Sustainable Consumption in Finland—The Phenomenon, Consumer Profiles, and Future Scenarios

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Received: May 22, 2014Accepted: June 16, 2014Online Published: July 28, 2014doi:10.5539/ijms.v6n4p59URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.5539/ijms.v6n4p59

Abstract

This research introduces eight different types of sustainable consumers and their future scenarios. We profiled consumers from the angles of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and egoistic and altruistic motivation. We applied the Structure of Motivation for Sustainable Choices which is based on the Theory of Interpersonal Behaviour (Triandis, 1977). The qualitative data (n = 37) and quantitative data (n = 1023) were analyzed by mixed methods. The identified consumer profiles were the Uncompromising, the Autocrats, the Curious, the Ambitious, the Bystanders, the Devoted, the Caretakers, and the Dreamers. The quest for sustainable consumption was verified for all the consumer groups. The Devoted and the Uncompromising are consumers that are strongly aware of the consequences of their consumption. They represent altruistically and intrinsically motivated consumers. From the perspective of marketing and product conceptualizing, it is essential that quality, rather than price, counts for much in several of the consumer groups that are intrinsically motivated. Extrinsically motivated consumers (the Caretakers, the Dreamers and the Bystanders) account for 53.5% of Finnish consumers. They represent enormous potential for social change, as they can be influenced in many ways. The product or service that appeals many of the identified consumer groups is the one where both the egoistic and altruistic consequence of consumption coincides. For example, locally produced organic vegetables benefits the local community, food and nutrition promote public health, and consumer choice maintains biodiversity and helps establish global food security.

Keywords: sustainable consumption, responsible consumption, ethical consumption, sustainable development, sustainability, social change, marketing, market segmentation

1. Introduction

Our planet's population is increasing and consumption-oriented lifestyles are becoming the norm. We are moving further and faster away from sustainable development than ever before in human history (Ehrlich et al., 2012; Wiedman et al., 2013). The current ecological challenge is that we are oversteping planetary boundaries (Rockström et al. 2009) while the social challenge is that inequality is growing everywhere (The Royal Society 2012).

Goods and services are means to satisfy human needs and desires. Objective needs refer to universally valid elements of good life. Desires are subjective. They are not related to universal elements of good life. Therefore desires can be ethically questioned (Di Giulio et al., 2014, p. 51). In the Anthropocene, future is our hands more than ever before (Smythe, 2014). We need ecologically and socially responsible forms of consumption which can make future generations proud of us.

Fortunately, a transition to socially fairer production and consumption habits is indicated in the fact that in 2012 fair trade grew globally by 21% and in Finland by 48%. In Switzerland, the market share of fair trade bananas has been 55-60% in recent years (Pauschert, Russell, & Freund, 2013).

There are also signs of a change in ecological consumer behavior as the market in organic agricultural products grew in Finland by around 24% in 2012 (Pro Luomu, 2013). The growth in the cleantech sector, which focuses on energy and material efficiency, was approximately 30% in 2013 (Cleantech Industry in Finland, 2013). In 2006,

one in three Finnish households sorted cardboard packaging, but in 2012, 61% of households made efforts to ensure that carbon packaging could be recycled (Statistics of Finland, 2012).

The issues of ecological and social responsibility are thus commonplace for Finnish consumers (Nyrhinen &Wilska, 2012, p. 8). Just a few years ago, the more ethical forms of consumption could be interpreted as consumer activism (Bryant & Goodman, 2004). It is becoming ever clearer that as consumer awareness increases, companies incur financial loss if they act unethically in their quest for higher profits for their shareholders. But companies that operate on principles of sustainable development do not face this challenge (Esty & Winston, 2006; Kotchen & Moon, 2011; Malmelin, 2011).

Gregory Stone (1954) divides consumers into four categories: those motivated by (a) the price-quality ratio, (b) the special nature of the place where purchases are made, (c) how easy it is to make the purchase, and (d) the consequences of consumption. In this study we define sustainable consumption as being based on the fourth profile—being motivated by the consequences of consumption. Within that framework we establish consumer profiles that help us to understand the phenomenon of sustainable consumption in modern-day Finland. We calculate the sizes of the established consumer profiles among that population.We also look at how consumer profiles will change in future.

2. A Theoretical Framework for Sustainable Consumption

2.1 Awareness of Consequences in Consumer Behavior

Our point of view is associated with consequentialism. For example, the significance of organically produced food only becomes apparent when we are aware of how its ecological and social consequences differ from factory farmed food. Consumers cannot take account impacts of their choices if they are not aware of them.

In this article we go on the assumption that sustainable consumption, responsible consumption and ethical consumption are all synonymous. Sustainable consumption is "the use of goods and services that respond to basic needs and bring a better quality of life, while minimizing the use of natural resources, toxic materials and emissions of waste and pollutants over the life cycle, so as not to jeopardize the needs of future generations" (Norwegian Ministry of the Environment, 1994). Sustainable consumption includes an ecological and social dimension (Auger & Devinney, 2007, p. 362). An ecological sustainability relates to the maintenance of the prerequisites for life, such as the pollination of plants, natures' own water purification services, the decomposition of waste, the ozone layer that protects us from UV radiation, natural pest control and fertile soil. Other ecological factors are renewable and non-renewable natural resources as well as the welfare of the animals we use for food. For consumers, ecologically sustainable consumption means efficient energy and material choices – those with low emissions and which cause the least pollution possible. In practical terms this might mean a favor of eco-labelled products, or use of services instead of buying commodities (Salonen, 2013a).

Social awareness of consequences is based on human rights. Desent work involves a respect for the rights of the employees who make a product. It includes non-discrimination towards employees, allows freedom of association for them, and provides salaries that ensure an adequate standard of living. Social responsibility does not allow forced or child labor in production (Balderjahn, Peyer, & Paulssen, 2013, p. 548). The responsibility extends to the quality of the advertising and the transparency of the product manufacturing chain. Often consumers favor small local companies because there is uncertainty connected with long product manufacturing chains (Brenton, 2013, p. 494).

In the everyday actions of consumers the correlation between the ecological and the social dimension of responsibility is often weak. Consumers that favor ecologically produced products might totally ignore the social dimension of responsibility, and vice versa (Balderjahn, Peyer, & Paulssen, 2013, p. 551; Salonen, 2010, pp. 229–230). However, there are indications of the change in the way young people think and behave. In practical terms, this might be seen in the fact that a young people who take responsibility for their friend's well-being also take responsibility for the ecological reality around them, for example, by sorting waste (Uitto & Saloranta, 2012).

A holistic consideration of the consumption choices may be strong or weak. A consumer who is strongly aware of the consequences of consumption sustains and extends other people's opportunities for good life (Dobbelt, 2008, pp. 139–145; Kidder, 1995, pp. 18–25; Marshall & Toffel, 2005). The difference between strong and weak awareness of consequences of consumption is illustrated in Table 1.

Strong awareness of consequences	Weak awareness of consequences
long-term well-being the priority	short-term well-being the priority
well-being of the community	well-being of the individual
local products and services	global products and services
clean energy sources	dirty energy sources
services	commodities
non-toxicity	toxicity
recycling of materials	generation of waste
aiming for the truth and high moral standards; if necessary, going	compliance with local laws; the law is the yardstick for moral
beyond the requirements of the law	standards

Table 1. Strong and weak awareness of consequences of consumption in consumer thinking and behavior (Salonen, 2013a, p. 2051)

2.2 The Structure of Motivation for Sustainable Choices

In this research we assume that people strive to achieve a balance between their way of thinking and their behavior. We apply the Theory of Interpersonal Behaviour developed by Harry Triandis (1977). The theory gives more weight to the relevance of habits and facilitating conditions when explaining human behavior than do the popular Theory of Planned Behaviour by Icek Ajzen (1985) and the Theory of Reasoned Action by Fishbein and Icek Ajzen (1975) (Jackson, 2005, pp. 93–95). Triandis's theory is based on socio-psychological thinking (see Mead, 1934) and the theory of social identity (see Tajfel et al., 1971). In recent years Triandis' theory has been applied in the research of various aspects of behavior including sexual behavior (Boyd & Wandersman, 2006; Milhausen et al., 2006), using the internet for pleasure during workin hours (Cheung et al., 2008; Pee et al., 2008), the predictability of private motoring among students (Bamberg &Schmidt, 2003), the illegal use and copying of computer programs (Robinson, 2010), telemedicine adoption by physicians (Gagnon et al., 2003), and adopting of vegetarian diets (Salonen, 2013b).

