A Critical Look at "Marketing, Consumption, and Society" by Anti-Consumerists: A Qualitative and Interdisciplinary Model of Anti-Consumerism

Emre Basci[1]

[1] Faculty of Economics and Administration, Sirnak University, Sirnak, Turkey

Correspondence: Emre Basci, Faculty of Economics and Administration, Sirnak University, Sirnak, Turkey. Tel: 90-533-410-4863. E-mail: emrebasci@gmail.com

Abstract

The main purpose of the article is to provide the literature of anti-consumerism with a model, as well as a fresh definition of anti-consumption, based on the research findings. The study utilizes the grounded theory methodology developed by Glaser & Strauss (1967) and the causative, teleological, and behavioral nature of anti-consumerism are presented with the qualitative model. The findings show that there are no noticeable differences among Turkish anti-consumerists in terms of philosophy, values, and ideology. However, it was observed that individuals display different amounts of anti-consumerist behavior in varying degrees of intensity. When the reasons for anti-consumption are examined, it has been found that these reasons can be divided into three kinds—personal, social, and societal. Another finding is that the anti-consumerist transformation conforms to the development tasks described by Havighurst (1972). Young individuals trying to fit in with the dynamics of the social group also try to find their own unique identities with teachings and awareness on macro and micro scales, eventually turning into anti-consumerists.

Keywords: anti-consumerism, anti-consumerists, anti-consumption, marketing, Turkey

1. Introduction

In the last five years, movements such as Occupy Wall Street, the Arab Spring, Brazil and Gezi Park protests and the Umbrella Revolution have revealed the existence of specific groups that oppose the systems of questionable ethical value. These groups sometimes rise up to save trees sacrificed for the construction of a mall; sometimes to protest against the rising public transportation fees; and sometimes to occupy spaces belonging to the 1% who are thought to be the rulers of the capitalist world. According to Kozinets & Handelman (2004, p. 691), the common enemy of these diverse groups seems to be the authoritarian regimes, capital systems that value material gain over public, and sometimes the very concept of a consumer society. And the consumer movement, an important part of these protests, seems to target large corporations and their collaborators rather than careless consumers (Tiemstra, 1992; Gabriel & Lang, 1995).

Many social scientists, sociologists in particular, have perceived *consumption* to be a negative phenomenon, frequently underlining that a consumer society is comprised of individuals duped by the consumption system. Baudrillard's (1995, p. 98) following quote effectively summarizes sociology's perception of consumption, or rather, influencing and inciting role of consumption: "The consumer society is actually a process of learning about consumption and societal preparation for consumption." According to critical sociologists, while fulfilling needs is an objective necessity, ethical problems may arise when it comes to wants. Elements such as luxury consumption, inconspicuous consumption, identity consumption/symbolic consumption, and extravagance are classified as wants rather than needs. A few think that such consumptions make social relationships superficial and create inequality between individuals, sometimes making life less meaningful. And principal instruments responsible for the creation of these desires—in other words, manufacturing consent—are thought to be the media and big companies (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

According to the discipline of marketing, ethically-questioned consumption can be deemed as a natural human need providing many benefits to the individual such as new experiences and enhanced creativity, and the fulfillment of such a need provides positive value and special meaning to consumers' existence (Lash & Lury,

2007; Firat & Venkatesh, 1995; Cova & Pace, 2006). Bugra (2010, p. 31) says that even inconspicuous consumption should not be considered illogical and that this concept could be a latent human need that provides happiness to the consumer. To marketing, the individual chooses the product that provides the highest value, which will be equal to the difference between concrete and abstract benefits and the cost (Kotler & Keller, 2011, p. 10). Many authors claim that the perceived value by the individual is directly proportional to quality and service performance and inversely proportional to price, but this is not always how it works in practice. Sometimes, consistent with the rule of scarcity, a rare product may sell for very high prices; the value the consumer gets from this product is a feeling of "exclusivity". In fact, prices rising beyond affordability may be an important criterion for the consumer. And the creation of such a desire has been one of the most favored strategies of marketing professionals in the last 40 years.

While different disciplines view the phenomenon of consumption positively or negatively, this study focuses on a unique group of consumers that oppose the ethically-questioned sides of consumerism, namely *anti-consumerists*. The study aims to provide a road map for many disciplines, including marketing, by revealing the transformation processes, anti-consumerist behavior and underlying purpose of this group that claims to provide a critical perception to modern consumer society.

1.1 The Vague and Sometimes Faulty Nature of Anti-Consumerism

Empirical studies regarding the concept of anti-consumerism are rare in the literature and have been conducted by a limited number of research centers so far, which means that the resources of scientific study are inadequate in terms of content and variety. Multidimensional generic concepts like *tightwadism* are treated as anti-consumerism in dissertations (see Nepomuceno, 2012), while sampling cannot be done accurately as existing definitions and classifications in the literature are not sufficiently comprehensive (see Eksi, 2012). For example, Cherrier (2010), an expert on anti-consumerism, presents hoarding behavior as anti-consumerism. However, when the discourse of some of the participants in her research is examined, it can be observed that some participants, rather than hoarding products to share with others or for personal use, form an obsessional relationship with objects, therefore focusing on consumption. Chatzidakis & Lee (2012) prefer selective consumption to be put in the realm of consumption, distancing this concept from the literature on anti-consumerism. However, selective consumption, as a concept involving both rejection and substitution and a strong sense of opposition, deserves to be classified as anti-consumerist behavior. Moreover, the fact that substitution is not always practical or economic provides further evidence of a strong sense of opposition on the consumer's part. It is also observed that value typologies in the literature have no empirical equivalent (see Iyer & Muncy, 2009; Cromie & Ewing, 2008). Even Solomon (2013) with consumer behavior expertise, equates anti-consumerism with *discursive political consumerism,* which shows that the concept has not been adequately understood in the scientific world.

Some fundamental definitions in the literature also create confusion. Zavetovski (2002, p. 121) defines anti-consumerism as "a resistance to, distaste of, or even resentment of consumption." *Then, is it anti-consumerist behavior if a consumer refuses to buy a green product just because she hates nature?* Penaloza & Price (1993, p. 123) define this term as "resistance against a culture of consumption and the marketing of mass-produced meanings." *In this case, does it mean that the consumption of fair-trade products as a culture of consumption, especially in several European countries, cannot be seen as anti-consumerist behavior?* Anti-consumption is also considered a sub-branch of political/ideological consumerism as it enables consumers to "express their values, ideas, beliefs, and overall identities" (Cherrier & Murray, 2007). *Then does it mean that anti-consumerism and symbolic consumption have the same meaning?* Even if all these definitions are combined to form one single definition, it still does not come close to explaining the concept of anti-consumerism. Anti-consumerism was evaluated by Basci (2014) using an interdisciplinary approach, and the question of what constitutes anti-consumerist behavior was asked by him. Basci (2014, p. 162) uses the following criteria to bring light to anti-consumerist behavior:

(1)   A non-consumption, reduction-of-consumption, or selective-consumption initiative is a prerequisite for the qualification;

(2)   Such a deed must have a link to a societal and systemic problem on the local and/or global scene (e.g., reducing the level of consumption due to environmental problems, economic injustice, social discrimination, unethical marketing, or a hegemonic culture);

(3)   The practitioner of this act should be aware of why she acts the way she does—being anti-something, after all, requires a sense of awareness;

