

Do I share because I care?

**The role of values in the acceptance, adoption
and diffusion of collaborative consumption**

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Abstract

Collaborative consumption is an emerging socio-economic model based on sharing, bartering, gifting, swapping, renting, lending and borrowing, enabled by new technologies and peer communities. When providing access to underutilised or idle assets, it promotes efficient use of resources, reduces their environmental burden and can rebuild social capital. For this potential to bring economic interests in line with positive environmental and social impact, collaborative consumption has been considered a promising approach towards more sustainable consumption. Nevertheless, its market uptake is still quite limited and further research is necessary to identify and understand the conditions that could support its wider introduction and scaling up.

This thesis investigates how consumers' values may contribute to the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption. Drawing from two different, if not contrasting, theoretical perspectives to understand consumer behaviour – social psychology and social practice theory – the research explores the possibility that individual values influence, and are influenced by, the 'meaning' element of social practices, thereby facilitating or hindering participation. The examination was conducted through mixed methods research using Ecomodo, a UK-based online community marketplace for lending and borrowing, as a case study. Initial quantitative data collection and analysis was conducted to measure 63 Ecomodo users' values through Schwartz's Portrait Value Questionnaire. These results were followed up with 10 semi-structured interviews facilitated by a series of visual prompts.

Findings suggest that variation between the values held by users of Ecomodo and by a representative sample of the UK population may be partly responsible for Ecomodo's failure to become mainstream. In particular, the research found that there is a mutual relationship between individual values and the meanings that underlie practices (e.g. lending and borrowing). However, considerations around

'value', the perceived convenience and practicality of a certain behaviour/practice, also play a role in determining participation in collaborative consumption. This led to the advancement of the Individual-Practice Framework, which complements approaches from social practice theory with insights from social psychology, as a configuration able to offer an alternative perspective to understand consumer behaviour. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the implications for sustainable design and possible practical applications of this framework.

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Preface

'Sharing is caring'

Many of you may have heard this phrase before. I came across it for the first time when I started my PhD research on collaborative consumption. I was new to the topic, which was quite casually suggested to me by my Director of Studies in one of our initial supervisory meetings. At that time, he was involved in a research project led by the London Community Resource Network (LCRN) for Defra (Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs) as part of its 'Action Based Research Programme'. The aim of the study was to implement an online collaborative consumption tool in a community with the intention of monitoring, measuring and understanding reasons for participation or non-participation.

Unfortunately, the project encountered many difficulties in its development and came to a premature end after the initial baseline survey and the launch of the platform in the targeted community in London. However, my brief involvement in the scoping phase of this research involved Ecomodo, an online platform for peer-to-peer lending and borrowing selected as the project partner. Ecomodo became the case study for my PhD. More importantly, taking part in the Defra project made me ask myself the question that triggered my whole PhD investigation:

'Why am I not doing it?'

I started wondering why I was not using Ecomodo or any other collaborative consumption platform. Was I different from "the people who share"? I have never been especially committed to sustainability and do not have a particularly "green lifestyle". So, did the Ecomodo users care more about the environment than me? Or about society? Maybe, both? After some thought, I presumed that it should have been *a matter of personal values*. Therefore, I started a preliminary literature review

on the topic and I quickly found attempting to understand pro-environmental and pro-social consumer behaviour to be a well-explored and established area of psychological research.

While I was getting more and more familiar with the concept of values and its related theories, my second supervisor kept providing me with food for thought and additional readings. Elizabeth Shove's book "Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience: The Social Organization of Normality" arrived at some point to my hands. I cannot deny that at the beginning I did not quite 'get it'. I struggled a bit with the sociological terminology and in recognising how abstract ideas of 'ratchet-type lock-ins' and 'path dependent trajectories of sociotechnical systems' could actually fit in my PhD. However, the more I was reading about values and the limitations of social psychological approaches, the more the sociology of consumption and technology was appealing to me.

What happened then is (more academically) described in the next eight chapters. In a nutshell, I began to embrace a social practice perspective to look at collaborative consumption and its dynamics of 'recruitment', 'defection' and 'reproduction'. However, I never really dropped the idea that individual values play a role in determining what people do. Conversely, I felt that values, personal traits and preferences somehow affect the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of social practices. As a result, I came to strongly believe that accounting for the individual in social practice theory can provide additional insights, without necessarily undermining its theoretical foundations. In saying that, I might appear quite naïve to some dogmatic believers in one side of the argument, but I think the whole debate about whether social practice theory is more appropriate than social psychological models of consumer behaviour to explain human action can become, at times, a matter of disciplinary terminology and divides, and hinder knowledge.

These two approaches clearly have a different focus of investigation: social psychology concentrates on the individual, whereas social practice theory takes practices as the central unit of analysis. Also, they originate from distinct theoretical premises and support different paradigms to conceptualise behaviour: the former typically based on individual choice, the latter on habits and everyday routines grounded in socially shared notions of normality. Nevertheless, they both capture aspects along the polar dimensions of the individual and the social that are relevant to understanding sustainable consumption. Therefore, I decided to combine insights from social psychology and social practice theory, and explore the possible relationship between individual values and the 'meaning' element of practice.

To some extent, I explain this (either brave, offensive or, more simply, pragmatic) act of combination with my own academic background. I am neither a psychologist nor a sociologist. I am a designer, born and bred. This *super partes* perspective initially provided me with a degree of naïve inquisitiveness and open-mindedness to venture out in the multifaceted area of consumer behaviour and behavioural change. However, this also brings me to introduce here an important caveat note for the reader. I feel the need to apologise in advance for any possible loose use of terminology or oversimplification of concepts, either purposefully or unwittingly, made in this thesis. I hope the reader will bear with me in this attempt to navigate hitherto unknown waters.

But let's not linger on and, instead, conclude this Preface, which reads as my reflexivity and positional statement, as well as my account of how an incredibly fascinating research journey has begun.

L.P.

Nottingham, UK

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Author's declaration

This thesis includes content that has been previously published in a peer-reviewed journal and three conference proceedings. The initiation, key ideas, development and writing up of these papers were the sole responsibility of the candidate, under the supervision of Prof Tim Cooper and Prof Tom Fisher.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Mainstreaming collaborative consumption

Current patterns and levels of consumption in industrial economies are widely recognised as unsustainable (see Tukker et al., 2006). Over-consumption and a throwaway culture are liable for major environmental problems such as climate change, resource depletion and waste (Cooper, 2005). A possible solution to prevent unnecessary usage of resources and excessive waste is to reduce new purchases and promote the reuse and more intensive use of products (Ellen MacArthur Foundation and the McKinsey Center for Business and Environment, 2015). Collaborative consumption – “traditional sharing, bartering, lending, trading, renting, gifting and swapping, redefined through technology and peer communities” (Botsman and Rogers, 2010: xv) – has recently attracted the attention of the media, businesses, academics and governments as an alternative, and potentially more sustainable, model of consumption which allows people to share assets, resources, time and skills, typically across online platforms.

Driven by a combination of technological, societal, economic and environmental factors, the rise of collaborative consumption, its main characteristics and potential benefits are introduced in the first part of the chapter (Section 1.1). This is followed by an overview of the key actors operating in this fast-growing area and their motivations for participating (Section 1.2). Some outstanding barriers to the spread of collaborative consumption are then considered in order to explain the failure of many initiatives to enter the mainstream (Section 1.3). Subsequently, the role of design in supporting their establishment and scaling up is discussed (Section 1.4). Having identified the need to better understand the conditions that could support wider introduction and uptake of these alternative consumption patterns (Section 1.5), the research sets out to investigate how

consumers' values may contribute to the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption. The chapter concludes with an outline of the thesis and its structure (Section 1.6).

1.1 The collaborative economy

Throughout history, people have shared, borrowed, lent, leased, rented, swapped and donated goods, services and time. The 20th century saw the flourishing of a range of ideas and activities that enabled people to share more. Some of these initiatives were commercial, such as laundrettes and car rentals, whereas others were more socially oriented and took place outside of traditional market structures, such as communal bathhouses, babysitting cooperatives or mutual aid groups. Besides those, informal and personal collaborative arrangements like hitchhiking and swap shops have also prospered among niche communities, generally outside of regulatory or organisational frameworks. However, common use or second-hand trading largely remained unremarkable consumption practices and little attention was devoted to them by social scientists, organisations and policy makers (Cohen, 2014; Stoke et al., 2014).

More recently, the convergence of advances in Internet technologies, a wide cultural shift in society, a post-recessionary climate (following the 2008 financial crisis), and pressing environmental concerns has provided the context change condition necessary for turning sharing from a private or local behaviour into a global movement able to disrupt traditional ways of consuming and business models based on individual private ownership (Owyang et al., 2014). Botsman (2013) classified these four sets of drivers into 'Technological Innovation', 'Values Shift', 'Economic Realities' and 'Environmental Pressures' (Figure 1.1).

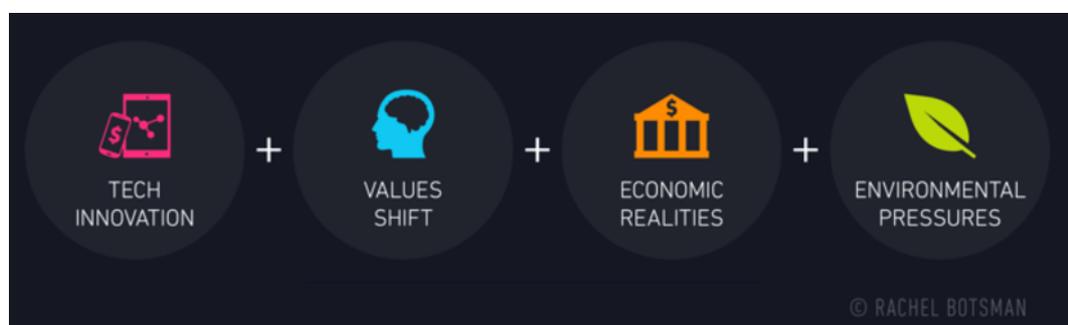


Figure 1.1 The four drivers of the sharing movement (Botsman, 2013: 19). Reproduced with permission from the Collaborative Lab.

- *Technological Innovation* (Technological drivers)

Internet-based technologies like mobile devices, social networks, sensors and payment systems have made it easier for people to connect with one another and to coordinate their activities, thus facilitating new types of sharing services that match up demand and share capacity dynamically through real-time identification of idle resources and peer-to-peer transactions (Owyang et al., 2014; Botsman, 2003; Botsman and Rogers, 2010; Gansky, 2010).
- *Values Shift* (Societal drivers)

A hyper-connected society and the economic downturn appear to have encouraged a change in consumer attitudes and perceptions leading to an upsurge in more collective- and community-based ('post-materialist') (Tonkinwise, 2014) values (Botsman and Rogers, 2010). Disillusionment with a consumer culture of acquisitiveness and individual ownership, increasing public awareness about environmental and social sustainability, and a desire to re-create stronger communities could all drive greater consumer interest in sharing rather than owning (Owyang et al., 2014).
- *Economic Realities* (Economic drivers)

The desire to maximise resource utilisation and consumer interest in developing new sources of income (through making, freelancing and sharing personal idle assets for extra cash) may create opportunities for the growth of alternative models of production and consumption (Owyang et al., 2014; Gansky, 2010).
- *Environmental Pressures* (Environmental drivers)

The negative impact of mass consumption on the environment has been widely recognised as problematic. The idea of decoupling economic growth from environmental degradation has prompted the need to make better use of finite resources and move towards a resource-efficient, low-carbon economy in which innovative systems based on shared usage could, in theory, replace unsustainable modes of consumption (Botsman, 2003; Botsman and Rogers, 2010).

The terms ‘collaborative consumption’, the ‘sharing economy’ and ‘collaborative economy’ have often been used interchangeably by scholars and media commentators to refer to the rise of this global sharing movement. However, some important differences in meaning need to be acknowledged (Botsman, 2013).

In their seminal book *‘What’s Mine Is Yours: How Collaborative Consumption is Changing the Way We Live’*, Rachel Botsman and Roo Rogers first captured the proliferation of new types of marketplaces, businesses and communities enabling people to access (rather than buy outright) the things they need, while also making the things they owned available to others (Stokes et al., 2014). This emerging socio-economic phenomenon was defined as ‘collaborative consumption’¹ – the reinvention of traditional market behaviours, such as bartering, renting, trading and exchanging, through technology, enabling them to take place on a scale and in ways never possible before (Botsman and Rogers, 2010).

The ‘sharing economy’ has subsequently become a popular umbrella name to describe a broad range of activities and organisations based on the sharing of human and physical assets for monetary or non-monetary benefits, generally through peer-to-peer marketplaces (see also Matofska, 2014). This more general label was adopted to include also the collaborative production element (i.e. the shared creation, production, distribution, trade *and consumption* of goods and services), which was omitted by the initial denomination (Felländer et al., 2015). However, use of the word ‘sharing’ has been widely criticised for being misleading since many transactions actually involve cash payments rather than being reciprocal and free of charge (see Belk, 2014; Botsman, 2014; Cohen, 2014; Stoke et al., 2014; Eckhardt and Bardhi, 2015).

More recently, the term ‘collaborative economy’ – “an economy built on distributed networks of connected individuals and communities as opposed to centralised institutions, transforming how we can produce, consume, finance and learn” (Botsman, 2013) – has been embraced by most commentators worldwide as a more accurate overarching name for this growing space, which comprises of four components: production, consumption, finance and education (Figure 1.2).

¹ The term ‘collaborative consumption’ was originally conceived by Felson and Spaeth (1978: 614) to describe “those events in which one or more persons consume economic goods or services in the process of engaging in joint activities with one or more others.”



Figure 1.2 The collaborative economy (Botsman, 2013: 3). Reproduced with permission from the Collaborative Lab.

In keeping with Stoke et al. (2014), each of these areas can, in turn, be partitioned into a number of sub-categories (Figure 1.3). The first pillar of activity, collaborative production (i.e. design, production and distribution of goods through collaborative networks) can be divided into: ‘collaborative design’, ‘collaborative making’ and ‘collaborative distribution’. Collaborative design refers to groups or networks of people working together to design a product or service prompted by an open call, a design brief, or a challenge (e.g. Quirky). Collaborative making involves people connecting outside of formal institutions or organising structures that enable them to collaborate in realising projects and products (e.g. TechShop, OpenStreetMap). Collaborative distribution consists of all those community delivery services (e.g. Nimber) in which people organise and fulfil the distribution of goods directly to peers.

Collaborative consumption (i.e. maximum utilisation of assets through efficient models of redistribution and shared access) includes ‘redistribution markets’, ‘product service systems’² and ‘collaborative lifestyles’. In redistribution markets people resell or redistribute used or pre-owned goods from where they are not needed to somewhere they are wanted (e.g. Freecycle, eBay, Furniture Re-use Network). Product service systems provide access to the benefit of a product (that remains owned by a company or an individual) without the user needing to own it outright (e.g. Zipcar, Girlmeetsdress). Goods that are expensive to purchase and maintain or have limited use (because of fashion, fulfilling a temporary need, or diminishing in appeal and value after usage) are particularly well suited to this type of access-based model. Collaborative lifestyles involve the sharing and exchange of

² The concept of ‘product service system’ (PSS) – a specific type of value proposition oriented to fulfil needs and provide satisfaction to consumers (or ‘users’) through the delivery of an integrated system of products and services (Vezzoli et al., 2012) has been widely covered in academic literature. For an overview see: Goedkoop et al., 1999; Manzini et al., 2001; Mont, 2002; Mont and Tukker, 2006; Tukker and Tischner, 2006; Baines et al., 2007; Beuren et al., 2013).

more intangible assets such as time, skills and spaces (e.g. Airbnb, BlaBlaCar, Grub Club, Landshare, TaskRabbit).

The area of collaborative finance (i.e. person-to-person banking and crowd-driven investment models that decentralise finance) incorporates funding, lending and investment services that are offered outside of traditional financial institutions. Its sub-categories are ‘crowdfunding’, ‘peer-to-peer lending’, ‘complementary currencies’ and ‘collaborative insurance’. Crowdfunding entails groups of people contributing towards a specific project’s funding goal (e.g. Kickstarter, Crowdfunder). Peer-to-peer lending services connect people with money to invest with people wanting to borrow funds (e.g. Zopa, Kiva, Pave). The complementary currencies sector includes alternative ways to measure and acknowledge value (e.g. Local Exchange Trading Systems (LETS), Timebanking). Collaborative insurance consists of people teaming up to negotiate lower insurance premiums (e.g. Bought By Many).

Finally, collaborative education (i.e. open education and person-to person learning models that democratise education) includes a range of learning opportunities that are open to everyone and the sharing of resources and knowledge to learn together. It can be further divided into: ‘open courses and courseware’, ‘skillsharing’ and ‘crowdsourced knowledge’. Open courses and courseware covers courses, lectures and other educational content that is freely and openly accessible by people (e.g. MOOCs, Coursera, FutureLearn). Skillsharing refers to all those situations where people offer to teach or share skills (e.g. Skilio, Repair Cafés). Crowdsourced knowledge entails about people aggregating their knowledge or collectively solving problems (e.g. Wikipedia).

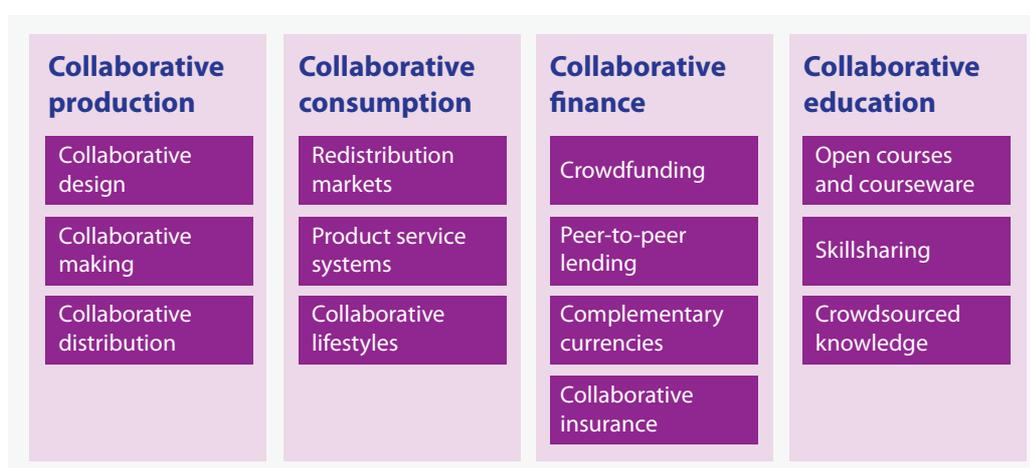


Figure 1.3 Collaborative production, collaborative consumption, collaborative finance and collaborative education. Adapted from Stokes et al., 2014: 13. Reproduced with permission from Nesta.

The collaborative economy covers a very diverse range of digital platforms and offline activities, which vary considerably in scale, maturity and purpose: from financially successful multinational companies like Airbnb, a peer-to-peer lodging service, to community-based makerspaces and local tool libraries, from free online learning platforms such as Coursera, to well established crowdfunding sites like Kickstarter (Schor, 2014). Given the breadth and complexity of the collaborative economy and its many manifestations, the next section focuses and expands on collaborative activities related to consumption, which represent the most populated and explored area within the collaborative economy (Stokes et al., 2014).

1.1.1 Collaborative consumption

Collaborative consumption provides access to goods or services through lending, borrowing, bartering, swapping, sharing, trading, renting and gifting (Stokes et al., 2014). Participants can both play the role of ‘peer users’ by accessing the available products and services, and ‘peer provider’ by supplying assets to rent, share or borrow. Interactions may be local and face-to-face, or use the Internet to connect people together. As seen above, this area is further divided into the three subcategories of collaborative lifestyles, redistribution markets and product service systems (Botsman and Rogers, 2010) (Figure 1.4).



Figure 1.4 Collaborative lifestyles, redistribution markets and product service systems (Botsman, 2013: 4). Reproduced with permission from the Collaborative Lab.

Examples of collaborative consumption activities (e.g. Airbnb, Freecycle, Zipcar) include both monetary and non-monetary transactions, and apply different delivery models involving Business-to-Consumer (B2C), Peer-to-Peer (P2P) and Business-to-Business (B2B) arrangements (Figure 1.5). In B2C models the business owns or directly manage the inventory and facilitates the transactions among users (e.g. Zipcar, Netflix). In P2P marketplaces the interaction between two or more

people to trade or exchange a good or service is facilitated and supported by a company or organisation that is not directly involved in the transaction (e.g. Freecycle, TaskRabbit, BlaBlaCar, Airbnb). B2B transactions take place between a business and other companies who own or directly manage the inventory (e.g. LiquidSpace, Getable) (Stokes et al., 2014).



Figure 1.5 Collaborative consumption transaction models (Botsman, 2013: 5). Reproduced with permission from the Collaborative Lab.



Figure 1.6 The complete picture (Botsman 2013: 9). Reproduced with permission from the Collaborative Lab.

Figure 1.6 above provides a visual representation of the collaborative economy space, organised in the sub-areas of collaborative production, finance, education and consumption. The latter is broken down in its three sub-categories

(i.e. collaborative lifestyles, product service systems and redistribution markets) and further partitioned according to the possible different transaction models (i.e. B2C, P2P and B2B).

1.1.2 Critical mass, idling capacity, belief in the commons and trust between strangers

Botsman and Rogers (2010) claim that different examples of collaborative consumption share some common underlying values and key principles essential to making them work: ‘critical mass’, ‘idling capacity’, ‘belief in the commons’, and ‘trust between strangers’.

Critical mass indicates the existence of enough momentum (i.e. sufficient number of adopters) to make an initiative self-sustaining. The point where critical mass is achieved (i.e. the ‘tipping point’) varies for different forms of collaborative consumption and depends on the context, consumer needs and expectations. Reaching critical mass is fundamental for collaborative consumption activities to compete with traditional buying, as it ensures that enough consumers are satisfied by the convenience and choice available to them (Botsman and Rogers, 2010).

Idling capacity refers to the unused potential of tangible and intangible assets (i.e. physical products, time, skills, space, commodities) when they are not in use. In collaborative consumption, new social, mobile and location-based technologies make it possible to unlock and redistribute elsewhere the untapped social, economic and environmental value of underutilised or idle resources by efficiently matching ‘haves’ and ‘wants’ (i.e. people who own something with people who want it on a temporary basis). Idling capacity can take the form of empty seats in a car, unused holiday homes or spare bedrooms, underused consumer goods and latent skills (Botsman, 2013; Botsman and Rogers, 2010).

Belief in the commons encapsulates a set of shared values underpinning collaborative consumption, described by Botsman (2013) as ‘collaboration’, ‘empowerment’, ‘openness’ and ‘humanness’ (Figure 1.7). By participating in collaborative activities, people may form communities and empower each other. Every person who joins or uses collaborative consumption is deemed to create value for another person, while enabling the overall social value (i.e. benefit to the community) to expand (Botsman and Rogers, 2010).

Collaborative consumption could also encourage meaningful interactions and trust between strangers. Most collaborative activities require individuals to trust both the platform they are using and the people they are connecting with. In

facilitating P2P transactions, the service provider thus needs to create the tools and environment able to form and build this trust. This may involve using rating systems (e.g. on Airbnb hosts can leave public reviews about their guests, and vice versa) or identity verification systems (e.g. some platforms check their members' ID using third party ID verification tools). Therefore, as collaborative consumption grows, online reputation and identification are becoming increasingly important. Some reputation aggregators such as eRated have also been created to allow people to accumulate and use their ratings across multiple platforms (e.g. a positive eBay rating can help users to build trust on Airbnb) (Botsman and Rogers, 2010; Woskko, 2014).

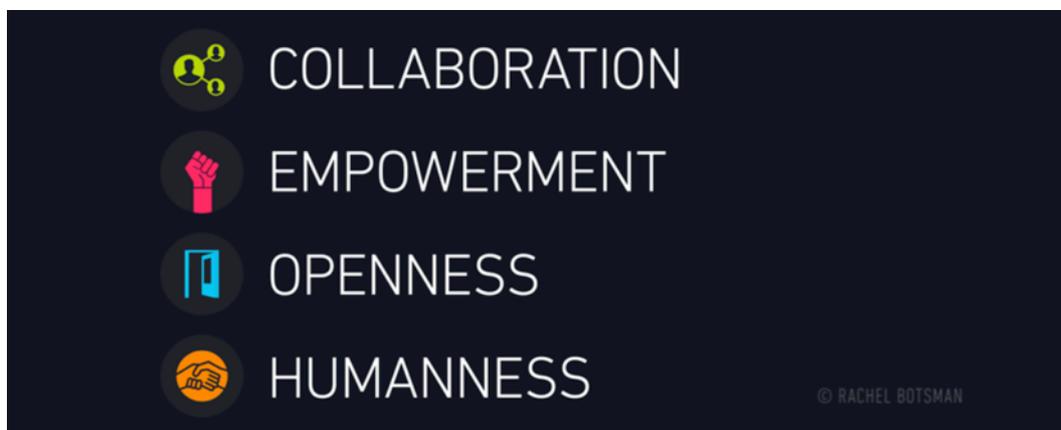


Figure 1.7 Collaborative consumption underlying values (Botsman, 2013: 18). Reproduced with permission from the Collaborative Lab.

1.1.3 Economic, environmental and social impact

A consumption model based on sharing, swapping, trading or renting products and services has many potential benefits: it may promote efficient utilisation of pooled resources, reduce their environmental burden and generate social capital (Botsman and Rogers, 2010; Stokes et al., 2014). For this capacity to bring economic interests in line with positive environmental and social impacts, collaborative consumption has been considered a promising pattern towards more sustainable consumption (see Cohen, 2014; Heinrichs, 2013; Leissman et al., 2013).

From an economic point of view, collaborative activities may allow a more efficient and resilient use of financial resources. Moreover, making use of spare capacity of products, skills and spaces through technology may generate financially viable business opportunities and lead to the emergence of a new economic model of access over private ownership that fundamentally challenges the assumptions upon which economic growth is conventionally conceived (i.e. the 'buy, use, throw

away and then buy more' traditional model of consumerism) (Botsman and Rogers, 2010).

According to Botsman and Rogers (2010), the environmental advantage of collaborative consumption relies on its potential to prevent new purchases, increase reuse and resource efficiency, reduce waste, encourage the development of better products, foster durability, intensify use, maximise the utility of individually owned products with limited usage and make the most of excess capacity created by over-production and consumption.

Finally, collaborative activities may enable people to save and make money, space and time while generating relationships and social connectivity. Due to its reliance on networks and peer interactions, collaborative consumption is believed to empower ordinary people (which become 'microentrepreneurs'), boost local economies, instil 'neighbourly values' and a strong sense of community, and contribute to building fairer and more connected societies (Botsman, 2013). Moreover, Botsman and Rogers (2010) claim that collaborative consumption creates a different consumer mind-set, one that favours access over ownership, thereby changing the relationship between physical products, individual ownership and self-identity. In particular, it could trigger a shift from a hyper-individualist culture in which identity and happiness depend on material possessions, to a society based on shared resources where people express who they are (e.g. status, group affiliation and belonging) by what they join or, as Belk (2014) put it, "you are what you can access".

Despite its potential for triggering (a cultural, economic, political and consumer) change, very little is known about the real effect that collaborative activities are currently having on economies, communities and the environment (e.g. income generation, community connection). The actual impact of collaborative consumption (as well as its possible unintentional rebound effects³) remains extremely difficult to measure and evaluate (Cohen, 2014; Jacob, 2015; Leissman et al., 2013, Schor, 2014, Woskow, 2014). Furthermore, although the rise of collaborative consumption has been largely accompanied by a rhetoric of doing good, saving the environment, building social connections and providing economic benefits to ordinary people, some critics are starting to denounce the predatory and exploitative character of many companies and individuals operating in the space,

³ The 'rebound effect' is defined as "an increase in consumption which may occur as an unintended side-effect of the introduction of policy, market and/or technology interventions aimed at environmental efficiency improvements" (Maxwell et al., 2011: 28).

which are mostly driven by economic self-interest rather than any genuine ideological reasons (see Cohen, 2014; Eckhardt and Bardhi, 2015; Schor, 2014; Tonkinwise, 2014).

1.2 Mapping participation and motivations

The collaborative economy (particularly the area of collaborative consumption) is growing in size and array of manifestations. Some initial attempts to map this uncharted territory have recently been made. PwC (2014) estimated that in 2013, on a global level, five sharing economy sectors (i.e. P2P lending and crowdfunding, online staffing, P2P accommodation, car sharing, and music and video streaming) generated \$15bn (£9bn) in revenues, which are set to rise to \$335bn (£230bn) by 2025 (Figure 1.8)⁴. The same research calculated that the UK's share of the total could be worth around \$15bn (£9bn) in 2025.

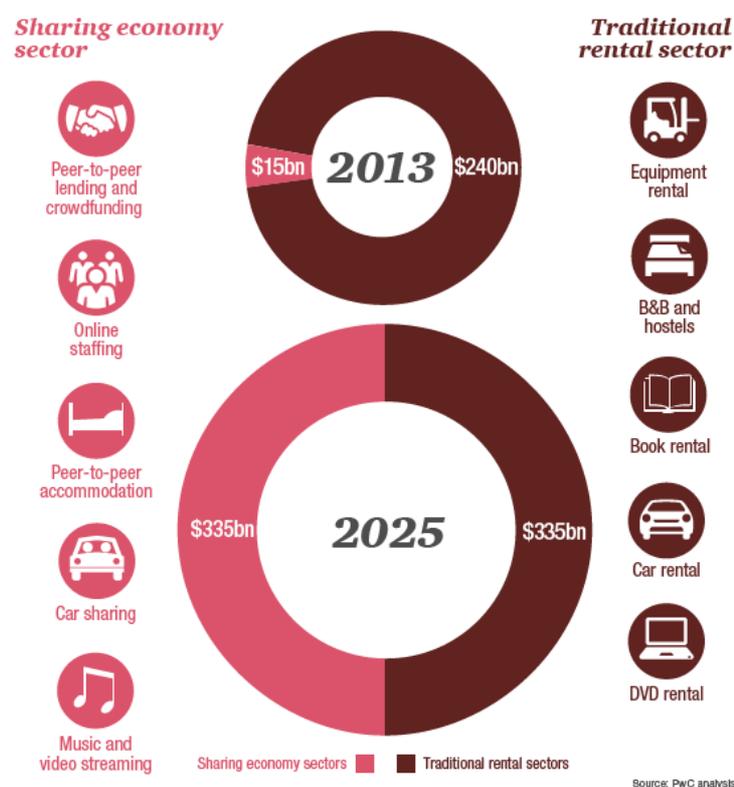


Figure 1.8 Sharing economy sector and traditional rental sector projected revenue growth (PwC, 2014). Reproduced with permission from PwC.

⁴ The projected revenue growth was estimated by comparing the revenue potential in the five sharing economy sectors with the potential in five traditional rental sectors (i.e. equipment rental, B&B and hostels, car rental, book rental and DVD rental).

To better understand the supply side of the collaborative economy, Nesta, a UK-based innovation charity, conducted a survey in 2014 to examine what types of business and organisations were operating within this space in Europe, in which sectors, what type of transactions they were facilitating, and what values underpinned their activities. Results showed a diverse range of actors, from new startups to traditional businesses and institutions increasingly interested in the market opportunities offered by the collaborative economy. Their size and goals varied significantly, from internationally focused, for-profit companies to local, community-based organisations (Stokes et al., 2014).

More substantive research has been carried out by business strategists and market analysts to measure public participation in the collaborative economy (e.g. Nielsen, 2014; Owyang et al., 2014; Havas Worldwide, 2014; Leo Burnett, 2014). The 'Nielsen Global Survey of Share Communities' polled over 30,000 Internet users in 60 countries to measure the public's interest in participating in share communities. Results showed that more than two-thirds of respondents (68%) were willing to share or rent their personal assets for financial gain. 66% of respondents were likely to use products and services from others in a share community. Men were more likely to participate than women in every region except Europe. Young people were more likely to use or rent products from a share community (35% aged 21-34; 7% aged under 20), followed by people aged 35-49 (17%) and 50-64 (7%). Goods that global respondents were more willing to share or rent for a fee were electronic devices (28%), power tools (23%), bicycles (22%), clothing (22%), household items (22%), sports equipment (22%) and cars (21%) (Nielsen, 2014). However, the survey involved only existing Internet users and responses were based on claimed behaviour, rather than actual measured activity.

Vision Critical – a cloud-based customer intelligence platform – in collaboration with Crowd Companies – a brand council for the collaborative economy – conducted the first large-scale examination of consumers actually participating in the collaborative economy. They surveyed over 90,000 customers across the UK, United States and Canada. Although not representative, results reported that sharers were more likely to be affluent, married and educated. The questionnaire also investigated the motivations for participation in their latest sharing transaction, which appeared to be largely driven by pragmatic considerations (e.g. convenience and price, the quality of the product or service itself, and the ability to find something they could not find elsewhere) (Owyang et al., 2014) (Figure 1.9). Similarly, in research carried out by Havas Worldwide over

10,500 people in 29 countries were asked which aspect of the sharing economy appealed most to them. Most respondents answered ‘saving money’ (32%), followed by ‘feeling active and useful’ (13%), ‘reducing my consumption/carbon footprint’ (13%), ‘contributing to the broader movement away from hyperconsumption’ (10%), ‘supporting individuals and/or small/independent companies’ (9%), ‘having an interesting experience/doing something most people haven’t yet tried’ (8%) and ‘meeting new people’ (6%) (Havas Worldwide, 2014).

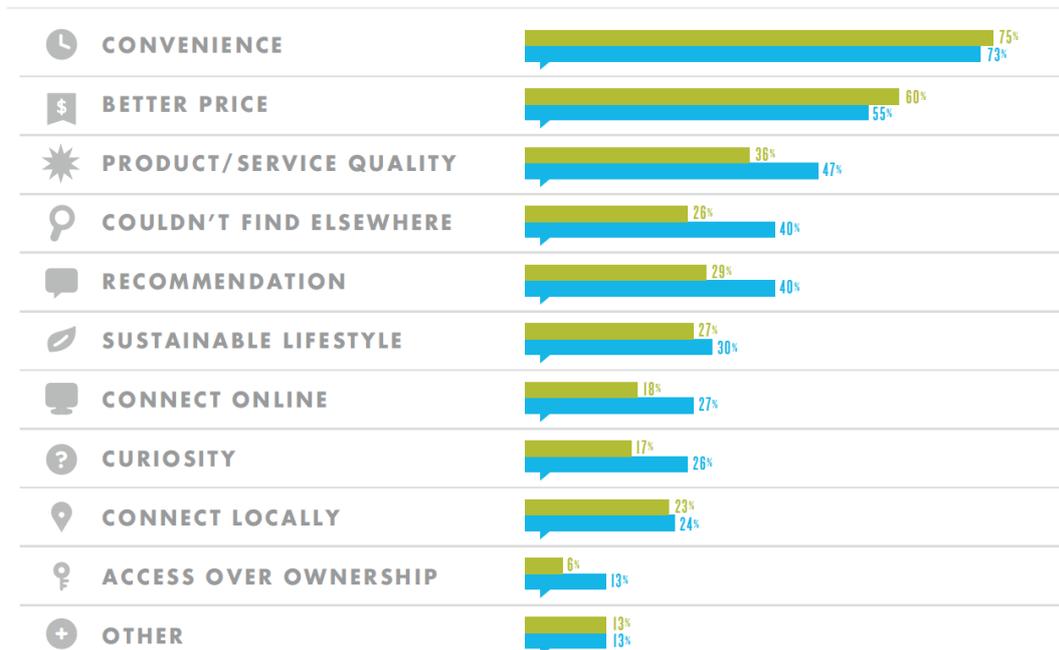


Figure 1.9 “How important were each of the following reasons for using a peer-to-peer site or app for your most recent sharing transaction?” (Owyang et al., 2014: 19). Reproduced with permission from Vision Critical.

Note. ‘Re-sharers’ (in green) buy and/or sell pre-owned goods online using well-established services like eBay and Craigslist. They have not done any “neo-sharing” in the previous year. They account for 16% of the US and Canadian population and 29% of the UK. ‘Neo-sharers’ (in blue) have used at least one of the latest generation of sharing sites and apps (e.g. Etsy, TaskRabbit, Uber, Airbnb and KickStarter) in the previous year. They constitute 23% of the population in the US and the UK, and 25% in Canada.

Reasons for participating in collaborative consumption vary from person to person, and differ across platforms and activities (some of which are for-profit, while others are non-profit). However, they can be broadly grouped into economic, environmental and social motives. Individuals seem to mostly join collaborative consumption to gain extra income by capitalising on the assets they own, to save money, or to get goods that were previously unobtainable due to cost or access. Besides economic factors, people associate collaborative activities with inherent

social (e.g. meeting like-minded people, feeling part of a community) and environmental (e.g. being 'green', doing good for the environment) benefits, and may thus participate for ideological motivations (e.g. the values of sharing and collaboration, commitment to social transformation, contributing to the anti-consumerist movement, or supporting local businesses) (Schor, 2014).

'Internet-enabled'

Collaborative activities in the UK

The internet is opening up new opportunities to connect and new ways to collaborate. Below we look at which UK adults are using websites and mobile apps to participate in collaborative activities – which we take to represent participation in the collaborative economy.

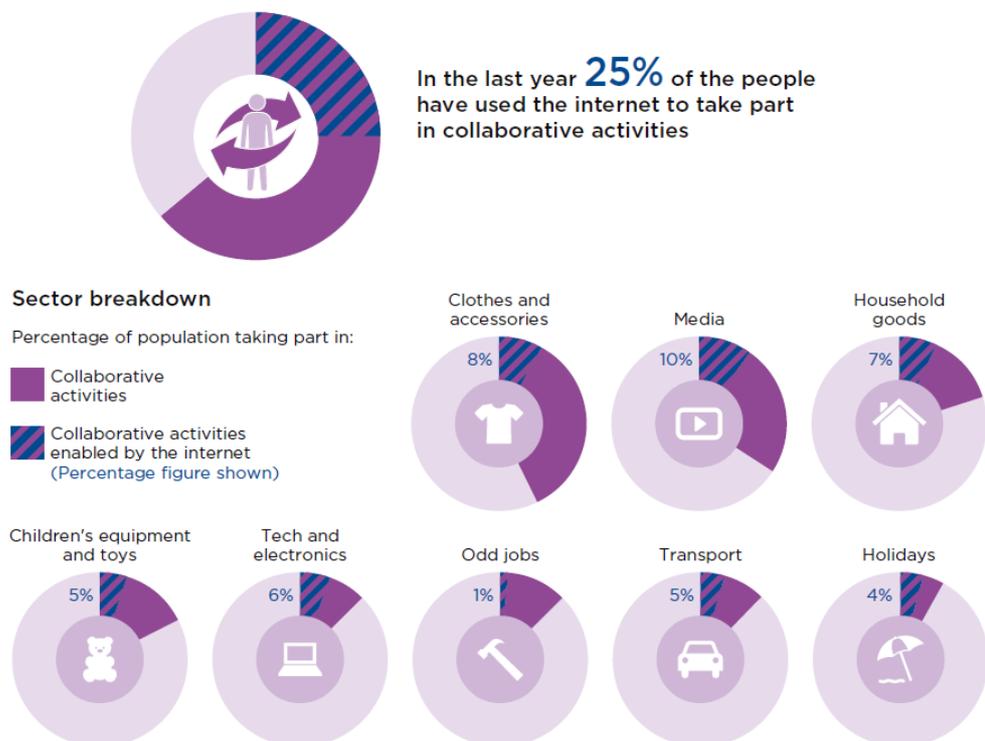


Figure 1.10 Internet-enabled collaborative activities in the UK (Stokes et al., 2014: 26). Reproduced with permission from Nesta.

To assess current participation in collaborative consumption in the UK, Nesta commissioned TNS Global to survey a nationally representative sample of 2,000 adults. The questionnaire focused on collaborative activities (conducted with and without the use of internet technologies) across the sectors of transportation (e.g. cars, bikes), holidays (e.g. travel and accommodation), odd jobs and tasks (e.g. odd jobs, pet walking, babysitting), technologies and electronics (e.g. computers, games consoles and televisions), clothing and accessories, media (e.g. books, music and DVDs), children's equipment and toys, households goods and appliances (e.g. pet-related goods, furniture and tools). If participation in Internet-enabled

collaborative activities is equated as being part of the collaborative economy, 25% of the UK population took part in some forms of collaborative consumption in 2013, with 10% of them using internet technologies to access or offer media, 8% clothes and accessories, and 7% household goods (Stokes et al., 2014) (Figure 1.10).

1.3 Barriers to collaborative consumption

Collaborative consumption is still at its early stages and needs to overcome some significant barriers to gain broad traction and realise its full potential. In particular, at present there are business, regulatory and cultural hurdles to be faced (Stokes et al., 2014).

1.3.1 Marketplace creation and critical mass

Although commentators and the media focus on the rapid growth of the collaborative economy and its successful stories, failed ventures are not isolated cases. The Collaborative Lab (2014) conducted a review of 45 collaborative economy startups across Europe/UK, Asia-Pacific and the United States, that either closed down or experienced a potentially fatal setback. The inability to reach scale was identified as the most common reason for failure, followed by an unclear value proposition⁵, the lack of funding and product focus, regulation issues and insufficient market readiness (Figure 1.11).

| Reason | Explanation |
|------------------------------|---|
| Scale | The company was not able to reach a sufficient level of scale to achieve a sustainable business model in the required time. |
| Unclear Value Proposition | The customers weren't compelled enough by the product offering to become repeat users – did not address a need. |
| Insufficient Funding | The available funding was not enough to see the company through to sustainable revenue. |
| Lack of Product Focus | The company offered too many product or service types, or addressed too wide a geographic area, resulting in weak uptake. |
| Regulation | The company did not comply with existing regulation or struggled to argue for regulation reform. |
| Market Readiness | The company did not find an enthusiastic customer base because the concept was launched prematurely into the market. |
| Trust | The company suffered a significant and damaging breach of trust in their community |
| Invalidated Product Offering | The company launched the offering successful, only to find that there was a limited or nonexistent market for it. |
| Lack of Community Engagement | The company struggled to build a strong and engaged community around the business to support with viral growth. |
| Lack of Government Support | Government was unwilling to work proactively to create an enabling environment for the company to operate in. |
| Poor User Experience | The user experience was under-developed or caused major friction for consumers, resulting in loss of customers. |
| Competition | The vertical being operated in was saturated, and the company did not offer a compelling point of difference. |
| Shift in Product Focus | The company recognized a flaw in their original business model, resulting in a shift in focus, or pivot, for the product. |
| Shift in Target Market | The company recognized a challenge in uptake from their target market, resulting in a shift in focus to a different market. |

 COLLABORATIVE LAB

Figure 1.11 Key reasons for failure (Collaborative Lab, 2014: 4). Reproduced with permission from the Collaborative Lab.