According to Triandis (1977), behavior is connected with three main factors: *facilitating conditions, habits and behavioral intention*. The main idea of the Theory of Interpersonal Behavior is illustrated in Figure 1.

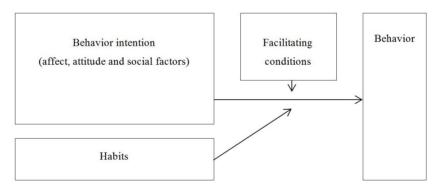


Figure 1. Theory of Interpersonal Behavior (Triandis, 1977)

Facilitating conditions are a major factor that guides behavior (Stern, 2008). Consumers often feel that they are unable to change their behavior, even though they would basically like to (Barnett, Cloke, Clarke, & Malpass, 2011, p. 200). Conditions change, as a result of the renewed policies, for example. The regulation can be implemented by taxation, financial support or the enactment of laws. The flip side of being guided by the government is transferring responsibility away from oneself to policymakers and companies that manufacture products. The thought might occur that what is not illegal is all right (Eckhardt et al., 2010; Salonen & Tast, 2013).

A stable environment establishes *habits*. Frequency of past behaviors gives rise to automated habits, which guide behavior even more than considered choices (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Rees, 2010; Stern, 2008). Habits can be so strong that the relationship between behavioral intention and actual behavior is weak (Dahlstrand & Biel, 1997; Triandis, 1977). When circumstances change, routines are interrupted and alternative choices are needed (Wood, et al., 2005).

Behavioral intention comprises affect, attitude and social factors. Affect is a key factor of behavioral intention (Stern, 2000). People might make a certain choice, for example, because they are escaping from a feeling of guilt (Frank, 1992, pp. 178–179). Once an emotional concern takes shape, however, a comprehensive analysis of the consequences of consumer choice readily narrows. Consumer behavior is channeled in the direction of choice resulting from the concern rather than an awareness of the wider consequences of consumption (Kantanen, 2002). Attitude helps people to categorize their reactions to something (Allardt, 1983; Allport, 1935). Attitude, which has an impact on behavioral intention, consists of an examination of the benefits and disadvantages associated with behavior. It also consists of beliefs which have formed regarding a certain type of behavior during one's lifetime. There is greater likelihood that behavior will change if people know that problems can be prevented by their action (Triandis, 1977; Weinreich, 1999, pp. 96–97). However, uncertainty of the consequences of new behavior makes the prospect of a change less probable (Hine & Gifford, 1996). Information is linked to the experience of the possibility of alternative consumer behavior. According to Uusitalo and Oksanen (2004, p. 220), the main barrier to ethical consumption is information that is difficult to obtain. Social factors of attitude include roles, self-concept and norms. Roles are sets of behaviors that it is assumed that someone will comply with, for example as a member of a certain group (Triandis, 1977, p. 8). Typically, a person will have several roles, such as mother, spouse or partner, expert and football coach. Roles also vary. A football coach is expected to behave differently from a midwife. Self-concept, meanwhile, determines how people feel in relation to the reality around them. Self-concept has an influence, for example, how great a behavioral risk that person can take (Katz-Navon & Erez, 2005). Norms are the expectations for behavior in society and relate to what sort of behavior is acceptable (Triandis, 1977). Personal norms for legitimate behavior regarded as normal are based on an interpersonal comparison (Ajzen, 1991; Heath & Gifford, 2002). Family, social networks and communities determine what is thought to be normal and appropriate. For example, social pressures might make us want to be loyal to a community, even though we think that the kind of behavior considered normal in this community is in some way dubious (Barnett et al., 2011; Olsson, 1965).

According to Amartyan Sen (1987) there are two main motivations for human agency: own well-being and commitments to others' well-being. Egoistically motivated choices focus on the immediate benefit to the one's own well-being. Instead altruistically motivated people think unselfishly and extend their moral circle. Their actions benefit other people or society as whole (Twenge et al. 2007; Id & Laaksonen, 2012; Jurin & Fortner, 2002, pp. 391–392; Uusitalo, 1986). Expansion of moral cycle may also be toward ecological responsibility, or planetary responsibility, which combines human and non-human reality around us (Salonen & Åhlberg, 2012). Thinking of oneself as part of a greater whole is an essential element in altruistic motivation. Altuistic behavior requires an ability to put oneself in the position of those whose everyday existence our actions affect (Doppelt, 2008, p. 209). It is based on the fostering of trust between people (Gert, 2004).

Human behavior is motivated by extrinsic and intrinsic values. Externally prompted consumer choices are linked to aiming financial success, image, and popularity or fulfilling the norms of society (Kasser, 2014; Moller, Ryan, & Deci, 2006; Griskevicius, Tybur, & van den Bergh, 2010). Instead when people are motivated intrinsically, they act autonomously and are guided by their inner attitudes and emotions (Triandis, 1977). Intrinsically motivated consumers experience freedom of choice and are relatively independent (Gutman & Mills, 1982). Their values involve the aims of self-acceptance, affiliation and community feeling (Kasser, 2014, p. 333).

In this study we link of the perspectives egoistically and altruistically motivated consumer choices (Id & Laaksonen, 2012, pp. 53–54; Twenge et al. 2007; Sen, 1987) to that of intrinsically and extrinsically motivated consumer choices (e.g., Moller, Ryan, & Deci, 2006, pp. 104–107; Kasser, 2014, pp. 331–335). The model showing how these consumer choices interrelate we call *A Structure of Motivation for Sustainable Choices*. The model is illustrated in Figure 2.

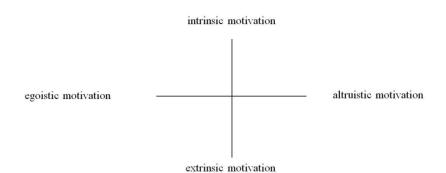


Figure 2. A Structure of Motivation for Sustainable Choices

We use the Structure of Motivation for Sustainable Choices established with reference to Triandis's theory as a tool to determine the consumer profiles. Next we report the sort of data we had and how we applied the qualitative and quantitative research methods.

3. Materials and Methods

We interviewed consumers between the ages of 17 and 77 and resident in 37 different areas of Finland. To aid the qualitative analysis, we gathered quantitative data representing the Finnish population (n = 1023). It was collected as an online survey using the Norstat Consumer Panel, where more than 30,000 Finns are represented. The respondents—between the ages of 18 and 73—were citizens resident in their own households. Of the total, 512 were women and 511 were men. Democraphic variables we used were age, gender and incomes. We also wanted to know respondents' place of residence and their involvement in activities for non-governmental or political organizations. The interviewees' backgrounds were diverse: they included an electrician, an artist, a consultant, a software engineer, a high school student, a chef, a gardener and a doctor.Both the qualitative and the quantitative data were collected in 2013.

The semi-structured theme interviews were conducted in the homes of the interviewees. The interviews were based on the awareness of consequences of consumption presented in Table 1. The themes were the type of consumer choices made and the reasons for them, awareness of the ecological and social challenges of consumer behavior, and the relevance of quality and quantity in consumption in the quest for sustainable consumer behavior.

There were two researchers present at each interview in order to increase reliability. The interviews included an element of observation, as we conducted them in such a way that one researcher facilitated the discussion and the other recorded its content as manifested in verbal interaction, facial expression and gesture. At the same time, we photographed commodities and food of the interviewee with his/her consent. Its purpose was to broaden the analysis so that it had a visual element as well as a textual one.

We analyzed the interviews and visual material using qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2002). We were conscious of the fact that our interpretation would inevitably be guided by a theoretical notion regarding the phenomenon of sustainable consumption. This notion obviously differs slightly with each researcher (Archer, 2003). We made every effort to avoid methodological innocence, so as not to be misled into interpreting our data separate from context and basic considerations. We bore in mind the fact that the background of the interviewees —in terms of the words they spoke, the stories they told and their sympathies—influenced how they perceived the world as much as their own experiences of the real world in which they lived (Saastamoinen, 2006, p. 166).

The qualitative content analysis adhered to the following format: (a) redusing of data (b) recompilation of data (c) interpretation and conclusions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). First we broke down the data into parts. Then we compiled a new set from the parts by grouping as one the same kind of statements and the visual material that indicated the quality and quantity of consumption in the same way. For the textual analysis we might use a word, a phrase of sentence, an idea or a group of ideas (Patton, 2002, pp. 4–5, pp. 17–18).