(4)   Compulsory non-consumption (e.g., price is out of budget; product is inaccessible; consumption is

minimized due to economic crisis) is not anti-consumption; and

(5)   The purchasing behavior should be carried out by the consumer in a rational manner; reactionary/impulsive purchases should not exist or should be kept to a minimum. These details provided lead to the following definition of anti-consumerism: *the non-consumption, reduction-of-consumption, or selective-consumption act that has a rational and ethical link to a societal and systemic problem on the local and/or global scene* (Basci, 2014, p. 162)*.*

2. Method

When it is widely accepted that mainstream consumption shapes an important part of today's society, it can be assumed that anti-consumerists exist only as a small group on the fringes of society. In order to understand who these individuals really are and to reveal their inner workings and behavior, the use of a qualitative method is deemed necessary. An inclusive and explanatory model regarding anti-consumerism could not be found in international or national literature. The creation of such a model through inductive reasoning appears to be required. The modeling of anti-consumerist behavior built on collective values may be achieved through the middle-range theory modeling proposed by sociologist Robert K. Merton. Glaser & Straus (1967) state that the best method for middle-range theories is grounded theory. Therefore, the study utilizes the *grounded theory* methodology developed by Glaser & Strauss (1967), and the explanatory patterns of anti-consumerism are presented with a qualitative model.

As Creswell (2008, p. 432) explains, grounded theory is used when the researcher needs a broad theory or explanation of a process. Grounded theorists work to explain a process in all its parts. This process is a series of activities and continued interactions between people (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Researchers using this methodology make use of many qualitative research techniques and tools such as observations, interviews, participant diaries, and memos. In-depth interviews are the most important research technique used, because face-to-face interviews provide the most in-depth data regarding personality, ideology, and behavior (Charmaz, 2000). In grounded theory, face-to-face interviews are usually called interactive interviews, and are classified as unstructured (Goulding, 2002, p. 59). Data gathering has a zigzag pattern in this methodology. Interviews and other methods ensure a constant flow of data to the researcher and data are subjected directly to analysis without delay and are constantly compared. Initial data labels are called open codes that are grouped under different categories. A core category is chosen among these and the modeling is achieved based on this core category. In order to ensure objectivity, the researcher should proceed to a detailed literature review only after the analyses are completed (Charmaz, 2006, p. 6). However, some experts find it necessary to conduct a preliminary review to check the suitability of the chosen methodology with the subject at hand (Goulding, 2002, p. 115). The author of this study conducted a preliminary literature review before the research, identifying definitional criteria on anti-consumption by examining definitions and typologies. The author, having attended courses, seminars, and classes in the past, acquired expertise in qualitative research methodologies.

In the first stage of the interview, the researcher posted an invitation of participation on February 10, 2014 in a group called *I Shall Not Consume (Tüketmeyeceğim)* on Facebook. This Facebook group had been created on June 17, 2013 by a user and had 9,080 members as of December 1, 2014. The researcher is also a group member. On different dates, ten individuals volunteering to take part in the study joined the group called *Qualitative Research_I Shall Not Consume (Nitel Araştırma_Tüketmeyeceğim)* created by the researcher on February 10, 2014. The researcher posted the research questions to this group between February 10 and March 10, 2014, ensuring in the process that all participants answer every single question. At the next stage of the research study—as required by the research methodology (Charmaz, 2006, p. 18)—different participants, believed to be informed and experienced in anti-consumerism, representing different generations and living in crowded cities (therefore exposed to marketing and consumerism) were selected and data were gathered. These participants were chosen according to definitional criteria laid out in the literature section. Two participants not fulfilling the criteria for anti-consumption were not included in the research.

•   During the course of the research, 15 face-to-face and online interviews were conducted with 14 participants (see Table 1) in Turkish cities, including Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Eskisehir, and Manisa. These interviews were recorded with a digital recording device. The total length of the recordings is 32 hours 18 minutes and 5 seconds. The transcriptions of the said recordings are 714 pages long (A4 paper size, Times New Roman 12 pt and single spaced).

•   Living spaces of two participants were photographed following interviews conducted in their homes, while another participant shared photos of her living space over Facebook following the researcher's request.

•   Two participants answered Q&A surveys over Facebook following the interviews, and data were obtained.

- Written answers of participants were selected from the online focus group in the Facebook group *Qualitative Research_I Shall Not Consume*. Participants not included in the online focus group were sent the questions by e-mail and interviews were conducted if they fit the necessary criteria.

- Three extant texts posted by two participants in the Facebook group were included in the data analysis.

- Personal blogs of two participants were examined and their blog posts regarding anti-consumerism were included in the analysis as extant data.

- Additional questions after the interviews, in keeping with the requirements of the methodology, were asked comparatively over Facebook and e-mail, and written responses were obtained from the participants.

Table 1. Main features of participants

#	Alias	Gender	Age	Generation*	Location	Education	Occupation	Marital Status	# of Children
1	Ayse	Female	48	X	Ankara	Bachelor's degree	Retired agricultural engineer	Married	1 child
2	Nur	Female	65	Baby Boomers	Istanbul	Bachelor's degree	Retired bank employee	Single/ Separated	1 child
3	Zerrin	Female	33	Y	Istanbul	High school	Homemaker/ Retired bank employee	Married	1 child
4	Metin	Male	50	Baby Boomers	Eskisehir	High school/ Distance university	Public servant	Married	1 child
5	Can	Male	45	X	Istanbul	Master's degree	Self-employed	Married/ Separated	1 child
6	Nermin	Female	38	X	Izmir	Bachelor's degree	Homemaker/ Retired architect	Married	1 child
7	Serap	Female	47	X	Manisa	Bachelor's degree	Lawyer	Single/ Separated	1 child
8	Meltem	Female	57	Baby Boomers	Ankara	Bachelor's degree	Retired architect/ Self-employed	Single/ Separated	1 child
9	Savas	Male	55	Baby Boomers	Ankara	Associate degree	Self-employed	Married	3 children
10	Esra	Female	46	X	Istanbul	Bachelor's degree	Dentist	Married	2 children
11	Recel	Female	41	X	Istanbul	Associate degree	Trainer/ Actor	Single/Never married	No child
12	Deniz	Male	52	Baby Boomers	Istanbul	Bachelor's degree	System analyst	Married	1 child
13	Sevgi	Female	45	X	Istanbul	Master's degree	Chemical engineer	Married	1 child
14	Hande	Female	35	Y	Istanbul	Bachelor's degree	Actor/ Trainer	Married	No child

Note. * The term Baby Boomers describes the generation born between 1946 and 1965 while the Generation X were born between 1966 and 1976 and the Generation Y between 1977 and 1994.

3. Results

All the data gathered were analyzed using the NVivo 8 software to create the final model. While the data gathered on the initial stages (Phase 1 and 2 on Figure 1) were coded using open coding, selective coding was used on the later stages of the study. The coding was modified or transformed comparatively with each new piece of data. Diversity of the elements and sub-elements was ensured with new data. The research was terminated when patterns emerged and data saturation was reached. Following the completion of the processes of research and analysis, the results were validated by consulting academicians who are experts of marketing and

qualitative research, thereby ensuring methodological and contextual validity. The entire data gathering and coding process is shown in Figure 1.

