-being.

Even though the nine papers in this special issue cover impressive territory, there remains more work to be done. Realistically, the present papers are but a starting point of practical implications for policymakers, companies, and consumers; thus, we are hopeful that this special issue will inspire future research to explore the important nexus between anti-consumption and consumer well-being.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

All papers in this special issue went through a double-blind reviewing process with many steps and quality checks. Most papers were first submitted as ICAR symposium papers in November 2013. Authors received feedback to their initial submission and to their presentations at the ICAR symposium in Kiel in July 2014. Afterwards, full papers (including those not restricted to the ICAR symposium) were submitted to the *Journal of Consumer Affairs* special issue open call-for-papers, at which point the regular reviewing process started. This intensive feedback process (with up to five rounds) was only possible with the help of many knowledgeable experts and scholars who served as reviewers, for whom we are very grateful. For the complete list of reviewers for this issue, please see page 258. Finally, we thank this journal's Editor-in-Chief Sharon Tennyson and her editorial team for giving us the opportunity to put together this special

issue on anti-consumption and consumer well-being, and for their support during the process.

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