The recompilation of the data based on a classification. We established different consumer profiles associated with the responsibility of our informant's consumption. The classification formed an interpretation of the data (Huberman & Miles, 1998, p. 181). The relationship between the data and the interpretations was put to the test at a forum held jointly by the researchers during eight days. The differences and similarities between the consumer profiles were clarified (Flick, 2002, p. 4; Huberman & Miles, 1998, p. 202). At the same time we drew

up future scenarios for each consumer profile and predicted possible changes in direction between profiles. To give shape to the alternative futures we used an interpretation tool. The interpretation tool is based on the themes of responsible consumption presented in Table 1.

We used the quantitative data to test the consumer profile model we had established. Using the results of the qualitative content analysis, we drew up 71 variables, which 1023 respondents reacted to. The respondents chose what they thought were the variables that described their thinking and behavior best and worst. We wanted to estimate the sizes of the identified consumer segments in the Finnish population.

The first round of the the quantitative research data was analyzed using cluster analysis with the Maxdiff method (Best-Worst-Scaling) with 71 variables. We found that there were 12 variables that did not properly distinguish respondents. Either the respondents had not fully understood them or the variables were too similar. We cancelled the 12 variables. Therefore, the second segmentation was based on 59 statements. Respondents who answered in a relatively same way formed a certain consumer segment. The 59 variables, eight segments with the means from the grand mean as well as F-ratios are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Variables,	segments.	means	from the	grand mean.	and F-ratios

Variable	Segments and their means from the grand mean							F	
	Uncompromising	Dreamers	Caretakers	Devoted	Curious	Ambitious	Autocrats	Bystanders	
1. When choosing a product, the price of it is rarely the most important criteria of selection.	18.03	-15.16	5.35	6.24	-21.93	31.04	-1.71	-13.34	62.2
2. A more expensive product tells usually, that it is made from better raw material.	16.74	3.89	-4.91	-7.94	-15.01	23.92	2.6	-8.06	37.4
3. A more expensive product tells me about social responsibility in production.	5.15	-1.3	-3.09	1.55	-2.43	2.01	7.54	-6.8	9.4
4. Very high quality of the product is often a key factor to buy it.	27.07	-5.89	-7.21	4.42	-19.59	25.94	4.59	-17.44	80.1
 I avoid having the store's own brands. 	4.72	-4.15	3.41	1.21	-9.04	7.99	5.06	-6.1	21.3
 I try to avoid buying the conventional mass products 	3.33	-8.58	-1.49	7.26	-2.11	-3.08	13.51	-9.02	26.9
 As choosing products, it's important to me, how the product looks like. 	-6.88	36.55	-9.3	-22.6	-6.22	6.94	17.12	0.35	83.9
 It is easy for me to bargain my own comfort for the common good. 	-3.1	-22.07	12.5	18.61	9.02	-16.79	-15.36	2.15	80.0
 I am interested in many alternative ways of living and different cultures 	-5.69	-13.25	-12.69	20.91	16.18	-17.7	19.16	-10.99	64.2
 I figure out product's background and manufacturing chain and share my findings. 	5.97	-19.97	1.32	34.14	0	-12.61	4.44	-17.51	115.
11. I am worried about the current state of the world which also guides my choices as a consumer.	1.57	-30.83	5.84	36.85	19.88	-27.31	-1.04	-19.44	182.3
12. I make a lot of effort, so that I can be a more responsible concumer.	8.89	-23.09	6.22	34.8	0.36	-14.33	-2.22	-17.7	166.5
 Bargaining of my comfort in day-to-day life for environmental reasons does not mean giving up the good life. 	-2.12	-27.17	9.4	21.17	14.54	-18.85	-8.56	-3.97	121.4
14. For me releasing of the consumption means independence.	-9.17	-19.36	6.94	26.02	6.31	-17.97	1.39	-4.06	60.7

	For me it is easy to get others excited about the things	6.18	15.23	-14.44	-7.19	2.95	2.27	9.29	-5.95	35.3
16.	important to me. I would like to act in my neighborhood so that things will	1.91	-17.92	-2.97	26.82	3.2	-16	8.35	-9.64	52.1
17.	change to the right direction. Often my purchase decisions are based on habit.	-2.88	11.8	13.06	-19.01	-10.45	16.21	-24.01	16.95	100.4
18.	Usually I try to behavior so that it is easy for others to accept my decisions.	-4.85	10.34	8.32	-11.31	-8.21	-1.48	-1.94	9	17.1
19.	Recently I have started to worry about the ethics and environmental friendliness of consumption.	-2.47	-27.6	9.85	33.85	19.81	-30.72	-3.51	-15.3	161.7
20.	I often try to give preference to local products when I am shopping.	10.65	-28.75	16.78	27.65	1.77	-9.86	-8.01	-19.88	108.2
	Often a low-cost product is as good as the more expensive one.	-23.86	9.66	12.22	-9.97	15.8	-12.04	-18.47	18.44	89.2
	When I buy something to home, especially for children, I do not worry about the price of it.	12.58	-3.34	0.69	-6.68	-18.44	28.58	4.6	-7.6	60.1
23.	I don't want to make noice and present my own views publicly.	-6.76	1.04	17.6	-9.18	-9.74	13.02	-15.89	9.63	32.6
24.	I hardly influence to the world through my own choices.	-7.13	26.72	-2.21	-25.45	-18.96	22.08	0.17	17.44	100.6
25.	I have not spent a lot of time thinking about how my choices affect to the environment.	-11.29	31.05	-3.04	-26.4	-15.49	18.09	-2.51	21.35	167.3
	I eat a lot of food grown by own hands (vegetables, berries, self-catched fish)	1.58	-26.51	22.46	30.88	-8.82	-13.76	-0.08	-15.25	50.7
	Good citizens ensure a reusing of commodities by recycling those they do not need anymore.	-4.93	-21.76	8.71	15.59	15.42	-23.89	-11.93	4.89	135.6
	I prefer familiar products to unknown products.	-4.2	9.48	13.63	-15.61	-18.65	15.79	-15.92	17.69	68.8
	I often choose the cheapest alternative when I do my shopping.	-25.93	15.2	10.1	-23.81	16.88	-8.98	-10.98	21.17	98.6
30.	Convenience is a core principle in my day-to-day consumer behavior.	-3.99	9.49	11.5	-9.86	-3.44	9.89	-27.84	13.95	74.2
	I prefer cheap second-hand products to new products.	-15.14	-18.49	-5.8	16.35	29.06	-34.91	-6.54	14.65	89.6
32.	I try to live in such a way that I do not waste anything.	-1.66	-15.96	13.37	10.62	8.55	-7.13	-32.36	10.78	113.2
	I usually buy exactly what I want, and I do not easily allow others to guide my choices.	4.83	5.69	1.52	-17.18	-6.4	14.3	-7.95	7.97	40.3
34.	I think diversity is a kind of richness.	0.79	-7.12	-10.18	7.42	14.75	-11.33	2.13	-1.54	26.0
	There are many products we should borrow and share instead of buying them.	-5.72	-22.55	5.34	23.17	18.58	-30.63	-18.01	8.98	81.9
36.	When I am out shopping for basic items, I can't go to a lot of trouble or think about it too deeply.	-7.71	22.57	4.52	-37.94	-10.16	21.72	-6.7	20.85	103.8