PHASE 1
Initial interview (Ayse)
Extant text (Ayse)
Online focus group (Ayse)

Open coding was conducted in NVivo.

PHASE 2
Interviews (Ayse, Zerrin, Nur)
Online focus group (Zerrin, Nur)
Social media written answers (Zerrin, Nur)

Comparative open coding was conducted in NVivo, and a core category was selected based on the coding result.

PHASE 3
Written answers by e-mail (Metin, Can, Nermin, Savas, Meltem)
Interviews (Metin, Can, Nermin, Serap, Savas, Meltem)
Online focus group (Serap)

Comparative selective coding was conducted in NVivo.

PHASE 4
Written answers by e-mail (Esra, Recel, Deniz, Sevgi, Hande)
Interviews (Esra, Recel, Deniz, Sevgi, Hande)
Blog posts as extant text (Nermin, Sevgi)
Written answers to additional questions (Savas, Sevgi, Nermin, Meltem, Zerrin, Ayse, Metin, Can, Hande, Serap, Nur)
Extant text (Hande)

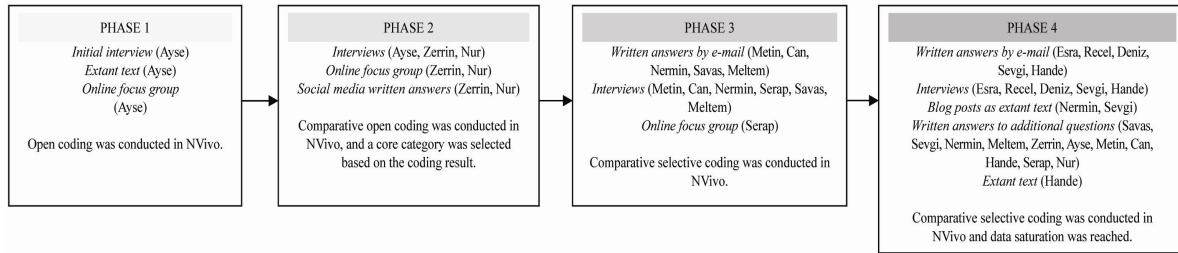Comparative selective coding was conducted in NVivo and data saturation was reached.

Figure 1. Data gathering throughout the research and the stages of data analysis

Consent letters regarding participation were obtained from the participants. Moreover, aliases were used to describe the participants as required by the rules of ethical conduct. In the first two months of the research, "anti-consumerist transformation" was selected as the main theme. It was noted that anti-consumerism is not an innate concept and that anti-consumerists had consumerist tendencies in their youth, especially under the influence of reference groups. Moreover, the need to categorize anti-consumerist transformation into two groups, micro context (minds and social experiences of anti-consumerists) and macro context (their conception of the country they live in and of the world in general), emerged. The contexts contribute to the transformation process, at the end of which the individual begins to name herself an anti-consumerist and starts living accordingly.

The initial analysis revealed a concept so far unknown in the literature: "indirect consumption behavior". This concept describes the contributions, sharing, and investments of the individual to the original source (the self), her social circle, to human beings, and other living creatures, to the environment and the future. Additionally, individual and collective production activities are also classified within this concept, because the individual spends time, money, and energy, either alone or as a part of a group and during these production activities, producing qualitative products as a result. The emerging model is shown in Figure 2 and all elements of this model are presented along with participants' statements, starting with the *Anti-Consumption Behavior Module*.
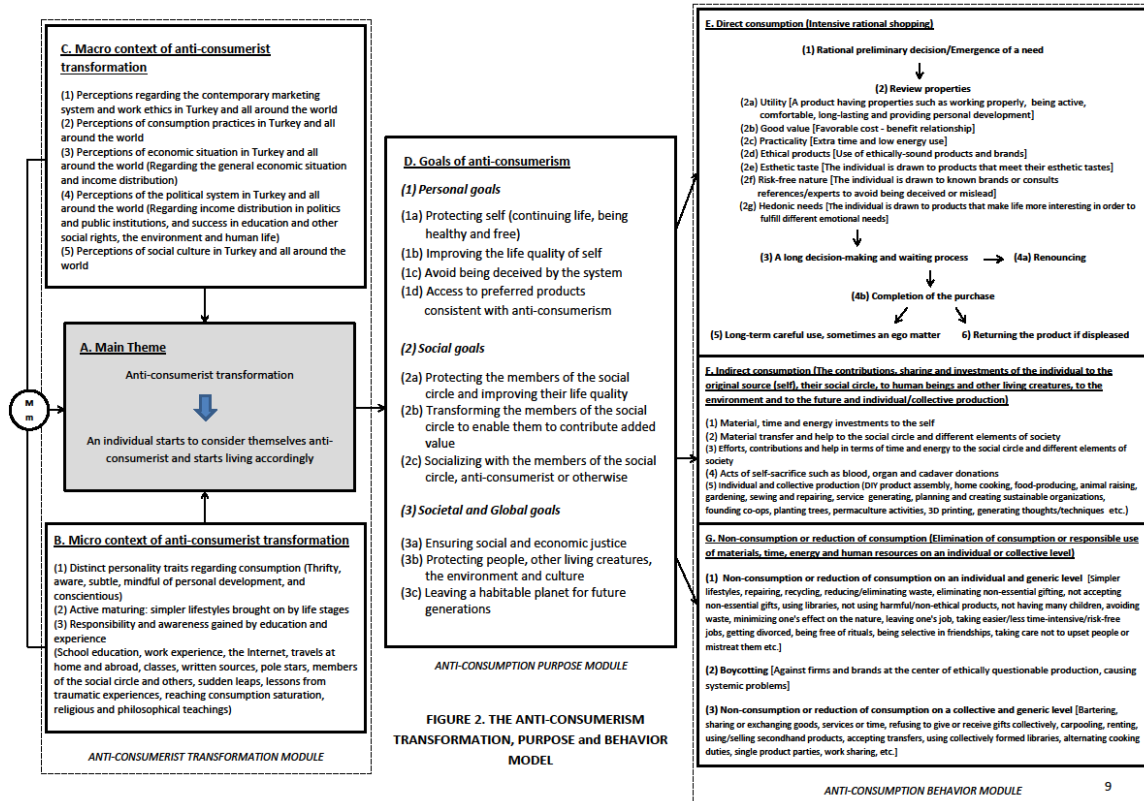

Figure 2. The anti-consumerism transformation, purpose and behavior model

3.1 Section E—Direct Consumption (Intensive Rational Shopping)

Direct consumption describes the purchase of goods and services by individuals to meet their own needs, as well as the needs of their social circle. When anti-consumerists' shopping habits are examined, it can be said that these individuals consume products based only on their needs and ethical wants, showing no interest in elements considered to be non-essential or non-ethical.

The individual seems to know very well what she wants before going shopping.

I feel very bad about anything that will end up as garbage. A misjudged act of shopping makes me feel [sad], so you could say that I am a difficult shopper. (Ayse, Interview)

Let's say that I will buy a pair of socks. I already know before even going out the door what kind of socks I want. If I am going to wear the pair with sneakers, it has to be a white cotton pair, with a specific texture inside. It should absorb sweat, etc. In short, there is a standard pair of socks in my head. I would never buy or use another kind of socks just because they fit me. (Can, Interview)

The first step of intense rational shopping is the emergence of a need. At this stage, the individual may prepare for the act of shopping by identifying her needs, making a list and a plan.