⁵ “A company’s value proposition is the set of benefits or values it promises to deliver to consumers to satisfy their needs.” (Kotler and Armstrong, 2010: 33).

Most companies have to reach scale to be successful; achieving a critical mass of both supply (i.e. providers) and demand (i.e. customers) is essential for P2P marketplaces in order to work effectively. Hitting the critical point of scale depends on many factors, including having a clear value proposition which taps into an existing consumer need (Collaborative Lab, 2014). In addition to this, many of the startups lack the resources to scale, such as money, distribution and a trusted brand (Owyang et al., 2014). Finally, when the platforms scale up, they face challenges in maintaining their authenticity and differentiation over competitors (PwC, 2014).

1.3.2 Legal, regulatory and policy issues

Companies operating in the collaborative economy space may also have to contend with major legal, regulatory and policy challenges surrounding tax systems, insurance, land use and planning, types of legal form, licensing and certification, and government operations (Stokes et al., 2014; Felländer et al., 2015). In particular, collaborative platforms have been highly criticised for their unfair competition with regular companies (e.g. evading regulations that apply to established industries) and the erosion of workers' rights (e.g. creating 'employee-serfs' who do not have benefits like health insurance and job security) (see Newcomer, 2015; Schor, 2014; Eckhardt and Bardhi, 2015). In the area of collaborative consumption, for example, the rising popularity of shared transportation services such as the Uber rideshare platform has led to numerous taxi driver protests. As a result, Uber has faced temporary and permanent bans in many major cities.

While some interventions taken by governments have made transactions costly to facilitate or even illegal (e.g. raising tax burdens, bans), there have been some initial attempts by policymakers to better understand and support the collaborative economy (see Woskow, 2014; HM Government, 2015; Goulden, 2014). However, regulatory actions require the multilateral and coordinated efforts of different authorities, from local and national levels of governments (e.g. regarding taxation issues) to international institutions (i.e. EU legislation) (e.g. in relation to insurance issues), which are often difficult and slow to coordinate (Stokes et al., 2014).

1.3.3 Changing consumer behaviour

Collaborative businesses and organisations can only thrive if there is demand from the wider population. However, like any emerging trend, collaborative consumption

faces barriers to adoption (Stokes et al., 2014). In particular, it relies on the willingness of consumers to embark in new ways of doing things that are often less convenient than engrained habits and behaviours (Goulden, 2014). As the research conducted by Havas Worldwide (2014: 20) pointed out, sharing is something that most people “would *like* to do”, but they are not (yet) prepared to restructure their lives in order to accommodate this. When asked whether they prefer to borrow or rent most things rather than own them, 6 in 10 respondents opted for the latter due to the greater convenience of ownership. By and large, sharing remains a concept that is supported in theory (i.e. what people say), but fails to translate into actual behaviour (i.e. what people do), as also demonstrated by the modest correlation (0.37)⁶ measured between sharing attitudes and sharing behaviours in research conducted by the American agency Leo Burnett (2014).⁷

The limited acceptance of new propositions based on shared use is partly due to consumer-related barriers such as financial considerations, the higher status attributed to private ownership or the quest for novelty through frequent buying of new goods (Hirschl et al., 2011; Mont, 2004). Sharing-based models thus go against well-ingrained habits and raise a number of public concerns. First, they require (and depend on) people placing trust in complete strangers. Therefore, potential safety and privacy risks are often considered the biggest barriers to participation. Second, many consumers may question the quality of the goods or services and the reliability of the sellers or providers, since they are typically non-professionals (e.g. in peer-to-peer platforms) or newly established companies. Third, consumers may not recognise the value and benefits of new collaborative models or think that they are not worth the effort (e.g. inconvenience of learning how to use a new platform). Finally, people may lack awareness of existing collaborative platforms or feel they have insufficient knowledge of how to get started (Goulden, 2014; Stokes et al., 2014; Woskow, 2014).

Botsman and Rogers (2010) argue that sharing needs to be convenient, secure and more cost-effective than private ownership for consumers to overcome the culturally rooted preference for material possessions. Peer-review and self-regulation tools put in place by the different platforms could help overcoming some trust issues (e.g. trusting others in the network, fearing that the possession lent gets lost, broken or stolen). Considering that changes in habit need to be easy and

⁶ Meaning that less than 15% of the variation between attitudes and behaviour is related.

⁷ Conversely, the same piece of research found that the action of sharing is frequently unsupported by the desire to share.

desirable for most people, collaborative consumption alternatives have to clearly demonstrate how they can benefit people's lives on top of addressing public concerns (e.g. improving personal safety and privacy, building trust) in order to achieve wider take up across the population (Stokes et al., 2014).

1.4 Design for collaborative consumption

For new habits, ideas and visions to become established, they need platforms and networks able to transform principles into behaviours on a local and global scale. Design and user experience are critical in building a successful sharing platform and a strong community of early adopters. A systemic (user-centred) approach, one that embraces the design of *products*, *services* and *experiences*, is thus fundamental to enable and support collaborative consumption (Botsman and Rogers, 2010; Gansky, 2010; Gorlenko, 2013; Tonkinwise 2011). With expanded responsibilities that cross a multitude of disciplines, designers need a holistic understanding of technology, behavioural science and marketing to uncover what people need and want from collaborative consumption systems, ensuring that those build enough critical mass to continue to improve and reach the necessary scale (Botsman and Rogers, 2010).

“The designers of a bike-sharing scheme such as Montreal's BIXI had to take into consideration everything from how people would feel riding in traffic to how to ensure the bikes would not get vandalised or stolen to how the system would need to respond to the specific challenges posed by Montreal's extreme weather. And then when the system launched, the designers observed and gathered feedback from riders and modified accordingly. The locking mechanism, the designers discovered, needed to be more robust and each station needed more empty docks to enable riders to drop their bikes off wherever they wanted when they were done. In other words, they had to do far more than create a bike to create a successful product service system.” (Botsman and Rogers, 2010: 188-189).

Collaborative consumption poses challenges to the way *products* are currently designed. When physical products are shared between many people (e.g. in a bike sharing scheme), they ideally need to hold up to repeated usage, be highly functional, easy to use, safe, adaptable to different users (e.g. flexible modular design, but with possibility for personalisation) and durable. They also have to be designed in such a way as to be readily repaired, upgraded and upcycled at the end of their life (e.g. employing standardised parts and components; building in a capacity for disassembly). Being accountable for the entire product's lifecycle and

profiting from maximising units of usage rather than number of units sold, these types of collaborative consumption businesses have strong incentives (including cost reductions and maintaining customers' satisfaction) to opt for longer lasting products that are built to last, keep functioning and be maintained. On the other side, consumers get access to higher quality goods without having to pay for them outright. This win-win solution has the potential to reduce natural resource depletion and waste, improve business efficiency, and reverse the logic of planned obsolescence (i.e. products designed to fail and be replaced) and a related throwaway culture (Gansky, 2010; Gorenflo, 2013; Tonkinwise, 2014).

However, collaborative consumption is also about dematerialisation, using less, reusing goods and establishing new relationships (e.g. in P2P rental sites). In this other type of collaborative models, the role of design becomes much more centred on facilitation (i.e. how already existing products can be shared) than new product generation. Therefore, the focus is on creating innovative *services*, often built around websites and mobile apps. These digital platforms (i.e. the scheduling and logistics systems) need also to be designed as to increase the speed and ease of access to a particular inventory of physical or intangible assets on offer, along with granting a wide range of options to choose from (Botsman and Rogers, 2010; Tonkinwise, 2014).

Whether the business proposition is based on a product, a service, or combination of the two, designers have to create a unique and frictionless user *experience* that sets participation in collaborative consumption apart from using traditional rental services or simply buying products⁸ (Botsman and Rogers, 2010). Most collaborative activities imply a change in consumer behaviour. However, for new behaviours to stick, they have to yield strong rewards. In other words, a different way of doing something has to offer an experience that is a notable improvement upon the current one if it is to establish. In the case of collaborative consumption, Lenfestey (2012) argues that this experience is the result of three elements: the short term interaction (i.e. the ease of interaction and the ability of the system to drive confidence); the reasons for believing (i.e. the clarity of communication around the money it saves or makes, the environmental benefits it brings, the community feeling or the social capital it builds, etc.); and the context (i.e. the economic, social and environmental pressures which can make the old

⁸ The user experience, however, can only be partly defined by design. In collaborative consumption the experience of a service extends into the person-to-person interaction (e.g. the face-to face conversations between a renter and his/host) which both the designer and the service provider have little control over.

experience appear as an undesirable or broken one). While the first factor calls for the design of effective products, services and social platforms, the second suggests how the branding should frame all communications in a consistent set of values, reinforcing as much as possible the type of intentions that are being assumed to underlie the actions the platform enables (Tonkinwise 2011, 2014).

Finally, designed products, services, and the experiences they support are crucial in determining customer satisfaction, which, in turn, is key for the long term shift in consumer behaviour required by most collaborative consumption models (Owyang et al., 2014). Therefore, if a business can deliver a product and/or service that consumers like, through a sharing platform they feel good about using, they may be predisposed to embrace and keep using it. Then, the constant flow of information generated in the use phase of the system (e.g. feedback from customers) could be used to maintain high levels of customer satisfaction by continuously improving and personalising the products, services and experiences offered.

1.5 Problem statement and research aim

Collaborative consumption is generally presented as a new, fairer and “greener” alternative to the current economic system, one that focuses less on ownership and accumulation and more on community and collaboration (Stokes et al., 2014). As such, it has been largely portrayed as a significant opportunity for both consumers and producers. Nevertheless, despite the potential economic, environmental and social benefits and the seemingly increasing interest (and participation) of a growing part of the population, the uptake of collaborative consumption on the market is still very limited.

The main reason for this failure in implementation could be ascribed to the concerted challenge that these innovative arrangements present to existing consumer/user habits, company business models and regulatory frameworks (Vezzoli et al., 2012) (Section 1.3). Inadequate acceptance, adoption and diffusion has prevented such alternative forms of consuming from becoming mainstream. Besides some very successful cases (e.g. Airbnb, Uber), exploratory research suggests that a number of start-ups have collapsed (e.g. Car2go London, WhipCar, ShareSomeSugar.com, Kashless.org) and many others are encountering serious difficulties in establishing themselves due to a lack of resources to scale-up (e.g. consumer base, money, trusted brand) (Owyang et al., 2014).

This situation has led to a growing interest in the design research field to identify the dynamics and factors that facilitate and hinder the normalisation of shared access and the wider implementation of sustainable product service systems, including those that enable collaborative consumption. In particular, Vezzoli et al. (2012, 2015) maintain that there is a urgent need to understand (through holistic and multi-disciplinary approaches) how consumers/users do or can influence their introduction and scaling-up processes, and how sustainable product service systems should or can be designed to stimulate behavioural change and to foster user acceptance and satisfaction.

To contribute to the debate, this research aims to investigate how consumers' values may contribute to the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption. It sets out to do so by delving deeper into the area of (pro-environmental) consumer behaviour, applying relevant theoretical knowledge into an empirical study and drawing some implications for design. The value of conducting research in this area is twofold. It fills a gap in knowledge: academic studies on how and why people participate in collaborative consumption are still scarce (Hamari et al., 2015; Heinrichs, 2013). Further, it provides useful insights to determine what are (and how to create through design) the conditions that could bring collaborative consumption into the mainstream and, ultimately, realise its untapped potential for sustainability.

1.6 Thesis outline

This introductory chapter has presented collaborative consumption as a new and promising economic and social mechanism that could balance personal self-interest with environmental and community interests (Section 1.1). In particular, it could support environmental sustainability by enabling products to last longer, the reuse of parts and materials, and reductions in waste. Also, it could foster social sustainability by creating communities of people who want to share what they own and encouraging trust among those involved. Although collaborative consumption is growing rapidly (Section 1.2), some outstanding barriers have been identified (Section 1.3), namely creating a marketplace and achieving critical mass, changing consumer behaviour, and overcoming existing legal, regulatory and policy issues. These hurdles explain the failure in establishment of some of these alternative business models launched on the market, leading to fundamentally question whether collaborative consumption is actually going into the mainstream as much

current literature would, on the contrary, suggest. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the key role played by design in supporting this alternative (and potentially more sustainable) consumption paradigm to thrive (Section 1.4), and the need to explore how consumers' values may contribute to the acceptance, adoption and wider diffusion of collaborative consumption (Section 1.5).

Having set the background for the thesis, the next chapters take the reader through all the phases of the research process: from the literature review, the elaboration of research questions and objectives, the data collection and analysis, the discussion of results, to its conclusions and implications for design. The thesis is structured around three parts: Part I sets the theoretical foundations of the study. Within this, Chapter 2 locates an overall context for the research project in the (pro-environmental) behaviour change literature and reviews two different theoretical perspectives to understanding consumer behaviour in the context of sustainable consumption: social psychological theories and models of behaviour and social practice theory. Recent attempts to combine the two are then taken into account. Chapter 3 focuses on values, and how these are conceptualised differently in social psychology and social practice theory. As a result, a middle ground position is embraced and a conceptual framework to guide the research advanced. Part II presents the methodology of the study. Chapter 4 describes Ecomodo, an online P2P marketplace for lending and borrowing, which is used as a case study. This is followed by a description of the mixed methods research design adopted to explore the relationships between the concept of 'values' found in social psychology with that of 'meaning' found in social practice theory. Part III describes the empirical study conducted and its main findings. Chapter 5 reports on the initial, quantitative data collection and analysis, while Chapter 6 elaborates on the subsequent, qualitative strand of research. Results are combined and discussed in Chapter 7, which provides an account of the role of values in the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption and presents the resulting Individual-Practice Framework. Finally, Chapter 8 concludes the thesis with a summary of the contribution to knowledge of this research, the limitations of the study, its implications for sustainable design and possible avenues for future research.

PART I
THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Chapter 2

Theoretical frameworks for pro-environmental behaviour and change

Understanding pro-environmental consumer behaviour and how to bring about change is deemed essential to reduce the environmental impact of our present economic development path and promote more sustainable patterns of consumption (Jackson, 2005), such as collaborative consumption. Theories and models⁹ that attempt to identify the key underlying factors, process or causes of human behaviour¹⁰ have been developed by different disciplines within the social sciences, including psychology – particularly social psychology¹¹ – and sociology. These conceptualise and define behaviour differently. Most studies, primarily from within social psychology, focus on the individual and try to determine which factors influence behaviour. Other theories, typically from within sociology, move away from the individual to focus attention on either behaviour itself, or the complex inter-relationships between behaviour, individuals and the social and physical environments in which they occur (Morris et al., 2012).

While some comprehensive literature reviews on the topic are available (see Jackson, 2005; Darnton, 2008; Morris et al., 2012), this chapter concentrates on a selection of the most prominent social psychological models and theories of consumer behaviour (Section 2.1), which constitute a well-established body of

⁹ Note that the terms theory and model are often used interchangeably in the behaviour change literature (Prager, 2012). This chapter uses the terms employed by the respective authors.

¹⁰ Although some theories and models are specific to pro-environmental or pro-social behaviours, most of them are more general and readily transferrable across different contexts.

¹¹ Social psychology is defined as “the scientific study of the effects of social and cognitive processes on the way individuals perceive, influence, and relate to others.” (Smith et al., 2015: 3).

research and are at the centre of many behavioural change interventions. These models are compared and contrasted with a sociological account of human action provided by social practice theory (Section 2.2), an alternative position that has recently gained much academic interest as a new, promising way to look at behaviour and inform policy-making. Section 2.3 unpacks the existing ‘behaviour/practice’ debate and considers the possibility to combine the two theoretical approaches under examination in order to overcome the limits of any one standpoint. Section 2.4 concludes with a brief summary of the chapter.

2.1 Social psychological theories and models of consumer behaviour

Social psychological theories and models of consumer behaviour provide frameworks for describing (and predicting) behaviour by accounting for a diverse range of factors, including psychological antecedents ‘internal’ to the individual (e.g. attitudes, values, and personal norms) and a number of ‘external’ constraints and incentives (e.g. social norms, fiscal and regulatory incentives). Behavioural models are generally linear, showing the relationships between influencing factors (i.e. independent and dependent variables) as a series of arrows. These models are built from different sets of conceptual premises and assumptions. However, they largely hold human behaviour to be an outcome of autonomous decision-making processes, and thus place significant emphasis on individual agency (Jackson, 2005; Darnton, 2008).

In keeping with Jackson’s (2005) classification, social psychological theories and models of consumer behaviour can be broadly categorised as ‘rational choice models’ (Section 2.1.1), ‘adjusted expectancy-value theories’ (Section 2.1.2), ‘moral and normative models’ (Section 2.1.3) and ‘integrative theories of consumer behaviour’ (Section 2.1.4).

2.1.1 Rational choice models

Based on traditional, neoclassical, economic theory, the ‘rational choice model’ underlies conventional economic understandings of consumer behaviour as well as a number of social psychological theories and models of behaviour. The rational choice model contends that individuals make decisions between different courses of action by weighting up expected costs and benefits of different behaviours, and

choosing the option that maximises personal net benefits. For this reason, models built on these tenets are also often referred to in the literature as ‘expectancy-value’ or ‘subjective expected utility’ models. Underlying these there is an assumption that the individual is the appropriate unit of analysis and behaviour is the result of processes of rational deliberation largely driven by individual self-interest. Moreover, it is assumed that consumers have access to all the relevant information (e.g. the range of possible goods they can choose from and their price) to make decisions and they are fully able to process this information in order to select the optimal – utility maximising – option (*cf.* Simon, 1957). Individual preferences that underlie consumer choice are exogenous to the model, which does not seek to explain their nature or origins (Jackson, 2005; Darnton, 2008).

Rational choice models have been extensively criticised (especially by sociologists) for building on the archetype of a socially-isolated and self-interested individual (i.e. the so called ‘homo economicus’), disengaged from morality (Darnton, 2008; Hargreaves, 2008). In addition, they fail to address a variety of affective and emotional responses (e.g. emotional attachment to products) or mental ‘short-cuts’ (e.g. habits, routines, mental cues) that reduce the amount of cognitive deliberation occurring in the decision-making process (see Zey, 1992; Etzioni, 1998) (Jackson, 2005).

2.1.2 Adjusted expectancy-value theories

‘Adjusted expectancy-value theories’ attempt to overcome some of the shortcomings of rational choice models by considering the psychological antecedents of consumer preferences or integrating elements such as normative social influences on individual behaviour (Jackson, 2005). The most widely applied models of this type are Ajzen and Fishbein’s ‘Theory of Reasoned Action’ and Ajzen’s ‘Theory of Planned Behaviour’.

Ajzen and Fishbein’s Theory of Reasoned Action

The ‘Theory of Reasoned Action’ (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975; Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980) adjusts the expectancy-value construction to incorporate normative social influences on behavioural intentions. In particular, it considers the ‘attitude’¹² towards performing a given behaviour to be the result of a person’s set of ‘beliefs’ about the consequences of the behaviour and the personal evaluation of those

¹² Fishbein and Ajzen (1975: 11) conceptualised attitude as “the amount of affect for or against some object.”

consequences.¹³ However, Ajzen and Fishbein's model differs from simple expectancy-value theory as it holds normative beliefs – 'beliefs about what others think' of the behaviour in question – and a person's 'subjective norm' (originating from these normative pressures) to be a second major influence on a person's 'intention' to perform various behaviours. Intention to act then leads directly to 'behaviour', being its immediate antecedent and main determinant (Figure 2.1).

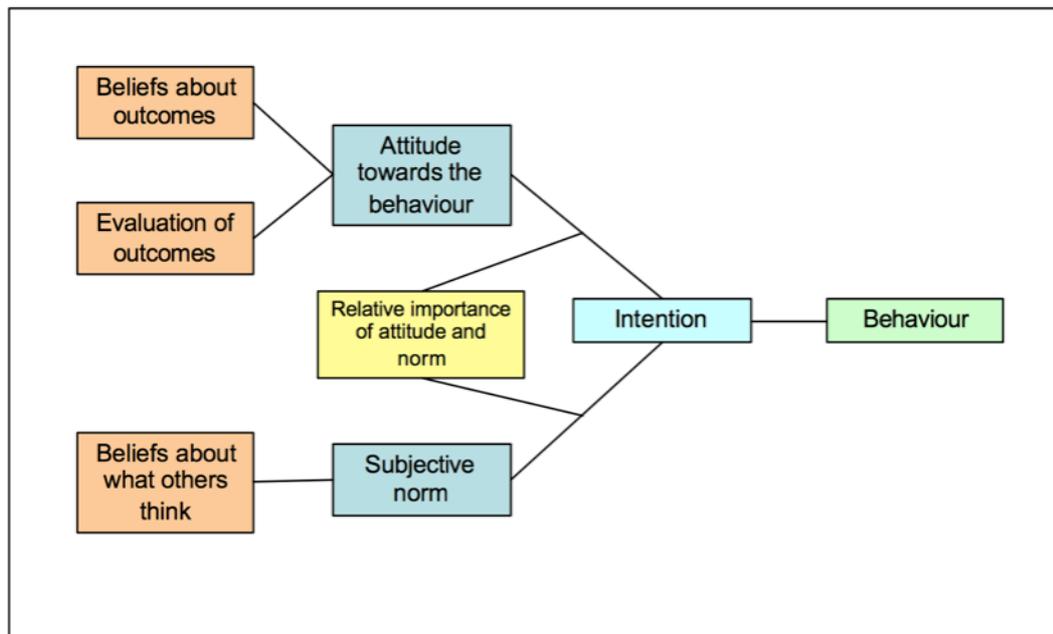


Figure 2.1 Ajzen and Fishbein's Theory of Reasoned Action (Jackson, 2005: 46). Reproduced with permission from Professor Tim Jackson.

Compared to rational choice theory, the Theory of Reasoned Action makes explicit the antecedents of preference or attitude, and it acknowledges the social influence on individual behaviour in the form of a subjective norm. Nevertheless, the model does not specifically address the limitations of cognitive deliberation – mental cues, heuristics, habits and routines – and the influence of affective or moral factors on behaviour (Jackson, 2005).

Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behaviour

In the Theory of Reasoned Action behavioural intention is considered a reliable indicator of actual behaviour (i.e. it explains a significant proportion of the statistical variance between attitudes, subjective norms and intentions) in situations in which people have volitional control over their actions (Ajzen and Madden, 1986).

¹³ In the model beliefs are seen as the informational base to make rational judgements, form evaluations and arrive at a decision. As such, the totality of a person's beliefs ultimately determines his/her attitudes, intentions and behaviours (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975).

However, this assumes that behaviour has a rational basis, in that people consider the implications of their actions (Davis and Morgan, 2008). Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen and Madden, 1986; Ajzen 1988, 1991) extends the Theory of Reasoned Action to account for situations in which behaviour is not completely under volitional control. It does so by including an additional variable – the 'perceived behavioural control' – defined by Ajzen (1991: 183) as "people's perception of the ease or difficulty of performing the behaviour of interest."

The Theory of Planned Behaviour hypothesises that the 'intention' to perform a certain action is the immediate determinant and best predictor of 'behaviour'. Intention is directly influenced by the 'attitude towards the behaviour' (the individual's favourable or unfavourable evaluation of performing the given behaviour), the 'subjective norm' (the individual's perception of social pressure to perform or not the behaviour) and the 'perceived behavioural control' (the individual's perception of how easy or difficult the performance of that behaviour is likely to be) (Figure 2.2).

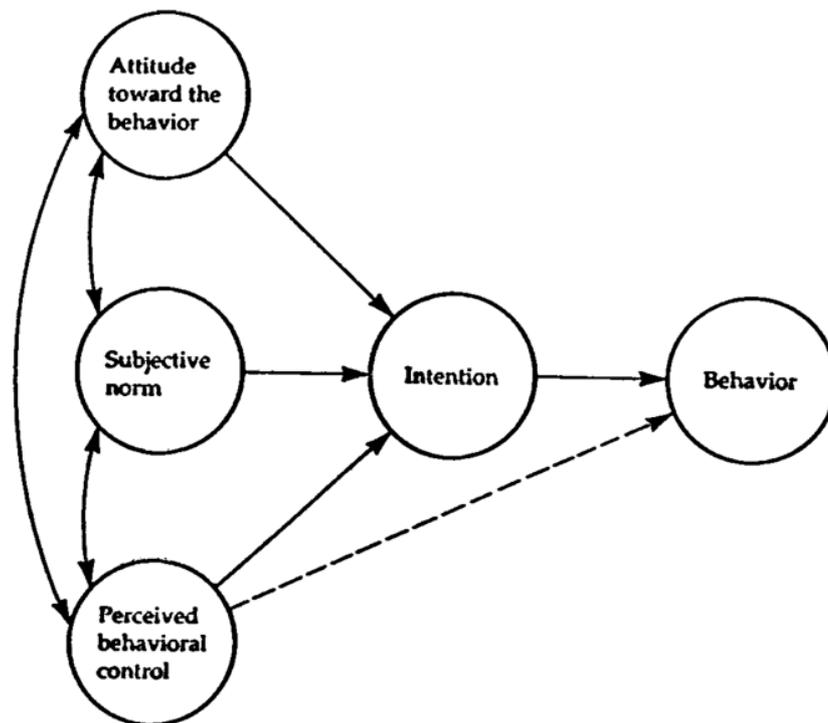


Figure 2.2 Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1991: 182). Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

The Theory of Planned Behaviour is one of the most widely cited and used social psychological model of behaviour, which has been applied to understand or predict a variety of pro-environmental behaviours such as energy and water conservation (e.g. Harland et al., 1999; Lam, 1999), food and travel mode choice (e.g.

Shepherd, 1999; Bamberg et al., 2003; Heath and Gifford, 2002) and recycling behaviours (e.g. Boldero, 1995; Cheung et al., 1999; Tonglet et al., 2004).

Although the inclusion of additional factors makes the Theory of Planned Behaviour more predictive than the Theory of Reasoned Action, Jackson (2005) contends that the model essentially remains an adjusted expectancy value model. As such, it is only partly capable of accounting for the affective (emotional), normative and moral influences on consumer behaviour (i.e. by modelling them as attitudinal beliefs about or evaluations of the outcomes of certain actions).

2.1.3 Moral and normative models

By contrast, the moral and normative dimensions of pro-environmental or pro-social behaviour are explicitly addressed in some other theoretical models, including Schwartz's 'Norm Activation Theory', Stern's 'Value-Belief-Norm Theory' and Cialdini's 'Focus Theory of Normative Conduct'.

Schwartz's Norm Activation Theory

Schwartz's (1977) Norm Activation Theory provides a framework for modelling specifically pro-social or altruistic behaviours. These are believed to be directly determined by the existence (and intensity) of a 'personal norm' – feelings of moral obligation to act in an altruistic way arising from an individual's values. The concept of personal norm thus differs from the construct of social norm¹⁴ or the subjective norm included in the Theory of Reasoned Action and the Theory of Planned Behaviour in that Schwartz envisions the possibility for altruistic behaviours to be carried out to benefit other people in the fulfilment of internal values, rather than any social pressure. In particular, the 'personal norm' is activated by an 'awareness of consequences' of one's behaviour for others and the individual 'ascription of responsibility' for them. The strength of these two variables also moderates the link between personal norm and 'behaviour'. Namely, the more one is aware of the negative consequences of not engaging in a pro-social behaviour and accepts responsibility for its consequences, the stronger the relationship between personal norm and behaviour (Figure 2.3).

¹⁴ Although Schwartz (1977: 231) suggests that "there is often overlap between personal norms held by individuals and prevailing social norms."

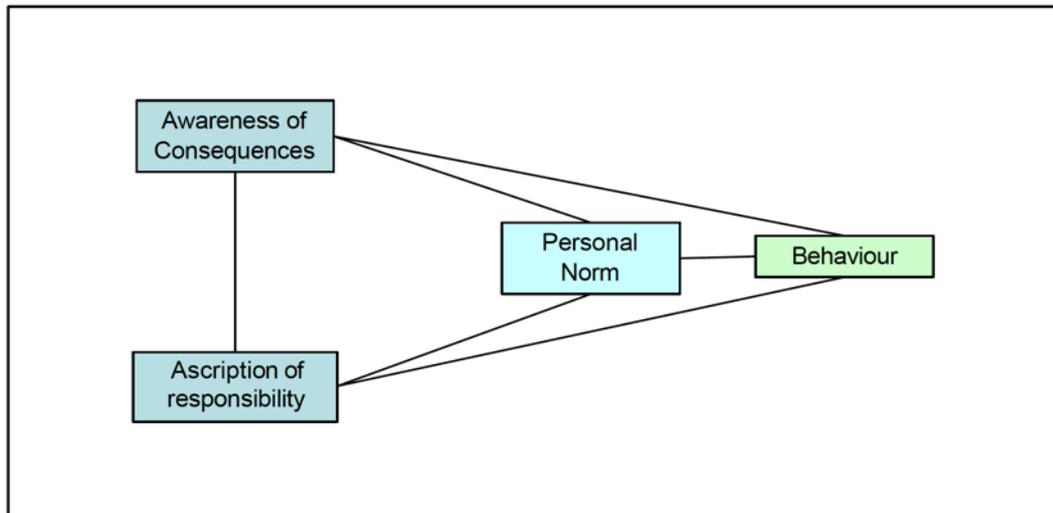


Figure 2.3 Schwartz's Norm Activation Theory (Jackson, 2005: 55). Reproduced with permission from Professor Tim Jackson.

Schwartz's Norm Activation Theory is one of the most widely applied models of moral behaviour, which has been used to understand and predict pro-environmental behaviours in the areas of recycling (e.g. Hopper and Nielsen, 1991; Vining and Ebreo, 1992; Bratt, 1999; Schultz, 1999), environmental protection (e.g. Stern et al., 1986), alternatives to car use (e.g. Bamberg and Schmidt, 2003; Hunecke et al., 2001), energy conservation (e.g. Tyler et al., 1982) and household energy adaptations (e.g. Black et al., 1995) amongst the others. However, the ability of the Norm Activation Theory to explain behaviour in these empirical studies varied significantly. Jackson (2005) attributed this to its failure to account for external social or institutional constraints that can interfere with the translation of a personal norm into behaviour.

Stern's Value-Belief-Norm Theory

Stern et al. (1999) adapted the Norm Activation Theory in order to accommodate a more sophisticated relationship between individual values, beliefs, personal norms and pro-environmental behaviour. Building on Schwartz (1977), they proposed that norm-based actions flow from: (i) the endorsement of particular personal values, (ii) beliefs that things important to those values are under threat, and (iii) beliefs that taking action can reduce the existing threat and restore the values. In particular, they posited the adoption of an 'ecological worldview' – the 'New Environmental Paradigm' (NEP) – as the causal antecedent for the 'awareness of consequences' in the Norm Activation Theory. The concept of NEP was developed by Dunlap and van Liere (1978) to describe the emergence in modern society of a set of values explicitly acknowledging the importance of preserving nature (as opposed to the

'Dominant Social Paradigm'). These 'biospheric' values are believed to constitute a third distinct type of value orientation relevant to environmentalism, beside the 'egoistic' (i.e. self-enhancement) and 'altruistic' (i.e. self-transcendent) value orientations in society theorised in early work by Schwartz (1977) (see also Stern et al., 1993).

The Value-Belief-Norm Theory (Stern et al., 1999; Stern, 2000) holds that the acceptance of the NEP is positively correlated with biospheric and altruistic values, and negatively correlated with egoistic values. Acceptance of the NEP, in turn, is positively correlated with an awareness of the environmental consequences of a given behaviour (i.e. 'adverse consequences for valued objects', or 'AC') and the subsequent ascription of responsibility for those consequences (i.e. 'perceived ability to reduce threat', or 'AR'). From this follows a 'personal norm' to take pro-environmental actions in the form of environmental 'activism', 'nonactivist behaviours in the public-sphere', 'private-sphere environmental behaviours' and other environmentally significant behaviours, such as influencing the actions of organisations to which the individual belong (i.e. 'behaviours in organisations') (Stern, 2000) (Figure 2.4).

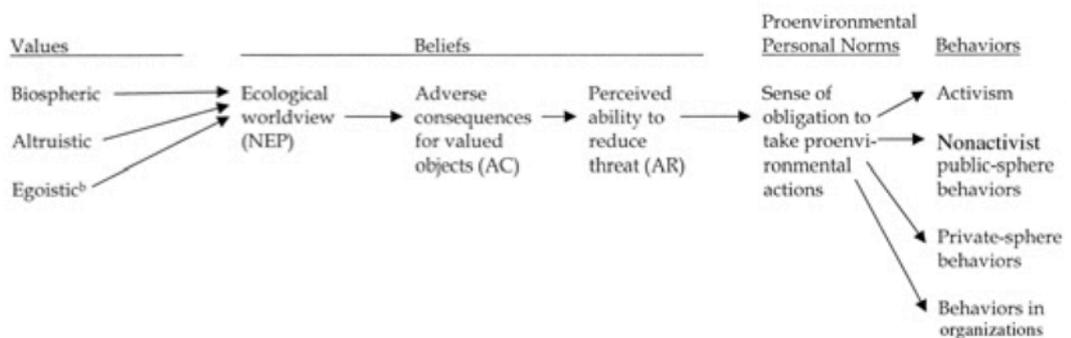


Figure 2.4 Stern's Value-Belief-Norm Theory (Stern, 2000: 412). Reproduced with permission from John Wiley & Sons.

Stern et al. (1999) and Stern (2000) empirically demonstrated the higher explanatory power of this model compared to other theories of environmental support. Nonetheless, the Value-Belief-Norm Theory has its own limitations. First, the three different value orientations (i.e. biospheric, altruistic and egoistic) were found to co-exist in individuals and they may all influence environmental behaviour (Stern et al., 1993). In particular, Stern et al. (1993) suggest that pro-environmental behaviour may depend critically on the belief or value set that receives attention in a given context. Second, Jackson (2005) argue that the correlation between personal norms and indicators of pro-environmental behaviours is generally relatively weak;

for example, in empirical studies conducted by Stern et al. (1999) the model explained less than 35% of the variance in such behaviours. In other words, values are often found to be relatively minor contributors to behavioural outcomes.

Cialdini's Focus Theory of Normative Conduct

Theories linking personal norms to individual values are thus constrained by the fact that the salience of specific values depends also on the social context in which the behaviour takes place (Jackson, 2005). Cialdini's Focus Theory of Normative Conduct (Cialdini et al. 1990, 1991) acknowledges the influence placed by the social context on personal conduct by proposing that behaviour is motivated and directed by both 'descriptive' and 'injunctive' social norms. The former refers to what is perceived as normal in a given situation (i.e. what most people do), whereas the latter reflects the moral rules and guidelines of the social group that the individual belongs to (i.e. what most people approve or disapprove). Social norms thus function as heuristic for guiding behaviour by providing behavioural examples that help people in deciding what is the appropriate way to act in each given situation, and what are the social outcomes (e.g. informal sanctions and rewards) associated with specific behaviours.

Cialdini et al. (1991) responded to the criticism that norms dominant in a society, which are presumably always in place, may not predict behaviour by suggesting that social norms affect behaviour only when they are activated first (i.e. made salient). Similarly, they explained that in situations where conflicting descriptive and injunctive norms co-exist, individual's behaviour is likely to be consistent with the type of norm that become focal (i.e. temporarily prominent in consciousness).

2.1.4 Integrative theories of consumer behaviour

While the behavioural models presented above mainly focus on cognitive processes and determinants of behaviour that are inherent to the individual (e.g. values, attitudes, personal norms, intentions), other models add external factors (e.g. fiscal and regulatory incentives, institutional constraints) in order to provide a more comprehensive view (Jackson, 2005). Some examples of 'integrative theories of consumer behaviour' are Stern's 'Attitude-Behaviour-Context (ABC) Model', Triandis's 'Theory of Interpersonal Behaviour' and Bagozzi's 'Comprehensive Model of Consumer Action'.

Stern's Attitude-Behaviour-Context (ABC) model

Stern's 'ABC model of environmentally significant behaviour' (Guagnano et al., 1995; Stern, 2000) describes individual behaviour (B) as "an interactive product of personal-sphere attitudinal variables (A) and contextual factors (C)" (Stern, 2000: 415). As such, the link between attitudes and behaviour is strongest when contextual factors are weak, neutral or non-existent. On the contrary, when contextual factors are strongly positive or negative (thus facilitating or disfavoring the behaviour), there is virtually no relationship between attitudes and behaviour (Figure 2.5). In the case of recycling, for example, holding pro-recycling attitudes was found of little relevance when recycling facilities were either very easy or very difficult to access (see Guagnano et al., 1995). In the first case most people are likely to recycle, in the second very few would recycle.

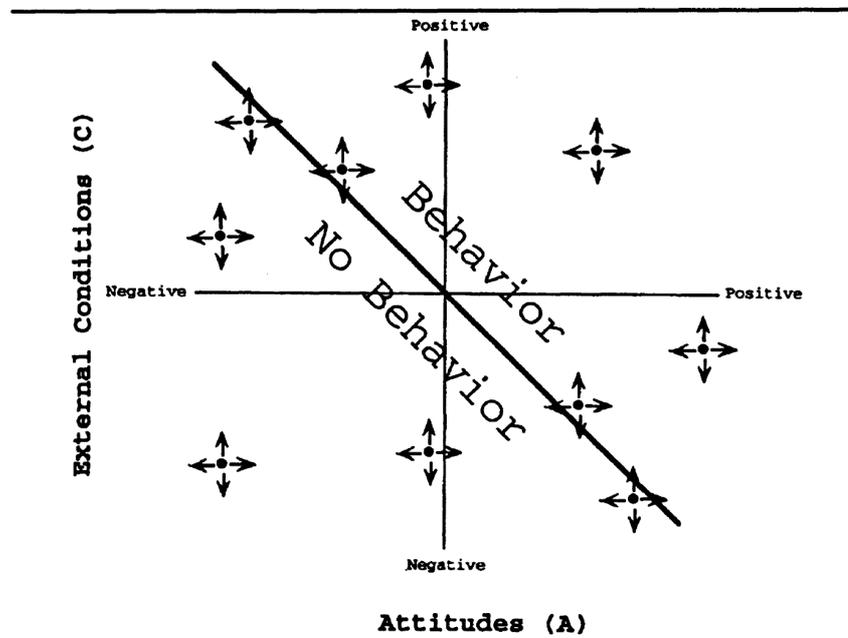


Figure 2.5 Stern's Attitude-Behaviour-Context (ABC) model (Guagnano et al., 1995: 703). Reproduced with permission from SAGE Publications.

Although the ABC model fails to account for the role of habits in consumer behaviour, Stern's (2000) later work argued that an integrated model of environmentally significant behaviour should consider four major types of causal variables: 'attitudinal factors' (e.g. values, beliefs, norms), 'external or contextual forces' (e.g. interpersonal influences, government regulations, financial cost), 'personal capabilities' (e.g. knowledge, skills, available resources) and 'habit or routine'.

Triandis's Theory of Interpersonal Behaviour

A model that includes the influence of habitual, social and affective factors on behaviour is Triandis's (1977) Theory of Interpersonal Behaviour. Similarly to the Theory of Reasoned Action and the Theory of Planned Behaviour, 'intention' is considered the direct determinant of behaviour. Intention to carry out the behaviour has, in turn, three causal types of antecedents: 'attitude', 'social factors' and 'affect'. Attitudes follow from 'beliefs about the behavioural outcomes' and their 'evaluation'. Social factors comprise of 'norms' (conceptualised in a similar manner to Cialdini's injunctive social norms – what should or should not be done), 'roles' (i.e. sets of behaviours that are considered appropriate for persons holding particular positions in a group) and 'self-concept' (i.e. the idea a person holds of himself/herself). Affect, theorised as a more or less unconscious input to decision-making, is determined by (both positive and negative) emotional responses of varying strength to particular situations. In parallel to this, the 'frequency of past behaviour' leads to the formation of 'habits', the second immediate antecedent of behaviour. In particular, Triandis maintains that as experience of a given behaviour is acquired, the role of habit increases (bypassing conscious deliberative processes) and that of intention declines. Finally, the influence of intentions and habits on the end behaviour is moderated by 'facilitating conditions', a concept analogous to Stern's external contextual factors (Jackson, 2005) (Figure 2.6).