37.	I often want to figure out if there is science-based evidence about responsibility of the	2.94	-16.29	2.95	29.9	-1.27	-10.29	0.46	-12.3	130.3
38.	product. Before my decision I often want to know experiences of other consumers regarding the	10.35	6.33	-4.66	-0.62	5.05	1.17	-14.29	-2.01	10.5
39.	product. Usually, I do not buy a new product until the older one is broken or worn out.	-0.1	-11.93	10.91	7.22	5.41	-7.86	-26.98	11.13	63.7
40.	Different activities or hobbies are really important to me and I want to know all about them.	8.02	2.26	-13.01	-1.31	-1.54	3.12	9.11	-2.58	11.2
41.	When I buy products that really interest me I often choose the top product, although it may be expensive.	31.22	7.05	-11.9	-10.34	-24.5	33.94	8.43	-15.72	101.4
42.	Things should always be made as efficiently as possible, so that we do not waste public funds.	-1.34	-16.19	8.89	11.67	3.34	-2.22	-13.12	1.29	30.9
43.	For me, organic or local food means a better quality of food.	8.74	-24.63	11.24	30.59	8.07	-16.19	-8.47	-19.32	75.7
44.	Personal choices do not make difference - more important is to have an influence on business, politics or organizations.	-1.23	7.36	-2.62	-9.27	-10.55	14.1	4.28	4.83	22.0
45.	The expert knowledge changes the world.	3.65	-3.5	-5.36	3.05	3.68	8.07	-6.75	-1.19	8.1
46.	For me it is important to succeed in life and achieve something long lasting to my life.	4.64	22.87	-12.87	-16.36	-4.21	10.11	14.87	-5.52	39.1
47.	For me, a receipt for success in life is become familiar with new phenomena and get to used to them.	1.99	5.29	-10.69	-0.99	3.14	7.16	7.43	-6.39	13.6
48.	I like to stand out from the others.	-2.91	10.91	-12.52	-7.01	-0.59	-2.29	29.45	-7.24	92.4
49.	I want real and genuine things, not mass products.	14.4	-14.73	-8.41	14.11	-1.18	1.57	11.15	-15.71	56.1
50.	Experiences are more important to me than responsible consumption choices.	-7.44	36.2	-13.93	-28.61	-11.5	15.16	14.35	12.08	190.3
51.	I appreciate trendiness and creativity and I want to show it in my everyday-life.	-1.33	15.62	-15.16	-9.19	4.45	-0.1	25.81	-10.03	65.2
52.	I am looking for authentic and unique experiences and commodities.	6.64	4.91	-17.96	-2.54	3.8	-0.01	27.34	-14.24	71.5
53.	I think it's fun to upset people, for example, by wearing strange clothes.	-4.57	5.92	-5.89	-5.38	-3.02	-3.28	21.02	-1.29	46.3
54.	I have too much stuff, so I try to reduce the volume of my consumption.	-9.13	-11.97	8.7	10.3	10.54	-15.12	-16.47	10.23	27.4
55.	Responsible consumption is difficult and expensive	-12.69	29.09	-4.79	-25.39	-7.92	8.43	7.99	15.05	96.9
56.	For me, it is important to follow fashion trends and to be good looking.	-3.68	14.82	-6.37	-7	-5.34	-2.75	24.09	-5.79	102.1

When we compared the results of the quantitative analysis with the segments of the qualitative content analysis in more detail, we found that there were three segments that needed to be clarified. The segments were the Autograts, the Uncompromising and the Curious. We analyzed the segments with the highest F-ratio one by one and formed sums of the variables for the next analysis. Then, we reduced these three segments using perceptual map method (BiPlot) and deviation analysis. After that we calculated sizes of the formed consumer profiles.

4. Results and Discussion

Our results were rich in details. As we already mentioned, we gave a descriptive name to each consumer profile we identified. The consumer profiles were: the Uncompromising, the Autocrats, the Curious, the Ambitious, the Bystanders, the Devoted, the Caretakersand the Dreamers. We report the results in the order of size of the consumer segments, from the smallest to the largest. We combine information from both qualitative and quantitative data. At the same time, we discuss the results by comparing them with previous studies and theoretical background. The consumer profiles identified are located in the Structure of Motivation for Sustainable Choices shown in Figure 3. The arrows indicate the directions in which the profiles might tend to move.

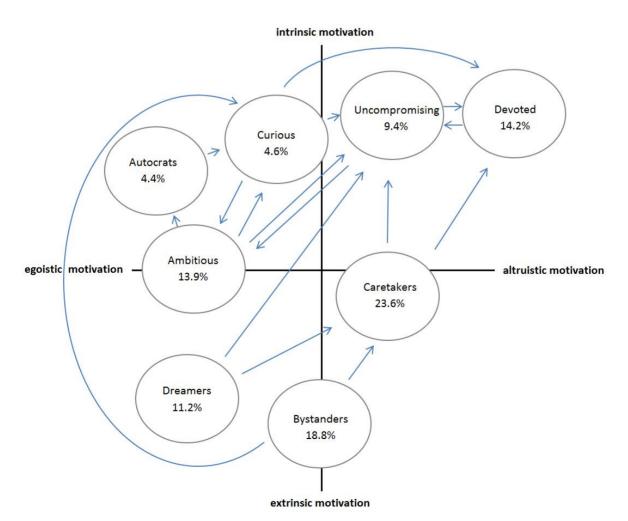


Figure 3. Consumer profiles, their sizes, and the transitional directions for profiles located on the Structure of Motivation for Sustainable Choices

4.1 The Autocrats

"Products branded as supposedly genuine annoy me. I go to Mc Donald's four times a week as a form of protest."

The *Autocrats* accounted for 4.4% of the respondents. Just over half of them were men (53%). A third were between the ages of 45 and 54. Most of them lived in their own home in western Finland (64%).

The Autocrats question virtually everything. The main issue for them is what they feel is genuine. They are loath to give up their views, although these might upset others. This suggests strong autonomy (Moller, Ryan &Deci 2006). Intrinsic motivation is also indicated in the fact that money does not restrict the choices made by the Autocrats, although the group barely included any high earners.

Although difference has intrinsic value for the Autocrats, their behavior is remarkably dependent on mainstream culture—they identify its features and call them into question with the choices they make. In the quantitative data they made much of the statement "I like to stand out from the others". If, for example, the average consumption of electricity for households in their area is made known, it is normal for those who consume more to try to use less and for those who consume less than average to try to increase their consumption (see Schultz et al.. 2007, p. 340). Not so with the Autocrats. Prevalent behavioral norms have the reverse effect on the behavior of the Autocrats.

The behavior of the Autocrats is relatively egoistic—they make only little effort to extend their ethical concerns beyond family members and friends who are physically close to them. This egoism is also evident in their attitude to nature, as in the quantitative data least attention of all was given to the statement "I try to live in such a way that I do not waste anything."

The Autocrats, despite being egoistically motivated, are aware that "responsible consumption is now the big deal". They assess the importance of responsible consumer behavior in society at a general level, but their personal attitudes to responsible consumption are only just being formed. Their behavior will change "when the time is right".

The Autocrats have a strained relationship with brands. On the one hand they readily read advertising messages and do not wish to be guided by advertisements. On the other hand, they are interested in stories and individual aesthetics. They are also interested in honest products with a non-commercial feel to them and the sort of responsible choices that are in the luxury category or help them stand out from the crowd. For example, ecotourism or the use of the services of craftsmen intrigue them.

Habits have little relevance in the behavior of the Autocrats. Instead, it is the opportunities to have an influence on their behavior as provided by their own close circle that are important. They like to behave in the way that it is expected of them among those close to them (see Triandis, 1977). Emotion is also an important factor in the way the Autocrats are motivated intrinsically. They admire ardor and passion, and therefore get excited, for example, about any venture where the proceeds go to charity. The main criteria in their consumer behavior patterns are avoidance of the conventional, standing out from the others, style, creativity, experience, adventure and enjoyment. The Autocrats influence consumer culture by thinking of and producing products or services. Their engagement as citizens is also worth noting, since 42% of the Autocratshad worked or were considering working for a political organization.

4.2 Future Scenario for the Autocrats

The life of an Autocrat is all about extremes, and this can result in sudden changes—a media designer might end up working as a barista. Their desire for change prevents them from sticking to one place or one lifestyle for long. What works against their susceptibility to change is a circle of friends on whom they are dependent. They are cosmopolitans and can live in a number of culturally very different places, as long as there are people around them who give them recognition and approval.

If they are motivated by more altruistic concerns in their everyday existence, the behavior of the Autocrats will move towards that of the Curious. It is possible for the Autocrats to lead a life that is wholly responsible in its consumption habits if they see responsible choices as being completely genuine. It is typical of them to feel that spirituality is the opposite of materialism. The greater the importance of spiritual matters in their life, the simpler their way of life becomes. The change in behavior may be dramatic if genuineness is combined with greater simplicity in their lifestyle and consumption habits.

The Autocrats are keen on anything new. They might, for example, design refurbished clothing or acquire original old objects and furniture for their homes to get away from mass culture. Their pioneering spirit might extend to 3D

printed clothing, as it can be completely tailor-made. They may be interested in sustainable choices, such as stylishly branded tap water, because for them it is something genuine. Their hedonism makes them fascinated by dishes that do not need washing or by energy-saving robot lighting, which follows the user's movements and casts light wherever his or her attention is focused. Their love of extremes might be channeled into cutlery that enhances the taste experience.