[Before shopping] we come together as a family to identify the need. We definitely do our research before this step. We identify the criteria, you know, do a cost-benefit analysis, all that. (Metin, Interview)

Let's say I want a light-colored cardigan or a bell skirt... I write it all down and come up with a budget based on the list. (Hande, Interview)

Sometimes the decision-making process for the anti-consumerist is particularly slow-going and the decision to purchase an item may take a very long time to make.

I do not let myself be influenced by myself or others. I do not purchase anything until I come up with an honest answer regarding whether I need that item or not. I never hurry when I buy something, which is why I prefer to go shopping on my own. (Ayse, Extant text)

Believe me when I say that it took a long time for me to decide to buy [this coat I am wearing]. I bought a coat for the first time in a decade. (Zerrin, Interview)

The anti-consumerist knows what she expects from a product before the act of purchase and conducts a search for an item that specifically meets her criteria. The criteria usually involve utility, good value, practicality, ethics, esthetic taste, a risk-free nature, and hedonic needs.

Utility: If [a house] meets your needs—I think 100 square meters is enough for the average family unit—I already have such a house. I would never consider anything larger and more luxurious. (Metin, Interview)

Functionality in [the product I purchase] is very important. What would I even do with a Ferrari? I see them in traffic all the time. They move really fast for two seconds and then get stuck in traffic anyway. (Esra, Interview)

I have been known to buy three pairs of my favorite model of sneakers from the same brand. I got them because I think they are very comfortable and I was afraid that I would not be able to find them again. I made a very good decision. I was set for 5 years after that. (Can, Written answers)

Good value: You may think that coffee at Starbucks is expensive, but I am there for a two-hour business meeting, so essentially I am renting space for two hours for the price of two cups of coffee. It is a coffee shop that does not play loud music; the waiters do not disturb you, and there are desks, Wi-Fi, and desk lights. It is quite good, in fact inexpensive, to be able to rent this space for two hours for the price of two cups of coffee. (Can, Written answers)

Practicality: We bought a juicer a year ago. I mean, who would do the dishes for hours to drink two glasses of juice? It is sitting in my cupboard, unused. One day I am going to give it away, too. And it's like this horrible puzzle, a game of what fits where... Why would I put myself through all that trouble when I can just eat the apple? (Nermin, Interview)

Ethical value: Researcher: You love a product's design, it is very economical and of good quality. But let's say that something horrible emerges about the brand or the product... Volvo's model X caused 40 deaths, for example. Would you still consider buying it? Participant: I wouldn't. I would consider that brand tainted. (Ayse, Interview)

Esthetic taste: A product should please me first. I would not be influenced by "this season's color"; if I do not like something, I don't care how trendy it is. (Esra, Interview)

A risk-free nature: Let's say that you are going to buy honey. You see all the labels, they are all lies, but you do

need to buy honey, so you gravitate towards known brands, it is inevitable. Either you are going to make your own honey, or trust someone. (Can, Interview)

Hedonic needs: I am a bit of an adventurous person. Okay, we are anti-consumerists, but that does not mean we are robots. I love mountain-climbing and rafting. I enjoy scuba diving and I would like to go parachuting. (Serap, Interview)

Anti-consumerists seem to take relatively a long time to make a decision and consider many factors before purchasing a product. Especially participants having a lot of time and limited financial means tend to wait a long time before making the decision to buy higher-priced items.

I think about it for a long time [when buying anything]. Sometimes my husband gets angry with me; I like a pair of shoes, but then take forever to decide. That [pair of shoes] gets sold in the meantime. That can happen sometimes. Or maybe it gets more expensive. However I am sure that it has more benefits than adverse effects. (Ayse, Interview)

Anti-consumerists try to use the things they have with great care to make them last and try to get their money's worth out of them by using them for a long time.

If you don't keep your car properly maintained, you are stealing from its lifespan. That only hurts yourself. (Metin, Interview)

I always use everything until it falls apart and I own very little. (Deniz, Written answers)

If a product cannot meet its promises, anti-consumerists do not hesitate to return it immediately.

[If there is a problem with the product] I return it or ask for a replacement or repair. I bought a cotton blouse once, but it practically fell apart with the first washing. I took it to the store with the receipt and they did take it back, but they may not do it to everyone. I was able to provide all the details because I myself work in the textile sector. I think everything should be done properly. I want to ensure everyone does their job properly. (Sevgi, Written answers)

3.2 Section F—Indirect Consumption

The concept of *indirect consumption* is the contributions, transfers, help, and investment of the anti-consumerist to herself, people she knows and loves (the social circle), and other elements of the planet by spending material, time and energy. Individual and collective production is also classified as indirect consumption since by using material, time and energy qualified products are produced by the anti-consumerists. The anti-consumerists seem to have an aim of improving all aspects of the life through indirect consumption.

The individual feeling freer through saving: If you spend all the money you make, you have to keep making money. You should only spend what you make so you don't have to keep on making money all the time. (Ayse, Interview)

The individual feeling happy through helping others: New clothes feed my ego and don't mean much after the second time I wear them, while something that touches the soul, like helping others or contributing to the nature provides so much more peace and satisfaction. (Nur, Online focus group)

Food aid: I made lentil balls, and then I thought of Syrian refugees. I mean, I can't contribute financially, so I thought I could give them some of the food. They even have two children; poor them. (Recel, Interview)

Financial, material, and housing aid: I have two stray cats in the backroom. I pay for their operations and everything, and then I take care of them for 2-3 days. I turned one of the rooms into a storage room. Their food, medication, baskets... (Nur, Interview)

Efforts to raise awareness: I try to raise awareness, this is my mission. I mean everyone from people who spit on the floor to those who don't think twice about hurting animals, or people who won't recycle... (Recel, Interview)

Efforts to show gratitude: People like janitors or security guards work low-paying, demanding jobs to serve society. For my part I always wish them a good day; I always greet any garbage collectors on the street, and smile. I think of this as a motivation for them because in my mind they need it more than anyone. (Hande, Interview)

Contribution to awareness: I try to educate my children. I was always poor growing up; I could have given them everything I couldn't have, but instead I always thought them to be humble. I taught them to be respectful and economically thrifty. (Savas, Interview)

Contribution to experience: Our housekeeper has never seen the sea in her life. I am going to take her to

Istanbul to see the sea in April and I am so excited that she is going to have that experience. (Ayse, Interview)

Time and energy aid: I was going to an alumni day when I saw two young men hitchhiking on the way to school and I picked them up. It is important to share resources. (Meltem, Interview)

Expertise aid: I used my expertise during my time as an administrator. People in our [political] party are not very well off to begin with, they are farmers, peasants, and unemployed. I took care of their legal issues free of charge and paid the taxes on it. (Serap, Interview)

Blood donations: I always give global blood donations because they are always needed. It can also be used to manufacture medication. (Metin, Interview)

Organ donations: I am donating my organs... I would like to have the rest of me cut up and put into a forest somewhere for wild animals. Hungry animals, tigers etc…could eat you in the wilderness, why not? It would be already waste after you die. (Recel, Interview)

Service generation: I can always sew and repair my children's clothes or buttons. I am very good at ironing. I can live alone quite easily and I am always ready to support my wife in any way around the house. (Savas, Interview)

Organizing workshops: We as the Istanbul Permaculture Collective organized a soap-making workshop as a part of our self-sufficiency workshops. Now we make our own soap at home. (Sevgi, Interview)

3.3 Section G—Non-consumption or Reduction of Consumption

One of the most common behaviors of anti-consumerists is the effort to eliminate or reduce consumption. *Non-consumption* means not using a branded or generic product for ethical reasons, not wasting time and energy or the individual protecting her and others' health, quality of life, and psychological well-being, while *reduction of consumption* is the individual's tendency to save, to minimize the negative effects it has on life and living a simpler life with fewer products. The third type of non-consumption or reduction of consumption is boycotting.