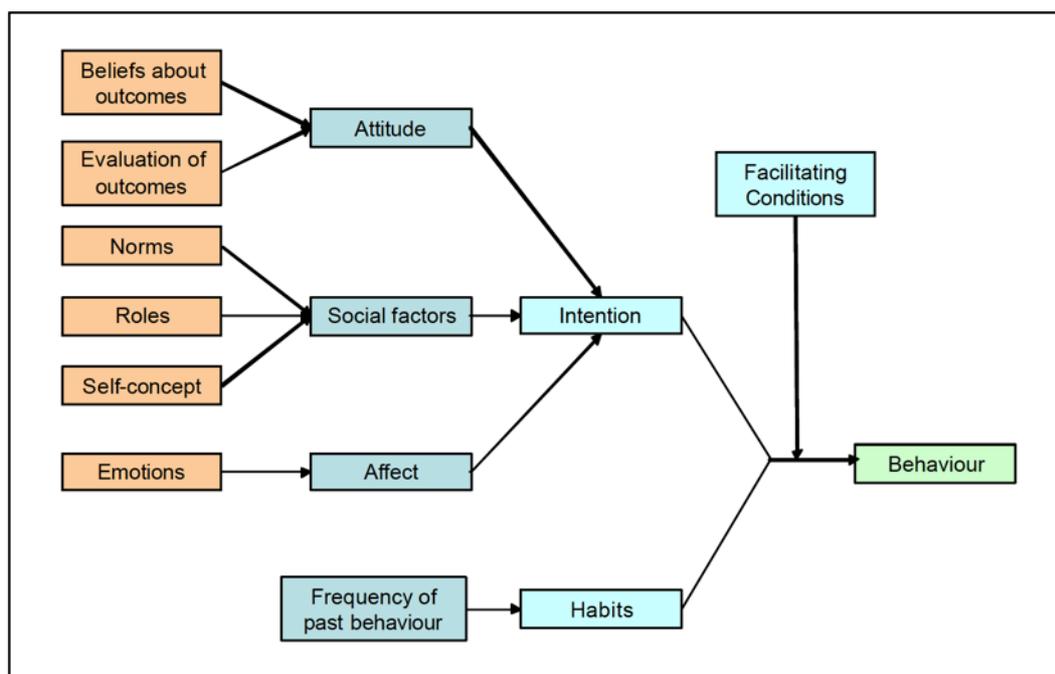


Figure 2.6 Triandis' Theory of Interpersonal Behaviour (Jackson, 2005: 94). Reproduced with permission from Professor Tim Jackson.

Triandis's Theory of Interpersonal Behaviour overcomes many of the limitations of the previous models and has been demonstrated to have higher predictive power compared to both Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behaviour and Schwartz's Norm Activation Theory (see Bamberg and Schmidt, 2003). Nevertheless, it has been rarely used to examine pro-environmental behaviours due to its greater complexity (Jackson, 2005).

Bagozzi's Comprehensive Model of Consumer Action

More recently, Bagozzi and colleagues have elaborated a model of goal-oriented consumer action¹⁵ that integrates affective, normative, social and habitual factors. Similar to Triandis's Theory of Interpersonal Behaviour, their Comprehensive Model of Consumer Action (Bagozzi et al., 2002; Bagozzi 2006) posits that both automatic (unconscious) and deliberative (reflective) processes determine consumer action. The proposed model offers an elaborate understanding of consumer behaviour, accounting for more than 20 different variables simultaneously (Figure 2.7). However, this makes its empirical application more complex and there have been very few attempts to test the model or the individual relations between the different variables theorised by Bagozzi (Jackson, 2005).

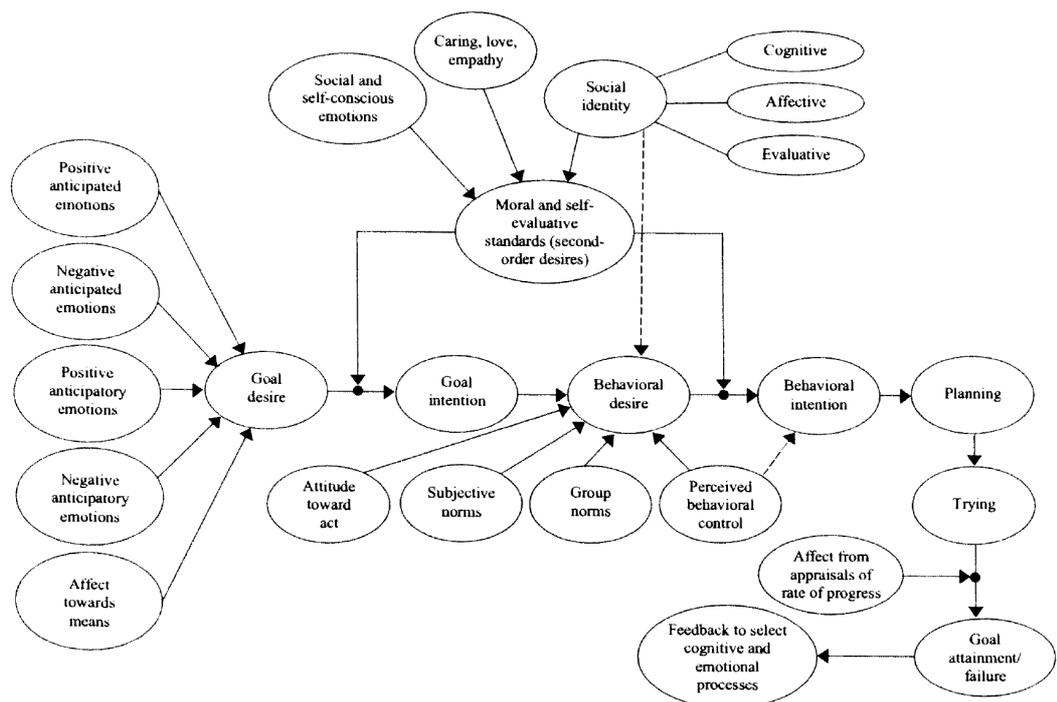


Figure 2.7 Bagozzi's Comprehensive Model of Consumer Action (Bagozzi, 2006: 15). Reproduced with permission from Emerald.

¹⁵ Bagozzi (2006: 8-9) defines consumer action as "something a person does in the acquisition, use, or disposal of a product or service."

2.1.5 Limitations of social psychological understandings of consumer behaviour

The different theories and models presented in this section provide more or less sophisticated conceptualisations of (pro-environmental) consumer behaviour. Although each has advantages and disadvantages, there are some general criticisms that have been made to social psychological approaches to understanding behaviour. In particular, they are believed to overestimate the role of the individual and the autonomy of individual choice (*'Agency vs structure'*), result in models with often limited explanatory and predictive power (*'Parsimony vs explanatory power'*), and are fundamentally undermined by the existence of a discrepancy between the endorsement of pro-environmental values and actual behaviour (*'The value-action gap'*).

Agency vs structure

Most social psychological models focus on individual-level cognitive processes and decisions, thus underemphasising (or only partly accounting for) the impact of the social and institutional context on behaviour (Jackson, 2005; Darnton, 2008; Morris et al., 2012). This is largely due to the complexity associated with measuring social factors, which are generally treated as external influences on individual decision-making processes (Morris et al., 2012). The inherent risk of this approach is the reduction of pro-environmental behaviour to a matter of (rational) choice exercised by autonomous individuals (Harrison and Davis, 1998; Hargreaves, 2008). Much criticism directed to social psychological models of behaviour on sociological grounds (e.g. Hargreaves, 2008; Shove, 2010; Southerton et al., 2011; Spurling et al., 2013) contends that people often find themselves 'locked in' to certain ways of doing and consuming as a consequence of societal norms and expectations, dominant cultural values, habits, routines, existing institutional arrangements and social structures that they live within. In other words, it is suggested that human action and choice (i.e. 'agency') are, importantly, constrained by social contexts and structures (i.e. 'structure') to an extent that social psychological models of behaviour largely fail to address.

Parsimony vs explanatory power

A second critique of social psychological models of consumer behaviour lies in the tension between parsimony (i.e. simplicity) and explanatory/predictive power (Jackson, 2005; Hargreaves, 2008; Darnton, 2008). Notably, increasing the number

of variables improves the accuracy of a model at the expense of its comprehensibility and empirical applicability. For example, the completeness and conceptual complexity of Bagozzi's Comprehensive Model of Consumer Action makes it extremely difficult to operate. A basic model such as Schwartz's Norm Activation Theory, on the contrary, runs the risk of missing out key causal influences on behaviour due to its simplicity (Jackson, 2005). It follows that social psychological models need to be necessarily treated as simplified descriptions, which are not able to account for all the complexities of human behaviour (Darnton, 2008). Furthermore, many studies using this type of model fail to measure actual behaviour, focusing mainly on self-reported behaviour or limiting their scope to the assessment of the relationship between given variables of interest (Hargreaves, 2008).

The value-action gap

Behavioural change initiatives have been traditionally informed by social psychological understandings of behaviour (Southerton et al., 2011). Policy interventions have largely attempted to remove possible barriers and encourage consumers to undertake desired courses of action by providing them with more environmental information (e.g. through product labelling and mass media campaigns) and economic incentives (see also Hards, 2011a). The underlying assumption is that this could raise their levels of awareness, shape attitudes and eventually translate into pro-environmental behaviour (Hargreaves, 2008). However, this approach proved to attain little results (Darnton, 2008; Morris et al., 2012; Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002). In particular, Darnton (2008) noted that information and attitudes do not always determine behaviour. The disparity between stated attitudes and actual behaviour – the so called 'attitude-behaviour gap' (Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002) or 'value-action gap' (Blake, 1999), is a major shortcoming undermining the fundamental assumption embedded in these models of a linear progression from pro-environmental values and attitudes to pro-environmental behaviour, as well as the related possibility to modify consumers' behaviour by influencing their values and attitudes.

In Blake's diagram of the value-action gap (Figure 2.8), the divide between 'environmental concern' and 'environmental action' is filled with obstacles preventing the translation of values into behaviour. Namely, the flow is impeded by 'individuality' (e.g. laziness or lack of interest), 'responsibility' (e.g. lack of trust in the institutions, perception of no need to act) and 'practicality' (e.g. lack of time,

money, or facilities). An empirical identification of these barriers confirmed how action is significantly affected by psychological, social and institutional constraints (Blake, 1999). Nevertheless, research and policy efforts have continued to attempt to ‘close’ or ‘bridge the gap’ (Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002) through the provision of information using more sophisticated advertising techniques (i.e. social marketing) tailored to specific population segments (e.g. Defra, 2008) (Darnton, 2008; Hargreaves, 2008).

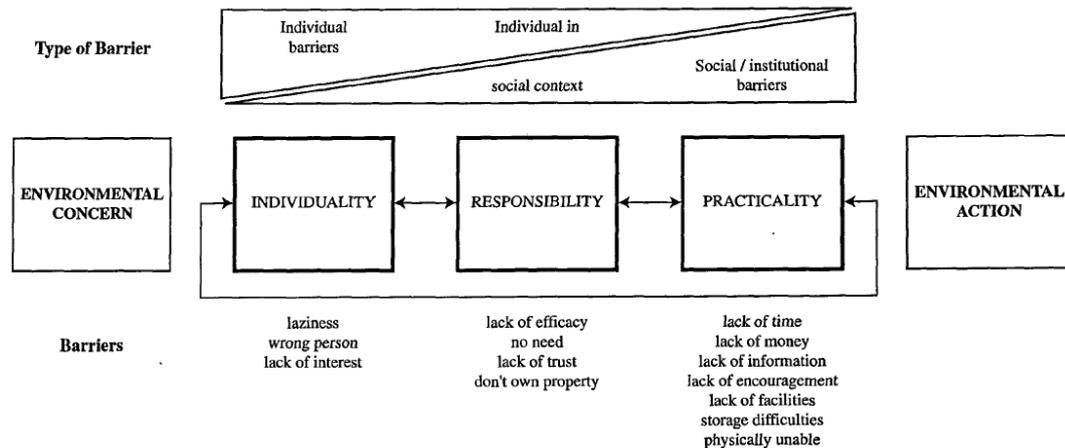


Figure 2.8 The value-action gap (Blake, 1999: 267). Reproduced with permission from Taylor & Francis.

2.2 Social practice theory

In contrast to the “static, individualistic, and rationalistic tendencies” (Dolan, 2002: 170) of social psychological theories and models of (pro-environmental) consumer behaviour, a range of alternative perspectives to look at human action has developed within the field of the sociology of consumption. In particular, ‘theories of practice’ (e.g. social practice theory) posit that the individual (and individual choice) is not the appropriate level for analysis, and behaviour is better understood as an outcome of complex inter-relationships and socially shared practices.

2.2.1 Theories of practices

Social practice theory or, more precisely, theories of practice – in the plural, for there is no single agreed upon formulation of such a theory – originate from attempts in the 1970s to overcome the problematic ‘agency-structure’ dichotomy¹⁶

¹⁶ The agency-structure divide consists of the contraposition of a methodological individualism with structural accounts for explaining social phenomena. In particular, “individualised forms of agency are criticised by exponents of a structural position, for

by means of an approach able to account for both human agency and social structure in understanding social action (Welch and Warde, 2015). Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (1977) and Giddens's Theory of Structuration (1984) laid the early foundations for theories of practice, which have seen a resurgence of interest in the work of Schatzki (1996, 2002; Schatzki et al., 2001) and Reckwitz (2002). More recently, theories of practices have been increasingly applied to the analysis of consumption, particularly in the area of sustainable consumption (e.g. Warde, 2005; Røpke, 2009; Halkier et al., 2011; Shove, 2005; Shove et al., 2012; Spaargaren and van Vliet, 2000; Mylan, 2015).

Although there is not unified approach to theories of practice (for a comprehensive literature review of the entire range see Nicolini, 2012), a common feature of practice theories is the use of social practices (as opposed to the individual) as the central unit of analysis for empirical research, and as the relevant level for policy interventions (e.g. Spaargaren, 2003; Spaargaren and Martens, 2005; Spaargaren and Oosterveer, 2010; Shove et al., 2012; Spurling et al., 2013). Among different versions there is, however, substantial variation in what is considered to constitute a 'social practice'. One of the most elaborated and widely cited definitions is proposed by Reckwitz (2002: 249-250):

"A 'practice' is a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge. A practice – a way of cooking, of consuming, of working, of investigating, of taking care of oneself or of others, etc. – forms so to speak a 'block' whose existence necessarily depends on the existence and specific interconnectedness of these elements, and which cannot be reduced to any one of these single elements."

For example, cooking – as a practice – may consist of chopping, stirring, wooden spoons, pans, pots, hobs, raw ingredients, knowing how to prepare something, a motivation for doing it, and so forth.

Theorists further distinguish between 'practice-as-entity' and 'practice-as-performance' (Schatzki, 1996; Shove et al., 2012; Warde, 2005). The first notion –

identifying single actors as the immediate causes of events, which is not only considered to be a erroneous starting point for understanding society, but a premise from which individuals are to be held responsible and accountable for their circumstances. In response, the deterministic nature of structural accounts is criticised due to the subsequent denial and neglect of the potential for 'agents' to not only make choices but shape their circumstances." (Connor, 2011: 2).

practice-as-entity – refers to the way elements forming a practice are linked together. As such, a practice has a history and a trajectory (i.e. a path of development). For instance, cooking has evolved over the centuries due to a different set of elements being available in the past (e.g. fire pits rather than gas hobs). The second – practice-as-performance – corresponds to the carrying out (or ‘*performing*’) of a practice (e.g. the act of cooking). In other words, it is the actualisation of a practice-as-entity in specific moments and places.

When applied to the study of consumption, theories of practices offer a different explanation for the increasing environmental impact of current ways of life. In particular, social practices are seen as steering the process of consumption of (energy and material) resources. Rather than a practice *per se*, consumption is viewed as a moment occurring in almost every practice. This makes it possible to explain the significant amounts of resources deployed in the use of products and services for the accomplishment of a variety of mundane activities (e.g. cooking, showering, commuting, doing the laundry, driving), a type of *inconspicuous* or *ordinary* consumption that cannot be explained through models of individual consumer choice (Warde, 2005; Mylan, 2015; Spurling et al., 2013). Moreover, ascribing (unsustainable) consumption to the dynamics of social practices provides a way out of the problematic value-action gap (Warde, 2005). In a practice perspective, the discrepancy between people’s reported pro-environmental values and their actual behaviour is explained by the existence of habits and routines (ingrained in everyday life patterns and carried out without conscious deliberation) that hinder the translation of those values into behaviour (Spurling et al., 2013).

In the area of sustainable consumption, Welch and Warde (2015) suggested that two major and distinct practice theoretical programmes have been developed by Gert Spaargaren (2003, 2013; Spaargaren and van Vliet, 2000; Spaargaren and Martens, 2005; Spaargaren and Oosterveer, 2010) and Elizabeth Shove (2003, 2005; Shove and Pantzar 2005, 2007; Shove et al., 2012). These differ in the intellectual resources they draw on, the role ascribed to human agency, as well as the political and policy implications they envisage.

Spaargaren’s Social Practices Model

Building on Giddens (1984), Spaargaren and van Vliet (2000) argue that the social practices in which people are involved when accomplishing their daily routines are the relevant starting point for studying the behaviour, roles and capacities of ‘citizen-consumers’ in promoting the ‘ecological modernisation’ of (domestic)

consumption. The model of consumption proposed puts these social practices at the centre, resulting from the interaction of both individual ‘lifestyles’ (i.e. “the set of social practices that an individual embraces, together with the storytelling that goes along with it” (Spaargaren, 2003: 689)) (on the left side) and ‘systems of provision’ (i.e. the institutions and structures of society) (on the right side) (Figure 2.9).

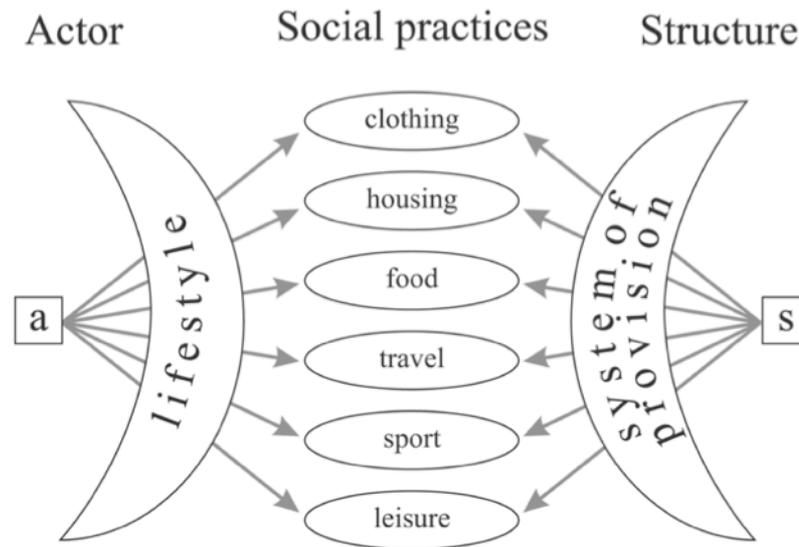


Figure 2.9 Spaargaren and van Vliet’s social practices model (Spaargaren, 2003: 689). Reproduced with permission from Taylor & Francis.

The model rests upon the notion of the duality of agency and structure. That is, the behaviour of reflexive agents (i.e. the citizen-consumers) and structure are not independent sets of phenomena. On the contrary, there is a recursive relationship between the two in the reproduction of social practices (Spaargaren and van Vliet, 2000). More specifically, Spaargaren attributes a ‘transformative capacity’ (e.g. to establish more sustainable routines) to individual and collective agency mediated by social structures. Although constrained by these structures, human agency is assumed “as something that could explain the dynamics of systems of provision” (Spaargaren and van Vliet, 2000: 63). In other words, citizen-consumers have some choice over which practices to engage in. Their choices are enabled and constrained by existing social structures, which both mediate and are the outcome of human action.

From a methodological point of view, the duality of agency and structure can be examined from the right side of the scheme with a focus on the ‘institutional analysis’ of social practices (in which the actors are ‘bracketed out’ to concentrate on the social structures), or from the left side with the ‘analysis of strategic conduct’

(where the contexts of practices are assumed in order to focus attention on the actors' use of structures) (Spaargaren and van Vliet, 2000) (Figure 2.10).

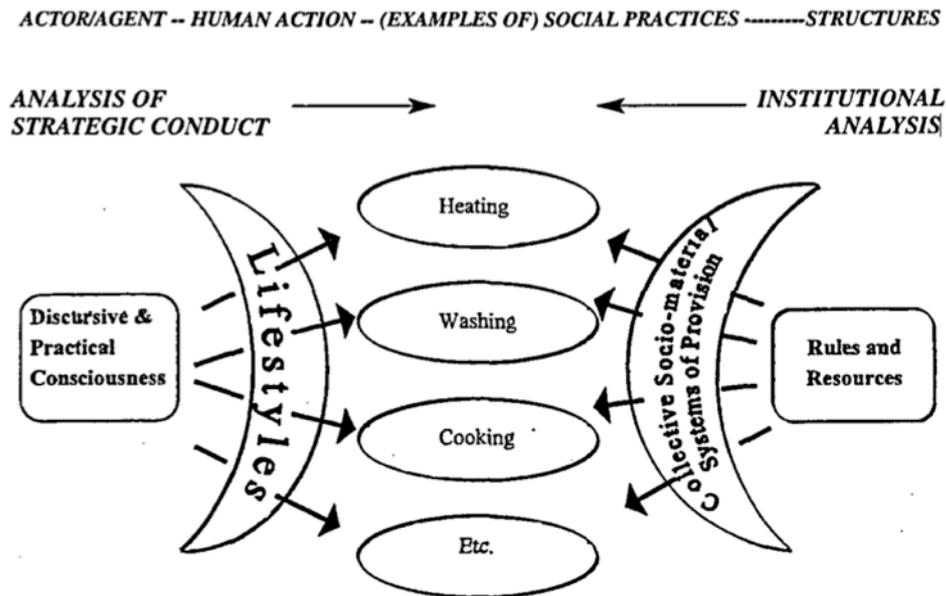


Figure 2.10 Spaargaren and van Vliet's research model for studying the ecological modernisation of domestic consumption. Adapted from Spaargaren and van Vliet 2000: 71. Reproduced with permission from Taylor & Francis.

Changes in practices that could lead to reductions in the environmental impacts of consumption in different domains of social life are conceived by Spaargaren as resulting from citizen-consumers' purposive efforts to modify the way practices are organised and establish more sustainable ones (Spaargaren and van Vliet, 2000; Spaargaren, 2003). In particular, shifting existing consumption patterns relies on the de- and re-routinisation of everyday, taken-for-granted habits and practices by raising them from the level of 'practical consciousness' (in which they go essentially unquestioned) to that of 'discursive consciousness' (where they are, on the contrary, deliberately questioned and reflexively renegotiated), a process that could lead to a change in those habits and practices (Welch and Warde, 2015).

When citizen-consumers are seen as 'change agents', the (consumer-oriented) agenda for research and policymaking involves developing sets of 'environmental heuristics' for all the major social practices (i.e. rules of thumb for citizen-consumers to determine how to act in a more sustainable way in their daily routines), assessing levels of 'sustainable provisioning' (i.e. the quantity and quality of sustainable alternatives offered to different lifestyle groups of citizen-consumers) and identifying under what (lifestyle) conditions specific groups of citizen-consumers make use of the sociotechnical innovations made available to them (Spaargaren, 2003).

This emphasis on the power of citizen-consumers to enact environmental change has, however, been criticised as a form of regression to the individualist paradigm and an exaggeration of individuals’ transformative capacities that is liable to neglect the pervasive impact of structure or context (see Spaargaren and Oosterveer, 2010; Shove, 2003) (Welch and Warde, 2015). In particular, Shove (2010) classified Spaargaren’s position as a ‘weaker version’ of social practice theory and criticised the fact that he did not treat social practices as dynamic entities in their own right.

Shove’s Material-Competence-Meaning model

Shove’s research is primarily focused on understanding the complex dynamics of everyday practices (i.e. their ‘emergence’, ‘disappearance’ and ‘persistence’) and their relation to escalating impacts of consumption (e.g. Shove et al., 2012), how social expectations and collective conventions (of ‘comfort’, ‘cleanliness’ and ‘convenience’) become normalised (e.g. Shove, 2005), and their implications for policy (e.g. Shove 2003, 2010; Shove et al., 2012; Spurling et al., 2013; Spurling and McMeekin, 2014). From this body of research, Shove et al. (2012) have elaborated a simple model of social practices as composed of three elements: ‘meaning’, ‘competence’ and ‘material’. They advocate that “in doing things like driving, walking or cooking, people (as practitioners) actively combine the elements of which these practices are made” and therefore a practice (as-entity) – a way of driving, walking or cooking – “emerge[s], persist[s], shift[s] and disappear[s] when connections between elements of these three types are made, sustained or broken” (Shove et al., 2012: 14) (Figure 2.11).

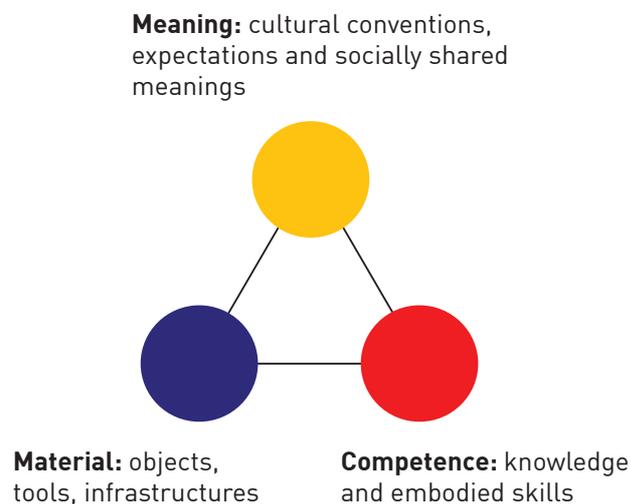


Figure 2.11 Shove’s Material-Competence-Meaning model (Piscicelli et al., 2015b: 23). Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

Drawing on Reckwitz (2002), the material, meaning and competence elements constitutive of a practice are not seen as qualities of the individual, but are part of the practice in which the individual participates. In linking the elements together (i.e. practice-as-performance), people feature as 'carriers' of that practice, reproducing normalised configurations of cultural meanings, socially learnt skills, common tools, products and technologies (Shove et al., 2012; Spurling et al., 2013). Where a practice is reproduced, for how long, how consistently and on what scale depends on the acquisition and loss of "variously faithful cohorts of carriers" (Shove et al., 2012: 77). As such, patterns of 'recruitment' and 'defection' have important implications for the reproduction (and evolution) of practices(-as-entities) (Shove and Pantzar, 2007).

Configurations of elements sustaining practices are deemed to vary over time, across space and between social groups. Therefore, social change and stability can be described and analysed by examining the trajectories of elements and the making, sustaining and breaking of links between them (Shove et al., 2012). In the context of (un)sustainable consumption, this moves the focus from individuals as primary agents of change to considering when, where and how more or less resource-intensive practices come into being and are reproduced, diffuse or die out (Shove et al., 2012).

Understanding the elements of which practices are made (i.e. material, competence and meaning) and what holds them together also exposes multiple possible points of intervention for steering 'transitions in practice' (i.e. change) towards more sustainable ways of life (Welch and Warde, 2015). According to Spurling et al. (2013), policy efforts could aim at disrupting unsustainable practices by breaking the link between their sustaining elements. For example, a ban on the use of petrol-powered vehicles has the potential to trigger a change in mobility practices. Conversely, different – less resource-intensive – practices could be established through the novel combinations of new and already existing elements (i.e. 're-crafting practices'). Furthermore, given that much of the environmental impact of consumption is seen as arising through the routine reproduction of 'normal life', interventions could be targeted at disrupting or challenging the cultural conventions and social expectations underlying unsustainable practices to replace them with more sustainable alternatives (i.e. 'substituting practices'). Finally, it could be possible to modify the way social practices interlock with each other so that change may ripple through interconnected practices (i.e. 'changing how practices interlock').

Shove's 'Material-Competence-Meaning' model (Figure 2.11) has been applied in many empirical studies (e.g. Kuijer and de Jong, 2012; Holtz, 2014; Borch et al., 2015; Spotswood et al., 2015) due to its easy operationalisation. Nevertheless, the difficulty to exactly delimit a practice and distinguish between its defining elements has been criticised by Borch et al. (2015) on methodological grounds. In addition, Shove's stricter version of practice theory has been accused of overlooking purposive cultural projects (e.g. the role of collective social and political projects, ideologies and cultural discourses inherent to sustainable consumption) (see Welch and Warde, 2015).

2.2.2 Limitations of social practice theory

Social practice theory (if theories of practice are taken as a whole) provides an alternative account of social action and change, with promising implications for the study of (sustainable) consumption. However, its theoretical formulation is at an early stage of development, with a still limited (although increasing) number of empirical applications. In particular, Welch and Warde (2015) suggest that there are at least three outstanding analytical problems that need to be resolved in order to enhance the power of practice theories. These include 'the relationship between consumption and production', 'the relationship between the minutiae of everyday performances of practices and the macro-level of political-economic contexts and institutional arrangements', and 'the relationship between (collective) agency and everyday routines'.

The relationship between consumption and production

Shove (2005) attempted to advance a framework that incorporated aspects of innovation in consumption and production, as well as the dynamic process occurring between the two. However, her later work (e.g. Shove et al., 2012) and most practice-theoretical empirical research have tended to focus on studying (changes in) everyday practices, typically in relation to end-use consumption, mostly disregarding the domain of production (Welch and Warde, 2015). In order to deal with this failure to systematically account for the production sphere, there have been recent attempts to integrate social practice theory with the multi-level perspective¹⁷ of the 'socio-technical transitions (to sustainability)' approaches (see

¹⁷ The multi-level perspective (MLP) (see Rip and Kemp, 1998; Geels, 2002, 2004, 2010, 2011) is "a framework for understanding sustainability transitions that provides an overall view of the multi-dimensional complexity of changes in socio-technical systems. The MLP distinguishes three analytical levels: niches (the locus for radical innovations), socio-

Cohen et al., 2013; Crivits and Paredis, 2013; McMeekin and Southerton, 2012; Watson, 2012). This 'theoretical synthesis' is argued to provide a more complete view of the intersection between consumers and producers (McMeekin and Southerton, 2012).

The relationship between the minutiae of everyday performances of practices and the macro-level of political-economic contexts and institutional arrangements

Although social practice theory is well equipped to account for change within discrete practices by looking at the making, sustaining and breaking of links between their underlying elements, a second critique advanced by Welch and Warde (2015) concerns its inadequacy to capture overarching cultural discourses that these elements may underpin. In particular, they argue that conceptualising cultural trends, ideologies or purposive programmes such as 'modernisation', 'neoliberalism' or 'sustainable consumption' simply as common ideational elements shared by different practices could potentially ignore important processes of social and environmental change initiated as purposive projects.

The relationship between (collective) agency and everyday routines

Welch and Warde (2015) found a third problem of current formulations of practice theory in their lack of theorisation of collective social action and actors. However, it could be argued that the topic of agency in practice theory is, in general, quite problematic (Spaargaren and Oosterveer, 2010) and remains one of substantial dispute even between the two major programmes of research and policy described above. Although theories of practice are meant to resolve the structure-agency debate by regarding practice-as-entity as structure and practice-as-performance as agency (Schatzki, 1996; Reckwitz, 2002), 'stricter' (i.e. Shove's) and 'milder' (i.e. Spaargaren's) interpretations of social practice theory differ considerably in the role and degree of autonomy attributed to individuals (i.e. as citizens-consumers or carriers of practice).

In particular, Gram-Hanssen (2015) suggests that the majority of the research on practices conducted in the area of sustainability (drawing on Shove's formulation of social practice theory) has focused on analysing the trajectory of practices (i.e. how practices-as-entities are collectively structured and evolve over time in more or less sustainable directions). However, little attention has been

technical regimes, which are locked in and stabilized on several dimensions, and an exogenous socio-technical landscape. [...] The MLP proposes that transitions, which are defined as regime shifts, come about through interacting processes within and between these levels." (Geels, 2010: 495).

devoted so far to the social differentiation of practices (i.e. the possible variations within the performance of practices between individuals and between social groups), for example by looking at how individuals perform practices differently in different contexts (Hargreaves, 2008).

Given that individuals are believed to have some agency in their performance of social practices (thus contributing to how these practices-as-entities evolve), studying the way that they experience practices-as-performances in their everyday life becomes just as much important as analysing practices-as-entities (Gram-Hanssen, 2015). This opens up opportunities for “introducing a supplementary perspective on ‘persons in practice’”, which “does not equate to understanding people as ‘sovereign individuals’” (Buch, 2015: 24). Indeed, a theoretical account of individuals’ engagement in social practices may help in identifying what types of practice are prevalent, what range of the available practices different individuals engage in (Warde, 2004) and why some people engage in certain practices and not in others, by looking at how people come to share (or not to share) the goals, objective and projects of these practices (Buch, 2015).

2.3 Combining social psychology and social practice theory

The growing interest in the role of the individual in social practices has resulted in a number of attempts to combine insights from social psychology and social practice theory. While many academics and researchers in the area of sustainable consumption increasingly welcome a fruitful dialogue between these perspectives (e.g. Hargreaves 2008, 2011; Darnton et al., 2011; Darnton and Evans, 2013; Hards, 2011a, 2011b; Greene and Westerhoff, 2014; Butler et al. 2014a, 2014b; Groves et al., forthcoming), advocates of the ‘stricter’ version of social practice theory reject the possibility of merging the two positions and overcoming the theoretical divides (e.g. Shove 2010, 2011). This firm rejection originated in what could be defined as the ‘behaviour/practice debate in sustainable consumption’.¹⁸

¹⁸ A one-day workshop with this title was hosted by the author in May 2014 at Nottingham Trent University (Nottingham, UK). The event intended to explore the incompatibilities and possible crossovers between social psychology and social practice theory with leading academic exponents of both positions. Participants included Nicola Spurling, Daniel Welch, Lorraine Whitmarsh, David Uzzell, Sarah Royston, Stewart Barr and Kate Burningham.

2.3.1 The behaviour/practice debate in sustainable consumption

As noted by Gram-Hanssen (2015), there has been clear intent to explicitly distance research on practices from more behavioural and individualistic approaches. In her “short and deliberately provocative paper” Shove (2010: 1273) made a case for going beyond the “dominant paradigm of ‘ABC’ – attitude, behaviour and choice” underpinning current climate-change initiatives and embracing a practice theory perspective to inform policy. In doing so, she also condemned any integration or folding of concepts of practice in behavioural framings of individuals as agents of change.

“In recent writing on sustainability and climate change, words like ‘behaviour’ and ‘practice’ are often used interchangeably, or loosely as in attempts to interpret ‘behaviour change’ through a ‘practice lens’ (Hargreaves et al., 2007). This is ironic in that social theories of practice, as characterised by Anthony Giddens (1984) and more recently by Theodore Schatzki (2002) and Andreas Reckwitz (2002), are not in the least bit behavioural. [...] For those who start from the ABC it is tempting to conclude that an emphasis on practices [...] is useful in drawing attention to new or alternative lists of driving factors, with the effect that ‘institutions’ and ‘social norms’ are given greater weight, or that the word ‘practice’ is occasionally substituted in place of behaviour. While this might look like fruitful integration, such moves are doomed to failure.” (Shove, 2010: 1279).

According to Shove, the theoretical differences of the two positions make them fundamentally incompatible.

“On all the counts that matter, social theories of practice on the one hand, and of behaviour on the other, are like chalk and cheese. Whereas social theories of practice emphasise endogenous and emergent dynamics, social theories of behaviour focus on causal factors and external drivers. Likewise, people figure in the first case as carriers of practice and in the second as autonomous agents of choice and change. It is useful to be clear about the incommensurability of these contrasting paradigms, and hence about the impossibility of merger and incorporation.” (Shove, 2010: 1279).

The paper ignited a lively debate on the possibility of integrating social practice theory and social psychological approaches to sustainability (see Whitmarsh et al. 2011; Shove, 2011; Wilson and Chatterton, 2011; Boldero and Binder, 2013). In particular, Whitmarsh et al. (2011) criticised Shove’s oversimplification of economic and psychological models of behaviour and her dismissal of non-sociological perspectives to understand social or behavioural change. On the contrary, they stressed the importance of conducting interdisciplinary research and adopting different theoretical and methodological approaches to address complex societal

issues like those of sustainability and consumption. This call for integration was firmly rejected by Shove in her subsequent response (see Shove, 2011).

Conversely, Wilson and Chatterton (2011) adopted a pragmatic position to solve the behaviour/practice debate, namely that the use of the term behaviour (more familiar to policy makers) to describe observable actions is consistent with the notion of practice-as-performance (i.e. the 'behavioural' component of a practice).¹⁹ As such, insights from practice theory can complement psychological approaches by providing policy makers with additional ways of thinking about environmental sustainability. While Wilson and Chatterton concluded that multiple models of behaviour should be used to inform policy, Boldero and Binder (2013) contended that an integrated approach is better suited for effective policy making. They promoted Binder's (2011) 'Model of Recursive Cultural Adaptation (MORCA)'²⁰ as a successful example of an integrated model that uses concepts from psychology (about the nature of habits and how these can be changed) to enhance social practice theory. According to Boldero and Binder (2013), the two perspectives are compatible and the differences between social psychology and social practice theory do not make them fundamentally incommensurable.

2.3.2 The 'psychology of practices'

Besides Binder's (2011) MORCA model, there have been other explicit attempts to combine social psychology and social practice theory. Hargreaves's (2008, 2011) work is pioneering in applying insights of social practice theory to the study of pro-environmental behaviour change. Although essentially espousing a practice theory approach, Hargreaves retained the term 'behaviour' (to refer to individual performances of practices) alongside the term 'practice' (to refer to the abstract social entities). In particular, he deemed the "dogmatic insistence on terminological precision" of some social practice theorists counter-productive, since it may lead to disregarding useful research conducted under the auspices of 'pro-environmental behaviour change' and result in practice theory being ignored by policy makers (Hargreaves, 2008: 20).

¹⁹ This point seems to have been accommodated in later developments of Shove's formulation of practice theory specifically directed at informing policy. The 'Sustainable Practices Research Group Report' features the term 'observable behaviour', although this is meant to represent "just the tip of the iceberg" (Spurling et al., 2013: 8).

²⁰ The 'Model of Recursive Cultural Adaptation' proposes that a "practice is: 1) the embodiment of social structures; 2) is the aconscious 'way things are done around here'; 3) forms the bedrock for agency, which is the pursuit, or defence, of practice; 4) that the modification of a practice is, by definition, an innovation or change." (Binder, 2011: 222).

While Hargreaves’s aim is to extend the application of social practice theory to the area of behaviour change initiatives, Darnton et al. (2011) adopted an interdisciplinary approach to look at different ways of thinking about ‘habits’ from, first, a social psychological and then a practice theory perspective. Rather than presenting them as opposite theoretical approaches, they were argued to offer different opportunities for intervening to change consumers’ habits. By drawing out their distinct implications, Darnton and colleagues proposed an integrated set of potential interventions deemed able to better address habits and influence behaviour.

Along the same lines, Darnton and Evans (2013) developed the ISM – Individual, Social and Material – tool for policy makers to influence people’s behaviours and bring about social change. The ISM model combines factors and influences from multiple theories and disciplines, including social psychology and social practice theory. The tool provides a pragmatic integration of different approaches to understanding human behaviour, starting from an appreciation of individual behaviour, subsequently set within its social and material contexts (Figure 2.12). The conceptual differences of the ISM’s theoretical underpinnings are presented as a source of strength for the tool, since they open up avenues for a multi-intervention approach to behavioural and social change (see also Darnton and Horne, 2013).

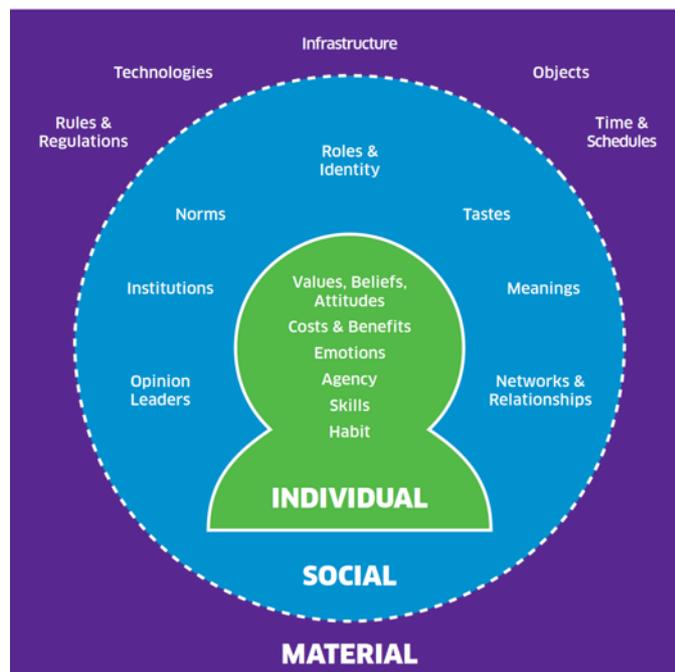


Figure 2.12 Factors which influence behaviour in individual, social and material contexts (‘the ISM model’) (Darnton and Evans, 2013: 3). Reproduced with permission from Andrew Darnton.

Another set of studies attempted to build a dialogue between social psychological approaches and social practice theory by looking at the relationship between personal narratives and social practices. In reconceptualising environmental values within a social practice framework (see also Section 3.2), Hards (2011a, 2011b) employed a 'narrative-life-course methodology' to explore how values of individuals engaged in sustainable practices evolve throughout their lifetime. Similarly, Greene and Westerhoff (2014: 10) argue that narrative (defined as "a broad set of approaches that emphasise the importance of stories that underlie our experience, which in turn allow us to navigate and find meaning in the world") is an under-theorised and under-researched dimension of social practice. In particular, it is contended that integrating narrative approaches into social practice theory may better capture (through an account of personal or collective experiences) the cultural dimension of social practices and "contribute to the "rehabilitation" of the individual within the social practice field" (Hards, 2011a: 301).

A similar line of enquiry is adopted by Butler et al. (2014b), who combined biographical research approaches with concepts of practice theory to understand processes of change in relation to patterns of energy consumption. They maintain that biographies, in contrast to examinations of specific practices or elements of practices, could develop a compelling account of the individual, of how and why certain events unfolded the way they did, and of change (and transformation) over time. Building on this idea, Groves et al. (forthcoming) propose that social practice theory can be usefully combined with a 'psychosocial framework' in order to explain how agency is 'biographically patterned'. In other words, individuals are 'patterned' by biographical experiences in ways that may directly influence which practices they engage in or defect from.

What all these attempts to combine social psychology and social practice theory have in common is the use of the individual as central unit of analysis (thus departing from the conventions of social practice theory) in order to capture the subjective dimensions of practices. Their typical starting point is the acknowledgment that, in some of its current formulations, social practice theory tends to overlook individuals, reducing them to "more or less faithful carriers or practitioners" (Shove et al., 2012: 63) routinely reproducing "what people take to be normal and, for them, ordinary ways of life" (Shove, 2005: 395). Therefore, there seems to be a shared intent to bring the individual back into the equation, and the general pattern seems one that moves in the direction of building a "psychology of practice" (Hards, 2011a: 300).