The Autocrats are trendsetters in what is an ever-strengthening culture of being in the limelight. The example set by the Autocrats can help us to see that consumption can be sustainable despite egoistic motives.

4.3 The Curious

"Did you know that pieces of plastic come off fleeces and get into water bodies, returning to us humans in fish?"

Of the respondents, 4.6% were consumers included in the profile we named the *Curious*. They were mainly men (81%). The Curious are critical, unyielding and ambitious where it concerns objects of interest to them. They require firm grounds for their choices and they prioritize them. To make it easier for them to make a decision, they attempt to limit the number of factors that inform their choices in everyday matters outside the object of interest (see Bettman, Luce, & Payne, 1998).

Social factors—norms, roles and self-concept evaluations—only have a minor influence on the behavior of the Curious (Triandis, 1977). They feel they live their own lives and do not feel they are "led by others" (Moller, Ryan, & Deci, 2006). They are characterized by their tolerance of uncertainty and non-accomplishment. They are not afraid of being rejected by others, and they are courageous enough to move out of their comfort zone.

The buying behavior of the Curious is not guided by money but the aspiration to live their own lives. In the quantitative data, the statement that was associated with them most was "When I buy products that really interest me I often choose the top product, although it may be expensive. This is worth noting, as most of the curious were in the middle income bracket (30,000–80,000 euros a year).

The behavioral intention and behavior of the Curious is associated with an attitude that is shaped by information provided by the media and the news. They plumb the depths of matters but their knowledge is narrow in scope. Its links to the larger picture often get ignored. Basically, however, the Curious strive for a holistic approach to life.

Life for the Curious is like a game, where you go from one level to the next. They are always trying to take charge of different aspects of life. They think the technical and the natural are very closely connected. This holistic attitude is also revealed by the fact that it is common for them to combine work and pleasure. An awakening sense of altruism is apparent in their thinking in the shape of a favorable attitude towards responsible consumption. They also share information unselfishly.

The most essential criteria for consumer behavior on the part of the Curious are the aim to live one's own life and sensible attitudes based on information, resulting in rational consumer choices. They are relatively independent people and their purchase decisions are not based on habit. The importance of emotion for their behavioral intentions is only minimal (Triandis, 1977). The curious are not politically active, but they are critical as consumers. Some make an effort to influence companies to make them more responsible in terms of their activities and products. The Curious are associated with a strong behavioral intention relating to responsible consumption, although the intentions are not yet reflected in our data as responsible consumption on a large scale.

4.4 Future Scenario for the Curious

As altruistic features extend to an increasing number of areas in life, the Curious may embrace more and more of those features we associate with the Devoted. The Curious may also drift naturally in the direction of the Uncompromising. In such cases, thus, their attitude-behavior gap narrows and life takes on a more comprehensive shape. A move towards the Ambitious is also possible. Then the behavior of the Curious starts to be guided more by outside factors. The objects of interest also become more egoistic—for example, the optimization of one's own well-being with the aid of the real-time measurement of bodily functions. Furthermore, the threshold for setting up as an entrepreneur is lower when there is a move towards the Ambitious.

The Curious can evolve into remarkably responsible consumers, if an awareness of the consequences becomes the object of their passion. In such a case, they take responsibility for the future of the world and trust in the power of cooperation. They bravely convey their own values and attitudes, as reflected in their consumer habits, and are prepared to go to great pains to make more responsible choices. They are vociferous in their demands for better products and services, and are involved in their development. A lack of bias and a childlike curiosity will remain the features of the Curious.

It is common for the Curious to go very deep into several aspects of life. In the area of food, for example, synthetically manufactured meat and eating insects they would consider possible consumer options. They like the idea of buying their food at a grocery store on a subway train, say. They are interested in 3D printed clothes or 3D simulated fetuses rather than ultrasound images, because they help boost the consumer's potential to have an influence and make products more distinctive. They might also be intrigued by a rucksack or a mobile phone designed in such a way that a replacement would never be needed.

The Curious have great faith in the opportunities afforded by technology. The omnipotence of technology is reflected in the fact that they might think that Africa will grow prosperous with innovations based on solar energy, smart clothing promotes health, updatable products will take the place of single-use consumption, and a generation that has learned to encode from childhood will change the world. According to their holistic approach, plants can be controlled in such a way that they grow into ecological products.

4.5 The Uncompromising

"For our home, we only buy objects that our children will fight over when we are gone."

According to the quantitative data, the *Uncompromising* accounted for 9.4% of respondents. Most of them were men (61%). A total of 47% were in the 55–69 age bracket. They tended to live in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area (31%).

The Uncompromising are people who are aware of consequences. They match words with deeds, i.e. their behavior reflects their values and attitudes very closely. They are motivated altruistically and believe they live in a greater moral circle that is larger than just them and their families in a finite world. Responsible consumption is a way of life for them. They were particularly drawn by the statement "When I buy products that really interest me I often choose the top product, although it may be expensive." The statement that described the attitudes of the Uncompromising least relevantly was "I often choose the cheapest alternative when I do my shopping."

Strong intrinsic motivation makes the behavior of the Uncompromising stable. They are barely guided by social considerations when they make choices as consumers. They do not think that high cost is a barrier to responsible choices. On the other hand, they can also make their own personal consumer choices, because they are well off (earning in access of 80, 000 euros a year). The strong sense of autonomy in their behavior is evident in how they feel they are the determining factors in their own lives. They are also relatively independent consumers (Gutman & Mills, 1982) in the sense that their decisions are barely guided by social roles, norms or an assessment of the narrowness of their behavior potential (see Triandis, 1977). In their opinion, they are able, through their actions and decisions, to influence the course of their lives and the society that surrounds them. They exert their influence through consumer choices. However, their degree of political involvement was surprisingly minimal: just 19% of the Uncompromising had worked or were considering working for a political organization. A total of 69% of them had worked or were considering working for a leisure organization.

Life management for the Uncompromising is all about establishing priorities. They demand quality, are opposed to mass consumption, and avoid conventionality. They have their own trusted brands and designers, which act as symbols of their solvency, continuity and responsible product development. When they see an expensive product, the Uncompromising interpret this as a message that the manufacturer can afford better raw materials and pay levels that ensure an adequate standard of living, and can furthermore afford to take account of ecological issues (see Timonen, 2002, pp. 169–170). A product that comes with a story and a known origin is of value to them. Consequently, they like to buy directly from producers.

The Uncompromising aim to discover the aesthetically perfect product—one that is sustainable and responsible. Information has a vital role to play in the formation of their attitudes (Triandis, 1977). They are prepared to go to great pains to find precisely the right sort of product. If they do not find what they believe is the perfect commodity they put off the purchase (Hassan et al., 2013). They acquire information from the media and justify their choices with the views of experts in the various sectors. The Uncompromising believe that design can help build trust in the future. Aesthetics is not a matter of superficiality for them but a respect for nature and people.

4.6 Future Scenario for the Uncompromising

In the choices they make, the Uncompromising effortlessly combine excellent quality, aesthetics that are pleasing to the eye, and a sense of holistic ecosocial responsibility. They want goods to have an identity. The Uncompromising have to know where food comes from, and who produced its raw materials and in what sort of conditions. They continue to search widely for solutions that appeal to their own values, because many consumer choices discovered previously have become automized functions to which there is no longer any need to pay attention.

The Uncompromising have steady control over their own decisions. They try to prioritize everyday events more than ever and use technology to filter all the mass of information. Combining aesthetics with responsibility in their consumer choices becomes easier. Such choices will be represented by designer ceiling lamps made out of coffee grounds, designer flowerpots made from eggshells, or hydroponic solutions to beautify the home. A simple, mini-sized home close to the center of a city may be an ideal housing solution for the Uncompromising.

Spiritual matters are important and life becomesless materialistic and obsessed with consumption. There is a move away from commodities to the use of services. The Uncompromising make their lives easier by using services that represent what for them are aware and adventurous options. The motivation for consumption that relies on services will be the fact that jobs can be protected in that way in the local community. The new fields of design that interest them are in health, farming, food and social ventures involving special needs groups.

There may be a change in the behavior of the Uncompromising that moves them closer to the Devoted, owing to the heightened importance of a comprehensive examination of way of life and behavior that reflects values. The view that the Uncompromising take of society may broaden in the direction of the Ambitious so that for them it will no longer be enough to exert an influence on their own close circle. As citizens of the world, the Uncompromising may downshift somewhere abroad, where they establish communities that reflect their own values and start up small-scale service companies, a prediction of consumer behavior that is even more non-materialistic. They will be more interested in having an influence in business life or a local urban community.