Boycotting is conducted by anti-consumerists against specific firms and brands that are at the center of ethically questionable production and that cause systemic problems.

Reducing consumption through repair: [I have been using] pots and pans that were in my dowry 25 years ago. Stainless steel lasts a long time; I have their handles replaced once every 4-5 years. (Ayse, Interview)

Non-consumption by not accepting gifts on special days: I was born in September. I'll tell everyone before September this year not to bring me any gifts. Come hug me. If you love me and want to wish me a happy birthday, hug me. That is all I want. (Savas, Interview)

Reducing consumption by through simpler lifestyles and minimization: One of my new decisions is to lead a simpler life, to get rid of every chemical product, every trivial, unnecessary object that hurts me, my family and the environment, and asking myself if something is necessary before buying it to keep the desire to buy things under control. This morning I looked at the bathroom cabinet and drawers. I found so many lipsticks bought five years ago and almost untouched, old, powdery eye shadow, half-empty bottles of cream, hair conditioner, a lot of shower gel, and hair gel I can't even remember buying (I don't even use hair gel). I even have pink hairspray! I am getting rid of all of that today and I am determined not to let anything I don't need inside the house. (Nermin, Blog post)

Reducing consumption by avoiding harmful products: It will be a year this summer that I don't drink anything that contained sugar. I don't eat dessert. Apparently a couple of pieces of fruit are enough sugar for a person. I don't consume any additional sugar because I think it's no good for you. You may also know that many brands have been using corn syrup for years. Those are GMOs. There is no sugar made from sugar beets in Turkey now. It comes from abroad in liquid syrup form and is used as such, in everything, even baklava. (Can, Interview)

Not consuming one's self or others by choosing less time-consuming job: When I was in my 30s and my daughter was young, I thought about how most of my friends were moving up in their careers. I was still working in the ground crew of an airline at the airport. I thought about it and I realized that I want to do something that makes me happy and have time for myself. When you are a supervisor, and I see these people, they work long hours and have no time left for themselves. I want to have time for myself, my house, my daughter, so I chose to be this way. (Meltem, Interview)

Not consuming oneself by divorcing: When I got divorced, I realized that some decisions may not last a lifetime. I was very conservative; I took a long time to decide on any form of action, and then tried to implement my decision. I was shocked to find myself breaking a decision that I made, but then I realized that life sometimes

goes that way and in the case of things like marriage, emotions should come before logic. (Esra, Interview)

Not consuming loved ones or society by marginalizing them: I do not like to talk about [my travels]; I don't like to highlight such differences between me and my interlocutor. There is no need to dominate the other through [your money and power]... I don't want to do that, but people in our society [are obsessed with] power. (Ayse, Interview)

Non-consumption or reducing consumption through boycotting: I don't go to malls frequently. Malls are built on what used to be parks and gardens. Now we don't have open spaces to run to in case of an earthquake, the animals on the street have nowhere to go. The parks are all gone; now all we have are tall residential buildings, hotels, business towers... They are real eyesores and really disturb Istanbul's cityscape. Moreover, malls are way too expensive for what they are. (Recel, Interview)

Reducing consumption by carpooling: I try to include many others in a carpool whenever I have somewhere to go, because in my opinion going somewhere alone by car is a waste in so many ways. (Meltem, Interview)

Reducing consumption through exchanging items: We exchange many things with our friends, including housewares. (Nur, Online focus group)

Boycotting: As a responsible mom and an active member of our society, I will never ever buy the products by Philips. I will also make everybody know about their [unhealthy baby products] on my website. (Sevgi, Blog post)

3.4 Section D—Goals of Anti-Consumerism

The goals of anti-consumerism can be classified in three groups: (1) personal goals, (2) social goals and (3) societal and global goals. Personal goals are goals that only concern the individual, yet they are closely related to the questioned marketing and consumption systems. Personal goals include protecting one's self against the system, raising one's quality of life, avoiding being deceived by the system and having access to preferred products that are in line with an anti-consumerist philosophy. Social goals are related to the people close to the anti-consumerist (the social circle). The three types of social goals observed are the following: (1) protecting the members of the social circle and improving their quality of life, (2) transforming the members of the social circle and thus enabling them to contribute added values, and (3) socializing with the members of the social circle, anti-consumerist or otherwise. Societal and global goals are goals that aim to support global elements (people, other living creatures, the environment and culture) as well as carrying out social justice. Anti-consumerists often emphasize these goals in addition to their personal and social goals.

Personal goals/Protecting self against the system: If we consume too much, we get into debt, which makes you weaker. If I could retire, it was thanks to that philosophy. If I had a lot of credit card debt, I would not have been able to retire, because my income now is half of what it used to be. Being debt-free makes you stronger, strong enough to live your life freely and express your ideas. You have to live within your means so you don't have to keep earning. We see these things in other countries; people lose their jobs and everything. (Ayse, Interview)

Personal goals/Improving one's quality of life: To be honest I have always hated larger houses; I grew up in a very big house. To me it only means cleaning constantly and an exhausted mother. I mean, things should serve people, not the other way around. I don't want to waste my time serving my stuff, cleaning them. (Zerrin, Interview)

Personal goals/Avoiding being deceived by the system: We are being deceived all the time, which means you have to be vigilant and informed. They talk about a promotion, a campaign somewhere, we find it so advantageous that we sign up... Then the same brand launches something else and makes us look stupid. (Recel, Interview)

Personal goals/Access to preferred products consistent with anti-consumerism: I don't like to buy something of inferior quality just for the short term; I prefer to buy things I am pleased with, even if they are a little more expensive, because I am only going to buy it once and then I am stuck with it, so it might as well be something I like. (Meltem, Interview)

Social goals/Improving the quality of life of the social circle: [If I had a lot of things] there would not be room for my child to run around in the house. (Nermin, Interview)

Social goals/Transforming the members of the social circle to enable them to contribute added value: [A friend of mine] is older than I am but she could not make smart choices while shopping. She used to spend an incredible amount of money on food. Now she is more inclined towards buying more natural items of higher quality in smaller amounts. Where she used to laugh at me for buying three apples, now says that she is going to

buy three apples, three bananas, and three oranges so they will get consumed in the week before they go bad. She can prioritize that way now. I think this is a social victory. (Zerrin, Interview)

Social goals/Socializing with the members of the social circle, anti-consumerist or otherwise: Sometimes new people come into [our group of friends]. They say "Please let me do it," but I always say no, this is our way of [sharing], all we want is to share conversation, if you like that, join us. I have never seen anyone who did not enjoy that. (Zerrin, Interview)

Societal and global goals/Ensuring economic and social justice: I don't want to go to a mall because I don't want the children of small business owners to work there; I don't want them to make money. I don't want only 5-6 families to make money. (Ayse, Interview)

Societal and global goals/Protecting people, living creatures, the environment and nature: My personal goal is to harm this world as little as possible. Of course I have to consume to keep on living. I just say no to excess. Did you know that the average person consumes 50 tons of food? Even that alone is incredible. (Savas, Written answers)

Societal and global goals/Leaving a habitable planet for future generations: I try not to consume too much so as not to exhaust resources. There is an American Indian saying that goes: "We do not inherit the Earth from our ancestors, we borrow it from our children." (Meltem, Interview)

3.5 Section A—Anti-Consumerist Transformation

The anti-consumerist transforms into one as a result of many factors. Influences on a macro and a micro scale cause the individual to undergo a transformation. The transformed individual seems to step into a unique life where there is no going back.