2.4 Summary

This chapter located an overall context for the research project in the (pro-environmental) behaviour change literature and provided a brief overview of different theoretical frameworks to understanding behaviour and change in the area of sustainable consumption. In particular, the review compared and contrasted social psychological theories and models of consumer behaviour (Section 2.1) with sociological theories of practice (i.e. social practice theory) (Section 2.2). The two approaches have in the past been often opposed, since they rest upon and support distinct ways of conceptualising behaviour and how to bring about social and pro-environmental change.

Individualistic, choice-based models of consumer behaviour, which place agency within the individual capacity to act, have been dominant in academic research and policy agendas. They typically adopt a cognitive approach to explaining behaviour, treating individuals' attitudes and beliefs as its determinants. Building on the economic model of rational choice in decision-making (Section 2.1.1), some models offer conceptual insights into the psychological antecedents of behaviour (Section 2.1.2), some focus on the impact of values and moral considerations on behaviour (Section 2.1.3), while others attempt to build integrated models of behaviour that incorporate social, psychological and contextual variables (Section 2.1.4). However, social psychological models of consumer behaviour have been fiercely criticised by sociologists for their intrinsic limitations, including the failure in accounting for the value-action gap (i.e. the discrepancy between individuals' reported pro-environmental values and behaviour) and their underestimation of contextual constraints on individuals' consumption choices (Section 2.1.5).

By taking practices as the central unit of analysis, social practice theory originally emerged as an approach able to mediate between a focus on (individual) agency *versus* structure (i.e. the social structures the individual lives within). Rather than seeing behaviour (and environmentally-significant consumption) as based on cognitive decision-making processes and originating from individuals' attitudes, beliefs and other motivational factors, people are believed to use (and consume) resources while engaging in a variety of routine mundane activities performed daily. However, current formulations of social practice theory differ in the role they ascribe to the individual in the reproduction of these habitual activities (i.e. social practices) and their evolution (Section 2.2.1). While Spaargaren attributes to citizen-consumers the capability to enact change, Shove maintains the latter to be the result

of the dynamics (of emergence, disappearing and persistence) of practices, with little space left to the individual involved in the process as a carrier of practice.

The topic of agency in social practice theory thus remains controversial (Section 2.2.2), further sharpened by disciplinary divides within the social sciences regarding the conceptualisation of human behaviour and consumption (Section 2.3.1). However, recent attempts to combine insights from social psychology and social practice theory have sought to provide a more nuanced version of the latter (Section 2.3). This body of work, pooled together by a growing interest in the role that individuals may play within social practices, seems to proceed towards building a 'psychology of practices' and opening new, promising avenues for research.

Chapter 3

Values

Botsman (2013) identifies a shift in consumer values from ownership to access as one of the drivers of collaborative consumption (Section 1.1). In particular, she suggests that values such as ‘collaboration’, ‘empowerment’, ‘openness’ and ‘humanness’ (Figure 1.7) underpin collaborative activities. The idea that a particular set of values might determine participation in collaborative consumption seems to be framed in social psychological understandings of behaviour (Section 2.1). However, lending, borrowing, bartering, swapping and the like could also be treated as social practices reproduced by “variously faithful cohorts of carriers” (Shove et al., 2012: 77) (Section 2.2). Adopting this view would shift attention from finding out what kind of people endorse values supportive of participation in collaborative consumption (what these values are, how common they are, what are the existing barriers for engagement, etc.) to looking at the ways these innovative practices came into being, how they are appropriated and might become established. But what if the two views are not mutually exclusive?

This chapter provides the theoretical rationale for combining social psychology and social practice theory to investigate the role of values in contributing to or hindering the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption practices. First, it reviews the concept of values in social psychology (Section 3.1). Second, it examines how values could be reconceptualised in a social practice perspective by including insights from social psychology (Section 3.2). Finally, it sets out the possibility to explore the relationship between individual ‘values’ and the ‘meaning’ element of practice (Section 3.3), thus keeping with a growing body of academic research that brings together social psychology and social practice theory in the area of sustainable consumption (Section 2.3). The chapter

concludes with an outline of the research questions and objectives that underpin the remainder of this thesis.

3.1 Values in social psychology

Holbrook (1999) draws a distinction between ‘value’ (singular) – the outcome of an evaluative judgement – and ‘values’ (plural) – the relevant criteria on which such a judgement rests.²¹ Values, in the plural form, have always been a central concept in the social sciences used to characterise cultural groups, societies and individuals, to account for change over time and to explain the motivational bases of attitudes and behaviour (Schwartz, 2012). The body of literature on human values and their relationship to (pro-environmental) behaviour spans several decades and disciplines including philosophy, economics, anthropology, psychology and sociology.²² This section focuses on social psychological understandings of values and their empirical application in the context of sustainable consumption. In particular, it describes Rokeach’s conceptualisation of values and provides a detailed account of Schwartz’s value theory, which has been widely used in recent years. The section concludes with a summary of key findings from empirical studies on values and pro-environmental consumer behaviour.

Rokeach’s value theory

The work of Milton Rokeach (1968, 1973) is generally considered the first attempt to systematically theorise and empirically measure values in the field of social psychology (see Corner et al., 2014; Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004; Dietz et al., 2005). Rokeach (1973: 5) defines values as “enduring belief[s] that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence”. He differentiates between 18 ‘terminal’ (i.e. ‘desirable end-states of existence’) and 18 ‘instrumental’ (i.e. ‘preferable modes of behaviour’) values (Table 3.1).

²¹ See also Rohan (2000) for a general discussion of the differences in use of the word ‘value’ and the various definitions provided in literature.

²² See Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004 for a cross-disciplinary discussion of the concept of values. See also Kalof and Satterfield, 2005 and Dietz et al., 2005 for multidisciplinary literature reviews on values and the environment.

| Terminal values | Instrumental values |
|--|--|
| 1. A comfortable life (a prosperous life) | 19. Ambitious (hard working, aspiring) |
| 2. An exciting life (a stimulating active life) | 20. Broadminded (open-minded) |
| 3. A sense of accomplishment (lasting contribution) | 21. Capable (competent, effective) |
| 4. A world at peace (free of war and conflict) | 22. Cheerful (lighthearted, joyful) |
| 5. A world of beauty (beauty of nature and the arts) | 23. Clean (neat, tidy) |
| 6. Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all) | 24. Courageous (standing up for your beliefs) |
| 7. Family security (taking care of loved ones) | 25. Forgiving (willing to pardon others) |
| 8. Freedom (independence, free choice) | 26. Helpful (working for the welfare of others) |
| 9. Happiness (contentment) | 27. Honest (sincere, truthful) |
| 10. Inner harmony (freedom from inner conflict) | 28. Imaginative (daring, creative) |
| 11. Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy) | 29. Independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient) |
| 12. National security (protection from attack) | 30. Intellectual (intelligent, reflective) |
| 13. Pleasure (an enjoyable, leisurely life) | 31. Logical (consistent, rational) |
| 14. Salvation (being saved, eternal life) | 32. Loving (affectionate, tender) |
| 15. Self-respect (self-esteem) | 33. Obedient (dutiful, respectful) |
| 16. Social recognition (respect, admiration) | 34. Polite (courteous, well-mannered) |
| 17. True friendship (close companionship) | 35. Responsible (dependable, reliable) |
| 18. Wisdom (a mature understanding of life) | 36. Self-controlled (restrained, self-disciplined) |

Table 3.1 Rokeach's terminal and instrumental values. Adapted from Rokeach and Ball-Rokeach, 1989: 778.

Individual value priorities (i.e. the relative importance of the different values to a group or individual) can be empirically measured through the 'Rokeach Value Survey' (Rokeach, 1973) in which respondents are asked to rank order the values (alphabetically listed and presented in two separate sets) according to their importance as guiding principles in living their life. However, Rokeach's list of values is not supported by a theory about the underlying value system structure, which makes it impossible to understand the implications of priorities on one value type for priorities on other values (Rohan, 2000). For example, it is not possible to determine whether and how a high endorsement of 'social recognition' is related – if at all – to considering 'ambitious' or 'polite' as important values.

Schwartz's theory of basic individual values

In an attempt to identify a comprehensive set of basic human values recognised in all societies, Shalom Schwartz and colleagues undertook a major programme of theoretical and empirical research that has resulted in a more elaborated conceptualisation of values and the development of different value-measurement instruments (see Schwartz 1992, 1994, 2006a, 2006b, 2012, 2013; Schwartz et al. 2001, 2012). Schwartz's theory, which elaborated and extended Rokeach's work, defines values as "trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or group" (Schwartz et al., 2012: 664). The aspect that primarily characterises a value is, therefore, the type of motivational goal it expresses. Conceptualised as motivational constructs, values are supposed to

underline, or help to explain, individual decision making, attitudes²³ and behaviour (Schwartz, 1992).

The first formulation of Schwartz's theory of basic individual values identified 10 motivationally distinct types of values (i.e. 'self-direction', 'stimulation', 'hedonism', 'achievement', 'power', 'security', 'conformity', 'tradition', 'benevolence' and 'universalism') derived from an analysis of universal requirements of human existence with which they help to cope²⁴. Rather than discrete entities, these values were argued to represent a continuum of motivations and were organised into a circular arrangement (i.e. the 'motivational continuum') (Figure 3.1) arising from the practical, social and/or psychological conflict or congruity between values experienced by people in making everyday decisions. For instance, values that serve primarily individual interests (e.g. stimulation, achievement, hedonism) were hypothesised opposed to those that serve collective interests (e.g. benevolence, tradition, conformity) (Schwartz, 1992).

Adjacent values were postulated most compatible and similar in their underlying motivations, while competing ones were placed on opposite sides of the circle. The 10 motivational value types were further grouped into sets of four higher-order values: 'openness to change' values that emphasise independence of thought, action, and feelings and readiness for change (i.e. self-direction, stimulation) vs. 'conservation' values that emphasise order, self-restriction, preservation of the past, and resistance to change (i.e. security, conformity, tradition); 'self-enhancement' values that emphasise pursuit of one's own interests and success and dominance over others (i.e. power, achievement) vs. 'self-transcendence' values that emphasise concern for the welfare and interests of others (i.e. universalism, benevolence). Hedonism values were considered to share elements of both openness and self-enhancement values. The nature of values and the structure of dynamic relations of conflict and congruence among them were postulated to be culturally universal, although people were expected to differ in the relative importance they attribute to each value type (Schwartz 1992, 2012).

²³ Values are typically conceptualised as more stable and constructed earlier in life (through processes of socialisation and the unique learning experiences of individuals) than attitudes (Schwartz, 1994). Values differ from attitudes in their generality or abstractness (i.e. attitudes are positive or negative evaluations of something quite specific) and in their hierarchical ordering by importance (Schwartz, 1992). Generally, values are deemed less effective at predicting specific behavioural outcomes than attitudes (Darnton, 2008).

²⁴ The three universal requirements of human existence are: 'needs of individuals as biological organisms', 'requisites of coordinated social interaction', and 'survival and welfare needs of groups' (Schwartz et al., 2012).

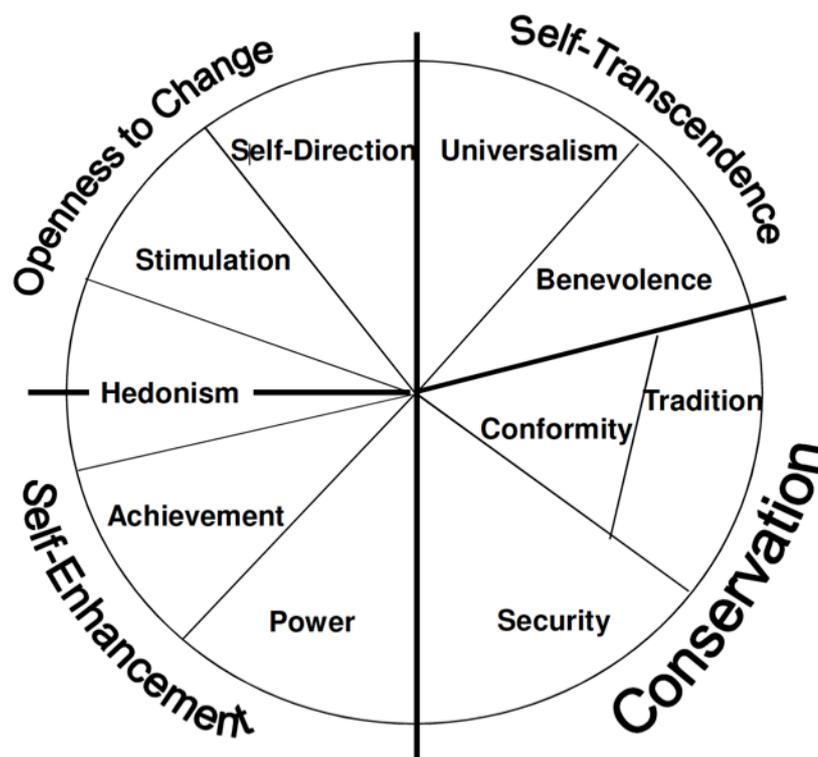


Figure 3.1 Theoretical model of relations among 10 motivational types of value (Schwartz, 2012: 9). Reproduced with permission from Professor Shalom Schwartz. *Note.* “The circular structure in Figure [3.]1 portrays the total pattern of relations of conflict and congruity among values. Tradition and conformity are located in a single wedge because ... they share the same broad motivational goal. Conformity is more toward the centre and tradition toward the periphery. This signifies that tradition values conflict more strongly with the opposing values. The expectations linked to tradition values are more abstract and absolute than the interaction-based expectations of conformity values. They therefore demand a stronger, unequivocal rejection of opposing values.” (Schwartz, 2012: 8).

In developing a theory-based survey to measure people’s value priorities, specific values were selected to represent each of the 10 motivationally distinct value types.²⁵ The resulting Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) contains 56 values²⁶ (complemented by an explanatory phrase intended to clarify and/or narrow down their meaning) that respondents are asked to rate in terms of importance as guiding principles in their life on a 9-point scale from -1 (“opposed to my values”) to 7 (“of supreme importance”) (Schwartz, 1992: 17).

This method of measurement (and the underlying value theory) was initially tested with 36 samples in 20 countries (N=9,140) and went through subsequent stages of refinement and empirical validation (see Schwartz, 1994). However, the

²⁵ Four values were initially included to measure a possible ‘spirituality’ value type. However, this was subsequently dropped, since it empirically failed to meet the criteria for constituting a distinct universal motivational type of value.

²⁶ Of which 21 directly borrowed from the Rokeach Value Survey (Table 3.1).

SVS instrument was found to demand a high level of abstract thought, since values are presented outside of any specific life context within which to weigh one's application of values. Assessing the importance of values, presented as abstract concepts, was described as an intellectually demanding task by some respondents (Schwartz et al., 2001; Rohan, 2000). Therefore, an alternative, more accessible, measurement tool was proposed: the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ). The PVQ instrument consists of short verbal portraits of different people (gender-matched with the respondent) described in terms of their goals, aspirations, or wishes that implicitly refer to the importance of a value. Respondents are asked to answer how similar the person described in each portrait is to them on a 6-point scale from 1 ("not like me at all") to 6 ("very much like me"). Respondents' values are inferred from their self-reported similarity to the people described implicitly in terms of particular values (Schwartz et al., 2001; Schwartz, 2012). The PVQ was proposed in a full 40-item²⁷ version (PVQ-40) and a short 21-item version (PVQ-21) implemented in the European Social Survey, an academically driven cross-national survey that has been conducted every two years across Europe since 2001²⁸ (see Schwartz, 2006a; Davidov et al., 2008; Cieciuch and Davidov, 2012).

More recently, a refined version of the value theory – accounting for 19 basic individual values (Table 3.2) instead of the original set of 10 value types – and a new measurement instrument, the PVQ-57²⁹, were released. Compared to Figure 3.1, the 19 theorised values partition the motivational continuum into a larger number of more fine-tuned and narrowly defined values (Figure 3.2). Therefore, the refined theory, validated with data from 15 samples in 10 countries (N=6,059), is contended to be more accurate and able to provide better heuristic and explanatory power (Schwartz et al., 2012).

²⁷ '40-item version' means that 40 questions are used to measure the 10 value types postulated by Schwartz.

²⁸ Further information available at: <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>

²⁹ The PVQ-57, which measures Schwartz's 19 basic individual values using 57 question items, features three major differences compared to previous versions of the PVQ. In particular, it uses single sentences to improve clarity and avoid the problem associated with double-barred questions (i.e. respondents wanting to give different responses to the two sentences in the same item); it employs three question items to measure each of the 19 values; it describes all items in terms of a person's goals or characteristics, eliminating any references to 'desires' and 'feelings' as to better reflect the conception of values as 'goals' that vary in importance. Questionnaire administration modalities and the 6-point scale adopted remained the same of earlier versions of the PVQ (Schwartz et al., 2012; Cieciuch et al., 2014).

| Value | Conceptual definitions in terms of motivational goals |
|---------------------------|---|
| Self-direction-thought | Freedom to cultivate one's own ideas and abilities |
| Self-direction-action | Freedom to determine one's own actions |
| Stimulation | Excitement, novelty, and change |
| Hedonism | Pleasure and sensuous gratification |
| Achievement | Success according to social standards |
| Power-dominance | Power through exercising control over people |
| Power-resources | Power through control of material and social resources |
| Face | Security and power through maintaining one's public image and avoid humiliation |
| Security-personal | Safety in one's immediate environment |
| Security-societal | Safety and stability in the wider society |
| Tradition | Maintaining and preserving cultural, family, or religious traditions |
| Conformity-rules | Compliance with rules, laws, and formal obligations |
| Conformity-interpersonal | Avoidance of upsetting or harming other people |
| Humility | Recognizing one's insignificance in the larger scheme of things |
| Benevolence-dependability | Being a reliable and trustworthy member of the ingroup |
| Benevolence-caring | Devotion of the welfare of ingroup members |
| Universalism-concern | Commitment to equality, justice, and protection for all people |
| Universalism-nature | Preservation of the natural environment |
| Universalism-tolerance | Acceptance and understanding of those who are different from oneself |

Table 3.2 Schwartz's 19 values in the refined theory, each defined in terms of its motivational goal (Schwartz et al., 2012: 669).

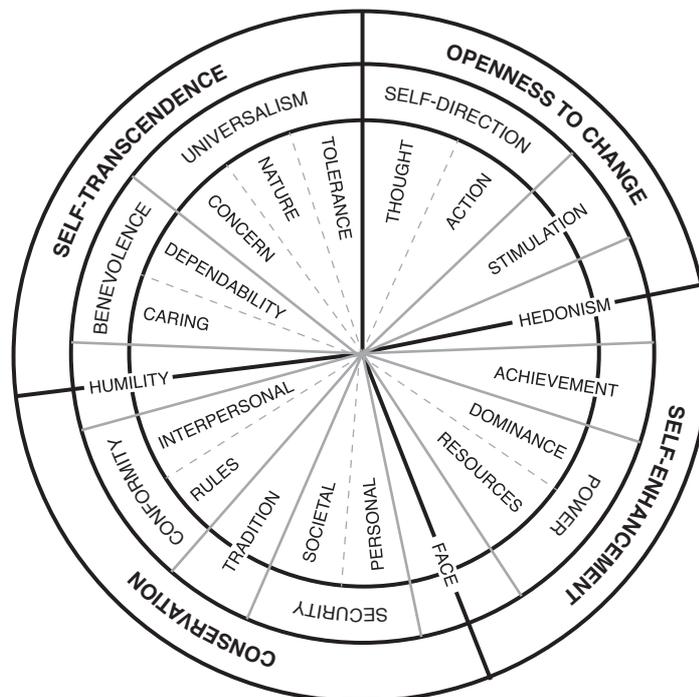


Figure 3.2 Circular motivational continuum of 19 values in the refined value theory. Adapted from Schwartz et al., 2012: 669.

Note. In Figure 3.2 hedonism is placed between the openness to change and self-enhancement higher order values, as in the original theory. Face was theorised to share elements of both self-enhancement and conservation values, whereas humility values were located “on the border between self-transcendence and conservation, because the renunciation of self-interest inherent in it may reflect either concern for others or compliance with social expectations.” (Schwartz et al., 2012: 670).

Values and pro-environmental behaviour

Although there have been some attempts in empirical research on pro-environmental behaviour to use different classifications of values, e.g. the grouping in 'egoistic', 'altruistic' and 'biospheric' values advanced by Stern et al.'s (1999) value-belief-norm theory (Section 2.1.3) (e.g. Schultz, 2000; de Groot and Steg, 2008) and Rokeach's scale of values has been applied to test the influence of values on recycling behaviour (e.g. Dunlap et al., 1983), there seems to have been a general convergence among scholars towards Schwartz's theorisation of values.

A substantial number of empirical studies have employed Schwartz's value theory to examine how values relate to different attitudes and behaviours, or how values are acquired and change over time (see Schwartz et al., 2012). In the context of sustainable consumption, in particular, it has been applied to examine the role of values in motivating pro-environmental behaviour (e.g. Gutierrez Karp, 1996), engagement in 'lower-carbon lifestyles' (e.g. Howell, 2012), 'environment-friendly consumer behaviours' (e.g. Thøgersen and Olander, 2002), 'socially conscious and frugal consumer behaviours' (e.g. Pepper et al., 2009), ethical decision making (e.g. Shaw et al., 2005) and organic food purchasing (e.g. Grunert and Jørn Juhl, 1995; Krystallis et al., 2008) amongst the others.

These studies have demonstrated that there are consistent patterns of relation between values and engagement in sustainable behaviour. In particular, self-transcendence values were found to be supportive of pro-environmental behaviour, while self-enhancement values appeared to be negatively related to it. However, values often accounted only for a small percentage of the variation observed in any given environmentally-relevant behaviour, thus resulting, generally, to be weak predictors for sustainable behaviour (Corner et al., 2014).

The fact that endorsed values do not translate directly into behaviour (Section 2.1.5) is also acknowledged by Schwartz (2006a), who described four processes through which values can influence behaviour:

- *Value activation.* Values need to be activated in order to cause behaviour (see also Verplanken and Holland, 2002). According to Schwartz, value-relevant aspects of situations activate values. For example, a job offer may activate achievement values and a car accident may activate security values.
- *Values as a source of motivation.* Values lead toward the privileging of certain actions over others (see also Feather, 1992), to the extent that

they promote the attainment of valued goals. For instance, individuals who value stimulation are likely to be attracted to a challenging job offer whereas those who value security might find the same offer threatening and unattractive.

- *Influence of values on attention, perception, and interpretation in situations.* Important values lead people “to seek out and attend to value-relevant aspects of a situation.” (Schwartz, 2006a: 13). For example, one person may attend to the opportunities a job offers for self-direction, another to the constraints it imposes on his/her social life. Each person defines the situation in light of his/her own important values, and each interpretation suggests that a different line of action is desirable.
- *Influence of values on the planning of action.* According to Schwartz, high priority values induce a stronger planning of action. The higher the priority given to a value, the more likely people are to form action plans that can lead to its expression in behaviour.

Empirical research exploring value-behaviour discrepancies confirmed that values are indirectly related to behaviour, and their influence on behaviour is strongly mediated by other factors (e.g. attitudes, intentions, context³⁰) (see also Blake, 1999). For example, Maio et al. (2001) found that situational forces significantly reduced the occurrence of behaviours that were supposed to express highly endorsed values of participants involved in their study. In examining the role of values in relation to the development and diffusion of grassroots innovations (including some forms of collaborative consumption) using Schwartz’s PVQ, Martin and Upham (2015) found that the majority of online free reuse groups’ (i.e. Freecycle and Freegle) participants in their study held significantly higher self-transcendence values (i.e. universalism, benevolence) than the wider UK population. However, a second large cluster of participants showed a contradictory pattern of strong endorsement of self-enhancement values. Therefore, they concluded that the diffusion of these community-based initiatives is unlikely to be only related to the endorsement of a certain set of values and “structural features”, including existing social practices, may be more relevant (Martin and Upham, 2015: 1).

³⁰ For Schwartz (2012: 4) “values influence action when they are relevant in the context (hence likely to be activated) and important to the actor.”

3.2 Values in social practice theory

While social psychology treats values as a concept pertaining to the individual, values are typically considered broadly collective or cultural phenomena on sociological grounds (Evans, 2007). Yet, there is not a unique, commonly agreed definition or a coherent body of work on the topic. The ‘sociology of values’ (see Barnsley, 1972 and Spates, 1983) brings together an extensively diverse and quite scattered array of theoretical contributions to the sociological study of values that dates back to the 19th and early 20th century. However, interest in the field seems to have progressively declined (if not come to a standstill) just as the notion of values has gained prominence in social psychology.

Unsurprisingly, values are not explicitly addressed in current formulations of social practice theory, since they are deemed to fall under the remit of ‘individualistic and choice-based’ social psychological understandings of behaviour and there is a clear intent to take distance from those approaches (e.g. Shove, 2010). Nevertheless, the need to consider values (along with people) more attentively in practice theory has been advocated by some critics (e.g. Sayer, 2012) and there have been a few attempts to think about values in the context of social practices (which largely align with the body of work discussed in Section 2.3). In particular, Butler et al. (2014a) and Evans (2007) have discussed how wider *societal/cultural* values can be included in a practice theory perspective, while Hards (2011a, 2011b) has embarked upon the more challenging task of reconceptualising *personal* environmental values within a practice-based framework.

Cultural values and practices

Butler et al. (2014a) adopted a practice theoretical approach (drawing from Bourdieu) to explore energy demand and its constitution through daily practice. In doing so, they considered how a social practice understanding of social action might underpin notions of ‘agency’, ‘choice’ and ‘values’. They concluded that agency is central to practice theory, that people can and do make choices, and normative values – beliefs about how things should be – can be seen to form part of the social and material structures people live within. In a practice perspective values are conceived as inherently collective, social and inter-relational, and embedded in practices rather than being personal constructs. Building on this idea, Butler et al. concluded that efforts to reduce energy demand should aim at changing the wider

social and material structures – which play a fundamental role in configuring what people do – and address values as part of those structures.

In exploring the possible relationship between ‘societal/cultural values’ and the practices that constitute different (more or less sustainable) lifestyles, Evans (2007: 7) developed a tentative account of how values might relate to social practices. He adopted a broad sociological understanding of values as “conceptions of the desirable that *influence* human choice.” In doing so he posited that “(i) human agency should not be left out of the equation and (ii) values are cultural *ideas*”. Values (as cultural ideas), whilst being generalised, abstract notions of ‘what is desirable’ that are relatively fixed and stable over time, are also seen as negotiated and (re)produced by individuals in concrete social settings.³¹ As such, values are conceptualised by Evans (2007: 17-18) as “‘bottom up’ (from the individual) as well as ‘top down’ (dictated by culture)”. Therefore, he maintains that analysing the individual in isolation necessarily provides an incomplete picture and the study of values should focus instead on the interplay between the individual and the collective, which suggests a fruitful dialogue between sociology and social psychology. According to Evans (2007), complementing a sociological perspective on values with insights from social psychology could enhance understandings of the processes and tensions involved in translating abstract (societal/cultural) values into concrete practices.

Individual values and practices

Similarly to Evans (2007), Hards (2011a, 2011b) located her work at the intersection of sociological and social psychological approaches. More specifically, she developed an elaborated account of how ‘personal environmental values’ could be reconceptualised within a social practice framework, with the aim to better understand why and how people’s environmental values might change. Although in a strict practice theory perspective values should be seen as social and cultural constructs (i.e. expressions of ideas circulating within society) embedded in practices (rather than being inherent properties of individuals), Hards (2011b) contends that personal values and practices are co-constructive, with individual values shaping and being shaped by (through, and within) performance of practice and social interaction, situated in specific geographical and temporal contexts.

³¹ In particular, Evans (2007: 18) hypothesises that values “continually change and adapt through choices and practices just as values in turn shape choices and practices”. Namely, “values influence choices and practices *but* the choices and practices that are undertaken in actuality have the effect of (or at least the *potential* to) renegotiating values.”

Expanding on Evans (2007), Hards (2011b) argued that the relationship between values and action is bi-directional, and personal environmental values evolve through 'performance of practice' (i.e. the actual process of carrying out an activity, which can either reinforce or change values), 'social interaction' (i.e. interpersonal relationships and communication with others) and 'contextual experiences' (i.e. the opportunities provided by a specific setting for sensory, mental and emotional experiences). Focusing on how practices play a part in the evolution of personal environmental values, this account captures the situated nature of values and practices (enabled and constrained by the social and material structures in which individuals are embedded). However, it offers limited insights into why and how values could support or hinder engagement in more sustainable practices.

3.3 Summary and research questions

Values can influence consumer behaviour and have a role in motivating sustainable consumption. Nevertheless, previous studies have shown that there is no simple correspondence between values and pro-environmental behaviour (Section 3.1). While in social psychology there is a long-standing tradition of empirical research on personal environmental values and how they translate (or fail to translate) into behaviour, the sociology of values offers only limited and quite patchy theoretical contributions to their study. However, there have been some recent attempts to develop sociologically grounded understandings of values in the context of social practice theory (Section 3.2). Most of these attempts tread the middle ground between social psychology and social practice theory. For example, Hards (2011a, 2011b) retains the 'individual values' terminology but her conceptualisation of values is analogous to Butler et al. (2014a) and Evans (2007) in that values are seen as embedded in practices, part of wider social and material structures which are inculcated into the subjective, mental experiences of agents.

Building on Hargreaves (2011), it is possible to hypothesise that values (as social constructs internalised by people) might be seen as 'proxies' for the 'meaning' element of Shove's model (Figure 2.11). Thinking of values as 'proxies for meaning' offers a different perspective to look at 'internalised social values', one that opens up unexplored opportunities for combining social psychological approaches and social practice theory. In particular, it becomes possible to investigate how (internalised social) values may influence, and be influenced by, the meaning element of practices (i.e. cultural conventions, expectations and socially shared meanings), and how this

may facilitate or hinder engagement in more or less sustainable practices and patterns of consumption.

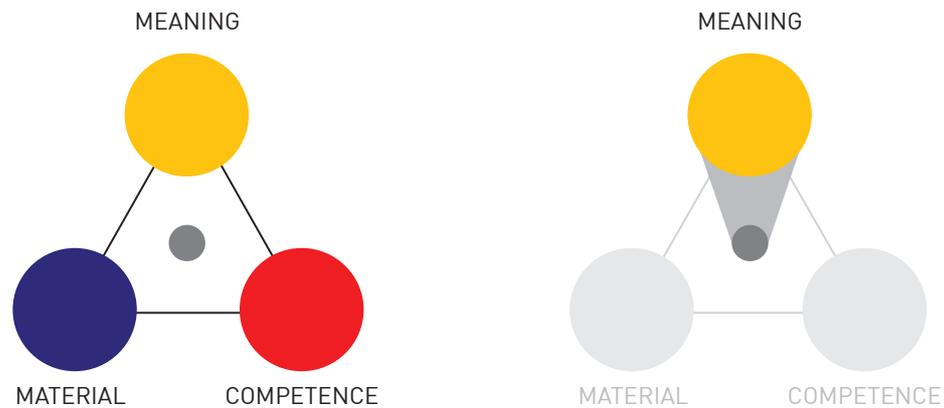


Figure 3.3 Conceptual framework to explore the relationship between the 'individual', his/her 'values' and the 'meaning' element of practice. Adapted from Piscicelli et al., 2015b: 25. Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

Departing from Shove et al.'s (2012) Material-Competence-Meaning model, the proposed conceptual framework to explore the relationship between the individual, his/her values and the meaning element of practice (Figure 3.3) positions the carrier of a practice (i.e. the individual) at the centre of the practice itself (Figure 3.3, left). In doing so, it overcomes the agency-structure problematic (Section 2.2.2) by acknowledging the existing interaction between the individual-carrier (in grey) and a particular configuration of material, competence and meaning elements underlying a practice (Piscicelli et al., 2015b). Drawing upon Shove's theorisation of social practices, the diagram additionally captures the possible link between values and the meaning element of practice (Figure 3.3, right). The nature and dynamics of this relationship have not been investigated in previous research and requires, thus, empirical study. In this thesis, the conceptual framework is employed to explore how individual values relate to meanings in the context of collaborative consumption practices and how this relationship limits and enables people's understandings and actions with consequences for engagement (or not) in collaborative consumption.

Research questions and objectives

Given the still limited uptake on the market of collaborative forms of consumption and their untapped potential for sustainable consumption, this research aims to investigate how consumers' values may contribute to (or hinder) the acceptance, adoption and wider diffusion of collaborative consumption. The primary goal is to gain an understanding of how and why people participate in collaborative

consumption and what are (and how to create through design) the conditions that could bring collaborative activities into the mainstream (Section 1.5). The conceptual framework proposed (Figure 3.3) provides the theoretical rationale for this research project, which looks at (i) values, (ii) meanings underlying collaborative consumption practices, and (iii) their mutual relationship. The study is structured around the following two research questions:

Q1: What are the values of people who join a PSS that enables collaborative consumption and how do they differ from the general UK population?

Q2: How do these values influence, and how are they influenced by, the 'meaning' element of collaborative consumption practices?

Q1 is a 'quantitative research question' (Creswell, 2014) and combines a descriptive (i.e. aiming at quantifying the variables measured) and a comparative (i.e. aiming at examining the differences between two or more groups on one or more dependent variables) type of question. Q2 is a 'qualitative research question' (Creswell, *op. cit.*). Q1 and Q2 are operationalised through seven, specific research objectives:

1. To determine the value orientation of people joining a PSS that enables collaborative consumption [Q1];
2. To compare their value orientation with that of the general UK population [Q1];
3. To examine their understanding of values and how they change [Q2];
4. To describe the meanings they ascribe to collaborative consumption practices [Q2];
5. To identify which values they associate with different types of collaborative consumption [Q2];
6. To understand their motivations for participation in collaborative consumption and their evaluation of the platform joined [Q2];
7. To explore the relationship between values and meanings, and how this influences participation in collaborative consumption [Q1+Q2].

The next chapter (Chapter 4) details the way these research objectives will be achieved. Q1 (research objectives 1-2) is then elaborated on in Chapter 5, and Q2 (research objectives 3-6) in Chapter 6. The research objective 7, combining Q1 and Q2, guides the discussion of key findings in Chapter 7, which will unravel the role played by consumers' values in the acceptance of a selected PSS, the motivations for a lack of wider adoption of this PSS and the reasons for its subsequent failure in diffusion. Building on this, some implications for design are finally drawn in Chapter 8.

PART II
METHODOLOGY

Chapter 4

Mixed methods research on values and collaborative consumption

This chapter sets out the research methodology – “the identification, study and justification of research methods” (Johnson and Christensen, 2012: 32) – used to address the research questions outlined in Section 3.3. It first introduces Ecomodo, the online platform for P2P lending and borrowing chosen as a case study (Section 4.1). The mixed methods research design adopted is described in Section 4.2, which first explains the core characteristics of mixed methods research before justifying the philosophical worldviews (Section 4.2.1), the research design (Section 4.2.2) and the research methods employed in the quantitative and qualitative strands of enquiry (Section 4.2.3). The chapter concludes with an account of the advantages and limitations of using mixed methods research in the context of this study (Section 4.3), relevant ethical considerations (Section 4.4) and a summary (Section 4.4).

4.1 Ecomodo

To investigate the role of values in the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption, this research used a case study – “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context is not clearly evident.” (Yin, 2009: 18). The case study of an existing, unsuccessful PSS that enables collaborative consumption was identified as the most appropriate approach to provide an extensive and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of interest (i.e. the role of values in collaborative consumption).

One of the limitations of case studies is that they provide little basis for scientific generalisation (i.e. the probabilistic generalisation to a population on the basis of a single case) (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Case studies are, instead, generalisable to theoretical propositions (Yin, 2009). As such, this thesis does not seek to achieve statistical generalisability of results. It aims for ‘theoretical generalisation’ (Ritchie et al., 2014) (also referred to as ‘analytical generalisation’) (Yin, 2009), which entails drawing “theoretical propositions, principles or statements from the findings of the study for more general application.” (Ritchie et al., 2014: 349).

The research limited its scope to the case study of Ecomodo (www.ecomodo.com), a UK-based online peer-to-peer marketplace through which people could lend and borrow each other’s objects, spaces and skills³², either free of charge, for charity or for a small fee.³³



Figure 4.1 Ecomodo logo.

The website, advertised as providing ‘good returns’ (Figure 4.1) for individuals, local communities and the environment, is an example of a PSS based on pooling resources within a community, mediated by a service provider who retains a percentage on agreed monetary transactions. Essentially, Ecomodo enabled users to list their items to lend and to see what others had on offer to borrow (Figure 4.2). The platform additionally featured some assurance mechanisms to help build confidence and trust. Fuzzy location specifications were used to protect members’ locations whilst enabling effective local searching. Lenders could request an optional insurance cover for accidental loss or damage of goods, or a security deposit for their items. Also, users could leave feedback and were able to control who could borrow from them by joining or creating trusted lending circles (‘circles of trust’)³⁴ in their area, workplace, school, local action group, etc. (Figure 4.3).

³² Ecomodo falls under the ‘product-service systems’ and ‘collaborative lifestyles’ categories of the classification of collaborative consumption proposed by Botsman (2013) (Section 1.1.1).

³³ The combination of monetary incentives and charitable giving was offered to appeal to the broadest possible user base.

³⁴ The ‘circle of trust’ option was included to provide “community engagement that feels comfortable to the user by enabling people to restrict their lending (and borrowing) to people they know or have something in common with.” (Curren, 2011: 19).

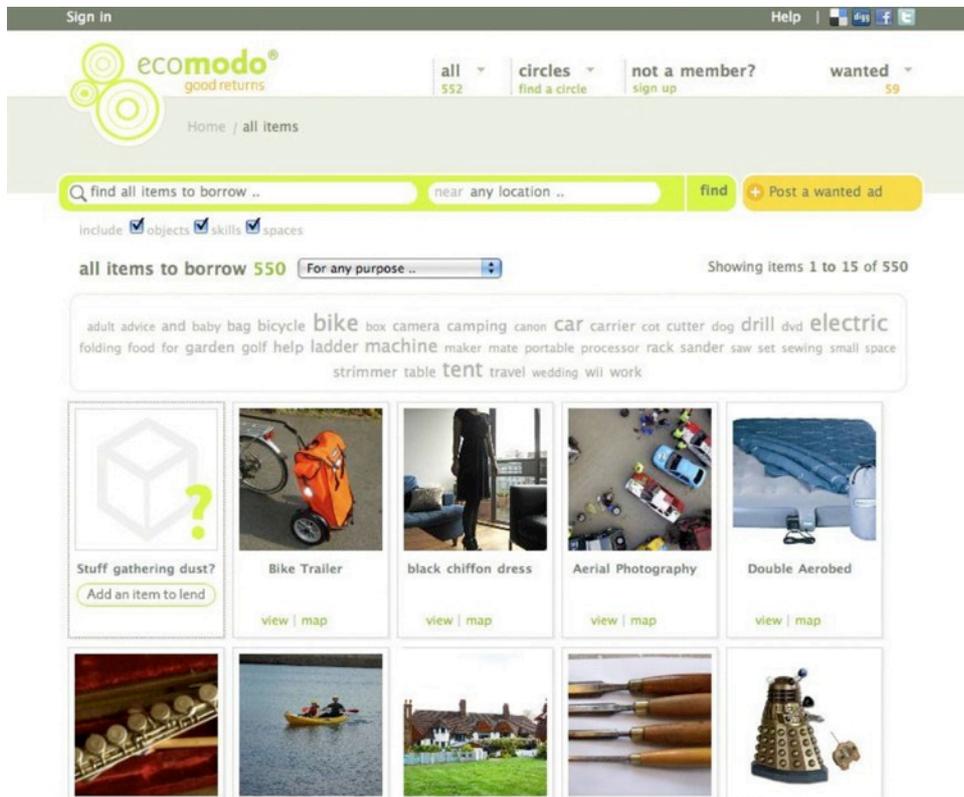


Figure 4.2 Ecomodo website (Currer, 2011:11).

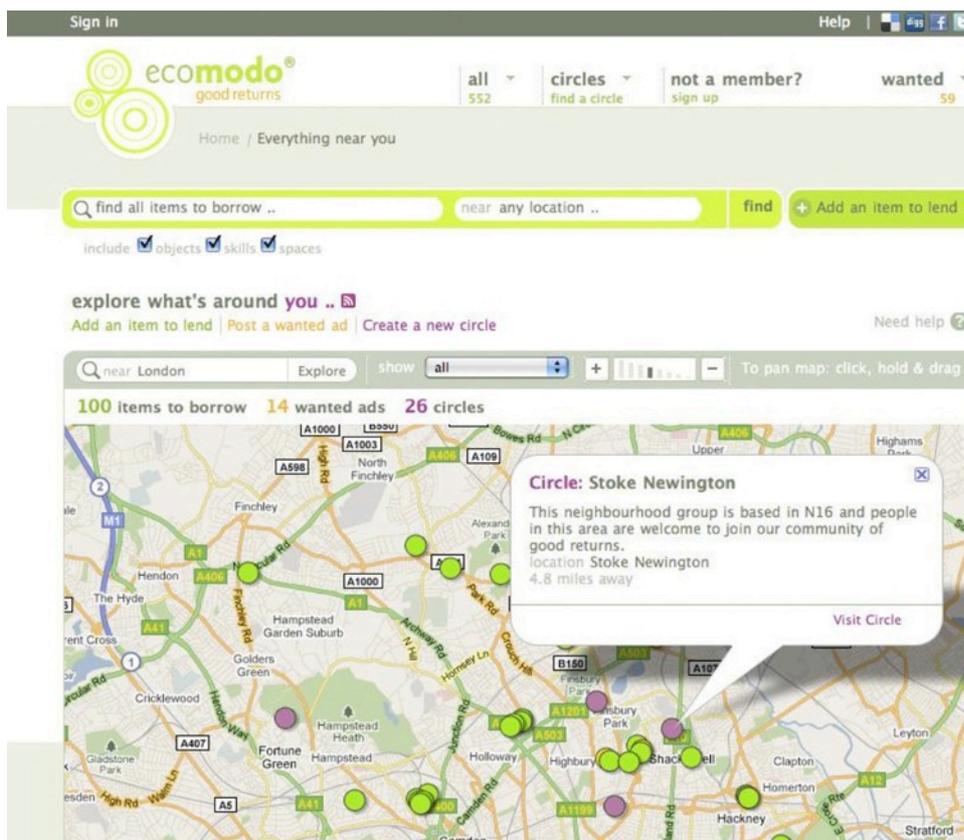


Figure 4.3 Circles of trust (Currer, 2011:14).