4.7 The Ambitious

"Right now I am interested in the quantified self method, civil initiatives and collaborative consumption."

The *Ambitious* were represented by 13.9% of the respondents. A total of 63% of them were men earning good salaries. They mainly lived in the largest cities, in western Finland and in southern Finland. The Ambitious have defined for themselves what a good life means. Its key factors are, for example, a successful career and a healthy diet.

There are egoistic traits associated with the Ambitious, as they prioritize their personal benefits, such as their performance. For example, a healthy diet means for them above all better performance. On the other hand, the use of the services they favor can be interpreted as altruistic motivation. Prioritizing services over ownership of goods would suggest a tendency towards postmaterialism and "stuffocation" (Wallman, 2013; Salonen & Åhlberg, 2013b). The consumer behavior of the Ambitious that we identify is a typical example we in Finland have seen in recent years of the reduced importance of low prices and the greater relevance of the good service experience (Haanpää, 2009, p. 74).

The consumer behavior of the Ambitious is prudent and rational. A rational insistence on cost-effectiveness and the optimization of choices inform their behavior, so that a higher price will be paid for a product that has been produced in an ecologically and socially sustainable way, if the benefit to be achieved is sufficiently tangible and thought to appeal to their own set of values (see Johannessen & Wilhite, 2010). As with the Uncompromized, the statement the Ambitious were drawn to most in their profile was "When I buy products that really interest me I often choose the top product, although it may be expensive."

The Ambitious think that an individual citizen can only have a small influence on communal issues with the consumer choices they make (see Uusitalo & Oksanen, 2004, p. 219). They are conscious that, in the move towards a sustainable society, the work and efforts of organizations are more relevant than what individual consumers can do to address the challenges of the future (Stern, 2005, p. 1). The Ambitious take advantage of the force of change that exists within organizations. Through their business connections, for example, they have an influence on what sort of products and services are brought to market. However, they are hardly interested in having a political influence—only 24% of the Ambitious had worked or were considering working for a political organization. Only the Dreamers had less involvement in the work of organizations than the Ambitious.

An awareness of consequences is in evidence in the everyday consumer choices that the Ambitious make, reflected as it is in their preference for local production and services and their attention to health. From this perspective, their consumer behavior constitutes very typical responsible consumption. According to Scott Brenton (2013, p. 494), consumption of products produced nearby is the most typical form of responsible consumption. It assumes a position clearly above what is held to be the second most important aspect of being responsible—ecological considerations.

In a society where there is greater awareness of the ecological and social harm that is associated with consumption, consumers can feel they have gained a positive status through sustainable consumption (Zabkar & Hosta, 2013, p. 262). The extrinsic motivation of the Ambitious is reflected in their fostering of an image that is very precise –

each time they make a choice publicly or opt out of making a choice, it helps to create a profile of their identity (Triandis, 1977). Their choices are based on the gaining of social status (Griskevicius, Tybur, & van den Bergh, 2010). This being the case, the buying decisions that the Ambitious make at the service counter can be more considered and in line with the principles of sustainable development that anonymous purchases made on-line (Willer, 2009, p. 39). However, the importance of emotions for the formation of behavioral intention among the Ambitious is relatively slight.

The behavior of the Ambitious also has links to experts in different fields, business gurus, non-fiction, life management guides, skilled providers of customer services and the news. The main criteria for the consumer behavior of the Ambitious are fostering their self-image, having an influence on others, health, well-being and efficiency (Kasser, 2014).

4.8 Future Scenario for the Ambitious

The Ambitious move further away from the purchase of commodities towards the use of services. A holistic appreciation of well-being is indicated, for example, in the keeping of a gratitude diary and measuring pulse rate variability. Using technical aids, the Ambitious reach new levels in the optimization of their bodily functions. Foods that enhance vitality—such as special coffee produced to optimize work inputs—become a normal part of their consumer behavior. The Ambitious seek luxury in their day-to-day circumstances, and in the future this is likely to take the form of consumption of products and services that is more and more ecologically and socially responsible. In this way, the egoistic motive will serve the objectives of responsible consumption, in the same way as for the Autocrats.

The Ambitious work more and more in their own businesses. This strengthens their position as authors of social change. They launch start-up companies where their values determine the operation. Attempts to narrow the attitude-behavior gap are in evidence: work needs to have a purpose and it must offer a meaningful perspective on life. Work is not just done for money: one is ready to compromise over money if the work accords with one's own values. The Ambitious see work as a series of experiments. It is essential to identify what is suitable and what is not. If work becomes more virtual it will be possible to move to the countryside—to get away from the hustle and bustle and to have a peaceful existence.

The behavior of the Ambitious moves in the direction of the Uncompromising, the Curious or the Autocrats, and intrinsic motivation becomes a more robust force. The Ambitious establish new traditions by living very much their own lives. A holistic approach to life becomes a normal part of their everyday existence. The motive for consumption becomes more the desire for experience (or adventure). The aim is get a positive feel for each moment in life. Their motivation is not so much determined by reason as it is by the emotions. The Ambitious exert an influence on the society around them by investing cash in interesting ventures and by providing their expertise for good causes.

4.9 The Dreamers

"I've always sorted waste. Then one day I just stopped; I don't even know why."

The *Dreamers* accounted for 11.2% of the respondents. A total of 62% of them were women. The Dreamers mainly have small incomes (less than 30,000 euros a year). They generally live in largish cities and towns in southern Finland (53%). The number of those living in their own house or flat was the smallest in the data (52%). Emotions, whims and fancies, trends and low prices are the factors associated with the behavior of the Dreamers. The statement they were drawn to most was "Shopping cheers me up".

The Dreamers like to try out and want to learn new things, but they see sustainable consumption as something that is difficult and expensive. This is evident in the quantitative data, where the statement that was least relevant to them was "I am worried about the current state of the world and that also guides my choices as a consumer". They showed the least engagement as citizens: just 17% had worked or were considering working for a political organization—42% for a leisure organization. Our data confirms that there is a link between civic engagement and lifestyles that accord with the principles of sustainable development, which is also what the data of students in the Helsinki Metropolia University suggested (see Salonen, 2010).

The Dreamers are motivated from the outside and follow the crowd—they are typically motivated by social norms and roles (Moller, Ryan, &Deci, 2006; Triandis, 1977). Fashion trends mean more to the Dreamers than their own opinion about something. The emphasis on the importance of extrinsic phenomena is indicated, for example, in the fact that health for them means keeping the skin, hair and nails in good condition. The Dreamers spend a lot of time using social media and playing games.

The attitudes of the Dreamers indicate a slight emotional concern and desire to change their consumption habits permanently. They feel that they are not sufficiently thoughtful as consumers. This causes them feelings of guilt, because they believe they consume too much. The Dreamers would like to be more rational than they are. This observation might act as a prompt for a change in behavior, because the wider the gap grows between the way of thinking and actual behavior, the greater the likelihood of a change in behavior (Dobbelt, 2008). The probability of a change in behavior type is natural and that others are bound to approve of it (Barnett et al., 2011).

An awakening altruism is discernible in the behavior of the Dreamers. For example, for them good causes are rewarding if there is specific awareness of who exactly needs the help. When they are fired up, the Dreamers are capable and generous. The dimension of social responsibility is more of a feature in their behavior than ecological responsibility. A sense of holistic responsibility is evident in their attitude in the shape of a quest to move from quantity to quality in their consumer habits. Furthermore, their use of manual skills can be interpreted as sustainable consumption. Responsibility, however, is not a principle that systematically drives them. It takes the form of individual deeds, in which concern is the motive. Being motivated by emotions is something that reveals itself as impulsiveness in the behavior of the Dreamers—as rapid changes in life's direction (Triandis 1977).

4.10 Future Scenario for the Dreamers

The desire to experiment that is associated with the Dreamers boosts the intangible capital in their life and increases the importance of spiritual matters. This change makes possible the use of services instead of the ownership of goods. Furthermore, the relevance of personally precious items grows, as a result of which there is less extravagance. The social orientation typically connected with the Dreamers is reflected in an ever more altruistic sharing of experiences. If the large number of choices results in a feeling they are losing control, the Dreamers will choose an authority, following whose example they will get a sense of being in control of their lives on a day-to-day basis.