I always used to shop in malls, you know, at Adidas or Nike. That is what I knew because they were more easily accessible, and of course there is the brand obsession. Then I found out about local markets. Now I can say that I would never pay over 5 Turkish Liras for a t-shirt. (Zerrin, Interview) Once you become a vegetarian and start using vegan products, your way of thinking is transformed. You adopt a different lifestyle. (Recel, Written answers)

As I became an adult and became aware of social events, my behavior changed in that way. I can't say that I had a breaking point, but I can say that I became more focused in the last year or so, after the Gezi Park protests. (Esra, Written answers)

3.6 Section B—The Micro Context of Anti-Consumerist Transformation

The micro context of anti-consumerist transformation refers to the individual's own mind and its relation with the social circle. Many different factors such as personality, responsibilities brought on by certain life stages (aging, getting married, having children, retiring, etc...), increasing awareness, minimization, and responsibilities resulting from education and experience seem to act as the spark for the transformation to occur. When patterns are analyzed, the common personality traits of the participants seem to be awareness, subtleness, valuing personal development, and conscientiousness. It can be said that awareness gained through different life stages causes an individual to seek a simpler lifestyle. It was observed that anti-consumerists continue expecting things from life even at a later stage, so the simplification process is not a process of giving up on life with age, but rather an *active* process of reclaiming life.

I [transformed] when I was over 30. We got married young and had a child quite early. Nowadays, in today's Turkey, especially with children, you do mature a lot. You become more aware of everything. You know, realities of life become more evident: financial woes, keeping a home... You lose that carefree nature of youth. (Zerrin, Interview)

As you get older, if you manage to analyze life a bit, you choose a simpler existence. At least that's what happened with me. (Nur, Online focus group)

My consumption habits now are different than what they were when I was young, of course. You succumb to peer pressure a lot when you are an adolescent. Fashion matters, for example. But after that period culture definitely has an influence. [Now] I don't consume to distinguish myself in a crowd. (Serap, Online focus group)

We all wore [those brands]. I mean, it's all societal pressure, you need to have a place, a standing in society, right? You are young and you are not aware of all these things. (Sevgi, Interview)

It can be said that the micro context provides a lot of data regarding the anti-consumerist transformation. School education, work experience, the Internet, travels at home and abroad, classes, written sources, contributions and

lessons of pole stars (Note 1), members of the social circle and others, sudden leaps (Note 2), lessons from traumatic experiences, reaching consumption saturation, and religious and philosophical teachings can all play an important part in an individual's anti-consumerist transformation.

Contributions of social experiences: *I have been in villages; I met a lot of different people. I get angry with people who only see life in terms of who has more than they do. I advise them to look at those who have less, and then learn and think about their experiences. (Ayse, Interview)*

Contributions of experiences abroad: *I have been visiting my cousins in Germany ever since I was a little girl. I learned so much from those trips. I am 33 years old and I have been dreaming of seeing glass coin banks in Turkey since I was nine. Maybe I would not be able to conceive of such a thing if I hadn't seen it. I'm glad I got to become aware of that. (Zerrin, Online focus group)*

Contributions from family: *I grew up among confident people who did not need validation from brands. My father is American and my mother is Turkish. My father grew up in the black culture. I come from a confident family that appreciates the value of production and labor. (Deniz, Interview)*

Contributions of personal experiences: *When we were young, brands were attractive because we had limited access. It was such a big deal to be able to get a branded item, but we really could be happy with less. I think that is how we learned to be happy with the little we had. (Nur, Written answers)*

Contributions of pole stars: *My grandfather was someone who grew up very poor and made something of himself. He said even breadcrumbs had to go to birds. "There are millions of people who can't get what we have. Don't ever waste food, share everything." he would say. My grandfather was a very pure man who would speak to birds, get upset over the woes of cats and dogs, who would always think about his past. I must have been really influenced by him for this to emerge so many years later. (Hande, Written answers)*

3.7 Section C—The Macro Context of Anti-Consumerist Transformation

The macro context of anti-consumerist transformation explains the personal perceptions regarding the discipline of marketing, the phenomenon of consumption, and the intrinsic dynamics of the country and the world. It was observed that the life experiences of the participants in Turkey and their general conceptions regarding life abroad (through trips, relatives, friends, etc...) had an important role in shaping their goals and practices of anti-consumerism.

Perceptions regarding the modern marketing system: *Firstly, it's the subconscious messages we get from television and other communication channels that are [problematic]. Make-up, clothes, smartphones, cars... The best, the most expensive, you are not a man if you don't have that, use this and feel good... They mislead our youth, they mislead everyone. (Nur, Online focus group)*

Perceptions regarding the modern consumption practices: *People, especially women, try to relax and undo the damage of working for hours by shopping and taking care of themselves. I think very inexpensive [things], rather than luxury cars or designer clothing, make up a large portion of the world economy. Rich people can already buy everything they want. As the big bosses try to hold on to the remaining 80%, I feel like those are the people they are aiming to deceive. (Hande, Written answers)*

Perceptions of the current income distribution in Turkey: *I live in Moda, while my mother lives in [a poorer neighborhood]. You can see the difference in the way people live, even in the way they dress. You have all these fancy people in Kadıköy, hair and make-up in place, disrespectful, never thinking about the world... The financial divide already [affects] social life, that's where the differences start. In Moda, people go to the theater or movies, while in [poor neighborhoods] there are people who have never seen the sea while living in Istanbul, a city surrounded by the sea. (Recel, Interview)*

Perceptions of the current political system in Turkey: *I think the legal and the education systems in our country are horrible. In my opinion the legal system is what matters the most. As you know, the breaches in the legal system reflect on our uneducated and ignorant society as a freedom to do anything they want. If you talk about a scientific fact or defend your rights, you are accused of being a know-it-all. This idea of "whatever the majority wants" is leading us to a disaster. There is no hope for the education system. I think there is no chance anymore of getting a good education and making something in your life if you come from a disadvantaged background. (Ayse, Written answers)*

Perceptions of the current political system in Turkey when compared to the situation abroad: *When you travel to Denmark you see that even the garbage collectors on the street speak foreign languages because they go to public schools that support foreign language education. In Turkey even people we think of as being more*

educated don't really speak a foreign language, while there are many people in Europe from lower socioeconomic levels of society that speak foreign languages. (Esra, Interview)

The social culture perception in Turkey: Some Russian women went to different countries, especially to Turkey, because their families needed food and they had to support their children. They worked as prostitutes. We called them "Natasha." Most of them are doctors, many are educated, civilized, had ballet lessons... They have to come here to have sexual relations with stinky bearded men they wouldn't normally look at, and in fact would be repulsed by, just to look after their children. This is something we should be upset over as human beings. (Can, Interview)

Perceptions of the social culture in Turkey when compared to the situation abroad: People [who don't care about what I have to say] usually become more perceptive as soon as they notice that I am in a relatively high income bracket. They decide if I am worthy to be listened to, based on the make of my car. Based on the profession, on the house... When I first went abroad... I always feel like I need to be careful about how I act around waiters because they are so confident. At first it seems strange because we are so used to the slave culture here. Then, as you understand it more and question yourself, you start respecting that. [Waiters abroad] make good money, but even if they don't, that doesn't make them any less respectable. (Ayse, Interview)

In the event that some elements within the macro context influence the anti-consumerist directly, this contributes greatly to shaping the anti-consumerists' awareness, sensibilities, attitudes, positions, and actions.