Ecomodo was formally launched at the end of March 2010 and struggled to gain traction before finally closing down in March 2015, while the thesis was in its final writing up phase. This was mainly due to a failure in reaching the critical mass (of both listed items and active users) needed to work effectively (Figure 4.4). The difficulty of the platform in achieving scale from a very early stage of its introduction on the market provided this research with a series of questions about the feasibility of the model and the factors that determine commercial viability. Therefore, there was considerable scope to investigate the possible role played by consumers' values in the acceptance of this PSS, the motivations for adoption by its users and the reasons for its failure in diffusion.



thanks and goodbye ..

20th March 2015

With much sadness, but with a great deal of pride, it is time to say thanks and goodbye to all our members, our supporters and our team.

Ecomodo started in 2007. We started with the goal of creating a genuinely sustainable business with social and environmental goals sitting firmly alongside the financial ones. We are proud to have been pioneers in the peer to peer lending space. Despite some amazing opportunities and publicity, we have found that widespread enthusiasm simply didn't translate to enough lending to make the business sustainable.

We've learned a lot - and would love to put that back into practice in the future - so watch this space.

But for now - Many good returns to you all.

Meriel, Tracy, Simon & Tof

Figure 4.4 Ecomodo closure announcement.

4.2 Philosophical worldviews, research design and research methods

This Section provides a general overview of the elements that need to be taken into account when designing a research project. It first describes quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods research approaches and explains why the latter was considered the most appropriate for this research.³⁵ It subsequently justifies the postpositivist and constructivist philosophical worldviews adopted in this study (Section 4.2.1), the explanatory sequential design used (Section 4.2.2) and the

³⁵ This section draws primarily on Creswell and others (e.g. Creswell 2003, 2014; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011) since they are the most prominent and prolific experts on mixed methods research. Creswell (2014) has more than 43,000 citations in Google Scholar.

research methods employed in the quantitative and qualitative strands of enquiry: Schwartz's PVQ-R3 in the former, and semi-structured interviews in the latter (Section 4.2.3).

Designing a research project

According to Crotty (1998, as cited by Creswell, 2003: 4-5), four major elements need to be considered in designing a research project:

1. What epistemology – theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective – informs the research?
2. What theoretical perspective – philosophical stance – lies behind the methodology in question?
3. What methodology – strategy or plan of action that links methods to outcomes – governs our choice and use of methods?
4. What methods – techniques and procedures – do we propose to use?

These questions reveal the interrelated set of decisions that go into the process of designing research, ranging from the definition of the broad philosophical assumptions brought to a study by the researcher, to the more practical choices of how to gather and analyse data. Building on Crotty (1998), Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) arranged these interconnected aspects in a four levels configuration (Figure 4.5).

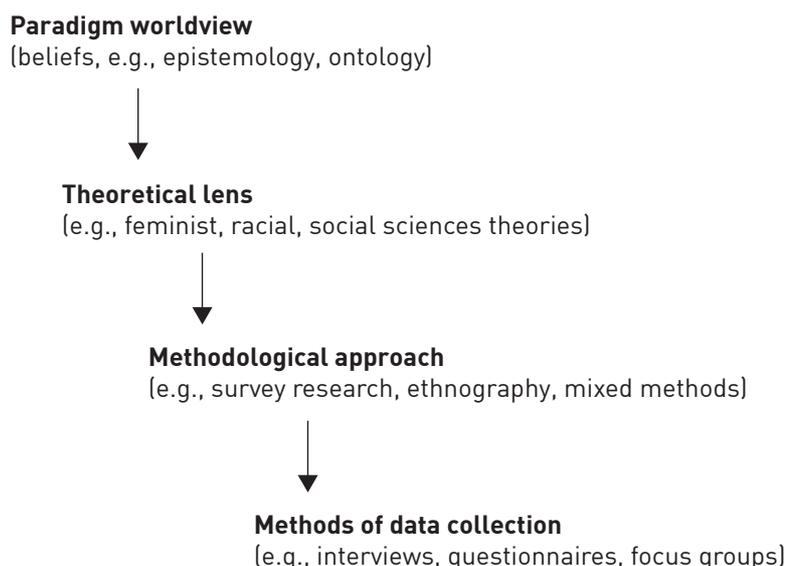


Figure 4.5 Four levels for developing a research study. Adapted from Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011: 39. Reproduced with permission from SAGE Publications.

The 'paradigm worldview' consists of a basic set of beliefs about the nature of reality and truth (i.e. ontology), how we gain knowledge of what we know (i.e. epistemology), the role values play in research (i.e. axiology), the process of research (i.e. methodology), and the language of research (i.e. rhetoric). Within

these philosophical assumptions, relevant ‘theoretical lens’ (i.e. perspectives drawn from social science theories) might be integrated to construct a particular picture of the issues being investigated or the people to be studied (e.g. feminist perspectives, racialised discourse). The philosophical assumptions and theoretical lens adopted, in turn, inform the ‘methodological approach’ used, which is a strategy, a plan of action, or a research design. Finally, the methodology is implemented with specific ‘methods of data collection’, which are techniques or procedures employed to collect, analyse, and interpret data (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011).

This classification was further elaborated in a framework for research developed by Creswell (2014: 5) (Figure 4.6), which explains the interaction between ‘philosophical worldviews’ (paradigm worldviews), research ‘designs’ (methodological approach) and ‘research methods’ (methods of data collection). The three components both inform and depend on the ‘research approach’ selected to study a particular topic.

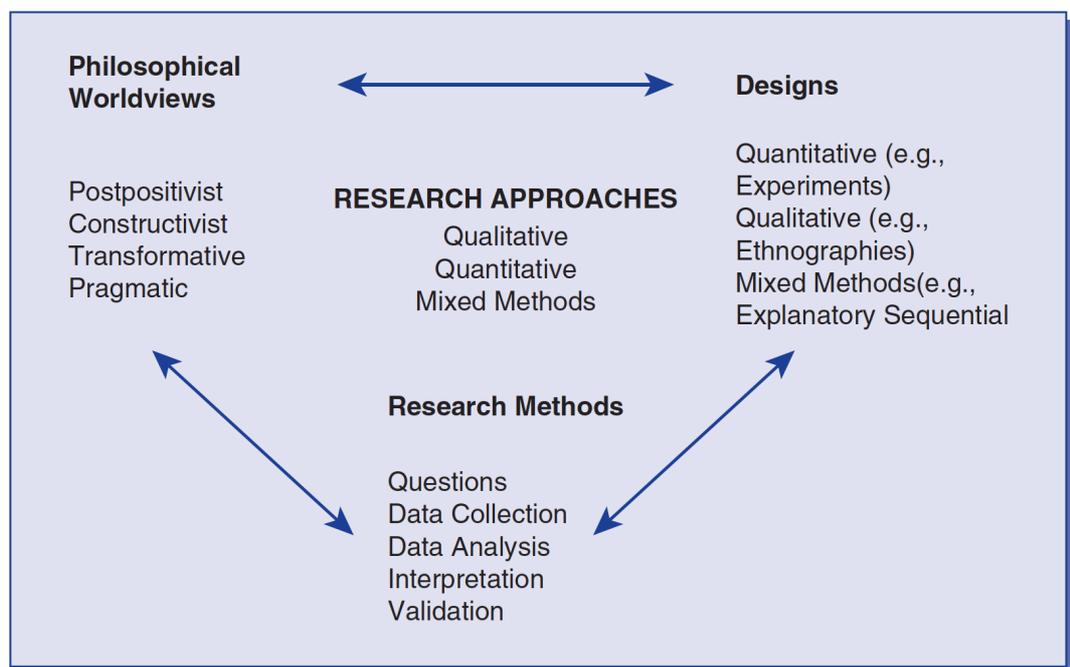


Figure 4.6 A framework for research: the interconnection of worldviews, design, and research methods (Creswell, 2014: 5). Reproduced with permission from SAGE Publications.

Quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods research approaches

Quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods are the three major research approaches. These can be viewed as falling on a research continuum, with quantitative and qualitative research at the two extremes and mixed methods

research in between (Figure 4.7). Any research study can be located at a particular point of the continuum depending on whether the research is fully quantitative or mixed with an emphasis on quantitative (on the left side), mixed with an equal emphasis on qualitative and quantitative (in the centre), or mixed with an emphasis on qualitative or fully qualitative (on the right side) (Johnson and Christensen, 2012).



Figure 4.7 The research continuum (Johnson and Christensen, 2012: 32). Reproduced with permission from SAGE Publications.

Quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods research approaches build on different philosophical worldviews, designs and research methods. Quantitative research employs the scientific method of deductive reasoning to test theories and hypotheses. Investigators work from the “top-down”: they begin with a theory, state hypotheses, and test them with empirical observations and measurements to support or refute the theory. A quantitative approach typically makes use of postpositivist assumptions for developing knowledge (i.e. reduction of concepts into variables that can be observed and measured; a tendency towards deterministic cause-and-effect thinking to make probabilistic predictions and generalisations; testing of theories that are continually refined). It assumes that there is an objective reality “out there” in the world and rational observers looking at the same phenomenon would agree on its existence and characteristics. Therefore, researchers tend to remain detached from the object of study and examine methods and conclusions for bias. Quantitative research employs strategies of inquiry such as experiments and surveys, and collects numerical data. In analysing results, statistical procedures are used to generalise findings and form conclusions (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011; Johnson and Christensen, 2012).

Qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups attribute to a given social or human problem. These meanings are varied and multiple, urging the researcher to investigate the complexity of views. Researchers work from the “bottom-up”, using the study participants’ accounts to inductively generate theories. Knowledge claims are usually based on (social) constructivist perspectives (i.e. participants develop

subjective meanings of their experiences; meanings are negotiated socially and historically; different groups construct their different realities and these social constructions, in turn, influence how they perceive the world, what they see as normal and abnormal, and how they should act). A qualitative approach requires the researcher to get close to the object of study and observe from the participants' viewpoints in order to capture the subjective dimensions of the phenomenon under investigation. Qualitative research uses strategies of inquiry such as narratives, phenomenologies, ethnographies, grounded theory studies, or case studies. In-depth interviews and observations are usually conducted in the participants' setting in order to understand the historical and cultural context of the participants. Researchers position themselves within the study to acknowledge how their interpretation is shaped by their personal, cultural, and historical backgrounds and experiences. Open-ended questions are generally used to collect data (i.e. non-numerical) with the primary intent of identifying categories that describe what happened, finding general themes and developing a theory (Creswell, 2003; Johnson and Christensen, 2012).

Mixed methods research incorporates elements of both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The underlying assumption is that their integration provides a more complete understanding of the subjective (individual), intersubjective (cultural), and objective (material and causal) realities than either approach alone. Researchers tend to base knowledge claims on pragmatic grounds or employ multiple perspectives (e.g. philosophical worldviews) in relation to the specific type of research design adopted. Mixed methods research uses both deductive/confirmatory and inductive/exploratory reasoning. It employs strategies of inquiry that involve gathering both numeric information (e.g. from survey instruments) and text information (e.g. from interviews). Data are collected either simultaneously or sequentially in a single research study or in a set of related studies (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011; Johnson and Christensen, 2012; Johnson et al., 2007).

To summarise, the three research approaches have different characteristics (Table 4.1), with mixed methods research offering a middle ground position along the quantitative/qualitative continuum.

| | QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH | MIXED METHODS RESEARCH | QUALITATIVE RESEARCH |
|--|--|---|---|
| Scientific method | Confirmatory or “top-down” (i.e. the researcher <i>tests</i> hypotheses and theory with data). | Confirmatory and exploratory. | Exploratory or “bottom-up” (i.e. the researcher <i>generates or constructs</i> knowledge, hypotheses, and/or grounded theory from data collected during fieldwork). |
| Ontology (i.e. nature of reality/truth) | Objective, material, structural, agreed-upon. | Pluralism (i.e. appreciation of objective, subjective and intersubjective reality and their interrelations). | Subjective, mental, personal, constructed. |
| Epistemology (i.e. theory of knowledge) | Scientific realism; search for truth; justification by empirical confirmation of hypotheses; universal scientific standards. | Pragmatism; Postpositivism; Constructivism; Transformative (see Table 4.2). | Relativism; individual and group justification; varying scientific standards. |
| View of human thought and behaviour | Regular and predictable. | Dynamic, complex, and partially predictable. | Situational, social, contextual, personal and unpredictable. |
| Aim | Identify general scientific laws; quantitative/numerical description, causal explanation, and prediction. | Provide complex and fuller explanation and understanding; understand multiple perspectives and causation: nomothetic (i.e. general) and idiographic (i.e. particular, individual) causations. | Understand and appreciate particular groups and individuals; qualitative/subjective description, empathetic understanding and exploration. |
| Focus | Narrow-angle lens; testing specific hypotheses. | Multi-lens focus. | Wide-angle and “deep-angle” lens, examining the breadth and depth of phenomena to learn more about them. |
| Form of data collected | Quantitative data based on precise measurements using structured and validated data collection instruments. | Multiple kinds of data. | Qualitative data from in-depth interviews, participant observations, field notes and open-ended questions. |
| Data analysis | Identify statistical relationships among variables. | Quantitative and qualitative analysis used separately and in combination. | Search for patterns and themes. |
| Results | Generalisable findings providing an objective representation of the population under examination. | Provision of “subjective insider” and “objective outsider” viewpoints; presentation and integration of multiple dimensions and perspectives. | Particularistic findings providing insider’s viewpoints. |

Table 4.1 Quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods research. Adapted from Johnson and Christensen, 2012: 38-39. Reproduced with permission from SAGE Publications.

The selection of the best approach for a study depends on the research problem or issue being investigated, the research question(s) and objectives of the project, the time and cost constraints, the personal expertise of the researcher, and the audiences for the study. In particular, a quantitative approach is most suitable when the research aims at identifying factors that influence an outcome (e.g. assessing the correlation between values and engagement in pro-environmental behaviour) or determining the best predictors of an outcome (e.g. what values are more likely to predict engagement in pro-environmental behaviour). A qualitative approach is best placed to understand little-known concepts or phenomena, and when the important variables are not determined *a priori* (e.g. exploring people's views on collaborative consumption). A mixed methods approach combines the benefits of both. For example, it enables a researcher to survey a large number of individuals in order to measure a construct of interest and then follow up with a few of them to develop a detailed view of the meaning of the phenomenon or concept under investigation (Creswell 2003, 2014).

Greene et al. (1989: 259) identified five purposes for using a mixed methods approach:

- triangulation (seeking convergence, corroboration, correspondence of results from the different methods)
- complementarity (seeking elaboration, enhancement, illustration, clarification of the results from one method with the results from the other method)
- development (seeking to use the results from one method to help develop or inform the other method)
- initiation (seeking the discovery of contradictions, new perspectives of frameworks, the recasting of questions or results from one method with questions or results from the other method)
- expansion (seeking to extend the breadth and range of inquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components).

In this study, a mixed methods approach was chosen to obtain breadth and depth of understanding, perspective and complexity in investigating how consumers' values can influence the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption. The approach allowed the researcher to best employ the theoretical stances described in Section 3.3 and to include multiple perspectives and data sets.

Identifying the values of people who join a PSS that enables collaborative consumption and how these differ from the general UK population (Q1) implied a

social psychological conceptualisation of individual values and a quantitative approach to measure value priorities. However, answering this question would only give a partial understanding of the research problem (i.e. the lack of uptake of collaborative consumption activities). Results needed to be further explained and enhanced with an appreciation of the cultural and societal significance of participation in ‘sharing practices’, which was considered liable to be better grounded in social practice theory and qualitative strategies of inquiry. A mixed methods study thus enabled the integration of the two theoretical perspectives and the exploration of how values influence and are influenced by the ‘meaning’ element (i.e. cultural conventions, expectations and socially shared meanings) of collaborative consumption practices (Q2).

Mixed methods research supported the combination of quantitative and qualitative elements at the level of philosophical worldviews (Section 4.2.1), research design (Section 4.2.2) and research methods (Section 4.2.3). Each of these is discussed in more detail below to provide an overview of the key features of this study and their rationale.

4.2.1 Philosophical worldviews

According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), four different worldviews can inform mixed methods research: postpositivism, constructivism, transformative (or advocacy/participatory) and pragmatism (Table 4.2). These can be applied individually or in combination, and provide a general philosophical orientation for conducting research.

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>Postpositivism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Determination • Reductionism • Empirical observation and measurement • Theory verification | <p>Constructivism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding • Multiple participant meanings • Social and historical construction • Theory generation |
| <p>Transformative</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political • Power and justice oriented • Collaborative • Change-oriented | <p>Pragmatism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consequences of actions • Problem-centered • Pluralistic • Real-world practice oriented |

Table 4.2 Four philosophical worldviews (Creswell, 2014: 6). Reproduced with permission from SAGE Publications.

Postpositivist³⁶ (typically associated with quantitative approaches) and constructivist (associated with qualitative approaches) worldviews were both used in this study. The two hold different ontological, epistemological, axiological, methodological and rhetorical assumptions that guide and inform the research process (Table 4.3).

| Worldview Element | Postpositivism | Constructivism |
|---|--|---|
| Ontology (What is the nature of reality?) | Singular reality (e.g. researchers reject or fail to reject hypotheses) | Multiple realities (e.g. researchers provide quotes to illustrate different perspectives) |
| Epistemology (What is the relationship between the researcher and that being researched?) | Distance and impartiality (e.g. researchers objectively collect data on instruments) | Closeness (e.g. researchers visit participants at their sites to collect data) |
| Axiology (What is the role of values?) | Unbiased (e.g. researchers use checks to eliminate bias) | Biased (e.g. researchers actively talk about their biases and interpretations) |
| Methodology (What is the process of research?) | Deductive (e.g. researchers test an <i>a priori</i> theory) | Inductive (e.g. researchers start with participants' views and build "up" to patterns, theories, and generalisations) |
| Rhetoric (What is the language of research?) | Formal style (e.g. researchers use agreed-on definitions of variables) | Informal style (e.g. researchers write in a literary, informal style) |

Table 4.3 Elements of positivist and constructivist worldviews and implications for research practice. Adapted from Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011: 42. Reproduced with permission from SAGE Publications.

The decision to adopt multiple worldviews (i.e. postpositivist and constructivist) in this mixed methods research project largely depended on the disciplinary positions underpinning the conceptual framework guiding the study (i.e. social psychology and social practice theory), and the need to combine quantitative and qualitative research methods to address the research aim and questions (i.e. the former to determine individuals' values, the latter to explore meanings and social practices).

Quantitative research methods (e.g. surveys) are generally used within a postpositivist worldview in which some guiding theory (e.g. Schwartz's value theory) is advanced at the beginning and the study entails the empirical measurement and observation of specific variables of interest. A constructivist

³⁶ Postpositivism emerged in the 19th century as a critique to and a departure from classical positivism. Essentially, it challenges the notion of the absolute truth of knowledge (thus, evidence established in research is always imperfect and fallible) and maintains that it is not possible to make 'positive' claims of knowledge when studying the behaviour and actions of humans (Creswell, 2014).

worldview is better placed to inform the study when qualitative research methods (e.g. interviews) are used to elicit multiple meanings from the participants, allow a deeper understanding of the phenomenon and generate a theory (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011).

4.2.2 Research design

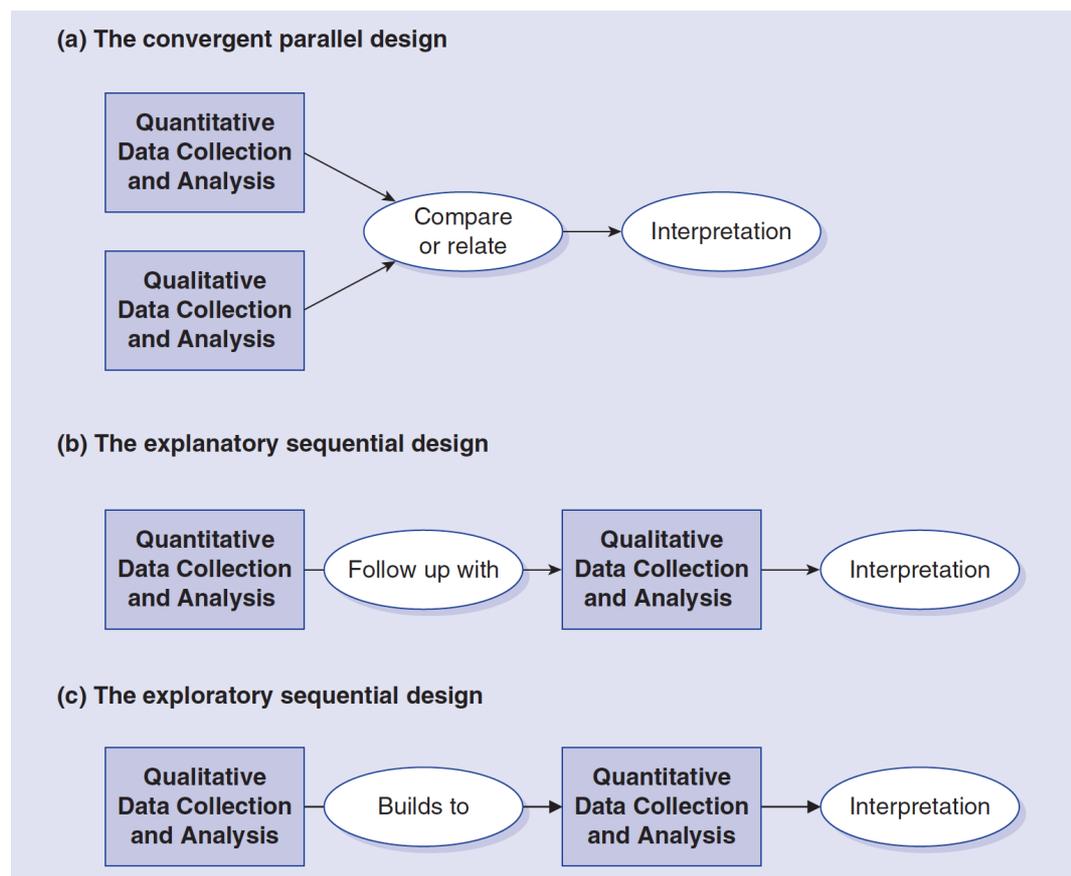
Once the need for a mixed methods approach and the philosophical and theoretical foundations of the study had been established, the next step entailed the selection of a specific design that best fitted the research problem, purpose and questions. The decision involved considerations over: (1) the level of interaction between the quantitative and qualitative strands of the study; (2) the relative priority of the strands; (3) the timing of the strands; and (4) the procedures for mixing the strands (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011).

1. The level of interaction between the quantitative and qualitative strands of the study is the extent to which the two are kept *independent* (i.e. quantitative and qualitative research questions, data collection and data analysis remain separate and are mixed only when drawing conclusions during the overall interpretation at the end of the study) or *interactive* with each other (i.e. mixed before the final interpretation).
2. The relative importance of the quantitative and qualitative strands within the design is whether the two have an *equal priority* (i.e. an equally important role in addressing the research problem), a *quantitative priority* (i.e. greater emphasis on the quantitative methods and the qualitative methods are used in a secondary role), or a *qualitative priority* (i.e. the reverse).
3. The temporal relationship between the strands is defined as *concurrent timing* (i.e. when quantitative and qualitative strands are implemented during a single phase of the research study), *sequential timing* (i.e. when the collection and analysis of one type of data occurs after the collection and analysis of the other type of data), or *multiphase combination timing* (i.e. when multiple phases that include sequential and/or concurrent timing are implemented over a programme of study).
4. The potential procedures for mixing the strands within the study are: *mixing during interpretation* (i.e. drawing conclusions from the combination of results), *mixing during data analysis* (i.e. merging the two

data sets through a combined analysis), *mixing during data collection* (i.e. connecting from the analysis of one set of data to the collection of a second set of data), or *mixing at the level of design* (e.g. using a conceptual framework to bind together the data sets).

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) have advanced a typology-based classification of six major mixed methods designs, which reflect different interaction, priority, timing, and mixing decisions: ‘convergent parallel design’, ‘explanatory sequential design’, ‘exploratory sequential design’, ‘embedded design’, ‘transformative design’ and ‘multiphase design’ (Figure 4.8).

In order to investigate the role of values in the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption, this research adopted an explanatory sequential design (i.e. Figure 4.8b). The study, however, shares also some features of the transformative design (i.e. Figure 4.8e) in that quantitative and qualitative strands are mixed within a substantive theoretical framework that guides the overall design (i.e. combining social psychological and social practice theory perspectives).



(continue)

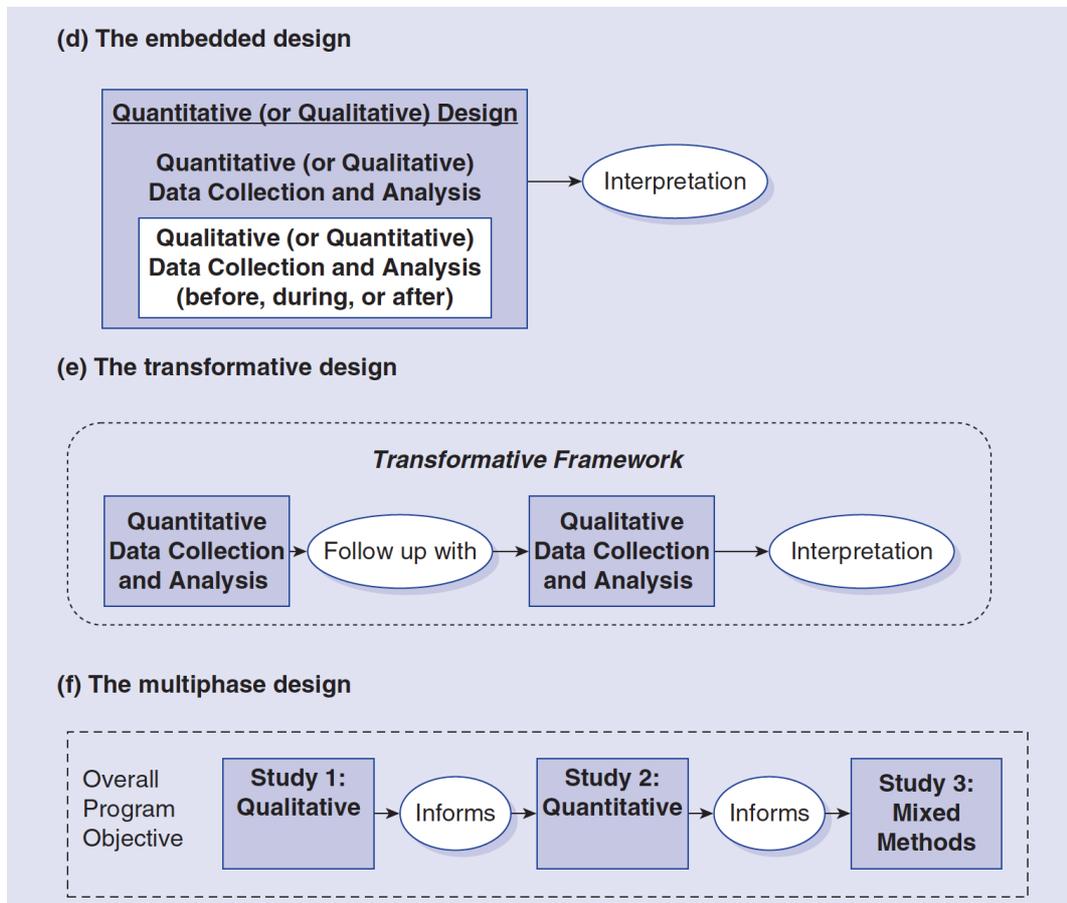


Figure 4.8 Prototypical versions of the six major mixed methods research design (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011: 69-70). Reproduced with permission from SAGE Publications.

Note. “The transformative design is a mixed methods design that the researcher shapes within a transformative theoretical framework” (i.e. highlighted by the dotted line in Figure 4.8e) (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011: 72). A ‘transformative-based theoretical framework’ is a framework for advancing the needs of underrepresented or marginalized populations (e.g. a feminist theory, a racial or ethnic theory, a sexual orientation theory, or a disability theory) (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011).

The study was structured in two subsequent and interactive phases: initial quantitative data collection and analysis to determine the values of consumers participating in collaborative consumption, followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data to explore the relationship between values and meanings underlying collaborative consumption practices. The final interpretation of results aimed at unravelling to what extent and in what ways the qualitative results helped to explain and add insight to the quantitative results, and how their combination addressed the study’s overall aim.

The explanatory sequential design was chosen to obtain quantitative data and then make sense of them through the participants’ voices and perspectives. This

design is particularly well suited when the important variables in the study are known beforehand, the researcher has access to quantitative instruments (e.g. questionnaires) for measuring the constructs of primary interest (i.e. in this case, individual values), and it is possible to return to participants for a second round of qualitative data collection to follow up and explain initial quantitative results in more depth. Since the study begins quantitatively, postpositivist assumptions are firstly used to develop instruments, measure variables, and assess statistical results. Conversely, constructivist perspectives underpin the qualitative phase, in which multiple views and in-depth descriptions are sought. Departing from Creswell and Plano Clark's (2011) prototypical version of the explanatory design (Table 4.4), in which greater emphasis is typically placed on quantitative results, this study attributed an equal priority to the quantitative and qualitative strands of research, which were mixed at the level of design, during data collection, and interpretation.

| | |
|---|--|
| Definition | Methods implemented sequentially, starting with quantitative data collection and analysis in Phase 1 followed by qualitative data collection and analysis in Phase 2, which builds on Phase 1 |
| Design purpose | Need to explain quantitative results |
| Typical paradigm foundation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Postpositivist in Phase 1 • Constructivist in Phase 2 |
| Level of interaction (between the quantitative and qualitative strands of the study) | Interactive |
| Priority of the strands | Quantitative emphasis |
| Timing of the strands | Sequential: quantitative first |
| Primary point of interface for mixing | Data collection |
| Primary mixing strategies | Connecting the two strands: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From quantitative data analysis to qualitative data collection • Use quantitative results to make decisions about qualitative research questions, sampling, and data collection in Phase 2 |
| Common variants | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Follow-up explanations (i.e. the researcher places the priority on the initial, quantitative phase and uses the subsequent qualitative phase to help explain the quantitative results) • Participant selection (i.e. the researcher is focused on qualitatively examining a phenomenon but needs initial quantitative results to identify and purposefully select the best participants). |

Table 4.4 Prototypical characteristics of the explanatory sequential design. Adapted from Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011: 73-76. Reproduced with permission from SAGE Publications.

4.2.3 Research methods

The methods of data collection and analysis took the following form. An initial quantitative study was carried out to measure Ecomodo users' values using a questionnaire. Results were statistically analysed (Section 5.1) and followed up with semi-structured interviews facilitated by a series of visual prompts. Qualitative data analysis was then performed through thematic analysis to identify emerging patterns, themes and concepts across the dataset (Section 6.1).

Quantitative data collection method: Schwartz's PVQ-R3

To determine the values of a purposive sample³⁷ of Ecomodo users, this study used Schwartz et al.'s (2012) refined theory of basic individual values (Section 3.1) and its associated instrument: the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) R3 version³⁸ (Appendix I). The PVQ-R3 includes 57 short verbal portraits of a person's goals, aspirations or wishes that point implicitly to the importance of one of the 19 values measured through the questionnaire. For each portrait, respondents indicated how similar the person described was to themselves through a 6-point scale (1=not at all like me; 2=not like me; 3=a little like me; 4=moderately like me; 5=like me; 6=very much like me). The PVQ-R3 was complemented with additional demographic questions (i.e. age, gender, ethnicity, marital status, household size and income, occupation, level of education, religion) (Appendix II) and made available through an online survey software tool, SurveyGizmo.

Qualitative data collection method: Semi-structured interview

The overall purpose of the second, qualitative strand of research was to empirically investigate how values influence and are influenced by the 'meaning' element of practice. In particular, it aimed at explaining and complementing the data collected through Schwartz's PVQ-R3 through an account of the views, experiences and understanding of values and collaborative consumption of a convenience sample³⁹ of Ecomodo users who took part in the quantitative study. A semi-structured interview⁴⁰ was chosen to ensure some flexibility in how and in what order

³⁷ "A purposive sample, also referred to as a judgmental or expert sample, is a type of nonprobability sample. The main objective of a purposive sample is to produce a sample that can be logically assumed to be representative of the population." (Battaglia, 2008)

³⁸ The PVQ-R3 is a revised version of the PVQ-5X (Schwartz et al., 2012), with new items and improved statistical properties, obtained from personal email correspondence with Shalom Schwartz.

³⁹ "A convenience sample can be defined as a sample in which research participants are selected based on their ease of availability." (Saumure and Given, 2008).

⁴⁰ "Semistructured interviewing is an overarching term used to describe a range of different forms of interviewing most commonly associated with qualitative research. The defining

questions were asked, and in whether and how particular areas could have been followed up with different interviewees (Mason, 2004). The interview guide (Appendix III) was developed in four parts: 'individual values', 'collaborative consumption practices', 'values and collaborative consumption', 'Ecomodo'.

Part A: Individual values

The goal of this section was to elicit interviewees' understanding of values and identify how personal values might change over time. First, it uncovered how Ecomodo users make sense of and prioritise Schwartz's 19 basic individual values, drawing upon results from the questionnaire findings. It then examined interviewees' changes in values (if any) and the possible relevance of these changes in the context of sustainability.

Part B: Collaborative consumption practices

This section explored collaborative consumption through the lens of social practice theory. Taking the practices of lending, borrowing, bartering, swapping, sharing, trading, renting/hiring and gifting as units of analysis, it unfolded the meanings (i.e. cultural conventions, expectations and socially shared meanings) interviewees ascribed to them.

Part C: Values and collaborative consumption

This section used four scenarios (i.e. 'Transportation', 'Holiday accommodation', 'Clothing' and 'Consumer goods') to investigate values in relation to alternative ways of consuming, ranging from private ownership of goods, access to PSS propositions offered by companies (i.e. B2C), to P2P solutions (Table 4.5).

Part D: Ecomodo

The last section considered and evaluated Ecomodo as an online platform for P2P lending and borrowing. It aimed at eliciting interviewees' motivations for participation, their personal expectations and opinions, and the merits and flaws of the online platform.

characteristic of semistructured interviews is that they have a flexible and fluid structure, unlike structured interviews, which contain a structured sequence of questions to be asked in the same way of all interviewees. The structure of a semistructured interview is usually organized around an aide memoire or interview guide. This contains topics, themes, or areas to be covered during the course of the interview, rather than a sequenced script of standardized questions." (Mason, 2004).

| | PRIVATE OWNERSHIP | BUSINESS-TO-CONSUMERS (B2C) | PEER-TO-PEER (P2P) |
|-----------------------|---|--|---|
| TRANSPORTATION | Buy/own a private car | Car sharing (<i>Zipcar.co.uk</i>) | Lift sharing (<i>BlaBlaCar.com</i>) |
| HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION | Buy/own a private vacation home | Hotel/Hostel (<i>Hostelworld.com</i>) | P2P travel accommodation (<i>Airbnb.co.uk</i>) |
| CLOTHING | Buy a new item of clothing in a shop | Online clothing rental (<i>Girlmeetsdress.com</i>) | Clothing swap (<i>Swap party</i>) |
| CONSUMER GOODS | Buy/own a set of DIY tools for furniture assembly | Professional furniture assembly service (<i>IKEA</i>) | Crowdsourcing odd jobs (<i>Taskrabbit.com</i>) |

Table 4.5 Scenarios and options presented. Adapted from Piscicelli, 2014: 167.

Interviews were facilitated by a series of visual prompts presented to the interviewees: 19 values cards⁴¹ (in Part A); 8 collaborative consumption practices cards (in Part B); and 12 scenarios cards (in Part C) (Appendix IV). A pilot study was conducted with three Nottingham-based users (1 male and 2 female) of a similar platform called StreetBank⁴² in order to rehearse the interview questions and the visual aids provided. The pilot proved useful to refine the questions and prompts, and to practice and further develop interview skills and techniques before undertaking the formal study.

4.3 Advantages and limitations of mixed methods research

Quantitative and qualitative methods have different strengths and weaknesses (Johnson and Christensen, 2012). By combining two (or more) research methods in a single study, mixed methods research is believed to provide strengths that compensate for the weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative research, and to grant more evidence for studying a research problem than either quantitative or qualitative research individually (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011). Therefore, mixed methods research makes it possible to explore more complex aspects and relations of the human and social world (Malina et al., 2011).

⁴¹ Names and definitions of the 19 Schwartz's values were simplified on the cards to be more easily understood by the interviewees. See Appendix IV for a comparison between the modified and original definitions.

⁴² StreetBank (www.streetbank.com) is a UK-based online platform enabling P2P sharing free of charge in neighbourhoods.

The rationales for combining quantitative and qualitative research listed by Bryman (2006) offer a comprehensive overview of the advantages of conducting mixed methods research. In the context of this research project they included:

- *Triangulation or greater validity.* Quantitative and qualitative research were combined to triangulate findings in order that they could be mutually corroborated.
- *Completeness.* It was possible to provide a more comprehensive account of the area of inquiry employing both quantitative and qualitative research.
- *Different research questions.* Quantitative and qualitative research were used to answer different types of research questions.
- *Explanation.* Qualitative research was used to help explain findings generated by quantitative research.
- *Sampling.* Quantitative research was used to facilitate the sampling of respondents for subsequent qualitative research.
- *Credibility.* Employing both approaches enhanced the integrity of findings.
- *Context.* Qualitative research provided contextual understanding coupled with generalisable, externally valid findings obtained through the survey (i.e. quantitative research).
- *Illustration.* Qualitative data helped to illustrate quantitative findings.
- *Diversity of views.* Quantitative research uncovered variables of interest, while qualitative research revealed meanings among research participants.
- *Enhancement or building upon quantitative and qualitative findings.* It was possible to make more of quantitative findings by gathering data using a qualitative research approach.

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) additionally identified strengths specific to explanatory sequential design, such as the advantage of designing the second qualitative phase based on what it is learnt in the initial quantitative phase, and the possibility for a single researcher to conduct the study in two separate stages and collect only one type of data at a time.

On the other hand, explanatory sequential design presents some challenges and limitations which need to be anticipated and handled by the researcher. The implementation of the two phases, for example, requires a lengthy amount of time.

In particular, the qualitative phase is likely to take more time than the quantitative one and this has to be taken carefully into account in planning the research. Other disadvantages are that it may be impossible to specify what results will be followed up and how participants will be selected for the second phase until the initial (quantitative) one is complete (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011).

Furthermore, there are potential validity⁴³ threats that may compromise the connection of the quantitative and qualitative strands in explanatory sequential design and the conclusions drawn from their combination. The researcher therefore needs to employ strategies that address validity issues relevant to this specific research design.⁴⁴ The different validity threats and the strategies adopted for minimising them in this study are summarised in Table 4.6.

| Potential validity threats and strategies when connecting data in explanatory sequential design | |
|---|---|
| Potential validity threats | Strategies for minimising the threat |
| DATA COLLECTION ISSUES | |
| Choosing inappropriate individuals for the follow-up, who cannot help explain significant results from quantitative data collection | Choose individuals for the qualitative follow-up who participated in the quantitative phase |
| Using inappropriate sample sizes for the quantitative and qualitative data collection | Use a large sample size for quantitative data collection and a small sample for qualitative data collection |
| Not designing an instrument (e.g. questionnaire) with sound psychometric (i.e. validity and reliability) properties | Use rigorous procedures for developing and validating the instrument used to collect data |
| INTERPRETATION ISSUES | |
| Comparing the two data sets, rather than merging them | Interpret the quantitative and qualitative data sets to answer the mixed methods research questions |
| Interpreting the two databases in reverse sequence | Order the interpretation to fit the design (i.e. quantitative then qualitative) |
| Not interpreting the mixed methods results in the light of the social science lens adopted in the study | Refer back to the lens used at the beginning of the study during the interpretation phase |

Table 4.6 Potential validity threats and strategies when connecting data in the explanatory sequential design. Adapted from Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011: 242. Reproduced with permission from SAGE Publications.

In this study, to avoid selecting inappropriate individuals for the two strands of data collection, participants from the initial quantitative phase were invited to

⁴³ Validity in mixed methods research is defined by Creswell and Plano Clark (2011: 239) as “employing strategies that address potential issues in data collection, data analysis, and the interpretations that might compromise the [...] connecting of the quantitative and qualitative strands of the study and the conclusions drawn from the combination.”

⁴⁴ See Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006) for a general classification of the types of validity in mixed methods research.

take part in the subsequent qualitative phase of research. A larger sample was used for the quantitative phase and a smaller one for the qualitative study. The soundness of the instrument (i.e. questionnaire) employed for quantitative data collection was ensured by the choice of Schwartz's PVQ, an established assessment instrument for measuring values (Section 3.1). In order to prevent possible interpretation issues, quantitative data analysis was first performed (Chapter 5), followed by qualitative data analysis (Chapter 6). Results from the two strands were then merged to meet the research aim (i.e. identifying the role of values in the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption) (Chapter 7). This combined interpretation was undertaken using the conceptual framework described above (Section 3.3).