The Dreamers want to learn how to be more rational consumers. A more systemic, holistic perception of the world brings new perspectives and does more to define their consumer habits and lifestyles. There is a link between breaking with consumption impulses and holistic well-being. The Dreamers might, for example, suddenly realize that the feeling of urgency is something they can have a great influence on. In the quest for rationalization and a holistic perception of reality, solutions that combine different perspectives are of help. The Dreamers are interested, for example, in healthy and ethical convenience food concepts or furnishings designed for relaxing and reflection. Because they are extrinsically motivated, a trendy coffee bar in a railcar might inspire the Dreamers to use public transport, or an amusing mobile game stimulating interest in farm animals might make them interested in the ethics of meat production. A change in the behavior of the Dreamers takes them closer to the Caretakers or the Uncompromising.

4.11 The Devoted

"Our children would never leave the lights on. The solar battery would run down and they wouldn't be able to use PlayStation."

According to the quantitative data, the *Devoted* accounted for 14.2% of respondents. A total of 61% of them were women. They tended to live in large cities (48%).

The Devoted have a holistic approach to life. They are profoundly aware of the fact that they are part of the greater whole. They are interested in alternative lifestyles and different cultures, because they see diversity as a source of enrichment. The Devoted come down on the side of the underprivileged in society, for example by standing up for the rights of immigrants without papers. Altruism also manifests itself in their behavior in their readiness to compromise on their own comfort for the common good. It is worth noting, the compromise is not a sacrifice for them, and they do not feel they are missing out on anything. Working together, in the form of joint ownership, for instance, is only natural for the Devoted. They inspire others and like to lend or exchange goods and services. They also refurbish, retune and recycle goods.

The Devoted are intrinsically motivated. Common sense usually guides their decisions. The importance to them of information is indicated by the fact that they like to find out about the background of products and also share the information with others. An emotional concern in their thinking is the state of the world. This concern is reflected in the rational choices they make. They are prepared to go to great pains to ensure that it is possible to make choices that are in line with their personal values. The statement that the Devoted were drawn to most was "I am worried about the current state of the world and that also guides my choices as a consumer". The statement that got

least attention was "When I am out shopping for basic items, I can't go to a lot of trouble or think about it too deeply".

Although the Devoted have average incomes (30,000-80,000 euros a year), they feel that money does not restrict their choices—there is always time and money for what they think is important. The Devoted have a broad awareness of their personal behavior potential and their ability to act (see Triandis, 1977). They are receptive to change and are always prepared to narrow their attitude-behavior gap (see Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002).

A sense of holistic responsibility is evident in the notion that a responsible solution can be found for just about anything. The Devoted are not weighed down by the realization that they sometimes fail to get things done, because their view of time is such that a whole lifetime is sufficient. They typically have a sense of humility towards life. Responsibility is also evident in their willingness to exert an influence and their tendency to act as an agent of social change (Uusitalo & Oksanen, 2004, p. 219). Their degree of social engagement was remarkable: 41% of them had worked or were considering working for a political organization and 74% for a leisure organization.

The Devoted are naturally able to combine consumption which is aware of the consequences with an enjoyment of life. Their satisfaction is based on an ability to enjoy everyday positive feelings and experiences. Culture and fitness pursuits are very much a way of life for them. For them, growing as a human being is a process in which one searches in life for those perspectives of meaning that invalidate experiences of meaninglessness and purposelessness. When they compromise on their own comfort, this does not mean they have to stop enjoying life. For them, independence is freedom from the feeling that consumption is mandatory. Money is, more than anything, a tool, and has no intrinsic value for them (Quoidbach et al., 2010).

Information acquired from a lot of different sources influences the behavior of the Devoted. Their behavior is associated with a close circle sharing the same set of values, experts in different fields and dissident thinkers. Their main criterion for consumer behavior is holistic, ecosocial responsibility. A strong awareness of consequences is recognizable in everything they do (Salonen, 2013a, pp. 2050–2052).

A total of 42% of the Devoted were over 60, which indicates just how responsible older people can be. The same phenomenon is shown in the sense of responsibility among early childhood educators living in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area (Salonen & Tast, 2013).

4.12 Future Scenario for the Devoted

The behavior of the Devoted continues to be characterized in the future by the search for meaning in day-to-day choices. For example, they do not travel simply for a change of scene, but to find deeper meaning in travelling. By working together, the Devoted can afford responsible luxury. Services and their exchange continue to take the place of ownership, because the Devoted demand recognition of a motive for action. They might ask which of these we ultimately require: the option to be mobile (chance to get around) or a car. Their behavior puts the emphasis more on content at the expense of form. Some of the Devoted might veer towards the consumer behavior of the Uncompromising, typical of which is a reconciliation of value perspectives relating to choices. As sustainable lifestyles become the norm, the Devoted will see more consumers from other groups joining them. The opportunities for networking provided by social media will speed up the leap into the mainstream from the marginal position on the part of the Devoted.

The change in the behavior of the Devoted leads to more holistic, harmonious and complete behavior in line with personal values. Things that are experienced as superficial are rejected. Systems thinking has a greater role to play in seeking justifications for everyday choices. The links between different choices are seen more clearly. The materialist objectives in life lose their meaning. The convictions of the Devoted are reflected in a type of consumption that breaks with old habits. They are prepared to enter a coffee bar where you do not pay for the coffee but for just being there, or a restaurant where household organic waste is a valid form of payment. The Devoted convert their studies into coffee bars for a developing residential area, and the residents more and more frequently form food cooperatives in their wake.

The Devoted are aware that leading their own lives can empower them in such a way that for them the most pleasurable thing is more and more obviously an existence that is in line with their personal values. If they do work that has no meaning for them, they try to change jobs, even if the pay is much less. Their behavior might embrace features of civil disobedience. They are so firmly convinced that they are on the side of the good that they are ready to act contrary to some laws.

4.13 The Bystanders

"I don't need anything else. Life is absolutely fine as it is."

The *Bystanders* represented 18.8% of respondents. There were an equal number of men and women in the group, and they have small incomes (less than 30,000 euros a year). They mainly live in small communities away from southern Finland. The Bystanders lead a steady existence. They hardly ever think about the consequences of their choices. They recycle, but they do not see how recycling is connected with the greater whole. The statements that reflected their attitude most closely were "I often choose the cheapest alternative when I do my shopping" and "I have not spent a lot of time thinking about how my choices affect to the environment".

Their behavior is characterized by an attempt at neutrality and not standing out (Gutman & Mills, 1982). Keeping out of the way is also one of their traits, because they do not believe they can have an influence on the society around them when they make their choices (Uusitalo & Oksanen, 2004, p. 219). Their degree of civil engagement, however, is slightly greater than with the Dreamers: 19% had worked or were considering working for a political organization, and 50% for a leisure organization. Emotions are very important in the behavioral intentions of the Bystanders, and this might be reflected in a tendency to stand up for social justice. If an emotional concern requires them to act, they might insist on improvements to the degrading working conditions at a fruit juice plant on the other side of the world. It is easy for them to identify with the conditions of someone that is physically distant from them if the product manufacturing chain for a common consumer good is made transparent.

A lack of awareness is suggested by the fact that the Bystanders might say, on the subject of ecological responsibility, that they had never thought about the matter of the environmental friendliness of their choices. The statement they were least drawn to was "I often try to give preference to local products when I am shopping."

The lifestyles of the Bystanders are built on the principles of moderation. Their consumer behavior is mainly based on genuine need and not whims and fancies. They also only replace goods when they are broken. They are motivated by norms, evidenced in the fact that they recycle simply because "that is what a citizen does" (Triandis, 1977).

The main criteria for the behavior of the Bystanders are acting in accordance with habit, price, buying only when necessary, compliance with norms and effortlessness. Their concern for security is reflected in their conclusion that they do not want to be associated with the latest fads. Anything different is suspicious, and one feels more in control if there are restrictions on one's social circle and surroundings. A steady life and familiar products are important to them, as are things being smooth and straightforward. This suggests a consumer type described by Gregory Stone (1954), one that is motivated by the immediate availability of a shop and how easy the shopping experience is.

4.14 Future Scenario for the Bystanders

Habits and customs are strongly associated with the behavior of the Bystanders. Furthermore, things that seem sensible and practical from the good old days appeal to them. They might be prompted to try to get meat and fish counters back into Finnish grocery stores. The Bystanders may also become survivors in a society that is prone to urgency and haste, because they know how to ease the pressure on their lives.