Effects of the current economic situation on the individual: In fact I am trying to protect myself as much as I can because I worry about my own future and that of my child. I know not all developed countries are like that, but if I lived in, say, Canada, I would not have to worry so much about my child's future and could be the fun mother, but this is the way it is [in Turkey]. (Ayse, Interview)

Effects of the current job market in the country on the individual: Recently I was offered a job as the Turkish representative and inspector of a foreign food company. I did some research on the company, their connections and their production practices and I declined the offer. It was something I could have done with ease. But I'd rather be happy with what I have than to become a slave to unethical business and do things that go against my principles. (Sevgi, Written answers)

Effects of the social culture the country on the individual: I did not use my title as a lawyer during the time I was not practicing law. We were running a haberdashery. Then I noticed something I had never noticed before. People's attitude change when they learn that I am a lawyer. They start taking me more seriously, although I was saying the exact same thing. (Serap, Interview)

Findings based on the data provided by the participants may be listed as follows:

The participants say that they consistently stay away from desires and practices that are frequently ethically questioned. The participants are not interested in passing trends and go only for products that meet their own esthetic criteria. The views of the participants are consistent with the complex esthetic tastes described by Maslow (1943), the natural esthetic tastes described by Bourdieu (1984) and the concepts of tastes of the cosmopolitan man as outlined by Holt (1998). Anti-consumerists appear to be cultured individuals with original esthetic tastes who can create their own fashions. The subjects of the created model, urban anti-consumerists, appear to be interesting, lively, and active individuals who have intense relationships with life, wishing to satisfy their hedonistic and self-development needs.

The participants make rational and consistent purchases, staying away from products they do not need. Anti-consumerists place emphasis on functional features such as *utility*, *good value, and practicality* rather than the social symbols attached to a product (what it means for others). For them, the success of a product is directly proportional to how effective it is, how well it meets the needs and how well it performs on a cost-benefit analysis. The anti-consumerists have a very clear idea of what they want, go through a very thorough process of analysis, aim to obtain the maximum possible value out of the products they purchase and choose to return a product immediately if it does not meet their needs.

The concept of indirect consumption included in the anti-consumerism module requires the following modification to the strongest definition in the literature: *"a non-consumption, reduction-of-consumption, selective-consumption, or indirect-consumption act that has a rational and ethical link to a societal and systemic problem on the local and/or global scene."*

There are no noticeable differences among anti-consumerists in terms of philosophy, values, and ideology. However, it was observed that individuals display different amounts of anti-consumerist behavior in varying degrees of intensity. Thus, it may be concluded that there are differing degrees of anti-consumerism among these

individuals. Participants also participate in *non-consuming* and *reducing consumption* in many different ways. These activities can exist on an individual or collective scale in keeping with the anti-consumerist activity typology developed by Basci (2014).

When the reasons for anti-consumption are examined, it is found that they can be divided into three kinds (personal, social, and societal). This outcome contradicts the findings of Cherrier, Black, & Lee (2011) that anti-consumerism is practiced to create a positive image. It was observed that in Turkey, the participants in the study do not think of anti-consumerism as a way to gain social status, and in fact sometimes feel the need to be discreet about their choice because of social pressure. An anti-consumerist individual may be called absurd, alien, strange, weird, old, conservative, or an activist by her social circle and may sometimes choose to hide her anti-consumerism because of this labeling. If an anti-consumerist's choice is perceived to be positive in her social circle that appears to be a consequence of her choice rather than a goal of anti-consumerism.

When the anti-consumerist goals and behaviors of the participants are analyzed as a whole, they appear to be consistent with what is thought to be at the core of qualities defining anti-consumerist philosophy, values, and ideology: Kant's deontological ethics [focus on ethics as opposed to benefits]; Hegel's mutual interdependence [the holist approach of anti-consumerists]; Kohlberg's moral development theory [anti-consumerists acting in accordance with universal moral principles as opposed to a fear of punishment or a desire for benefits, sometimes even questioning ethical values presented by the conventional system of consumption]; Rousseau's understanding of an individual [focus on humanism and love for the world] and anti-materialism [anti-consumerists preferring to be simple and generous, avoiding hoarding]. The emerging profile of an anti-consumerist differs greatly from the "materialist anti-consumerist" defined by Cherrier (2010). Generally, anti-consumerists appear to be unique and mature individuals living their life in accordance with universal ethical principles and having a stance against any ideology that acts in an ethically-questionable manner. It was found that the anti-consumerist transformation conforms to the development tasks described by Havighurst (1972). Young individuals trying to fit in with the dynamics of the social group also try to find their own unique identities with teachings and awareness on macro and micro scales, eventually turning into anti-consumerists. When the common personality traits (thriftiness, subtleness, caring about personal development, and conscientious) of anti-consumerists were analyzed, it was concluded that these individuals are not superficial, they pursue societal and universal goals, try to reach enlightenment by developing themselves in every way, and are kind-hearted. The trait of "awareness" cyclically helps the anti-consumerist analyze the inconsistencies in the culture they live in, while the trait of "personal development" helps them reach information at all time, thus creating awareness and critical thinking abilities. Subtleness and thriftiness mean to stay away from brands and luxury, while conscientiousness means to be involved with all kinds of anti-consumerist behavior including indirect consumption. This conscientiousness was not based on religious feelings or on other reward and punishment mechanisms (e.g., Islam or karma), but was found to have humanist and secular properties.

The anti-consumerist transformation life stage carries undeniable benefits for the individual. It appears to heighten awareness in important periods of life such as marriage, having children, and maturing with age or retirement. Awareness brought on by life stages are combined with personality traits and elements of the environment, resulting in anti-consumerism. It can be said that the individual is in constant data exchange with their environment during the anti-consumerist transformation process, which is an active, multifaceted, and increasingly intensive mechanism. Intense work experiences, trauma, and troubles associated with social life and financial problems help the anti-consumerist realize the importance of financial and human resources, as well as time, and this awareness acts as a facilitator in the transformation process. On a macro scale, economic/administrative/consumption models dominating the world, as well as Turkey, increases the anxiety level of the anti-consumerist and results in the intensified desire to and actions aimed at protecting oneself, loved ones/acquaintances, and all elements of the world. An increase in the anxiety levels seems to result in a decrease in spending for hedonistic reasons or on personal development.