4.4 Ethical considerations

Finally, ethical considerations should be taken into account when conducting mixed methods research. The ESRC Framework for Research Ethics (ESRC, 2015: 4) sets out six key ethical principles:

1. Research participants should take part voluntarily, free from any coercion or undue influence, and their rights, dignity and (when possible) autonomy should be respected and appropriately protected.
2. Research should be worthwhile and provide value that outweighs any risk or harm. Researchers should aim to maximise the benefit of the research and minimise potential risk of harm to participants and researchers. All potential risk and harm should be mitigated by robust precautions.
3. Research staff and participants should be given appropriate information about the purpose, methods and intended uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks and benefits, if any, are involved.
4. Individual research participant and group preferences regarding anonymity should be respected and participant requirements concerning the confidential nature of information and personal data should be respected.
5. Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure recognised standards of integrity are met, and quality and transparency are assured.
6. The independence of research should be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality should be explicit.

In this research study, all participants were recruited on a voluntary basis and provided with accurate information regarding the purpose of the study and its procedures. Participants who agreed to be interviewed received a participant

information sheet (Appendix VI) and granted their informed consent by filling in a form (Appendix V). Participants were made aware of their right to withdraw from the research at any time and advised of the data management procedures adopted. The anonymity and confidentiality of participants was protected through use of pseudonyms and the exclusion from the thesis of any information which could be used to identify their identities.

4.5 Summary

Chapter 4 described the methodology for the study. It first introduced Ecomodo, a UK-based online platform for P2P lending and borrowing used as a case study to investigate the role of consumers' values in the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption that proved unsuccessful (Section 4.1). After describing the main features of this online community marketplace, attention was devoted to the philosophical worldviews, research design and research methods adopted in the study and their justification (Section 4.2).

In particular, mixed methods research was chosen to best accommodate the theoretical stances that guide this study (Section 3.3), and frame the research procedures within relevant theoretical lenses (i.e. social psychology and social practice theory) and philosophical worldviews (i.e. postpositivism and constructivism) (Section 4.2.1). Based on the research aim and questions of this study (Section 3.3), an explanatory sequential design process was selected to integrate qualitative and quantitative data (Section 4.2.2). A combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods (i.e. a survey questionnaire and a semi-structured interview) was thus used to collect and analyse both forms of data (Section 4.2.3).

The chapter provided an overview of the advantages and limitations of mixed methods research and the explanatory design (Section 4.3). The envisaged benefits for this research ranged from the possibility to answer different types of research questions (i.e. Q1 and Q2), to enhancing the credibility and depth of the findings, and producing a more comprehensive understanding of the research problem building on both quantitative and qualitative results. Some threats to validity were anticipated and the strategies adopted to address them described.

Finally, ethical considerations and their practical implications for this study were discussed (Section 4.4), including the procedures adopted to ensure quality in

research and the measures put in place to protect the anonymity and confidentiality of research participants.

PART III
EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Chapter 5

Quantitative study: Measuring values in Ecomodo users

This chapter presents results from the quantitative strand of the research (Figure 5.1), which determined the value priorities and orientation of 63 Ecomodo users and compared them with the general UK population. Data collection and analysis procedures are described in Section 5.1, which also introduces three hypotheses verified through the study and the demographic characteristics of the sample. Detailed results from the questionnaire are reported in Section 5.2 and discussed in Section 5.3, which elaborates on key findings. A summary of the chapter is provided in Section 5.4.



Figure 5.1 Quantitative strand of the research process.

5.1 Quantitative data collection and analysis

Quantitative data collection was conducted through an online survey administered to Ecomodo registered users. Their values were quantitatively assessed through the PVQ-R3 instrument (Section 4.2.3), a 6-point scale questionnaire complemented by additional demographic questions (e.g. age, gender, level of education, household income) (Appendix II). A link to the questionnaire was sent out in December 2012 through the Ecomodo monthly newsletter to 2,340

subscribing users. A prize draw for two £20 gift vouchers was used as an incentive for participation. The responses collected were N=93 (attesting a ~4% response rate⁴⁵); however, 30 cases were excluded from the analysis after the dataset cleaning procedures.⁴⁶ N=63 completed questionnaires were analysed with the IBM SPSS Statistics v.19 software. Data provided individual and aggregate scores for each of the 19 basic individual values identified by Schwartz (Table 3.2), allowing the respondents' value priorities and orientation to be identified.

Results were used to address the first research question (Q1: What are the values of people who join a PSS that enables collaborative consumption and how do they differ from the general UK population?) and achieve the following research objectives (Section 3.3):

1. To determine the value orientation of people joining a PSS that enables collaborative consumption
2. To compare their value orientation with the general UK population.

In particular, data was employed to verify two hypotheses based on previous studies on the value antecedents of (self-reported) pro-environmental behaviour (e.g. Grunert and Jørn Juhl, 1995; Gutierrez Karp, 1996; Krystallis et al., 2008; Pepper et al., 2009; Shaw et al., 2005; Thøgersen and Ölander, 2002):

- H1. Consumers engaging in collaborative consumption score higher on self-transcendence values (and, in particular, universalism values⁴⁷) and openness to change values.
- H2. Consumers engaging in collaborative consumption score lower on self-enhancement and conservation values.

⁴⁵ The low response rate, which is common in online surveys (see also Solomon, 2001 and Cook et al., 2000), might be attributed to the web-based survey administration. A higher response rate might also have been achieved by sending the link to the questionnaire directly by email rather than including it in the Ecomodo newsletter.

⁴⁶ Most questionnaires were excluded from analysis because they were incomplete. The high number of questionnaires that were only partially completed may be due to the length (i.e. 57 questions) of the PVQ-R3 used in the study.

⁴⁷ Since the defining goal of 'universalism values' is the "understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of *all* people and for nature." (Schwartz, 2012: 7).

An additional hypothesis considered was the possible existence of a distinctive value orientation in respondents indicating value priorities significantly different from the general UK population, most of whom are not members of Ecomodo.

H3. Consumers using Ecomodo demonstrate a value orientation that differs from value priorities measured in the general UK population.

In order to verify this third hypothesis, responses from Ecomodo users were compared with data from the European Social Survey (ESS) Round 5 (2010/2011)⁴⁸ collected by Ipsos MORI. As part of the ESS research, Schwartz's PVQ-21 was administered as a supplementary questionnaire to N=2,422 respondents considered representative of the population aged 15 or above living in the UK (European Social Survey, 2012). The ESS results were used for a comparison with data from the Ecomodo sample, although the analysis was limited to the 10 original basic individual values measured by the PVQ-21 (Figure 3.1).

Study participants

Ecomodo respondents were mostly female (32% males, 68% females), white-British (86%), well-educated (81% degree level), and middle aged (33% aged 35-44, 21% aged 45-54). The majority were married or living as a couple (74%), while 21% were single or never married.⁴⁹ When asked to state the main reason for joining Ecomodo (Appendix II), one third of respondents stated 'to be green' (32%). Other motivations were, in order of preference, 'to connect with my local community/lending circle' (27%), 'to get more out of the things I own' (19%), 'to save money' (17%), and 'other' (5%). None of the respondents signed up to Ecomodo 'to give to a charity'.

5.2 Results

Results from Schwartz's Portrait Value Questionnaire R3 (PVQ-R3) (Section 4.2.3) were used to verify whether Ecomodo users assigned high importance to a particular set of values typically considered to drive pro-environmental behaviour (i.e. self-transcendence and openness to change values) (Section 3.1). According to

⁴⁸ The 'ESS6 - 2012 Data Download' dataset is available online at: <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/data/download.html?r=6>

⁴⁹ It was not possible to verify if the sample is representative of the entire Ecomodo population as demographic information of users is not collected by the website.

questionnaire data, the expected conditions (H1 and H2, above) were confirmed. Ecomodo respondents scored higher in self-transcendence (i.e. universalism, benevolence) and openness to change values (i.e. self-direction, stimulation) and lower in self-enhancement (i.e. achievement, power) and conservation values (i.e. security, tradition, conformity) (Table 5.1).

| VALUE | M (c) |
|--------------------|--------------|
| SELF-TRANSCENDENCE | 4,73 |
| OPENNESS TO CHANGE | 4,41 |
| SELF-ENHANCEMENT | 3,40 |
| CONSERVATION | 3,70 |

Table 5.1 Means (centred) of the four higher order values (Piscicelli et al., 2015b: 25). Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

Note. For an explanation on the centring procedures, see note below Table 5.2.

Aggregate scores for the 19 values of Schwartz’s refined theory (Table 3.2) showed benevolence (i.e. preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact) and universalism (i.e. understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature) to be the sample respondents’ highest priorities, with universalism-concern (i.e. commitment to equality, justice, and protection for all people) and universalism-tolerance (i.e. acceptance and understanding of those who are different from oneself) ranking higher than universalism-nature (i.e. preservation of the natural environment). Moreover, universalism-nature has the highest standard deviation of the three items measured for universalism, suggesting that preservation of the natural environment varies in importance for Ecomodo users. The sample assigns its lower priorities to power values (i.e. social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources) and tradition (i.e. maintaining and preserving cultural, family, or religious traditions). The importance attributed to stimulation (i.e. excitement, novelty, and change) and conformity-rules (i.e. compliance with rules, laws, and formal obligations) varies considerably among Ecomodo users, as shown by the high standard deviation (i.e. meaning that there is a large variance between the data and the statistical average) measured for these two values (Table 5.2).

| VALUE | M (c) | SD |
|---------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Self-direction-thought | 5,04 | 0,65 |
| Self-direction-action | 4,71 | 0,68 |
| Stimulation | 3,82 | 1,04 |
| Hedonism | 4,07 | 0,78 |
| Achievement | 3,84 | 0,84 |
| Power-resources | 2,37 | 0,90 |
| Power-dominance | 2,86 | 0,83 |
| Face | 3,85 | 0,90 |
| Security-personal | 4,08 | 0,73 |
| Security-societal | 3,83 | 0,83 |
| Tradition | 2,98 | 0,91 |
| Conformity-rules | 3,39 | 1,08 |
| Conformity-interpersonal | 3,92 | 0,92 |
| Humility | 3,83 | 0,81 |
| Benevolence-dependability | 4,92 | 0,56 |
| Benevolence- caring | 4,91 | 0,73 |
| Universalism-concern | 5,06 | 0,68 |
| Universalism-nature | 4,79 | 0,92 |
| Universalism-tolerance | 4,87 | 0,72 |

Table 5.2 Means (centred) and standard deviations of the 19 values (Piscicelli et al., 2015b: 25). Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

Note. “Means and standard deviations are based on centring each person’s responses around his or her mean for all 57 items and then adding the overall mean for all respondents to the same scale to restore the range to the original scale Thus, the means reflect value priorities.” (Schwartz et al., 2012: 672).

| | UK | | ECOMODO | |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| | M (c) | SD | M(c) | SD |
| Self-direction* | 4,61 | 0,82 | 4,87 | 0,52 |
| Stimulation | 3,60 | 1,01 | 3,82 | 0,96 |
| Hedonism | 3,84 | 0,96 | 4,07 | 0,71 |
| Achievement | 3,80 | 0,95 | 3,84 | 0,80 |
| Power* | 3,27 | 0,83 | 2,62 | 0,71 |
| Security* | 4,71 | 0,82 | 3,96 | 0,61 |
| Tradition | 4,22 | 0,91 | 2,98 | 0,90 |
| Conformity* | 4,07 | 0,94 | 3,65 | 0,84 |
| Benevolence* | 5,09 | 0,63 | 4,91 | 0,59 |
| Universalism* | 4,77 | 0,65 | 4,91 | 0,62 |

Table 5.3 Compared means (centred) and standard deviations of the original 10 basic individual values (Piscicelli et al., 2015b: 26). Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

Note. Values labelled with * are calculated by combining the multiple items measuring them in the PVQ-R3. For an explanation on the centring procedures, see note below Table 5.2.

Results were then combined in the Schwartz’s original 10 basic individual values and compared with data from the general UK population (Table 5.3). The UK population appears to endorse tradition, security and power considerably more (respectively of 1.24, 0.75 and 0.65 points) than Ecomodo users who, by contrast, consider self-direction, hedonism, stimulation and universalism to be more important as guiding principles in their lives. In terms of value priorities, however, both samples seem to assign more importance to benevolence and universalism and least to power.

In examining the results for the four higher order values (Table 5.4), the comparison additionally revealed some interesting insights for the exploration of values in relation to collaborative consumption. In particular, both the UK population and Ecomodo users score highest in self-transcendence and lowest in self-enhancement. The inverted position of conservation and openness to change values (i.e. with the UK population scoring higher in conservation and Ecomodo users in openness to change) indicates that Ecomodo users might be more willing to engage in new experiences because of their positive disposition towards creating and exploring (i.e. self-direction), and excitement, novelty and challenge in life (i.e. stimulation). By contrast, the general UK population would rather tend to maintain the *status quo* (i.e. tradition), complying with social expectations and norms (i.e. conformity), and seeking for stability in society and relationships (i.e. security).

| | UK | ECOMODO |
|---------------------|-------------|----------------|
| | M(c) | M(c) |
| SELF-TRANSCENDENCE* | 4,93 | 4,91 |
| OPENNESS TO CHANGE* | 4,01 | 4,25 |
| SELF-ENHANCEMENT* | 3,64 | 3,51 |
| CONSERVATION* | 4,33 | 3,53 |

Table 5.4 Compared means (centred) of the four higher order values (Piscicelli et al., 2015b: 26). Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

Note. Values labelled with * are calculated by combining the multiple items measuring them in the PVQ-R3. For an explanation on the centring procedures, see note below Table 5.2.

Finally, independent-samples t-test (Table 5.5) was performed to determine if the two sets of data from the UK population and the Ecomodo sample were statistically significantly different in their variances (Levene’s test) and means (t-test) (Bryman and Cramer, 2012). The null hypothesis that the variability of the two groups is equal (p-value <0,05) is rejected for security, self-direction, hedonism and achievement, and the null hypothesis that means are equal (p-value <0,05) is not

rejected for conformity and benevolence values. In other words, for several of the values there is significant difference between the samples in the degree of spread of their scores (i.e. variance) and for most of the values there is significant difference between their mean scores. Accordingly, the two samples can be considered different in their scores, thus confirming H3 (Section 5.1).

| | | Independent Samples Test | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---|------|------------------------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|---|---------|
| | | Levene's Test for Equality of Variances | | t-test for Equality of Means | | | | | | |
| | | F | Sig. | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | Std. Error Difference | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
| | | | | | | | | Lower | | Upper |
| SECURITY | Equal variances assumed | 9,380 | ,002 | -4,679 | 2483 | ,000 | -,48323 | ,10328 | -,68574 | -,28072 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | -6,167 | 67,910 | ,000 | -,48323 | ,07836 | -,63959 | -,32687 |
| CONFORMITY | Equal variances assumed | 1,651 | ,199 | -1,302 | 2483 | ,193 | -,15538 | ,11933 | -,38938 | ,07862 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | -1,440 | 66,048 | ,155 | -,15538 | ,10792 | -,37085 | ,06009 |
| TRADITION | Equal variances assumed | ,015 | ,903 | -8,494 | 2483 | ,000 | -,98116 | ,11551 | -1,20765 | -,75466 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | -8,535 | 65,300 | ,000 | -,98116 | ,11496 | -1,21072 | -,75159 |
| BENEVOLENCE | Equal variances assumed | 1,292 | ,256 | 1,184 | 2483 | ,237 | ,09559 | ,08075 | -,06275 | ,25393 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 1,261 | 65,735 | ,212 | ,09559 | ,07583 | -,05582 | ,24700 |
| UNIVERSALISM | Equal variances assumed | ,037 | ,847 | 4,995 | 2483 | ,000 | ,41244 | ,08257 | ,25053 | ,57434 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 5,214 | 65,580 | ,000 | ,41244 | ,07910 | ,25450 | ,57038 |
| SELF-DIRECTION | Equal variances assumed | 14,282 | ,000 | 5,134 | 2483 | ,000 | ,53151 | ,10352 | ,32852 | ,73451 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 7,876 | 70,242 | ,000 | ,53151 | ,06749 | ,39692 | ,66611 |
| STIMULATION | Equal variances assumed | 1,056 | ,304 | 3,740 | 2483 | ,000 | ,47778 | ,12776 | ,22726 | ,72831 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 3,895 | 65,562 | ,000 | ,47778 | ,12268 | ,23282 | ,72275 |
| HEDONISM | Equal variances assumed | 6,777 | ,009 | 4,019 | 2483 | ,000 | ,48494 | ,12066 | ,24834 | ,72155 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 5,333 | 67,997 | ,000 | ,48494 | ,09093 | ,30349 | ,66640 |
| ACHIEVEMENT | Equal variances assumed | 4,141 | ,042 | 2,449 | 2483 | ,014 | ,29291 | ,11958 | ,05842 | ,52741 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 2,866 | 66,571 | ,006 | ,29291 | ,10220 | ,08889 | ,49693 |
| POWER | Equal variances assumed | 2,832 | ,093 | -3,845 | 2483 | ,000 | -,40503 | ,10533 | -,61158 | -,19847 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | -4,423 | 66,406 | ,000 | -,40503 | ,09158 | -,58784 | -,22221 |

Table 5.5 Independent-samples t-test: inferential statistics (Piscicelli et al., 2015b: 27). Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

5.3 Discussion

The quantitative study measured the value priorities of 63 Ecomodo users. In keeping with most previous studies on values and pro-environmental behaviour, the analysis identified a common value orientation towards self-transcendence (i.e. benevolence, universalism) and openness to change (i.e. self-direction, stimulation) over self-enhancement (i.e. achievement, power) and conservation values (i.e. security, tradition, conformity). However, the importance attributed to universalism-nature (i.e. preservation of the natural environment) varies significantly among Ecomodo users and only one third of them indicated that they have joined Ecomodo ‘to be green’. Lending and borrowing through this platform thus addresses a number of other values.

The comparison between data from Ecomodo respondents and a representative sample of the UK population provided evidence of the distinctiveness

of the value orientation detected, which diverged from the one observed in the UK respondents. The main differences amongst the two groups were scored in tradition, security and power, with Ecomodo users scoring lower than the UK population for each of these values. These results support some preliminary considerations on the role played by values in engagement in P2P lending and borrowing through Ecomodo and the possible reasons behind the unsuccessful introduction of this particular online platform.

Ecomodo respondents scored particularly low in tradition values (i.e. maintaining and preserving cultural, family, or religious traditions) compared to the UK sample. High importance attributed to tradition seems to play against collaborative consumption, insofar as it represents a continuation of the current state of affairs. On the contrary, most alternative business models based on sharing (and, thus, the PSSs that enable them) are intrinsically disruptive of the *status quo*. The innovative solutions they propose often radically challenge mainstream conventions, displacing ingrained habits and well-established courses of actions. Ecomodo users appeared also to value security (i.e. safety in one's immediate environment and stability in the wider society) significantly less than the general UK population. A lower importance attributed to security by Ecomodo respondents suggests the relevance of concepts such as reliability and trust in other people to collaborative consumption. By their own nature, sharing models rely on social connections and interactions between strangers. Hence building trust is essential for the collaborative consumption to thrive and, perhaps, serve as an engine for rediscovering neighbourhoods and local communities. Finally, results showed that Ecomodo users do not prioritise power values (i.e. power through control of material and social resources). In other words, they seem less interested in dominating others and less materialistic. In many cases collaborative consumption involves individuals sharing their idle or underused possessions with each other. If a prerequisite for the existence of a number of these models is an end to exclusivity of use, this form of material attachment represents instead a real barrier to the acceptance of potentially sustainable PSSs such as Ecomodo.

In conclusion, these findings provide useful insights on how consumers' values can influence the introduction and scaling-up processes of collaborative consumption (Section 1.5) (see also Vezzoli et al., 2012, 2015; Piscicelli et al., 2015b) from which some implications for the design of PSSs that enable P2P lending and borrowing could be drawn. For example, it is possible to envisage that, in order to foster wider consumer acceptance, platforms such as Ecomodo should promote

their stimulation-related aspects (i.e. as to be attractive to users with the specific value orientation detected in this study), while guaranteeing sufficient levels of personal safety (e.g. through *ad hoc* trust-building mechanisms) as to be appealing to a larger segment of the population. Moreover, online platforms for lending and borrowing could aim at facilitating the transition from private ownership to shared access by embedding formal and informal forms of insurance.

However, it is by no means possible to assume that all people sharing a value orientation similar to the one found in Ecomodo respondents would participate in P2P lending and borrowing. Although individuals might prioritise values supportive of pro-environmental behaviour, these values may fail to translate into actual behaviour (i.e. value-action gap) (Section 2.1.5). Finally, it is important to notice that the Ecomodo sample taking part in this research cannot be considered representative of the whole Ecomodo users population (Section 5.1) and other members of the same platform may hold a different value orientation (see also Martin and Upham, 2015). Further research with a larger sample of users could be beneficial for confirming results from this study.

5.4 Summary

In order to address the research question Q1 (What are the values of people who join a PSS that enables collaborative consumption and how do they differ from the general UK population?) quantitative data collection and analysis was conducted. Value priorities of 63 Ecomodo users were determined through Schwartz's PVQ-R3. Their value orientation was then compared with data from a representative sample of the general UK population. Ecomodo users scored higher in self-transcendence and openness to change values than self-enhancement and conservation values. On the contrary, the general UK population endorsed self-transcendence and conservation values more than self-enhancement and openness to change values. The main differences between Ecomodo users and the UK sample (which also explain the inverted position of openness to change and conservation values in the two samples) were measured for tradition, security and power values, with Ecomodo users scoring lower than the general UK population in all three.

These results and the limited market uptake of Ecomodo (Section 4.1) suggest that P2P lending and borrowing through this online platform may be appealing only to a specific group of consumers sharing a particular value orientation. Therefore, individual values may be considered partly responsible for a

failure in acceptance, adoption and diffusion of Ecomodo and, possibly, similar forms of collaborative consumption. However, their actual influence can be better understood only in relation to broader considerations of what it means to carry out sharing practices (e.g. lending and borrowing) within society, and how these practices are perceived and experienced. For this reason, a subsequent strand of qualitative research (presented in the next chapter) investigated whether individual values influence and are influenced by the 'meaning' element of practice in such a way as to contribute to (or hinder) participation in collaborative consumption (Q2) (Section 3.3).

Chapter 6

Qualitative study: Understanding values and collaborative consumption

This chapter presents results from the qualitative strand of research (Figure 6.1), which examined values in relation to collaborative consumption. The goal was to explore whether and how individual values could influence and be influenced by the ‘meaning’ element of collaborative consumption practices as to facilitate (or hinder) participation (Section 3.3). After introducing the data collection and analysis procedures in Section 6.1, the chapter is organised in four sections. The first, Part A: Individual values (Section 6.2), provides a detailed account of the interviewees’ understanding of the 19 values in Schwartz’s model, the importance they attribute to them, and whether their value priorities might change over time. Part B: Collaborative consumption practices (Section 6.3) unveils the meanings interviewees attributed to lending, borrowing, bartering, swapping, sharing, trading, renting and gifting (i.e. the activities included in Botsman and Rogers’s (2010) definition of collaborative consumption). Part C: Values and collaborative consumption (Section 6.4) reveals which values they associated with alternative ways of consuming in the different areas of transportation, holiday accommodation, clothing and consumer goods. In doing so, it sheds light on the relationship between individual values, perceptions of ‘value’ (i.e. what is considered to be convenient, practical and efficient) and meanings underlying different types of collaborative consumption. Finally, Part D: Ecomodo (Section 6.5) unfolds the merits and flaws of this online platform for P2P lending and borrowing. In conclusion, a summary of key findings is provided (Section 6.6).

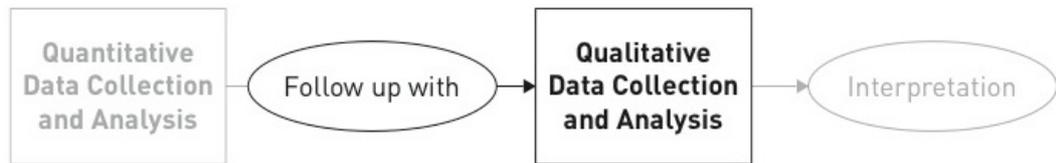


Figure 6.1 Qualitative strand of the research process.

6.1 Qualitative data collection and analysis

This second strand of research explored values within the specific context of collaborative consumption and explored how values influence and are influenced by the ‘meaning’ element of practice. It did so by generating in-depth insights into participants’ understandings, views, interpretations and personal experiences of different forms of collaborative consumption (*cf.* private ownership). Data collection was carried out through one-to-one semi-structured interviews (Appendix III) facilitated by a series of visual prompts (Appendix IV) explaining and supplementing quantitative results (Section 4.2.3). For this reason, 63 Ecomodo users who completed the Schwartz’s PVQ-R3 questionnaire were invited to participate in the subsequent qualitative research and 10 agreed to be interviewed at a place and time convenient to them.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted between July and September 2013 in different UK locations. The consent form (Appendix V) and participant information sheet (Appendix VI) were provided to each interviewee. All interviews were video-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The average interview length was 1 hour and 17 minutes. Data were analysed using thematic analysis⁵⁰ (see Robson, 2011; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Interview transcripts were systematically coded using a combination of ‘*a priori*’ codes (e.g. from previous research or theory; questions and topics from the interview schedule) and data-driven codes (i.e. ideas derived from and grounded in the data) (see Gibbs, 2007; Taylor and Gibbs, 2010). Codes⁵¹ were grouped together in themes serving as a basis for further data analysis

⁵⁰ “Thematic analysis is a systematic approach to the analysis of qualitative data that involves identifying themes or patterns of cultural meaning; coding and classifying data, usually textual, according to themes; and interpreting the resulting thematic structures by seeking commonalities, relationships, overarching patterns, theoretical constructs, or explanatory principles. Thematic analysis is not particular to any one research method but is used by scholars across many fields and disciplines.” (Lapadat, 2010).

⁵¹ In keeping with Taylor and Gibbs (2010), codes were based on ‘topics’ (e.g. ‘autonomy of action’; ‘autonomy of thought’; ‘lending’; ‘borrowing’; ‘car sharing’; ‘lift sharing’; ‘Ecomodo’), ‘ideas and concepts’ (e.g. ‘ownership’; ‘sustainability’; ‘friendship’; ‘collaboration’; ‘money’),

and interpretation. Constant comparisons⁵² within and between cases were carried out in order to determine patterns of interest, consistencies and differences among interviewees' accounts for each of the four parts of the interview (Figure 6.2).

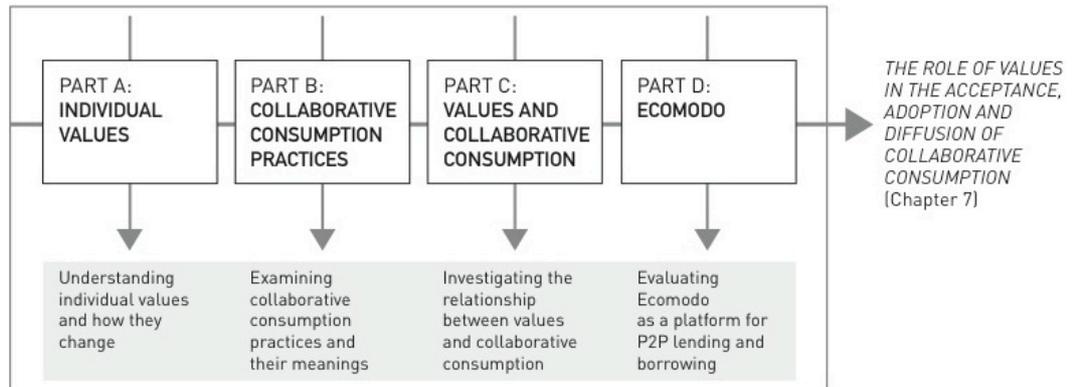


Figure 6.2 Qualitative data analysis.

Study participants

The qualitative interview sample consisted of 10 Ecomodo users, 3 males and 7 females, who completed the online survey questionnaire and later indicated their interest in being interviewed. In terms of demographic characteristics the group was diverse and largely representative of the 63 respondents taking part in the first quantitative stage of the study (Table 6.1). Moreover, the sample appeared geographically well distributed across the English regions (Figure 6.3).



Figure 6.3 Geographical locations of the 10 interviewees.

'keywords' (e.g. 'efficiency'; 'waste'; 'convenience'; 'community'), and 'terms and phrases' (e.g. 'keeping up with the Joneses') found in the data.

⁵² 'Constant comparison' implies the ongoing analysis of similarities and differences in the activities, experiences and actions that are coded across cases, settings and events (Gibbs, 2007).

| | No. of interviewees | % of respondents in the quantitative questionnaire |
|-------------------------|---------------------|--|
| GENDER | | |
| Male | 3 | 32% |
| Female | 7 | 68% |
| ETHNICITY | | |
| White-British | 7 | 86% |
| White-Other | 3 | 10% |
| AGE | | |
| 25-34 | 3 | 19% |
| 35-44 | 3 | 33% |
| 45-54 | 3 | 21% |
| 66-100 | 1 | 6% |
| MARITAL STATUS | | |
| Single/never married | 1 | 21% |
| Married | 8 | 54% |
| Divorced | 1 | 3% |
| HOUSEHOLD SIZE | | |
| 1 | 1 | 13% |
| 2 | 3 | 32% |
| 3 | 2 | 16% |
| 4 | 4 | 24% |
| HOUSEHOLD INCOME | | |
| £ 10,000-14,999 | 1 | 6% |
| £ 20,000-24,999 | 1 | 10% |
| £ 35,000-44,999 | 1 | 6% |
| £ 45,000-54,999 | 2 | 13% |
| £ 55,000-99,999 | 2 | 22% |
| £ 100,000 or more | 2 | 10% |
| Prefer not to answer | 1 | 16% |
| OCCUPATION | | |
| Employed full-time | 3 | 38% |
| Employed part-time | 2 | 11% |
| Self-employed | 3 | 24% |
| Not employed | 2 | 22% |
| EDUCATION | | |
| Degree level | 10 | 81% |
| RELIGION | | |
| Church of England | 3 | 14% |
| Roman Catholic | 1 | 11% |
| Judaism | 1 | 3% |
| Other religion | 1 | 11% |
| None | 4 | 51% |

Table 6.1 Characteristics of interviewees.

All ten interviewees were aged over 25, well-educated (all of them have a degree) and quite affluent (most of them earn more than £ 45,000 per year). The majority of interviewees were white British, with three of them belonging to other white backgrounds. Most of them were married at the time of the interview. In terms of occupation, there was a good balance among interviewees employed full or part time, self-employed and not employed/retired. Many of them reported to have no religion, with most of the other interviewees belonging to the Church of England

(Table 6.1). Most of the interviewees were registered but inactive (i.e. dormant users) on Ecomodo. The sample provided also a good coverage of the different motivations for joining the platform revealed by the survey questionnaire (Table 6.2).

| TO SAVE/MAKE MONEY (17% of survey respondents) | TO BE "GREEN" (32% of survey respondents) | TO GET MORE OUT OF WHAT I ALREADY OWN (19% of survey respondents) | TO CONNECT WITH MY LOCAL COMMUNITY/LENDING GROUP (27% of survey respondents) |
|---|--|--|---|
| Martha | Connie Linda Isabel | Brian Emma | Thomas Holly Amy James |

Table 6.2 Participants' stated motivation for joining Ecomodo.
Note. All respondent names are pseudonyms.

6.2 Part A: Individual values

The first part of the interview focussed on individual values (Section 4.2.3) and addressed research objective 3 (Section 3.3). Schwartz's 19 values measured in the survey questionnaire through the PVQ-R3 instrument were presented on a series of cards with a simplified textual description of each value (Appendix IV). Interviewees were asked to order these cards according to how the values described were important for them as guiding principles in their life. As part of the exercise, they were invited to think and comment aloud. Specific values of interest from the online questionnaire were further assessed at this stage (i.e. universalism-nature, power-resources, achievement, face, stimulation). Finally, interviewees were asked to reflect on any change in values occurred during their life and what led to those changes (Appendix III).

The resulting arrangements of cards, representing interviewees' value priorities, were assessed against findings from previous quantitative research (Table 5.2). This form of data triangulation was used to verify the consistency across results and control possible social desirability bias in verbal responses (i.e. the tendency of respondents to answer questions in a socially acceptable direction).

6.2.1 Schwartz's 19 basic individual values

This section presents the interviewees' accounts of Schwartz's basic individual values in order to determine whether they understood the 19 values as intended by

Schwartz, what importance they attributed to each value, and whether their stated importance confirmed results from the questionnaire. Conceptual discrepancies between the definitions provided in the cards (Appendix IV) and the interviewees' understandings of those values are pointed out, as well as possible inconsistencies between quantitative and qualitative results. The analysis also reveals interviewees' intimate struggle with specific values and their reasons.

1. Autonomy of thought: being free to develop your own ideas and abilities

- 'Autonomy of thought' was generally considered a positive and important value.

Interviewees associated 'Autonomy of thought' with thinking critically and being able to make their own decisions, or to independence and places where there is freedom of thought. Connie, for example, described it as a "*background*" condition embedded in the geographical, social and cultural environment where she lives in. As such, she tends not to consider it as one of her values (or as a value to pursue).

'Autonomy of thought' was also related to particular occupations, or work positions and roles. For instance, Martha considered 'Autonomy of thought' to be more relevant in her job than at home ("*Me, as a person, outside of the work environment, I don't tend to impose my ideas on other people ... and sometimes I keep quiet when I shouldn't. Not so much in a work environment: I am a director of a company and I would do what it is necessary*").

2. Autonomy of action: being free to determine your own goals and purposes

- Most interviewees suggested a similarity, both in terms of understanding and importance assigned, between 'Autonomy of action' and 'Autonomy of thought'.

As with 'Autonomy of thought', interviewees further related the value with different settings, such as the home environment or work-related situations. For example, the value was associated by Thomas with the ability to determine his desired career path and the possibility to fully express himself in his job. In contrast, Amy suggested that 'Autonomy of action' can sometimes be "*stifled*" by external factors or significant others. In particular, her family and teachers strongly influenced and limited her career choices in the past.

3. Stimulation: having excitement, novelty, and change in your life

- Half of the interviewees considered 'Stimulation' as not particularly important, appreciating it "*in small ways*" or "*in small things*".
- This is consistent with results from the previous quantitative analysis, where the value presented the second highest standard deviation among measured items.

Interviewees provided quite diverse perspectives and views on 'Stimulation'. Linda suggested an interpretation of 'Stimulation' in terms of "*movement and dynamism as a source of energy*" in her life. Notions of "*being challenged*" and "*doing something different*" have a role to play as an antidote to getting bored easily for Thomas, and in avoiding "*sink[ing] back into the same old, same old*", in his work and personal life, for Brian. 'Stimulation' appeared quite important also for James, who particularly likes "*to try new things and experiment*", and Connie, who sees and approaches her life "*as an adventure*".

4. Hedonism: having pleasure and sensuous gratification in your life

- Most interviewees described 'Hedonism' as not important.
- Brian's account partially contradicts his scores for this value in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire.

James associated 'Hedonism' with the positive idea of enjoying life. Similarly to Isabel, Holly identified a connection between 'Hedonism' and 'Stimulation' further explaining the importance of "*tak[ing] pleasure in small things*", something that later on in the interview she related more explicitly with the experience of being ill and subsequently disempowered. The perceived discrepancy between how Holly pursues 'Hedonism' and 'Stimulation' in her mundane life and the way she thinks other people appreciate these values ("*in the big ways, the way some people may think of [them]*") made it difficult for her to position 'Hedonism' as more or less important.

Connie revealed a similar existing tension between the definition provided of this value and her grasp of it ("*Now that's interesting because you call that 'Hedonism' and I would say that hedonism isn't important for me, but actually 'having pleasure' is*"). This internal conflict, perceived also by Thomas, may be caused by the negative connotation that 'hedonism' appeared to convey to the interviewees. In particular, Thomas described it as a "*selfish, or maybe even more borderline moral value*", as opposed to the previous "*good values*" (i.e. 'Autonomy of thought', 'Autonomy of

action' and 'Stimulation'), which *"could be seen as selfish values [but] they could be also seen as values that help improve change"*. This categorisation in positive and negative values was reiterated by Linda, who linked 'Hedonism' to her *"self-indulgent part"*, and Brian, who suggested how *"there is more to life [than] just seeking 'gratification' all the time"*.

5. Achievement: achieving success according to social standards

- 'Achievement' was regarded as a *"tricky"* value and a *"tough one"* to evaluate.
- The discomfort showed with the proposed definition of 'Achievement' in relation to 'social standards' may explain the higher priority assigned to this value in the questionnaire by Brian, Connie, James and Linda.

Isabel judged 'Achievement' *"quite important"*, as did Amy, who recalled a sense of positive surprise associated with realising that other people see her as more successful than she does. The idea of being successful *"on other people's eyes"* led Brian to a series of considerations on how the value is subject to different, and not necessarily consistent, perceptions (*"From a social perspective, one person's achievement might look better than somebody else's, but that doesn't tell the story of the people"*).

In particular, there seemed to be a common understanding of what the 'social standard' of success is, which was largely rejected by interviewees. Linda explicitly positioned herself against the dominant, culturally constructed and shared view of 'Achievement' (*"More and more success to me is not related to what the social standard of success is"*). Conversely, the value seemed to be appreciated more as a matter of *"personal satisfaction"* than as a *"measurable"* and *"comparative"* *"social benchmark"* by Thomas (*"Achieving in ways that maybe the world or society doesn't necessarily recognise as important is also an important achievement"*).

Moreover, Connie struggled to evaluate 'Achievement' as more or less important due to her internal conflict between the desired attainment of success and her negative evaluation of the need for social recognition. Thomas mentioned instead the importance of getting *"respect"* from others, an idea reiterated by Martha (*"I am not a social animal, I don't need approval from other people, I don't seek that, but I do like having the respect for my qualifications and abilities"*).

6. *Dominance over people: having power to exercise your control over others*

- 'Dominance over people' was perceived as not important by most interviewees.

Brian attributed a negative connotation to 'Dominance over people' ("*Nobody should have dominance over other people. It leads to all sorts of problems. A job contract doesn't give people the right to kind of dominate or control other people*"). Notions of equality and social justice play a strong role in the formation of his judgement ("*It's a ridiculous idea! We are all equal*") as well as his personal work experience. Similarly, the value was connected with particular occupations and roles by Thomas ("*Part of the reason why I am in Education is that there is a bit of a power trip, if I need to be honest. I love winding the students up sometimes. But part of it is also wanting to share knowledge*") and James ("*I would not say 'dominance', but there is a degree of sharing and informing and educating others ... , leaving them free to make their own choices at the end of the day*").

7. *Material resources: having power to control events through your material possessions*

- 'Material resources' was considered of low importance by most interviewees.

'Material resources' seemed to convey a negative or slightly undesired connotation to several interviewees, such as Amy ("*It's one of those things I wish it was less important than it is*") and Isabel ("*I'd say not [important] at all, but actually that's probably not true*"). Connie struggled to position the value in relation to her ability to influence sustainable change ("*That isn't important to me, apart from the fact that 'being wealthy' can help you to influence things, and I do want to be able to influence things*"). In particular, she recognised a displeasing discrepancy between the ideal and real state of affairs ("*I don't think that how rich you are should make a difference to how much influence you have, but in reality it does*"). Similarly, Holly admitted that 'Material resources' can provide choices and opportunities. On the contrary, Linda commented on the idea of 'having power through material possessions' as "*something not so real*" ("*I think it's more of a blurry deceit that we are getting into thinking that this actually happens when it doesn't*"), a view further supported by Brian ("*I really don't like people who think that somehow having material resources, driving a Range Rover, makes you.. What? Stupid? In my book!*").

8. *Face: having security and power through maintaining your public image and avoiding humiliation*

- Interviewees often attributed low importance to 'Face', being "fairly relaxed" or not particularly worried about it.
- The definition of 'Face' seemed to contain two distinct constructs needing to be separated (i.e. 'public image' and 'humiliation'). This might have affected the interviewees' interpretation and explain the different importance attributed to the value by Brian and Emma in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire.

Thomas suggested that the importance of 'Face' depends significantly on the particular vocation (*"How you are seen and how you are perceived is very important, let's say you are a politician. I think it's of high importance because I am a lecturer and because I am active in the research field"*). Similarly to Thomas, Amy considered 'Face' quite important. However, she analysed 'humiliation' and 'public image' in two different moments (*"I don't like 'humiliation'. And yes, you don't want people to think the worst of you for whatever reason"*). Martha suggested that 'public image' and 'humiliation' are, indeed, two distinct concepts (*"I feel those could be split in two different ones. I certainly don't want 'humiliation', I get embarrassed very easily, but the 'public image' aspect of it: not bothered"*). According to Emma *"this [value] is worded interestingly, because I would like to 'avoid humiliation', obviously, I think most people would. I don't seek 'power', though, 'through any public image'"*. The same position is reinforced by Brian, although his account shows a less concerned position with respect to 'humiliation' and a more negative view of 'public image' (*"That's a negative for me Too many bad things happen when people try to 'maintain a public image'. Avoiding 'humiliation'? Well, nobody likes 'humiliation' but sometimes it happens and you dust yourself off and you get on with that"*).

9. *Personal security: feeling safe in your immediate environment*

- 'Personal security' was considered positive and important by most interviewees.

In some cases this value was not seen as particularly relevant, as suggested by Connie (*"It is not something I think of when I think about my values"*) and Holly (*"It doesn't feel like a very live issue"*), who felt that they live in a safe environment or are able to defend themselves. 'Personal security' was mainly considered a "basic" condition necessary to *"then go for the rest"*, as explained by Brian (*"If you don't 'feel*

safe' you can't go on to explore the world around you, if you are scared it kind of inhibits all these other [values] and all your other [forms of] growth and expression").

Thomas was the only interviewee who assigned a low priority to 'Personal security', although this value recently gained more importance in his life since becoming a father (*"This is an interesting one because, personally, I don't care, but now [that] I have got a child I do. So this is kind of a shift in values"*).

10. Societal security: having safety and stability in the wider society

- Interviewees often discussed 'Societal security' in relation to 'Personal security', considering the two values similar, or recognising the former as more important.
- 'Societal security' seemed to be judged significantly more important in most of the interviewees' verbal accounts than results from the online questionnaire suggested.