The Bystanders are in no hurry to make rapid changes in their lives: instead, they can draw up for themselves a program of change that will take several months or years—for example, the switch from a meat-based to vegetarian diets. Their social circle will furthermore become more diverse. They are freshly motivated by a globalized existence and ambience, though at a leisurely pace. Their passions may extend to individual interests such as fishing or geocaching. The Bystanders do not want to jam up their lives with a lot of different things.

They can make a remarkable transition in the direction of the Curious if there is more emphasis on leading their own lives and if they have the courage to embrace the new. Then their behavior will be intrinsically, rather than extrinsically, motivated. Another direction they could move in would be towards the Caretakers. Of the features associated with the Caretakers, it is especially tolerance and emotional concern that are close to the life orientation of the Bystanders. As altruistic traits gain force, the Bystanders, like the Caretakers, feel they are responsible for the reality around them and the opportunities that future generations have for a good life, even if they see their powers of influence as being limited. Because they are extrinsically motivated, policy measures and a change in social norms can turn their lives upside down. One major influence on the behavior of the Bystanders is their children.

4.15 The Caretakers

"When you're an entrepreneur yourself, you want to support other local endeavors. The immediate environment is important."

The *Caretakers* are the largest group represented (23.6% of respondents). Women accounted for 61% of them. They are low earners (less than 30,000 euros a year). They mainly live in rural areas and small towns. A total of 52% of the Caretakers are over 55. They relish tradition and are safety-conscious.

The Caretakers are mainly extrinsically motivated (Kasser, 2014; Moller, Ryan, & Deci, 2006). According to the students of the Helsinki Metropolia University, two-thirds of barriers to sustainable living were due to external factors (Salonen & Åhlberg, 2013a). The Caretakers feel they can influence the reality around them through their choices, which is an indication of an emerging intrinsic motivation among them (Moller, Ryan, & Deci, 2006; Triandis, 1977). Their engagement as citizens, however, is not so robust, and they aim for a neutral position in their behavior. A total of 24% of them had worked or were considering working for a political organization—55% for a leisure organization.

The behavior of the Caretakers is motivated by an emotional concern (Triandis, 1977). Responsibility in their behavior is in evidence in the shape of competition in priorities, inconsistent or conflicting end results and a tolerance of compromise (see Szmigin et al., 2009). They believe that they compensate for poor choices by making good ones, to achieve a balance.

Their attitude is mainly represented by the statement in the quantitative data that reads: "Recently I have started to worry about the ethics and environmental friendliness of consumption". A willingness for their behavior to change is revealed in the qualitative data by a statement that one of the Caretakers makes: "I would like to consume more responsibly, but I have to make compromises in my everyday existence."

The Caretakers enjoy a stable existence. Stability is the result of habit, such as regular holidays and a relish for tradition with the celebration of religious holidays and anniversaries. What one is accustomed to is, in their opinion, right, which would suggest motivation guided by norms (see Triandis, 1977). The Caretakers have close relationships with friends, their neighborhood and their work community. Family orientation also creates stability. According to Daniel Miller (1998, pp. 3–18), the needs and expectations of the family as a motive for the purchase decisions made have a tendency to enhance family cohesion and indicate the degree of concern and care that exists between family members.

The important things for the Caretakers are family, tradition, an avoidance of extravagance and low prices. Responsibility manifests itself as caring about their own close circle, favoring the products of local companies, lending goods and recycling, prudent consumption and replacing goods and equipment only when they are broken. They also pick berries, go fishing, hunt and enjoy the produce of their gardens, which makes them more self-sufficient in food.

4.16 Future Scenario for the Caretakers

The Caretakers call into question their consumer behavior when prompted to by individual matters. For example, when the public are made aware of the possible harm caused by a certain food additive, the Caretakers begin to focus on a holistic solution, i.e. a diet that is completely free of additives. The same is evident in the challenges of the product manufacturing chain: the problems in one chain make it more necessary for the Caretakers to find out if there are any problem areas in other chains. Transparency appeals to them. Owing to the challenges of transparency, the Caretakers place more importance on their own vegetable patches or farmed plots.

Their thinking and behavior change and move in the direction of the Devoted or the Uncompromising. Taking control of their own lives gains a foothold in their everyday lives. Their intrinsic motivation gets stronger and the impact of outside factors diminishes. This is indicated in their willingness unbiasedly to take up new interests or let their homes to international clients while they are on holiday. It is nevertheless still typical of the Caretakers to cherish the permanence of the outer façade and to experience life in a way that is performance-oriented. It may, for example, reveal itself in an initiative to spend Christmas in Thailand, though, before setting off, having a traditional Christmas in Finland.

The Caretakers get more and more interested in services. Tool libraries or repair and sewing coffeebars are new forms of consumption that are suited to them. Recyclable postal packaging and advertisements for bicycle saddle guards appeal to them with their common sense and practicality.

5. Summary and Conclusions

All the identified consumer groups showed a willingness to aim for better awareness of the consequences of their consumption. For some of them, sustainable consumption had already become a way of life, and some are aware of the fact that a favorable attitude will transform sustainable consumer behavior in the near future. Intrinsically motivated consumers seemed to make more sustainable choices that extrinsically motivated consumers.

Price only has limited relevance in consumer decisions. The choices made by the Devoted are in all respects mainly based on criteria other than low price even though their incomes were not high. In addition most of the choices made by the Uncompromising, Curious and Ambitious are based on first rate quality, regardless of price. It is also worth noting that, as sustainable lifestyles become the norm in society, the Devoted will see more consumers from other groups joining them. The Devoted, the Uncompromising, the Curious and the Ambitious represent 42% of the Finnish population.

Nearly a quarter of Finnish adults living in their own households belong to the group known as the Caretakers. Their consumer behavior is moving towards the altruistically and intrinsically motivated position. The Caretakers are gatekeepers, because the consumer behavior of the Bystanders and the Dreamers is moving towards the position they occupy. The Bystanders alone represent almost a fifth of the Finnish population.

The Autocrats are intrinsically motivated. They form a small, though influential, consumer group. They have a lot of followers, and that is why a change in their behavior would be highly significant. They are aware that their thinking and behavior will change in the near future.

The Ambitious also occupy an important place in Finnish society, because they actively make use of the business networks which they influence. Accordingly, their modus operandi is hugely influential—like that of the Autocrats—despite their small numbers.

In the future, the regulation may well increase, with the result that ecologically and socially unsustainable consumption becomes the expensive option. The external costs—externalities—of the production and consumption will be incorporated into prices more comprehensively than is the case now. Therefore there will be a relative fall in prices associated with sustainable choices, in contrast to prices for more irresponsible products.

As it gets easier to make responsible choices, all the consumer groups will move in a rather more sustainable direction, but it is the extrinsically motivated consumers that will experience the most dramatic transition. From the perspective of marketing and product conceptualizing, it seems to us that extrinsically motivated consumers can be influenced. At the same time, the extrinsically motivated consumers represent enormous potential for social change, as they account for 53.5% of Finnish consumers. It should also be realized that quality, rather than quantity, counts for much in several of the consumer groups that are intrinsically motivated.

Successful products or services combine several value perspectives, which will help expand the target group. The multiple benefit will be realized in its most ideal form when the egoistic and altruistic points of view are taken into account together and the consumer's motivation results freely from her or his own will, with no extrinsic motivation.

It must be possible to establish the sort of consumption that incorporates the perspective of this multiple benefit. For example, locally produced organic vegetables are becoming a complete food alternative for more and more consumers, one that embraces optimally different benefit perspectives: money spent on a consumer choice benefits the local community, food and nutrition promote public health and animal well-being, and consumer choice maintains biodiversity and helps establish global food security. Moreover, when producers and consumers are closely linked in, trust replaces regulations in ways that improve happiness and save finite natural resources simultaneously (Helliwell, 2014, p. 84).

When examining the big picture it is evident that social change will lead to a situation where all people are more aware of the finite planet. This change is inevident due to the extensive transfer of information. No nation can achieve sustainability on its own. Our behavior and daily choices have impact on other people, nature and economy on local and global levels. Holistic concumption considerations are very much needed. Without the well-functioning biosphere there can be no society and without a society there can be no societal functions. What we need is future that inspires confidence and promotes peaceful coexistence. In order to reach that goal it will be better if we can share our planet's dwindling resources equally. This means changes in how we think about wealth.

Acknowledgments

The research is funded by Tekes-the Finnish Funding Agency for Innovation. www.tekes.fi/en/tekes/

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