It can be observed that anti-consumerists have unique conceptions of the ongoing marketing systems, work principles, consumption practices, economic situation, existing government types, and dominant sociocultural practices that are consistent with the existing literature on the subject. Briefly, the participants' perceptions appear to be based on reality and not on their imagination. Especially older participants who experienced in an era when there are not many brands seem to have internalized a philosophy of being content with little. However, anti-consumerists are unhappy with the flawed understanding of government, especially in Turkey, and that they display such behavior as indirect consumption and boycotting in reaction against systems that cause the depletion of human, animal, environmental, and cultural resources. Anti-consumerists fulfill their individual responsibility by carrying out actions that are, in reality, responsibilities of public institutions and political

structures. Negative perceptions regarding Turkey and the world could result in anti-consumerists reducing their indirect consumption activities. Moreover, the individual may withdraw into herself trying to keep the world out. Ongoing faulty consumption practices and the economic and governmental chaos in the country have a negative effect on the hopes and expectations of anti-consumerists, generally creating an unhappy mood.

Regarding the restrictions encountered during the research process, grounded theory, a qualitative methodology, requires that because of its participant-based nature, the research includes fewer participants compared to other studies based on quantitative methodologies. Moreover, as anti-consumerism is usually embraced later in life, the researcher had a hard time reaching any members of Generation Y, while no anti-consumerists from Generation Z (people born in 1995 and after) were found. The participation of individuals from different generations may help enrich the model. Another limitation encountered during the research as the inability to observe the living environment of many of the participants. Therefore, limited data could be gathered regarding their lifestyle and environment. The resulting model does not mean to form a generalization about all anti-consumerists in Turkey, nor does it try to provide a comparison between the participants and anti-consumerists living outside Turkey. Anti-consumerists living abroad may continue their anti-consumerist behavior based on different goals and dynamics.

4. Discussion

Many scientists and thinkers think that the entire responsibility of consumption falls on the shoulders of businesses and their supporters. But, does the consumer have no responsibility? And should businesses not receive any credit for the products that make life easier, more developed, and better? For example, the Sony Walkman, designed by Sony for active young people (du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, & Negus, 1997), has helped relax with music, stay informed with cassette tapes, and simply made consumers feel better. In fact, many goods and services contribute to life in positive ways and make it more tolerable. This means that sometimes businesses and marketing teams do work for the good of consumers. The golden rule that anti-consumerists provide for business and marketing management is the necessity to concoct products in line with the principles of *physical function, rational value, productivity, and ethical value* as required by the notion of societal and sustainable marketing. To anti-consumerists, artificial image building and unethical promotion activities should be abandoned by the discipline of marketing. They frequently speak out against the fact that marketing experts sometimes try to reach consumers at inconvenient times with deceitful messages in order to sell the wrong products. A participant's statement that "they are everywhere all the time" clearly reflects the general perception about marketing. All participants seem to agree that a product of good quality would become popular through word of mouth. Moreover, it needs to be understood that the strategy to use the notion of anti-consumerism to appear cool appears to bear no significance, at least for the Turkish anti-consumerists themselves.

When the answers to the research questions are analyzed, it can be inferred that anti-consumerists form a qualified group for public and civil society institutions and that with their heightened awareness and ethical values, these individuals are key players in improving problematic areas in society. In developing countries such as Turkey, all organizers and administrators, especially the state governors, should fulfill their responsibilities regarding issues anti-consumerists complain about such as waste, overconsumption, debt, and income inequality, thus striving to form ethical, sustainable and productive systems. This point of view is especially important to the brain drain of conscientious people like anti-consumerists who prioritize personal and societal development and care about social problems towards relatively more developed countries. If the dominant sociocultural attitudes, financial situation, and administrative structures have properties that support the anti-consumerist state of mind, it will mean that anti-consumerists and others will allocate more resources for good-quality products, personal development, and hedonistic needs. This would result in not only an increase in prosperity and contentment in society, but would also make it possible for country statistics to improve in a sustainable way.

The continuation of the said research with a quantitative research methodology could provide additional information for experts wishing to work on the issue of anti-consumerism. A scale created during the research process is presented in Figure 3. This sample scale and others may provide a detailed behavioral panorama of anti-consumerist behavior for additional research activities. An important detail to take into account during qualitative research is the need for scrutinizing the anti-consumerist credentials of each potential participant to make sure that they fit the criteria. Only if the participants meet the consumption criteria will the application of a quantitative methodology yield realistic results. Diversity in typology may be achieved by conducting further qualitative and quantitative research. Additionally, the model aimed to explain the transformation, goals and behavior of urban anti-consumerists could be further enriched by the inclusion of voluntary simplifiers dwelling in the countryside. As these individuals lead a life of maximum isolation from the marketing system and urban lifestyles, additional data provided by them could provide an opportunity to understand and explain the concept

of anti-consumerism even further. Eco-villages where anti-consumerists live together, and sustainable holiday resorts seem particularly well-suited for ethnographic studies. Moreover, additional research involving people who identify themselves as anti-consumerists but do not actually fit the criteria could help defining the limits of the concept of anti-consumption. Similar research in different countries could provide an opportunity to compare and contrast the manifestations of anti-consumerism in different cultures.

Behavioral Intensity Scale of Anti-Consumerism

(Direct Consumption)	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*Always*
1) I would never buy something I do not think I need.					
2) The thought of buying more than I need bothers me.					
3) I prefer to buy economic products that are of good quality.					
4) I prefer to buy products that do not waste my time.					
5) I really think about my decision before buying something.					
6) I prefer to shop in places I find ethical.					
7) I prefer to buy products that do no harm the environment or living creatures.					
8) I return the products that do not meet my expectations without hesitation.					

(Indirect Consumption)	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*Always*
9) I give to people in need and donate to civil society organizations.					
10) I give time and energy to people in need and to civil society organizations.					
11) I try to raise awareness among my social circle about consumption.					
12) I participate in civil protests.					
13) I donate blood, organ, or cadaver.					
14) I participate in individual production (cooking, raising animals, sewing, repairing, etc.)					
15) I participate in collective production (permaculture, cooperatives, workshops, etc.)					
16) I try to guarantee my happiness and personal development by investing in hobbies, classes, and my social life.					

(Non-consumption and reduction of consumption)	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*Always*
17) I try to lead a simple life.					
18) I try to give things I do not need to people who need them.					
19) I try not to buy gifts for special days.					
20) I continue to boycott the brands I decided to boycott diligently.					
21) I participate in activities like exchanges and carpools.					
22) I try not to generate waste.					
23) I recycle.					
24) I prefer to get something repaired or buy second hand rather than buy something new.					

The score calculation method: Never: 1 point/Rarely: 2 points/Sometimes: 3 points/Often: 4 points/Always: 5 points
The minimum possible score is 24, while the maximum possible score is 120.

24-48: Mild anti-consumerism / 49-84: Medium anti-consumerism / 85-120: Intense anti-consumerism

Figure 3. Behavioral intensity scale of anti-consumerism

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Notes

Note 1. The author/researcher first came across this term on the radio. Hazal, a young and successful Turkish singer, called a friend who stood by her side in brutal show business as the *pole star*, saying that she liked the analogy with the *pole star*, which is used to find the way at night (Research logbook, p. 182).

Note 2. This term, inspired by Hegel, has been used by the author to describe sudden realizations.

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