Thomas identified a reason for the higher priority associated to 'Societal security' compared to 'Personal security' in the wider spatial and temporal horizon of the former (*"If you don't feel 'personally secure' you can make a move to another environment, but to have 'stability in society' is kind of where you are, your job, the ability to bring income"*). 'Societal security' was also held to be quite important by Connie, Emma, Holly and Martha. Emma, however, seemed to fundamentally question the idea of 'stability' putting it in relation (and as a possible barrier) to societal change (*"I don't want 'stability' in the sense of.. a sort of rule that doesn't admit change. I believe that you should always have the ability to change society. So, I don't mean 'stability' in that sense, but just so that I feel safe and I feel [that] my money in the bank isn't going to disappear tomorrow as it has for many people"*). The concept of change was also prompted by Linda, downsizing the negative connotation of 'Societal security' to a personal level of action (*"I believe that I need to shake myself from that, from the 'safety' and 'stability', in order to push other things through"*).

11. Tradition: maintaining and preserving your cultural, family, or religious traditions

- 'Tradition' was considered of low importance by most interviewees.
- Interviewees seemed to assign a slightly higher importance to this value in the interview than in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire.

Although considered of low importance by most interviewees, 'Tradition' tended to be perceived as a positive value, or as a value important to other people, as suggested by Martha's account (*"I don't give a monkey's about my own [traditions],*

but I think people should be able to do that [i.e. to maintain and preserve their cultural, family, or religious traditions]. As long as we respect each other and don't harm each other, then we should allow people to express their views, their religion whatsoever it is. It's when it actually causes harm to other people, either directly or indirectly, that I think it's totally intolerable").

Following the definition provided, the value was often discussed separately in terms of 'family', 'religious' and 'cultural' traditions. Family traditions were considered of some importance by Amy (*"I do think there is a nice place for certain traditions in life, and sometimes creating your own traditions and sticking to those instead"*) and Emma. On the contrary, they both considered religious traditions of no relevance. An opposite view was offered by Thomas, who held religion as of high importance and having a significant effect on his value system (*"A part, or what underlies a lot of my values, is the fact that I am Christian. And my faith, actually, affects that quite a lot. If someone has a faith, his values can always be moulded by that in some ways"*).

In terms of cultural traditions, Amy and Linda showed a strong sense of belonging to their countries of origin and customs (Amy: *"I'm from New Zealand, I am British though, my parents are British, so I've kind of got this dual culture that I live within, I think. Both of them are important to me in a certain sense"*; Linda: *"I come from a place where we are really attached to our culture. I am from Argentina: it's a massive country and it has a lot of issues, but still we are very proud of it, and of who we are, and our rituals as Argentinians"*). Conversely, Thomas struggled to give particular importance to cultural traditions because of his nationality (*"I can't really see that, being English-British. We actually haven't much more cultural traditions. It's very, very diluted, if there is any at all. But I am aware of where I come from, of my roots"*).

Notions of 'tradition' as connection and continuity with the past, verbalised in the expression *"coming from"*, recurred also in Brian's account (*"We need to be reminded of where we come from, and also that our parents have lived the same lives as we have. We always think we are such innovators: they've all been there and done it before us"*). In particular, Brian brought up the living tension between tradition and innovation, a point further discussed by James (*"As much as having the new stuff and experimenting with that, there is also a degree of familiarity"*), leading to some considerations about how tradition itself may, or should, according to Connie, *"evolve"* (*"I think that tradition should evolve rather than just be exactly the same as it always was"*).

12. Compliance with rules: being compliant with rules, laws and formal obligations

- The importance attributed to 'Compliance with rules' varied significantly in the interview.
- This is in line with results from the PVQ-R3 questionnaire where conformity-rules scored the highest standard deviation among measured constructs.

The importance attributed to 'Compliance with rules' ranged from being very high to Martha (*"I do that a lot. I don't like breaking rules at all"*) to being low to James (*"I like to sort of bend the rules. Not necessarily breaking them, but pushing the boundaries and knowing where things are"*). The image of either *"breaking"* or *"bending the rules"* also recurred in Amy and Thomas's accounts, where 'Compliance with rules' was further put in relation to occupations and roles. In particular, specific vocations could reinforce the endorsement of this value, as suggested by Amy (*"Being honest, this is quite important to me. I used to be a lawyer, [laughs] but I like breaking little rules sometimes"*), or challenge it, as in the case of Thomas (*"It's an interesting one because as designers, we are rules breakers. It's almost designers' job to try to bend rules and find ways around doing things. However, as a person, I think rules and laws are quite important"*).

An internal conflict, which made this value difficult to evaluate, was also articulated by Brian (*"I don't know. I park on double yellow lines because I think sometimes it gets a bit ridiculous. Having said that, I want people to pay my bills on time and it is important: you have to have a certain amount of structure in the society. Just not too much"*). 'Compliance with rules' appeared to convey a negative connotation to some of the interviewees, such as Holly (*"I might like to think I don't, but actually I do [laughs]"*). This could be attributed, building on Linda's account, to the potential of this value to restrain behaviour and personal expression (*"Of course you are not going to act in illegal ways, but if your behaviour is completely drawn into 'being compliant with rules' it means that to a certain extent you are not allowing yourself to challenge them"*).

Finally, the importance of this value appeared liable to change over time in relation to age and worldviews, as suggested by Connie (*"In the past I'd have put this very high on the plus side, but the older I get, the less concerned I am with obeying rules. I am more concerned about doing things, doing the right things, than obeying rules"*).

13. Interpersonal conformity: avoiding upsetting or harming other people

- Most interviewees found it difficult to assess 'Interpersonal conformity' as more or less important.
- The provided definition of this value, which brings together the ideas of 'upsetting' and 'harming' other people, was considered problematic.

'Interpersonal conformity', associated also with the idea of accepting and helping others, was considered important by some interviewees, becoming almost frustrating for Amy (*"I hate myself for this, but it's important. And I wish it was less important"*). Conversely, all other interviewees found this value quite difficult to evaluate because of the need to discriminate between the idea of 'upsetting' and 'harming' other people, as suggested by Isabel's account (*"I'm not too worried about upsetting people, but I wouldn't want to harm people"*). Brian disregarded 'Interpersonal conformity' when this prevents a necessary confrontation (*"It's a difficult one that because if it means what it says in face value, 'upsetting or harming other people', then no, you should never do that, that's something that should never happen. If it means avoid conflict, when conflict is perhaps necessary, than I would disagree with it"*). Similarly, Linda described the act of upsetting people as, at times, positive or even necessary (*"I also feel that sometimes we need to upset people more to show them blind spots, in a very caring and loving way. And I see myself doing that a lot. I think it's a very loving act to upset people sometimes"*).

14. Humility: recognising your insignificance in the larger scheme of things

- 'Humility' was considered important by most interviewees.
- This value was overrated in the interview compared to results from the PVQ-R3 questionnaire.

'Humility' was framed as a matter of "*perspective*" by Linda (*"Once you get a tiny bit of a perspective of where you are and how interconnected we are with other people, with other systems in the world, ... it's not a matter of choice to feel humility"*) and Brian (*"It's not so much 'recognising your insignificance in the larger schemes of things', for me it is just realising that you are an equal part with everybody else"*). Ideas of interconnectedness and equality were also linked together by James through the image of reciprocal help (*"We have all got a role to play in helping each other"*). A lack of 'Humility', on the contrary, was believed to cause problems within society by Brian (*"As soon as you start to think somehow that you are either more*

important or more valuable or what you do for living is more important than somebody else's all goes wrong, really").

Both Holly and Thomas described the value as *"tricky"*. More specifically, Thomas's reading of 'Humility' showed a perceived misalignment between how the value is held important and actual behaviour (*"I value humility, but I don't necessarily recognise that I am always as humble as I could be"*). This is particularly evident when 'Humility' was put in relation to other, competing values (*"That's not to say you can't be successful and achieving and be humble, but it's very difficult. For instance, if you have to manage your own online profile as part of your career and your 'Achievement', then you are going down against 'Humility' because you kind of have to sell yourself"*). Finally, Connie disregarded 'Humility' in relation to her effort to make a positive difference in the world (*"'Humility' to me isn't particularly important. In fact, because I want to positively affect the world and leave it a better place than it was when I was born into it, then I don't want 'to be insignificant in the larger scheme of things'. So, actually, I don't want 'Humility' [laughs], but only from that point of view, because I want to affect change"*).

15. Caring: being devoted to the welfare of your family and close others

- Most interviewees judged 'Caring' as very important or *"of the utmost importance"*.
- Martha's reading of 'Caring' may have resulted in a lower importance attributed to the value in the interview, compared with her results from the PVQ-R3 questionnaire.

'Caring' was considered very important by most interviewees, as suggested by Brian's account (*"What else was the purpose of life if it was not looking after the people you love?"*). However, Thomas and Linda noticed how the altruistic trait of this value could potentially clash with the attainment of other, important personal values (Thomas: *"I can see how that could conflict with 'Autonomy of action', which could be seen as almost quite individualistic"*; Linda: *"I don't have children or anything, so probably that one might change in the future, but at this point I see myself much more focussed on these ones ['Autonomy of thought'; 'Autonomy of action'; 'Humility']"*).

Linda, Isabel and Martha positioned 'Caring' as a middle ground value. Martha, in particular, explained this in terms of a greater concern towards people in need outside her family or closer circles (*"My husband yes, other than that I am generally more caring about the impoverished and things like that"*). In relation to her

'close others', she went on to explain how 'Caring', and its manifestations, might depend on what the 'welfare of others' entails (*"I wouldn't do any harm to them, but I am not going to nanny them. ... I think support and 'caring' about others is allowing them to make their mistakes, allowing our children to make their own way in the world and not giving them everything"*).

16. Dependability: being a reliable and trustworthy friend or family member

- 'Dependability', considered similar or closely related to 'Caring', was judged as very important or important by most interviewees.

While being unreliable *"really bothers"* Holly, James explained how his actual behaviour is often not aligned with the perceived importance given to this value (*"I think that's really important, but it's where do you draw the line? Because I am always late for everything, but it's not through intention. ... Whilst I think that's important, to me it's kind of in the middle ground in terms of.. there is a degree of flexibility in it"*). Brian judged 'Dependability' *"probably positive"*, as it might prevent a more carefree attitude and a certain sense of liveliness (*"It is also nice to be spontaneous sometimes, maybe a bit crazy, why not?"*).

17. Societal concern: being committed to equality, justice, and protection for all people

- A consensus of opinion was reached on the importance of 'Societal concern': this value was judged as either *"very"*, *"utterly"* or *"the most"* important by all of the interviewees.

James also mentioned the concept of 'fairness' in relation to it. Commenting on the provided definition, Holly elaborated on the idea of 'being committed' and the different, possible levels of engagement (*"You can be kind of committed in what you say, what you believe, or what you actually do about it"*). This observation underlies a perceived misalignment between the importance attributed to this value and her actual behaviour (*"Because I know there's lots of people who display the commitment more [than me] in terms of what they do with their life, the choice they've made"*).

18. Protecting nature: protecting and preserving the natural environment

- In line with results from the PVQ-R3 questionnaire, 'Protecting nature' was considered very important by most interviewees. Isabel was the only one who positioned it as a middle ground value.

James related 'Protecting nature' to the finiteness of natural resources (*"We've only got one set of things on the planet"*), and Brian mentioned his active involvement in

the Green Party. Thomas put the value in relation with 'Compliance with rules' (*"It almost fits in this kind of 'Compliance with rules', because concern of nature and environmentalism can almost become very rule-bound. And that's part of the reason I try not to go there too much now. [whispering] Environmentalists can be very judgemental people [sneers]"*). Furthermore, Thomas described his endorsement of 'Protecting nature' in light of a society-driven perspective (*"I view 'Protecting nature' as protecting nature for people and protecting nature for future generations. It's not necessarily protecting nature for nature's self. Although some people do have that view and that's very valid, for me it's all about people"*). A similar idea was expressed by Connie (*"I think that's important for its own sake, but I also think the environmental movement has missed a trick over the years because we talk a lot about 'protecting nature', but we don't talk about [the world we're protecting] being our home. I think it is also important because it is our home, it is our environment, it affects the quality of our lives and future generations' lives"*).

19. Tolerance: accepting and understanding those who are different from you

- In most cases 'Tolerance' was considered very important.

Brian admitted to have *"always been fairly tolerant"* as a result of his personal experience of other countries and cultural traditions (*"I was born abroad. Throughout my life I've always had an exposure to lots of different cultures and traditions. I think that has kind of shaped my thinking"*). In contrast, Linda considered 'Tolerance' a value to further mature (*"I see myself needing to develop much more 'Tolerance' in the future"*) in order to align its perceived importance with actual behaviour (*"This is where I put it in my scale of importance. Probably if I see myself to which extent I am practicing it, I'd put it here"*). Holly considered 'Tolerance' as quite important, but she lingered on the connotations of 'difference' and their implications (*"Depends what the difference is. If it's an antisocial difference then [laughs] I might be not that tolerant"*). The same position was shared by Thomas and Connie (*"I think there's a point at which you shouldn't tolerate. I think there should be a good degree of tolerance, if people are just different. But actually if you think somebody is doing something that's really wrong and hurting other people we should not tolerate that. You have to think about whether it is sensible"*).

Schwartz's 19 basic individual values: Discussion

This section assessed Schwartz's definitions of values (and underpinning theorisation) against the interviewees' understanding of their personal values.

Overall, interviewees asserted that the 19 values proposed in the cards provide a comprehensive list of their own values. However, it is possible that a few Schwartz's values would not have been described by some of the interviewees as part of their value set if those would not have been prompted by the cards (e.g. 'Autonomy of thought', 'Personal security'). The interviewees' accounts also seemed to generally agree with the definitions provided by Schwartz. Nevertheless, some of the descriptions in the cards were believed to be only partially accurate (e.g. the definition of 'Achievement' in terms of 'social standards of success' rather than 'personal standards'), or to combine distinct aspects in need to be differentiated (e.g. 'maintaining a public image' and 'avoiding humiliation' in the definition of 'Face'; 'upsetting' and 'harming' other people in the definition of 'Interpersonal conformity').⁵³

In line with Schwartz's theorisation of values, interviewees' accounts confirmed the existence of conflicting values (i.e. situations in which pursuing one value affects the attainment of other important values) (e.g. 'Face' was suggested to go against 'Humility'). Departing from Schwartz's conceptualisation of values as trans-situational goals, interviewees often considered values (and the importance attributed to them) to depend on specific contexts or circumstances (e.g. 'Autonomy of thought' being more relevant in the work environment than at home). However, the contextual salience of values – the fact that values are often considered in relation to specific contexts and circumstances – is consistent with the idea that values-relevant aspects of situations activate values, as described in Section 3.1.

In terms of the importance attributed to each of the 19 Schwartz's values as guiding principles in life, interviewees generally considered self-transcendence and openness to change values more important than conservation and self-enhancement values, thus confirming results from quantitative data analysis (Table 5.1). The main differences between verbal accounts and scores in the questionnaire seemed to depend on the interviewees focusing on particular aspects of a value or its proposed definitions (e.g. Martha elaborating on the idea of 'Caring' as "*to nanny*" someone, which led her to rate the importance of this values lower compared to her results in

⁵³ This draws attention to the effect of wording on the importance attributed to values in the interviews. However, this issue is likely to be mitigated in the questionnaire by the use of three separate questions to measure each value (Section 3.1) and a more precise wording (i.e. construct and content validity of questions are typically assessed when developing a questionnaire). For example, the definition of 'Interpersonal conformity' provided by Schwartz (Table 3.2) was criticised by some of the interviewees because of including the different ideas of 'harming' and 'upsetting' other people. However, in the PVQ-R3 the value of 'Interpersonal conformity' is measured with three separate questions, which are worded in terms of 'upsetting', 'annoying' and 'making other people angry' (Appendix I).

the PVQ-R3). Finally, in the interview some interviewees perceived a discrepancy between the importance they ascribe to certain values (i.e. 'Humility', 'Dependability', 'Societal concern' and 'Tolerance') and their actual behaviour, which is largely consistent with the value-action gap phenomenon discussed in Section 2.1.5.

6.2.2 Changes in values

The second question of *Part A: Individual values* investigated the changes in personal values (if any) experienced by the interviewees during their life (Appendix III). The aim was to explore whether values are relatively stable constructs, as theorised by Schwartz et al. (2012) (Section 3.1), or they are subject to ongoing evolution as a result of social interactions, performances of practices and contextual experiences, as argued by Hards (2011b) (Section 3.2).

When asked whether endorsed values have changed over their lifetime, most interviewees affirmed that they had not shifted significantly. However, some of them felt that few values "*reinforced*" or weakened themselves over time. In particular, it seems more appropriate to talk about a (temporary or enduring) different relevance that values assumed in response to specific personal circumstances and situations. Growing up, starting a family (e.g. getting married, having a baby), moving, experiencing illness, learning/education/awareness, failures/disillusionments, and religious beliefs were mentioned as different triggers for perceived changes in individual value priorities.

Life-changing stories

In this section, four exemplary life-changing stories have been selected for their relevance in the context of sustainability and their revealing similarity (Box 6.1-6.4). These accounts capture a change in value priorities (and lifestyle) experienced by some of the interviewees in the course of their lives. From the analysis of these extracts, useful insights can be gained around the dynamics of change and the values involved in the process. Other interviewees' accounts are used to support, contrast and expand the scope of the findings.

"I think 'Material resources' and 'Autonomy of action', they are probably the ones that might have changed the most. I mentioned that I used to be a lawyer. Where I grew up it was a much smaller town than London and if you are a bright girl you need to do Law or Medicine. Medicine didn't really interested me back then: I wasn't really interested in cutting up people or anything like that [sneers]. I went to do Law, and I let myself get steered into that by my teachers and my parents and everyone who thought that if you are a bright girl you should do whatever you are capable of, and for them the highest goal I should aim at was to be a lawyer. So that's how I ended up in Law. And I let them influence me in terms of the 'Material resources', as well, because obviously lawyers can make a decent amount of money, and I did for a few years [sneers], which helped me paying off my student loan a little bit. And I think I was probably more comfortably off than I am now, but now I am happier because I am doing something that I enjoy. I've been back to University, I've done another degree [note: a Master Degree in Food Policy], I've spent more time trying to do things that I wanted to do. I've found that I actually spent my time and my money outside of work trying to make myself happier, whereas now, sometimes, I go to work to be happy [laughs]. So the money is less important, the 'Material resources' are less important. I live in a much smaller flat than I used to, and that's just fine at the moment. I would like a little bit more security, and that does come with material wealth, but I am still happy with how my ... plans have turned out."

Box 6.1 Amy

"I would say that a lot of these values have changed massively. Some have been with me all my life, but others have definitely changed. I don't think when I was younger I exercised very much 'Humility' [sneers]. When I was younger I was very sure of myself, bordering on arrogant, and determined to leave my mark on the world. I think what happens is that as you go through your working career and you work very hard for companies and then, say, it doesn't work out, they discard you and you have to go find another job, it's a very big shock to your system. Because you think you are indispensable and all of a sudden you find out that you are not! It is not that I have lost my job, my career didn't progress the way I thought it was going to. And that meant I had to go and re-examine a lot of my kind of values, which for me were mainly money and materialism, and [the] kind of things about what you really want in life. And that led, for me personally, to change in the job that I did, and I picked up a lot more of these kinds of values. Certainly 'Humility' was one of the most.. and also these two things ['Autonomy of action' and 'Autonomy of thought'] came much before. [In] the companies I had worked in, I've always been executing the companies' strategy; I didn't really think very much because all I wanted to do was getting a bigger pay cheque, and I think that now that I'm older these things are much more important. So, I started my own company 15 years ago, just because I wanted to control my own destiny. And at 44 I decided to do a Masters."

Box 6.2 Brian

"Whilst I've always had an affinity with nature and I've grown up in the Peak District, I've always been a 'townie', in terms of growing up in a city. So it's only coming here and moving out to the country and then starting to have a family and the responsibility of yourself in terms of what you're doing, in terms of a house and all sorts of commitments. They all kind of came together for me and that's when I've been really quite an activist. I'm concerned about the state of the planet and the way in which we're using resources, but also as community sort of breaking down. It has much more hit home here in terms of the lack of choices we have, living in the country. For example, there is no gas around, [and we use] domestic heating oil, which we'd love to get rid of but there is no viable alternative at the minute that we can afford. But also that sense of community, again, living in a small village as opposed to a big town, I felt most people who want to have that community engagement do so. And so, yes, I think it's important to build and develop that. People have got skills and experiences and resources. And [it's] just to know who your neighbour is and what's important to them. So I think that has changed, as I said, as I've grown as an individual and then became more responsible, primarily through family. And then living in a rural area where these things are much more in your face: you can't necessarily avoid them, even if you want to."

Box 6.3 James

"I do see some changes in my values. I'm not sure if they changed or.. What I feel happened is not that they changed, I feel that I was very immersed in a context, in a corporate context, in a definition of 'achievement' and 'success' that made me believe that the priorities had changed, but in the core they hadn't. I was working for a big corporation and I [was] brought into the paradigm of being an executive and being successful, and following that path, and working twenty hours a day. But at the same time I was never completely sure of what I was doing. I've always had that kind of little fire inside going, asking these questions that I decided not to pay attention to because I was more focussed on building myself financially and covering some obligations. Then, a year ago, we moved with my husband from Argentina to London, because of a job proposal that he had. So that meant that I had to quit my job and my career, and everything that I supposedly built and was part of, what I believed was more important to me. And when that happened, I came here and I realised that those voices that I had silenced for a while became stronger and stronger. So, I'd say that 'Protecting nature', 'Societal concern', 'Humility', 'Autonomy of thought' and 'Autonomy of action', they were always there for some years, at the beginning of my job, of my professional life. These ones were probably switched with 'Compliance with rules', 'Societal security', 'Face' and 'Achievement', at least in my actions. Maybe not in my core, but yes in my actions.

Laura: So it was to get another job that made you realise this?

"I think it was deeper than that. I think it was giving myself the time and the opportunity to connect with who I am and not what I believed society wanted me to be. So, it was not so much about changing the job, it was about taking a step back. And I started my Master's degree in Sustainability, which forced me to ask myself a lot of questions."

Box 6.4 Linda

These four accounts support the idea that although values are relatively stable over time, they are also continuously shaped (i.e. “reinforced” or weakened) by a person’s environment and life experiences. For example, James’s affinity with nature appeared to come from the particular place where he grew up, while Amy’s career in Law (and the consequent importance attributed to wealth) was very much influenced by the (social) expectations of her family and circle of significant others. Brian and Linda’s idea of success (and how to achieve it) was shaped by their corporate environment. Similarly, Emma and Martha’s concern for social justice and equality could be considered both a driver and a result of their volunteering activities. Finally, Thomas’ interest on the social side of sustainability emerged as an outcome of his studies.

A change in value priorities, associated with a rising interest in sustainability in all the four selected cases (Box 6.1-6.4), was triggered by the occurrence of particular situations and events disruptive of previously established conditions. In particular, changes in personal circumstances, such as starting a family and moving to the countryside, culminated for James in an increased sense of responsibility towards other people and the environment. Notwithstanding, Thomas’s account suggests that family dynamics may also act in the opposite direction, prompting completely different values, when on a low income:

“Most recently I have got a son. Because of that, and I suppose since I got married, I feel more responsibility to provide, and therefore that responsibility to provide does make you slightly more selfish [i.e. ‘Material resources’], or perhaps less humble [i.e. ‘Humility’], slightly more focussed on achieving or getting a job [i.e. ‘Achievement’ and ‘Face’]. ... When you are kind of in a position of not really being able to pay the bills, you care less about other people and more about just kind of making sure you can survive. So, I think it is actually easier to be really concerned about society [i.e. ‘Societal concern’], and caring [i.e. ‘Caring’], and dependable [i.e. ‘Dependability’], when you are living comfortably yourself than when you are kind of struggling to bring food in.”

Failures, disappointments and disillusiones often provided an occasion for a shift in value priorities. These can either prove to be a sudden turning moment in life (e.g. Brian), or take the form of a subtle sense of dissatisfaction leading to a mild yearning for a change (e.g. Linda). Episodes of disruption, or ‘transformative moments’⁵⁴, as defined by Hards (2012), bring people to fundamentally question

⁵⁴ “An experience occurring during a short time-period which results in a significant change in pro-environmental practice.” (Hards, 2012: 763). Building on Hards, Groves et al. (forthcoming: 4) defined ‘transformative moments’ as “epiphanic, emotionally-intense experiences which trigger, as part of initiation into or participation in communities of

their lives and trigger a possible reconsideration of personal values and priorities. This process of re-evaluation appears key to embracing a different lifestyle, thus creating opportunities for sustainability and, possibly, participation in collaborative consumption.⁵⁵ Linda, Amy and Brian, for example, returned back to study and pursued sustainability-related masters degrees. They also changed their careers, with Linda and Amy starting to work in the area of sustainability. Amy now buys organic clothes, Brian is a member of the Green Party and James is involved in community action groups.

In the four life-changing stories (Box 6.1-6.4), engagement in sustainability-related actions and lifestyles appears to be supported (or led) by a change in value priorities which resulted in greater importance attributed to ‘Autonomy of action’ [i.e. self-direction-action], ‘Autonomy of thought’ [i.e. self-direction-thought], ‘Humility’, ‘Protecting nature’ [i.e. universalism-nature] and ‘Societal concern’ [i.e. universalism-concern], at the expenses of ‘Achievement’, ‘Compliance with rules’ [i.e. conformity-rules], ‘Face’, ‘Material resources’ [i.e. power-resources] and ‘Societal security’ [i.e. security-societal] (Figure 6.4).

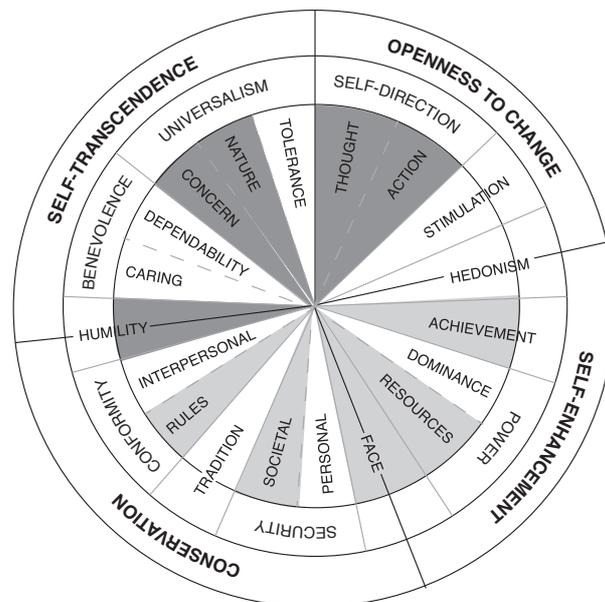


Figure 6.4 Change in value priorities and engagement in sustainability-related actions and lifestyles.

Note. Values gaining importance in dark grey and values diminishing in importance in light grey.

practice, shifts in practices and in values.”

⁵⁵ Although in none of the four life-changing stories participation in collaborative consumption was explicitly linked to a change in personal value priorities, Linda indicated to have joined Ecomodo “to be green” (i.e. environmental sustainability), while Amy and James signed up “to connect with my local community/lending circle” (Table 6.2), which could be seen as related to social sustainability.

Changes in values: Discussion

Section 6.2.2 investigated whether interviewees perceived their values as stable over time or subject to ongoing change. Most accounts supported the idea that values are relatively stable, although the importance attributed to them might change in response to a person's environment and life experiences. Changes in value priorities appeared likely to be triggered by life course transitions (e.g. getting married, moving house, becoming a parent) and the occurrence of particular 'transformative moments' (Hards, 2012) that could make people more receptive to some values at the expenses of others.

Four interviewees' 'life-changing stories' were used to analyse what changes in value priorities supported the engagement in sustainability-related actions and lifestyles. Values typically diminishing in their importance (Figure 6.4, light grey) are mainly identifiable with Schwartz's self-enhancement and conservation values. In particular, in many of these stories of personal evolution and commitment to sustainability there is a rejection and departure from a cultural and socially constructed interpretation of 'Achievement', which seems to largely link success with the attainment of money and material possessions. Accordingly, interviewees gave also lower importance to how they are perceived by other people and maintaining a good public image (i.e. 'Face').

The four life-changing stories provide also a subtle critique of the prevailing materialism in modern society (i.e. power-resources). While Brian, Linda and Amy were determined to build themselves financially and cover some obligations (e.g. student loan) at the beginning of their careers, they all seemed to believe later on that happiness is decoupled from either money, material possessions or success. Finally, a change in lifestyle and value priorities often appeared to call into question existing rules and norms, either at a personal or societal level. This process may result in people being more inclined to bending the rules (i.e. conformity-rules) and displaying critical thinking about the social stability and status quo (i.e. the prevailing social, economic and political norms) (i.e. security-societal).

In contrast, values that interviewees identified as gaining prominence in their life (Figure 6.4, dark grey) are mostly associated with Schwartz's openness to change and self-transcendence values. A common trait in all the life-changing stories is an emphasis on self-determination. As a result of experiencing a transformative moment of some kind, most interviewees showed a desire for (re-) gaining control over their life and direct it more consciously (i.e. self-direction-action and self-direction-thought). Adopting a sustainable lifestyle may, in some cases, satisfy this

need for self-realisation and be associated with a more fulfilling existence. Furthermore, reshaping the self, in particular if as a result of a personal failure, in many cases led interviewees to value humility more. This is likely to depend on the recognition (and acceptance) of one's limitations and weaknesses. Finally, life course transitions and transformative moments created an opportunity for the endorsement of socially- and environmentally-oriented values. Higher importance assigned to 'Protecting nature' (i.e. universalism-nature) was often mentioned in relation to becoming conscious of the wastefulness of a lifestyle cluttered with the burden of (unnecessary) material possessions, as illustrated by Brian's comment:

"I suppose as you get older and you accumulate more things, you look back over your life, especially if you have children, which I have young children, and you suddenly realise you have a house full of things and stuff and it is just incredible how much stuff you have bought. All of it new, all of it not particularly great for the environment. And I think at that point you suddenly start to realise actually what's going to be left for them."

Occasionally, a concern about the state of the planet and the way resources are used was also combined with an interest in community development (i.e. universalism-concern).

6.3 Part B: Collaborative consumption practices

The second part of the interview examined the interviewees' accounts of collaborative consumption practices (Section 4.2.3) in order to address research objective 4 (Section 3.3). Breaking down Botsman and Rogers' (2010) definition of collaborative consumption, 'lending' and 'borrowing' (Section 6.3.1), 'bartering' and 'swapping' (6.3.2), 'sharing' and 'trading' (Section 6.3.3), 'renting/hiring' and 'gifting' (Section 6.3.4) products, skills or spaces (Appendix IV) were explored through the lens of social practice theory. Adopting the conceptualisation of 'practice' provided by Shove et al. (2012), the scope of the investigation was the 'meaning' element of Shove's Material-Competence-Meaning model (Figure 2.11). Cultural conventions, expectations and socially shared meanings associated with collaborative consumption practices were explored through the personal accounts of the interviewees (Appendix III).

6.3.1 Lending and Borrowing

Interviewees described lending as offering a possession to somebody else for a period of time, with the implied assumption that they will get it back in good condition at some later point in time. In most cases the transaction is intended to be free and there may be an expectation of future reciprocation. Lending products, skills, or spaces was associated with ideas and images of usefulness, availability, openness, caring, pleasure, feeling part of a local community, duty, respect, trust, security and dependability in relationships. Also, lending out goods not regularly used and sitting around “*gathering dust*” for most of the time was associated with efficiency and a sense of satisfaction, a “*feel good factor*”.

Martha: “[Lending] is a good thing to do. It’s about fairness, not being greedy, helping other people out.”

On the other hand, privacy, diffidence, discomfort and awkwardness were mentioned in relation to undesirable situations between lenders and borrowers. Images of lent items getting damaged or not being returned (in time) evoked ideas of ownership, risk, unreliability, lack of care, forgetfulness, concern, disappointment and anxiety.

In some cases lending was perceived to be easier than borrowing, its flip side practice. As a social convention, borrowing implies having to take possession of somebody else’s belongings, take care of them and return them. Although connected with gratefulness, getting access, not having to buy it (or pay for it upfront), building trust and social links (e.g. meeting new people, making friendships), special occasions, needing something and obtaining it, borrowing was in some circumstances considered unpleasant.

Thomas: “I’ve found it difficult borrowing from people. I think it’s a pride thing, essentially. I am normally in a position to be able to, if I need a tool, buy it or borrow from my father in law, because basically I see him as family, and therefore it’s different.”

Pride, accepting help, incapacity to do or afford something, discomfort with “*the asking*”, awkwardness, feeling (time-)constrained and imposing oneself on others are ideas sometimes associated with borrowing. In some cases the practice may imply obligation, of both giving things back (on time) and possibly reciprocating by lending in future.

Overall, the positive meanings that interviewees linked with lending and borrowing appeared different in nature. Stronger and more stable *values*-related images were identifiable in the case of lending (e.g. caring, security and

dependability in relationships), which may reflect the specific profile of the sample reached (i.e. generally highly motivated and committed individuals). Borrowing, on the contrary, predominantly elicited ideas of a very practical type, which were *value*⁵⁶-related: they tended to be built around convenience and were situational (e.g. getting access, not having to buy it). In analysing the negative associations, personal attributes and dispositions appeared to be relevant in the case of borrowing (e.g. pride, incapacity to do or afford something) (i.e. *values*-related meanings), whereas ownership of material possessions was at stake in the case of lending (e.g. risk, lack of care) (i.e. *value*-related meanings).

Trust, time and proximity appeared to be key (*value*-related) aspects either facilitating or hindering lending and borrowing. The monetary cost (if any) implied in this type of transaction (e.g. fuel to collect and return borrowed items, fees applied by lenders and service providers) may additionally influence willingness to borrow.

Holly: "There is, also, with both of them [i.e. lending and borrowing], kind of a time and a hassle factor. I wouldn't necessarily choose to borrow something rather than, say, go out and buy it. Because sometimes the hassle factor is much greater for doing that, if you've got to go and get it, and if it limits the timeframe in which you can use it, and then you've got to give it back to them; or if you're going to feel very anxious about getting something back from somebody in the same state."

Convenience and overcoming the "*that's not worth it*" effect are crucial to engagement when alternative ways of performing the same practice are already in place (e.g. asking family and friends, knocking on neighbours' doors) or competing practices exist (e.g. buying new in a shop).

6.3.2 Bartering and Swapping

Bartering was seen by some interviewees as a reciprocal and equal exchange of goods or services for other goods or services. As such, it implies some negotiation to agree on the transaction value.

Amy: "I see bartering as being more negotiated: "So, you give me this and I'll give you this". And you may even haggle a little bit about what

⁵⁶ The term 'value', in a classical economic perspective, refers to the relationship between utility, quality and price of a product or service perceived by consumers (for a comprehensive literature review see Zeithaml, 1988 and Woodall, 2003). Conversely, 'value' is used in this thesis with a broader connotation to include what is perceived as convenient, practical and efficient (which may, or may not, result from economic considerations about utility, quality and price).

my thing is worth and what your thing is worth. Maybe I'm giving you five things for your one thing and you think that's not enough, so I say: "Ok, I'll give you six"."

Given the centrality of the bargaining process, many interviewees also associated (and identified) bartering with negotiating for a lower price on something. This practice, common in some countries, appeared to be uncustomary for the interviewees and, in Thomas's words, the "*fix-price culture in the UK*". Unease with bartering down the price may be rooted in the (*values-related*) negative connotation attributed to this practice, which is generally perceived as impolite and, often, unfair to the person who is selling the good.

Thomas: "I think it's definitely instilled in me that it's slightly rude to barter, or a bit cheeky."

As a system of exchange, barter does not involve money. However, transactions may be mediated by alternative currencies (e.g. time-based currency, complementary/community credits), for example in Time Banks⁵⁷ and Local Exchange Trading Systems⁵⁸ (LETS). These grassroots initiatives have reciprocity, empowerment, revitalising and building community as core ideas. However, a pressure to reciprocate could possibly undermine the whole purpose of helping each other for free.

Holly: "I had some very limited involvement with some LETS schemes where I used to live. As someone with a disability, I had some problems with it because people were on a level playing field and those systems often seem to assume that you would always have something equivalent to give back. And this seemed to take away the idea of just giving being ok. There always seemed to be the kind of "what do I get back out of this?" rather than having people just doing things for other people when they were able to. All seemed a bit calculated to me. So, I was always a bit uncomfortable about that and never really got involved in a very formal way."

Swapping was defined as giving one thing and receiving something else back. It was perceived as a more spontaneous and commensurate exchange (i.e. "*mutually benefitting*") between two comparable things, particularly suitable for

⁵⁷ "Timebanking is a means of exchange ... where time is the principal currency. For every hour participants 'deposit' in a timebank, perhaps by giving practical help and support to others, they are able to 'withdraw' equivalent support in time when they themselves are in need. In each case the participant decides what they can offer." <http://www.timebanking.org/what-is-timebanking/>

⁵⁸ "LETS – Local Exchange Trading Systems or Schemes – are local community-based mutual aid networks in which people exchange all kinds of goods and service with one another, without the need for money." <http://letslinkuk.net>

certain product categories (e.g. children's clothing and toys). Swapping was considered "less about value" than bartering.

Brian: "I don't think you have any real concern when you are swapping that you get the same value back. It doesn't have to be an equal transaction, and I think most people who swap get that sometimes you lose a bit, sometimes you gain a bit. That's just the way it is, and you don't lose any sleep over it."

Similarly to lending and borrowing (when these transactions are for free), some interviewees believed swapping to be driven by high moral purposes and (values-related) principles.

Thomas: "Lending, borrowing and swapping are all very nice ideals in terms of taking money out of the equation and trying to move towards a society that is less focused on money or capital."

6.3.3 Sharing and Trading

Sharing was defined by most interviewees as the joint ownership and benefit of a certain good, or the communal usage of a privately owned possession (either a product, skill, or space). Ideally, people agree to share something they own without expectation of any return or other form of reciprocation. For this reason, it more often takes place among family, friends and acquaintances. Trust, commitment and care were key (values-related) meanings associated to sharing.

Brian: "Most examples of my sharing would be inside the family, where basically anything that I own is a shared resource, and rightfully so. How much I share outside of the family? I don't know. To me there is always a real boundary almost at the family home's door, when it kind of goes out. It is easy, obviously, to share with the people that you know and love; there is very little sharing that seems to happen outside."

In contrast, most interviewees felt at unease with the word trading, which seemed to evoke (value-related) images of expected financial returns and have an element of greed "wrapped up" in it.

Holly: "Trading is a funny word. It's not a word I take to, really. I'm really not keen on things like eBay: it's kind of all about placing a monetary value on things. So, I have an instinctive slightly unhappy relationship to that word comparing to sharing."

Trading has a more commercial (and less amicable) connotation and implies a more formal type of transaction generally mediated through money. As such, it is perceived as a profit-making activity in which economic interests are prioritised over values.

Linda: "Trading to me represents much more a financial or commercial operation, where there is money and where the value is defined more from an economic perspective than a values perspective. For me sharing is much more values-driven and trading is more economically-driven."

6.3.4 Renting/hiring and Gifting

Most interviewees described renting as a formalised version of lending and borrowing, involving a monetary transaction. When renting, goods are accessed or granted access to for a period of time, without transfer of ownership. This was considered a convenient solution when there is a need for a short-term use of a product, the item is quite specialist or expensive to buy and/or maintain, or whenever the person would feel burdened with it afterwards. Compared to borrowing, such a formal arrangement could also provide an additional degree of reassurance, as suggested by Holly ("You have a more formal kind of contract, so there'd be less discomfort if something went wrong"), and quality.

Linda: "Since what you're paying for it's not gonna be yours, there's a huge service around making sure that you get a good thing, or at least what you believe, quality-wise, you should be getting for what you pay. A good example of this is renting a car. I went on vacation last month and we rented a car and we wanted it to be clean, we wanted it to work and to have no problems."

A rental business model has to meet customer expectations in order to be successful. Therefore, a negative experience could deter people from choosing renting over private ownership. Renting was also believed to entail limitations in terms of availability and may result in a less convenient and more expensive option.

Thomas: "I think renting is very difficult, especially renting a car. I think the very nature of the insurance along with the dodgy nature of car rental firms makes it an undesirable experience. I'm always far more stressed when I drive in a rental car, in case something happens to it, [if it gets] a very light scratch and they try to charge me hundreds or thousands of pounds to repair it, if a tyre gets a puncture then I need to pay a ridiculous amount of money for it. And that I think gets in the way of people actually choosing renting as a sustainable opportunity."

Gifting was explained as when products, skills or spaces are given away "unconditionally", at no charge and not expecting anything in return. Gifting was also described as a one-way offer involving a transfer of property. Meanings associated to gifting included altruism, generosity, solidarity, kindness and caring.

Linda: "Gifting is much more values-related. It's about understanding and feeling what the other person wants and giving away that sense of property of something to someone else. And also in the gift there's the

sense of doing it for the pleasure of gifting and not expecting anything back because otherwise it's 'swapping' or 'bartering' or 'sharing', but it's not 'gifting'."

Giving for free, making someone happy, helping people or doing a good turn were all positive (*values*-related) images connected with gifting. Many interviewees thus indicated that they enjoy and get pleasure from giving presents to people, or even to "*gift time*" through volunteering.

Connie: "What goes around comes around. So, if everybody goes out there doing good things like giving things to people, you'd benefit from that at some point. If everybody works like that, then society works better."

Although gifting (either giving presents or helping others) was generally seen as an open-hearted and kind act, at times the gift may result unwanted and/or produce a sense of social obligation (e.g. to make use of the undesired gift or to reciprocate in future).

Thomas: "There is kind of an almost English awkwardness about accepting help myself, unless it's someone that I've already helped. I suppose it's the very British nature of "if someone has invited you for dinner, you have to invite them back". And if they invite you and you haven't, you will find it awkward. It's one of those things that I don't quite know why it is, but it is."

6.3.5 Discussion

Section 6.3 investigated the meanings (i.e. cultural conventions, expectations and socially shared meanings) that interviewees ascribed to collaborative consumption practices. For each practice (i.e. 'lending', 'borrowing', 'bartering', 'swapping', 'sharing', 'trading', 'renting/hiring' and 'gifting' products, skills or spaces), interviewees were asked what the proposed word meant to them and what ideas it inspired.

Accounts were fairly consistent across interviews. Interviewees discriminated between practices of a typically commercial nature (i.e. trading, renting/hiring and bartering) and practices more directly associated with free transactions (i.e. sharing, swapping, gifting, lending and borrowing). They tended to express more neutral (or negative) evaluations of the former, and were more positive about the latter.

In analysing the meanings associated with each practice, they appeared to be either *value*-related (e.g. practicality, efficiency, convenience), or *values*-related (e.g. trust, care, helpfulness). Both *value*-related and *values*-related meanings were

associated with each of the eight collaborative consumption practices under examination. However, they appeared to have different pre-eminence, for example, *value*-related meanings outnumbered *values*-related meanings in ‘renting/hiring’, whilst *values*-related meanings were predominant in the case of ‘gifting’.

6.4 Part C: Values and collaborative consumption

The third part of the interview explored the relationship between values and collaborative consumption. A series of prompts (Appendix IV) were used to uncover values associated with alternative ways of consuming in the areas of transportation, holiday accommodation, clothing and consumer goods. For each scenario described (Appendix III), three alternative options – ranging from private ownership of goods, to access to B2C propositions offered by a company, and P2P solutions – were specified (Table 4.5). Interviewees were asked to assess them and associate any relevant values from the 19 proposed on the cards (Section 6.2.1) (Figure 6.5). Results from this exercise were used to uncover the interviewees’ evaluation of different forms of collaborative consumption and what values (if any) they most directly related to them, thus addressing the research objective 5 (Section 3.3).



Figure 6.5 Example of the three options presented in the area of transportation, with associated values (Piscicelli, 2014: 168).

This section presents results for the four areas explored through the interviews: transportation (Section 6.4.1), holiday accommodation (Section 6.4.2), clothing (Section 6.4.3) and consumer goods (Section 6.4.4). Each section starts by describing the interviewees’ assessment of the different options proposed, using representative quotes. The ‘values and meanings’ subsection describes the values that were more often associated with each option, identified through the count of

direct⁵⁹ references made by the interviewees. The associations, which were classified as either 'positive' or 'negative' in the data analysis, appeared to be made in relation to the meanings that interviewees implicitly took into consideration when discussing each option. Finally, the 'sharing values' subsection examines an additional set of meanings relevant to P2P options that interviewees felt was not adequately captured by any of the 19 Schwartz's values.

6.4.1 Transportation

In the context of transportation, interviewees were asked to assess three possibilities for getting around their city⁶⁰ or travelling to one: (i) to buy and own a private car (i.e. private ownership); (ii) to join a car sharing scheme such as Zipcar (i.e. B2C option); (iii) to check online through BlaBlaCar.com for other travellers going the same way and share a ride (i.e. P2P option).

Buy/own a private car

Most interviewees saw owning and travelling by car primarily as "*a matter of convenience*", being an easy and practical solution that provides a high degree of control and flexibility. Most interviewees owned a car and considered it as necessary in their current situation. They often explained this with reference to the location where they live (e.g lack of public transport), and/or their family dynamics. The contextual dependency of having a car explains how changes in personal circumstances may support a change in practices, as suggested by Amy's account:

"For five years I lived somewhere with absolutely no public transport at a mile from anywhere. So, car ownership was completely necessary. ... It depends how important is for you to have a car. In that kind of situation I just had to have one, whereas here in London public transport is so good and you hardly even need to use a car."

In some cases, interviewees who own cars and judged them as important seemed to feel "*slightly uncomfortable*" with this. As such, they tried to justify their answer and were, at times, even apologetic in their responses, as exemplified by Brian's account:

"Owning your own car, it's a difficult one for me because I own two cars, as a family. But ... we have owned them for over ten years and I

⁵⁹ Implicit or alluded associations were also taken into account. Their inclusion in the count, however, did not appear to influence which values were most often associated by the interviewees with each of the options presented.

⁶⁰ Although not all interviewees lived in a city, the specific reference to a 'city' (*cf.* town or village) in the question seems to not have affected (i.e. biased) their answers. All interviewees answered the question putting it in relation to their actual situation.

won't replace one of them. One of them would get replaced when it's falling into pieces, because it's just practical: we have to have a car. The other one, we are going to try to do away with it as soon as it's reached the end of its useful life."

The discomfort with car ownership expressed by several interviewees appears to be motivated by an awareness (*values-related*) of the negative environmental effects of cars, often due to their ineffective use (e.g. low frequency of use, low number of passengers). Considerations around sustainability, efficiency and cost seemed to either support the decision of not owning a car (i.e. Amy, Connie), using it more consciously (e.g. reducing the amount of driving, making it last longer) (i.e. Brian, Emma), or favouring alternative options (e.g. use of public transport, share lifts) (i.e. Isabel, James, Thomas).

Car sharing: Zipcar

Most interviewees considered car sharing a really good idea, potentially useful and more environmentally efficient, as described by Connie:

"Car clubs are a great idea because they allow you to have access to a car without having to own it, insure it, maintain it and have it just sitting there and not doing anything most of the time. So, I think they are great from that point of view. The disadvantage is that there may not be a car near you when you want one, and if you do quite a lot of travelling they are expensive."

However, most interviewees did not consider it a suitable option for their own situation and needs, as demonstrated by Holly's account:

"It seems like a great idea, for other people. ... I am quite often wanting to transport a fair number of people and be quite spontaneous about it, and have the car on my doorstep."

Renting a car by the hour was perceived as less convenient (e.g. more expensive; being "*tied in*" to give it back to a particular location), requiring flexibility, additional planning and organisation. Therefore, car sharing solutions tended to be perceived as more appropriate for one-off occasions (e.g. moving house, holidays). Rather than using the service, many interviewees said they would prefer using public transport where available.

Concerns around the feasibility (and profitability) of the car sharing business model in a small city/town were also expressed by a few interviewees. For example, James tried to set up a car club in his village but the system proved financially unsuccessful.

Lift sharing: BlaBlaCar

Most interviewees were familiar with the concept or had past experiences of lift sharing (either offering or requesting lifts), although not through BlaBlaCar. Some interviewees never heard about this specific platform, but they found it a “*great idea*”, which one interviewee described as somehow “*formalis[ing] the practice of hitchhiking*”. As suggested by Amy, lift sharing was largely considered to depend on convenience and appropriateness to the situation:

“It definitely makes sense if there is space in the car to take on somebody else. And if it’s convenient, I guess. That does have to come into that as well.”

It was judged “*useful*” when doing long journeys alone and “*easy*” for regular journeys (e.g. going to work) or particular occasions (e.g. going to events). By contrast, it would be “*unpractical*” when travelling with family and young children, or “*uncomfortable*” if the available space is limited (e.g. due to luggage and other passengers on board). Also, lift sharing was considered to be more difficult to arrange for short journeys or “*if you want to do something on the spur of the moment*”. As described by Connie, lift sharing is not immediate, requiring flexibility, additional planning and organisation:

“I’ve looked occasionally to see whether I can catch a lift somewhere on online systems, and I’ve never found somebody going where I wanted to. You need a lot of people signed up to it, and logging in all their journeys, and pre-planning their journeys, to make it work. And, as the passenger, ... you have to be more organised, you perhaps have to go at a time that doesn’t suit you, you perhaps end up somewhere that isn’t quite where you want to go.”

The recognised advantages of lift sharing were principally of economic and/or environmental nature. Additionally, some interviewees mentioned an element of “*fun*” associated with travelling with others. Nevertheless, safety or issues around personal conformity were often associated with lift sharing and in some cases were considered a possible reason for not engaging in the practice, as indicated by Thomas:

“There are obviously potential issues you have to be very careful of. I don’t think that would anyone steal my car, but there is potential for carjacking. I’ve lift shared with two women in the past and obviously that didn’t bother me, but for them I could see that could potentially be an issue.”

Overall, discussions around lift sharing demonstrated different perceptions and levels of commitment among interviewees, ranging from unwillingness to

participate, to intention to or occasional engagement in the practice, and fairly regular use and involvement in lift share campaigns at the workplace.

Transportation: Values and Meanings

Owning a car was most directly associated with the values of ‘Personal security’ [i.e. security-personal], ‘Material resources’ [i.e. power-resources], ‘Autonomy of action’ [i.e. self-direction-action], ‘Face’ and ‘Protecting nature’ [i.e. universalism-nature]. Car sharing was most directly associated with ‘Protecting nature’ [i.e. universalism-nature] and ‘Autonomy of action’ [i.e. self-direction-action]. Lift sharing was most directly associated with ‘Personal security’ [i.e. security-personal], ‘Protecting nature’ [i.e. universalism-nature] and ‘Autonomy of action’ [i.e. self-direction-action] (Figure 6.6).

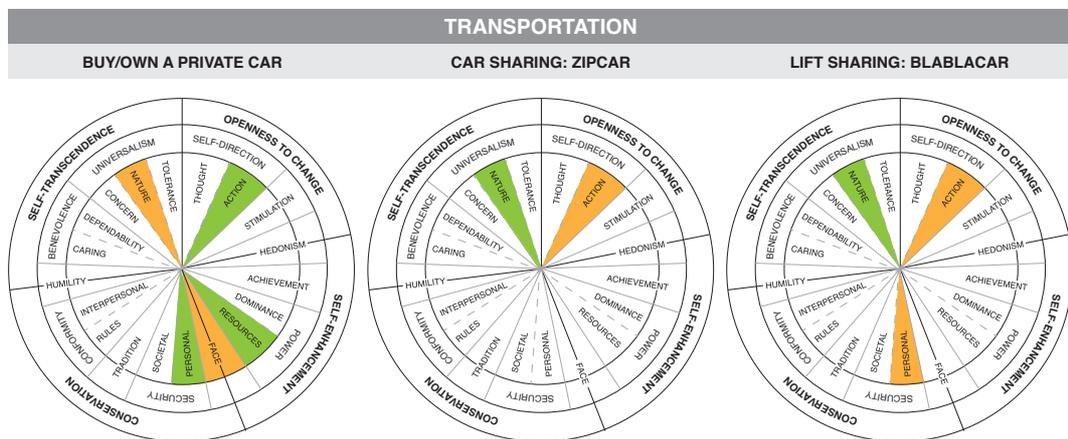


Figure 6.6 Transportation alternatives and associated values.
 Note: Positive associations in green; negative associations in orange.

- ‘Autonomy of action’

‘Autonomy of action’ was discussed in relation to ideas (i.e. meanings) about freedom, flexibility, convenience, practicality and notions of ‘acceptable availability’. Accordingly, this value was associated positively with private ownership and negatively with other options, in which access to a car may be limited.

- ‘Material resources’

‘Material resources’ was associated positively with private car ownership in relation to considerations about availability, control, security, personal comfort and material attachment.

Brian: “I think it is also a lot about ‘Material resources’: people like to own things, you want to own your car, you want to know it is there.”

- *'Face'*

'Face' was negatively linked to having a car, which interviewees believed to be generally regarded as a status symbol, a sign of personal affluence and success.

Brian: "Owning a car is a lot about your public image, I think. Most people want to own cars because it's about social status. It's not just owning a car, obviously, it's owning the right car."

- *'Personal security'*

'Personal security' was associated positively with car ownership and negatively with lift sharing (but of no relevance for car sharing). Owning a car was considered to provide higher levels of availability and control over situations, resulting in a sense of "*feeling safe*". On the contrary, sharing with strangers appeared to be conventionally perceived as a potentially unsafe practice.

- *'Protecting nature'*

'Protecting nature' was discussed in terms of resource efficiency and waste. As such, it was associated negatively with having a car and positively with car and lift sharing. Personal concerns over nature supported views of private ownership as "*selfish*" and detrimental for the environment.

Amy: "Now that I live in a big city with really good public transportation a car seems a little bit unnecessary because even if I had one I would almost never drive it. ... So, it just seems like a complete waste, which I guess a bit of 'Protecting nature' comes back into it. I just can't justify it. From the resource use standpoint, it just wouldn't make sense."

Car and lift sharing were considered more efficient options, both economically and ecologically.

- *About 'sharing'*

None of the Schwartz's 19 values seemed suitable to be directly associated with lift sharing in relation to the ideas of friendship, collaboration, connecting with people, trust and sense of community.

6.4.2 Holiday accommodation

In the holiday scenario, interviewees were encouraged to imagine planning a short vacation. The options under evaluation were: (i) to buy and own a private vacation

home (i.e. private ownership); (ii) to book online a hotel/hostel through Hostelworld.com (i.e. B2C option); (iii) to look for a house or spare room offered by someone on Airbnb.com (i.e. P2P option).

Buy/own a private vacation home

Holiday accommodation was largely believed to depend “*on your circumstances and time of life, where you’re going, what you want, and what your budget is*”. None of the interviewees expressed the desire to own a private vacation home. The reasons were mainly financial (e.g. cost) and practical (e.g. the burden of responsibility and maintenance required; being tied in to one place) (i.e. *value*-related), or of moral nature (e.g. concerns over housing shortage) (*values*-related). However, buying a holiday home was considered acceptable as a form of investment since the property could be rented out and grow in value over time. Other benefits fall within the realms of comfort and convenience. In particular, Connie talked about the sense of control, security and relaxation coming from having a degree of familiarity with the place:

“People can find very relaxing just going back to somewhere they’re very familiar with, they know where the shops are, they know where the local attractions are, even down to they know what’s in the kitchen. So, there are some benefits of familiarity, there are some benefits of owning it. ... And sometimes people just need to have somewhere they can go and recharge, and it’s just nice for it to be their own space. It comes back to comfort: it’s all your stuff around you.”

A few interviewees who actually considered buying a holiday house eventually opted for a timeshare-type of solution.⁶¹ The arrangement was believed to be more efficient, providing flexibility, allowing them to visit different places and enabling them to stay in quality accommodation that could not otherwise be afforded.

Hotel/Hostel: Hostelworld.com

Booking a hotel/hostel online was a familiar option to all interviewees, who often use the Internet to compare available offers, read online reviews and choose the best deal. Overall, hotels and hostels were considered an easy, flexible and convenient arrangement, in particular when travelling alone or as a couple, and for short stays (e.g. business travels). Conversely, they might be less suitable when travelling with family and young children.

⁶¹ Timeshare is an ownership model whereby many customers own allotments of usage in the same property.

Generally, interviewees found it difficult to associate specific values with booking a hotel/hostel online.

Thomas: "I don't think it's really values. It's just more about convenience, because I don't think any of these [19 values] really fit into it so much."

P2P travel accommodation: Airbnb

Several interviewees who never heard of or tried Airbnb showed interest in the proposition and a desire to further look it up. Connie proved to be the only who had used it. Most interviewees believed that Airbnb could provide budget accommodation, cheaper than more formal accommodation solutions. The stated benefits of booking a room through the platform included interacting with other people, having a more authentic travel experience (i.e. staying with locals), and saving money. Opting for Airbnb was regarded as dependent on personal circumstances and situations. First, it was considered an adequate solution when travelling alone, in a couple, or with friends. However, it was noted that a large group of friends may be difficult to accommodate through Airbnb (where single or double rooms are generally available) and couples may prefer more private arrangements. Second, the possibility of staying at someone else's place appeared to be conditioned by factors such as age and gender. Some interviewees perceived it as most suitable for young people, and less advisable for women. Third, Airbnb was discussed in relation to the type and length of the stay: it was deemed suited to short visits and less appropriate for longer periods of time.

When asked if they would host someone in their house through Airbnb, most interviewees appeared reluctant or unwilling to do so and provided an array of reasons which may prevent them from listing their spare rooms on the platform. These included: a) trust issues; b) space constraints; c) cleaning and upkeep; and d) personal/family circumstances.

a) Trust issues

Some interviewees expressed a concern with opening their houses to complete strangers. Using a platform such as Airbnb was believed to provide a lower degree of "control over who is coming", compared to having just family and friends staying.

Martha: "In our own home? No, I wouldn't trust people enough. I'd be concerned about it. I don't like the feeling that they might rifle through our belongings or be nosy."

b) Space constraints

Hosting guests was generally considered a viable option when living alone. A lack of unused/underused rooms in the house was sometimes mentioned as hindering the participation, otherwise welcomed, in P2P accommodation services such as Airbnb.

c) Cleaning and upkeep

Many interviewees considered undesirable the burden of frequent cleaning and upkeep required when hosting someone. Additionally, having strangers staying seemed to bring up some worries around the possible negligence and damages they may cause to the property.

Emma: "I've a friend who rents out a place that she owns. ... There's a lot of cleaning involved, a lot of changing of sheets. People stay one night, one night: it's a lot of changing sheets. People break things, people stain things: there's just a lot of upkeep involved in that."

d) Personal and family circumstances

Personal circumstances (e.g. age) or having a family (particularly if with young children) appeared to prevent some of the interviewees from getting involved in P2P accommodation.

Holiday accommodation: Values and Meanings

Owning a vacation home was most directly associated with the values of 'Societal concern' [i.e. universalism-concern], 'Material resources' [i.e. power-resources], 'Protecting nature' [i.e. universalism-nature] and 'Stimulation'. Booking a hotel/hostel⁶² online was most directly associated with 'Autonomy of action' [i.e. self-direction-action]. P2P accommodation through Airbnb was most directly associated with 'Personal security' [i.e. security-personal], 'Interpersonal conformity' [i.e. conformity-interpersonal], 'Dependability' [i.e. benevolence-dependability] and 'Protecting nature' [i.e. universalism-nature] (Figure 6.7).

⁶² Some interviewees expressed the need to further differentiate between the two (i.e. hotels and hostels), as they were believed to present distinctive characteristics and support contrasting (social) experiences and values.

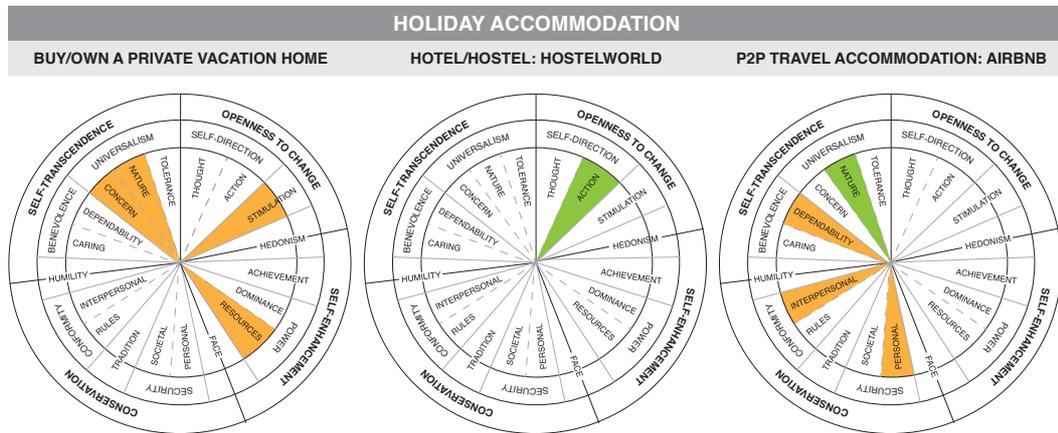


Figure 6.7 Holiday accommodation alternatives and associated values.
 Note: Positive associations in green; negative associations in orange.

- ‘Autonomy of action’

Booking online a hotel/hostel was associated with ‘Autonomy of action’ due to the range of available choice and the flexibility the arrangement provides.

- ‘Stimulation’

Most interviewees related holidays with “adventure”, “trying something new”, experiencing and finding out about other cultures and places. As such, they considered ‘Stimulation’ an important element in a vacation conflicting with the sense of obligation and “feeling tied in” that arises from owning a holiday home.

- ‘Material resources’

As a symbol of material wealth, status and success (i.e. “the ability to keep up with the Joneses”), owning a vacation home was negatively associated with ‘Material resources’ (and, consequently, with ‘Achievement’ and ‘Face’).

Brian: “People always love telling you when they own holiday houses in foreign countries, or in this Country.”

- ‘Personal security’

‘Personal security’ was negatively associated with Airbnb by most interviewees, “because you want to feel safe where you’re staying.” However, the platform was perceived as reliable and quite safe by some interviewees.

Connie: “Within the brand there’s, I think, a lot of trust because you have reviews of people and you have reviews of the accommodation.”

That helps us to build trust, you can understand something about where you're going and who you are meeting and things like that, and that's great."

- *'Interpersonal conformity'*

A set of social conventions, expectations and norms were believed to apply to P2P travel accommodation, when "you are in somebody else's home" (e.g. feeling compelled to talk with the host). Due to the possible sense of obligation to comply with implicit social rules, Airbnb was associated negatively with 'Interpersonal conformity'.

Emma: "It might be that I would feel that I have to spend more time with the family that owned the house, whereas in fact I just wanted the room and the breakfast and to go out each day."

- *'Dependability'*

The potential unreliability of a P2P service such as Airbnb led to it being negatively associated with 'Dependability'.

James: "There is not necessarily any validation or particular standards that apply. So, [Airbnb] can be a bit hit and miss in terms of what you get."

- *'Societal concern'*

Based on personal concerns for inequality and social justice issues (e.g. a housing shortage), ownership of a holiday home was considered "unfair", "greedy" and "selfish" by most interviewees and negatively associated with 'Social concern'.

Brian: "I have this belief: the more you own, the less other people can have. The world is a finite place. Economics tells you that the world has quite scarce resources: your having denies somebody else something. It's just against everything I can believe in. There are people who need houses and you have got holiday houses: it's not a good mixture, really. It's inequality at its absolute worst."

- *'Protecting nature'*

Left unused for most of the time, holiday homes were judged "wasteful", "inefficient" and environmentally unsustainable. As such, they were believed to go against 'Protecting nature', which was, by contrast, positively associated with Airbnb.

Brian: "I would never own a holiday home. It is just so inefficient. It is just ridiculous. Environmentalism says you can't own two houses [sneers], basically. You just can't tie up that amount of resources to one person or one family, and then let these [houses] empty for most of the year. That's just wrong."

Renting the property out, offering it to relatives and friends, or having a timeshare were all considered possible solutions to the low frequency of use. On the contrary, Airbnb was considered a more efficient use of idle resources (i.e. spare bedroom in the house).

- *About 'sharing'*

Connie provided a far-ranging description of an additional set of values and ideas related to Airbnb. Largely, these are ascribable to its social element.

Connie: "Values with Airbnb.. I'd say 'Tolerance', understanding, even 'Tradition', because you're staying with the family, you learn a lot more about what life is like in a place than you'd if you are staying in a hotel most of the time. And that's about sharing, as well. It's also about helping people. ... The reason we have guests here with Airbnb is because we have a spare bedroom, we like it to be used, and we find interesting meeting people who want to share."

Sharing with strangers was linked to: a) meeting people; b) a different (social) experience of the destination; and c) helping others.

a) Meeting people

"Meeting people from very different backgrounds, with very different political views" and the resulting *"cultural exchange"* enabled by Airbnb was considered a positive aspect, contributing to personal growth. Furthermore, increasing social interactions were believed to result in higher levels of societal strength, mostly associated with 'Societal security' and 'Societal concern' values.

Holly: "Sometimes it's nice to meet new people that you might otherwise not have met."

b) A different (social) experience of the destination

Staying in someone else's house was defined as *"something different"*, *"more interesting"*, *"quite exciting"* or even *"special"*. As such, Airbnb was associated with 'Stimulation'. By and large, the added value of P2P accommodation appeared to lie in the social encounters facilitated.

Emma: "In terms of values, [Airbnb] is nice because it's more personal, so you are getting to see how people live, and their own house and I assume that when you are talking to them they would give you tips about the area, they might have literature that you can look at. So, that seems friendly."

The social dimension of Airbnb was related with the image of a more personal and warmer stay, and P2P travel accommodation was generally deemed a more authentic way of experiencing the destination. However, the possibility to book a whole property on Airbnb was firmly criticised by Brian. In his view, renting from a live-out landlord reduces the appeal and innovative character of the proposition.

c) Helping each other

Hosting people was considered to provide access to affordable, good quality accommodation. In particular, Airbnb was considered a win-win solution for the host and the guest, ultimately having a range of positive (social, economic and environmental) effects on local communities.

Connie: "Actually, you're helping people. So, there's something really positive there about just building each other up, and helping each other out. So, the person staying can stay somewhere that's cheaper, they can get a very positive experience, and the person who is renting their room out can get more income and [it] helps to make ends meet. So, there's something very community-minded about Airbnb, I think."

6.4.3 Clothing

In the area of clothing, interviewees were invited to consider the alternatives of: (i) buying a new item of clothing in a shop (i.e. private ownership); (ii) looking online and hiring a designer brand garment for few days through *Girlmeetsdress.com* (i.e. B2C option); (iii) swapping an item of clothing they own for another one with somebody at a swapping party or through an online platform (i.e. P2P option).⁶³

Buy a new item of clothing in a shop

Clothing was considered a matter of size and fit by most interviewees. As such, buying in a physical space (e.g. a retail shop, or second hand in a charity shop) was considered the preferred and "*most convenient*" option. The impossibility to "*try on*" was recognised as the main downside of online shopping, which was otherwise seen as having a number of advantages (e.g. availability of items not in store; possibility

⁶³ Male interviewees tended to be more concise in their answers for the clothing scenario. Although the choice of *Girlsmeetsdress* does not appear to have raised particular issues (i.e. most male interviewees referred to hiring a suit), in some cases they reported their wives' experiences in relation to swapping or buying second hands clothing.

to find cheaper, used designer clothes). Most interviewees expressed concern over the wastefulness of clothing, either in terms of money or natural resources.

Brian: "People are so worried if they don't keep up. People spend an awful lot of time trying to keep up with fashion and it's damaging, they can't afford it, and it is not good for the planet."

Accordingly, they generally appeared not interested in fashion and the pattern was one of reduced shopping for new clothes. Furthermore, interviewees seemed to prefer more sustainable ways to buy, use and get rid of their clothing, as stated by Amy:

"I like to think I would buy an item of clothing only if I knew I was gonna get value out of it in terms of wearing it enough time to justify not just the price, but what actually went into the production of that actual clothing. ... I try to make sure that I buy sort of organic and fair-trade clothing as much as I can. ... And hopefully I'm gonna wear [it] a lot of time so to make it worthwhile and then I'll dispose of it responsibly, as well. I'll wear it till it's worn out, then I'll recycle it. If I'll grow out of it or something, then I will take it along to a clothing swap."

Common priorities mentioned included: a) ethical buying; buying in b) second-hand and charity shops; valuing c) quality and durability; d) extending product lifetime; and optimising the e) frequency of use.

a) Ethical buying

Some interviewees talked about shopping for ethical clothing as an alternative to the prevailing low-cost, fast fashion. What they included under the term 'ethical' ranged from buying fair trade clothing, to clothes made from organic or recycled materials, and picking up second-hand items. Ethical purchasing was generally described as a matter of individual moral choice, personal integrity and consistency among values and actions, as suggested by Holly:

"When I'm making clothing choices I am usually looking for something with some ethical features to it. ... I get more pleasure from things. It kind of gives me a bit of a kick on those days where I think: "Oh! Everything I'm wearing has something about it, either it is second hand, or it's recycled, or it's organic, or something". I don't think I feel particularly guilty about things, but it just is part of me, part of who I am, that I make those choices, and I am miserable if I can't make them."

b) Second-hand and charity shops

Passing on, exchanging or sharing unwanted clothes with family and friends was seen as a responsible way of getting hold (and getting rid) of clothes, limiting the

need for new purchases. Additionally, many interviewees indicated that they use more established second-hand markets such as eBay and/or charity shops.

c) Quality and durability

Some interviewees affirmed that they prefer buying better quality clothing rather than second-hand. Higher quality was expected to result in increased product longevity by James:

“Both my wife and I, we pretty much buy stuff and wear it out, as opposed to changing it for the sake of fashion or whatever. So, we would rather buy for a purpose or for the quality and duration, and then see it through, as opposed to swapping it in and out. ... Because we buy with the intention of using it, we prefer to go for kind of new, virgin materials. I wouldn’t necessarily go to a charity shop or those kind of places, not as the first call.”

d) Extending product lifetime

According to some interviewees, premium quality, longer lasting products make it also possible to further extend the lifetime of the clothing item by swapping or donating it at a later stage of its lifecycle.

e) Frequency of use

Finally, frequency of use was recognised as a key factor in optimising product lifespans and making efficient use of clothing.

Online clothing rental: Girlmeetsdress.com

Most interviewees were not aware of the existence of online fashion rental services. However, they largely believed that hiring clothes makes sense only for special occasions, as Martha explained:

“I didn’t know you could hire a designer dress on the Internet. If I had a really, really, really special occasion, like I’m talking once every ten years type of thing, and I was size-wise able to use it, I might explore that option.”

This stance was generally based on (*value-related*) considerations about frequency of use and resource efficiency. The available choice range and the cost per hire were also mentioned. Both factors were deemed crucial for the success or failure of such a business proposition in the market, as illustrated by Isabel’s account:

“I was in this situation recently and I looked at the rental ones but they were way too expensive. I thought that was a good idea but I couldn’t find anything suitable and it was too expensive I thought. ... I think it’s an interesting idea to hire things online, I wish it was cheaper. And, in

fact, I've found it was cheaper to buy designer clothes second-hand than to hire something."

Although the stated mission of Girl Meets Dress is to "democratise luxury"⁶⁴ providing high-end designer dresses and accessories for rent at an affordable price, interviewees appeared largely disengaged with the fashion element at the core of this service. Furthermore, hiring online rather than from a physical shop presents the additional disadvantage of not being able to try the attire on. Despite the platform applies a 'try on two, hire one' policy, consumers seemed still to be discouraged from using the website due to the perceived extra cost in terms of money and time necessary to return items, the lack of practicality, or the overall low degree of flexibility attributed to the online option.

Clothing swap

Some interviewees mentioned informal swapping activities taking place among friends or relatives. Between swapping websites and swapping parties, the latter was considered a preferable alternative for the possibility to see the item and try it on, which avoids the process of posting things back if the size is wrong. However, swapping was described as "unpractical" by Isabel and "more time consuming" by Emma, given the need to simultaneously meet taste, fitting and size requirements within a limited selection of clothes.

Isabel: "I like the idea of clothing swapping, it seems kind of trendy. I just can't imagine that it works very well, truthfully, because you've to have a lot of people who have the same taste or similar taste and the same size. So, I think that's a bit unpractical. Nice idea, but unpractical."

This also leads to a high degree of unpredictability and uncertainty about the outcomes of the swap, compared to buying in a shop, as highlighted by Connie:

"If you go to a swapping party, or something like that, you have no idea whether you are going to find anything there that you want, that would fit you, that would suit you, that you like. So, it's a lot less controlled, I suppose, than going into a shop or looking online at things."

The possible variation in results is demonstrated by the two opposite accounts reported by Holly and Amy (Box 6.5).

⁶⁴ <http://www.theguardian.com/media-network/media-network-blog/2014/jun/11/girl-meets-dress-anna-bance>

Holly: "The swap that I did came just before I was about to go on holiday to Italy. Normally, we holiday in the UK, and it was going to be hot [there] and I don't have those sorts of clothes. So, the fact that there were dresses there, that I would not have felt comfortable spending money on in a shop.. I just know that I would not have gone looking for them, I would not have bought them even in a sale, but the fact that they were there at the swap, and I could get [them], you know, I've got several dresses that way, and that was good."

Amy: "I went to a clothes swap in a pub near me. I was a little bit disappointed by it, unfortunately, because most of the clothes there were not anywhere near as nice as the clothes that I gave away. They gave me all these tokens for the clothes that I brought because I did have some.. not really high end designer supplies, [but] high street stuff. And, most of the clothes there were synthetic and not very nice, to be honest, and most of them weren't on my size. ... I ended up with one thing that to be honest I haven't worn yet, so maybe that would go straight back to the clothing swap next time [sneers]."

Box 6.5 Holly and Amy's swapping experiences.

While Holly described her swap as a positive and timely episode, Amy stressed instead the disappointment caused by her unsuccessful experience. Amy's discontent originated from unmet expectations about quality and available choice, which she attributed to differences in personal values and perceptions of value:

"I was hoping that, I guess, there will be more people with similar values to me and that they would value high quality clothes as well and not just value the sort of swapping and sharing side of it, because it's all tied in together for me."

When other interviewees were asked if they would swap an item of clothing they have for another one, most of them affirmed that they keep clothes until they are worn out, making them unsuitable for swapping. Also, in most cases interviewees seemed to prefer giving no longer wanted clothing away by gifting it to relatives and friends, selling it online, or donating it to charity. Finally, the dismissal of swapping as a viable option appeared related to the willingness of getting rid of something but not necessarily wanting anything back in return.

Clothing: Values and Meanings

Buying new in a shop was most directly associated with the values of 'Hedonism', 'Face', 'Achievement', 'Stimulation' and 'Protecting nature' [i.e. universalism-nature]. Online clothing rental was most directly associated with 'Protecting nature' [i.e. universalism-nature], 'Hedonism' and 'Stimulation'. Clothing swap was most directly

associated with ‘Protecting nature’ [i.e. universalism-nature], ‘Stimulation’, ‘Autonomy of action’ [i.e. self-direction-action] and ‘Hedonism’ (Figure 6.8).

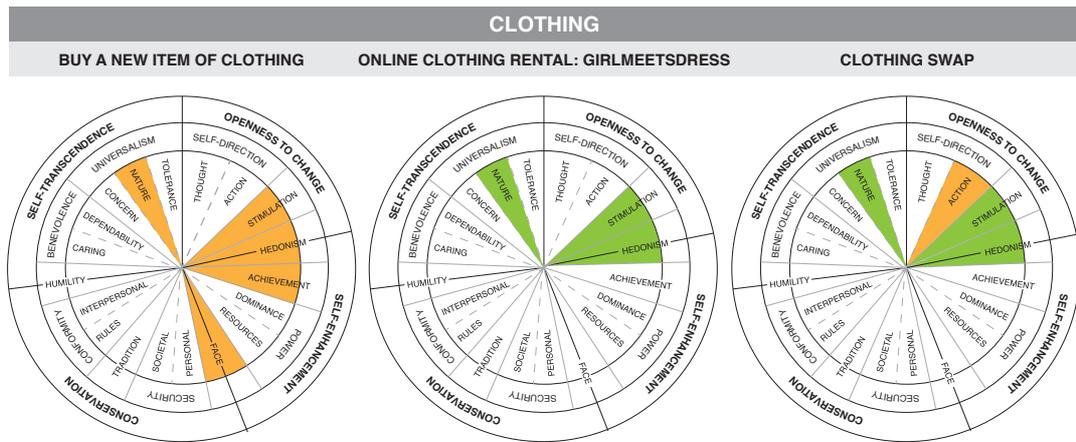


Figure 6.8 Clothing alternatives and associated values.

Note: Positive associations in green; negative associations in orange.

- ‘Autonomy of action’

Due to the limited range of available choice, clothing swap was negatively associated with ‘Autonomy of action’. However, some interviewees suggested how this value may also be positively associated with swapping, when involvement is seen as an expression of endorsed values.

- ‘Stimulation’ and ‘Hedonism’

Clothing was strongly related to ideas of self-gratification and the sense of excitement deriving from “having something new”, as suggested by Amy:

“Even though I put ‘Hedonism’ down here [i.e. in the values priority exercise], you sometimes do get a slight thrill when you buy something new. It’s quite fun, I must admit. When I buy something new I often wear it straight away because it’s nice to have a new thing, and maybe ‘Stimulation’ comes into that as well.”

However, ‘Hedonism’ and ‘Stimulation’ were associated negatively with buying new clothes, which was largely depicted as a materialistic and self-indulgent act.

Brian: “I think people shop and buy just for the thrill of it. I don’t think people need [new clothing] a lot of the time.”

This negative association seemed to be motivated by an underlying perception of fashion as (environmentally and socially)

unsustainable. Conversely, online hiring was positively associated with 'Stimulation' and 'Hedonism' since a comparable sense of personal contentment and satisfaction is achieved from accessing something desired, not affordable otherwise.

Emma: "I suppose you might be able with this [Girlmeetsdress.com] to afford something that gives you great 'pleasure and sensuous gratification': some wonderful slinky dress that you couldn't afford to buy. So, you can indulge your 'Hedonism' at an affordable rate [sneers]."

Moreover, in the case of online rental 'Hedonism' is decoupled from the sense of guilt originating from wearing something once and then leaving it unused for most of the time, as suggested by Amy:

"I like the idea of the dress hire because the 'Hedonism' and 'Stimulation' come into it without the guilt, I think, because you're going to send it back and somebody else can wear that after you. So, it's not gonna be something that's gonna be worn once and then put in the back of your wardrobe."

Similarly, 'Stimulation' and 'Hedonism' were positively associated with clothing swap, where a sense of satisfaction originates from finding something liked, and getting it for free, as illustrated by Amy's comment:

"If you go to a clothing swap and you find something amazing, then that's going to be just as gratifying as if it was brand new and you bought in a shop. Perhaps even more so, because you haven't paid anything for it."

Furthermore, Amy also identified an element of pride and a "smug feeling" that could come into play in having something valued and desired by other people:

"I went to this clothing swap and one of the things I took along barely got hung up before someone snatched it and took it home. And actually that was something that my flatmate gave me, I had it for a few months and I didn't wear it. So, it wasn't even mine [sneers], but I was glad that I haven't wasted that thing."

Laura: In that case, it's more about wasting resources (i.e. 'Protecting nature')?

Amy: Yes, it's about wasting resources, but also there was an element, when I went, of having something that people want, I think, if I'm being completely honest: being quite proud that people wanted my clothes."

- 'Achievement' and 'Face'

Clothing was related to the way in which people express themselves and are judged by others. Some interviewees felt that people strive to appear or show how successful in life they are by wearing certain items and/or brands.

Connie: "People like to be in the right shops, they like to be seen with those bags that say whatever the brand is on the side of the bag. There's something there about 'keeping up with the Joneses' as well."

Accordingly, buying new clothes was negatively associated with 'Achievement' and 'Face'.

Brian: "Does anybody really think that something they put on is going to impact their success in life? There is 'Achievement' in there as well."

- *'Protecting nature'*

Buying new clothing was negatively associated with 'Protecting nature', which was positively linked to hiring and swapping options.

Brian: "You cannot continue to buy things at the rate we are buying things. It just can't happen. ... Buying clothes it's awful. Fashion is awful. Someone told us that we need to change the way we look every year and it's a disaster!"

Environmental benefits of hiring came down to resource efficiency (i.e. affordable access to higher quality products). Enabling reuse of clothing, swapping was believed to prevent/reduce unnecessary waste, and increase or extend the lifetime of clothes. However, interviewees remained largely sceptical about the real contribution and likelihood of large-scale diffusion of these alternatives. Considerations of convenience and practicality explain their lack of success.

Isabel: "Renting online sounds like a good idea, sounds like it would be ecological and sensible, but I didn't find it very practical. ... I would say that the socially responsible thing to do would be clothing swapping, but I just think it's a bit silly and trendy and I think it will pass."

- *About 'sharing'*

Swapping clothes was believed to be directly associated with values "about sharing", due to its fundamental social dimension. This aspect (which additionally brings in ideas of "fun" and "enjoyment", i.e. 'Stimulation') was likely to be prioritised and dominate over other values (e.g. 'Protecting nature').

Connie: "Values related with the clothing swap.. that's more likely, I think, to be about sharing, a social thing with your friends, about not having to spend money in a shop but being able to be a bit more frugal but still have new things."

6.4.4 Consumer goods

The scenario proposed for consumer goods was the purchase of a new piece of furniture at IKEA and the need to assemble it.⁶⁵ Interviewees were asked to evaluate several options: (i) buying or owning a set of DIY tools and assembling it by themselves (i.e. private ownership); (ii) opting for the IKEA assembly service (i.e. B2C option); (iii) advertising the task on TaskRabbit.com and paying someone from their neighbourhood to do it (i.e. P2P option).

Buy/own a set of DIY tools for furniture assembly

The majority of interviewees affirmed that they have some DIY tools at home and generally assemble things by themselves. The likelihood of carrying out DIY work was considered dependent on personal situations and circumstances. Factors such as age, physical strength, having the required skills, and the difficulty of the task contribute to determine whether the activity will be performed personally or delegated to somebody else.

Emma: "I would try, I think. I would think first about putting it together myself and if I decided I wasn't skilled enough, I would have a local man."

A certain degree of expertise is required for putting flat pack furniture together. However, Thomas suggested that having the necessary set of skills and competences is becoming less and less common:

"My parents bought my son a garage and that was actually flat packed. To me that is not a problem, but I can see how many people buying that toy would be, like, "What am I going to do with it?""

When talking about DIY, Connie stressed that in most cases there is no real need to buy new tools as they may already be owned, they might come with the furniture, or they could be borrowed:

"Flat pack furniture normally don't need tools because it largely comes with what you need. You might need a screwdriver or something, so it's that sort of standard set of tools and fair enough you use them time and again. I am very conscious of how many tools we have ... [and]

⁶⁵ The choice of using a specific brand (i.e. IKEA) in this scenario was related to its ready association with flat pack furniture and DIY, while the company also offers the possibility to opt for an assembly service.

most of the time they are not being used, which is very inefficient. Also, it's not always practical having to buy, or having to have a lot of different tools because if you live in a small place, ... where're you going to store all these blooming tools? It's a problem enough in this house, the cellar is full of them!"

Professional furniture assembly service: IKEA

Professional assembly service is usually available in combination with the sale and delivery of furniture. Opting for the service was considered by most interviewees to be first and foremost a matter of personal circumstances (e.g. age) and having (or not) the right tools and needed skills, as indicated by Brian:

"When it comes to furniture, I would never pay for somebody to do it. However, if you genuinely don't know how to put the pieces of your flat pack together and someone is going to deliver it and they offer you, I don't have a problem with that. I think that's quite an efficient way of doing it."

More than being values-driven, using the professional service comes down to efficiency, ease, convenience and practicality. Accordingly, the solution has no appeal when the service is perceived to be expensive.

Connie: "Ease. With something like this, I assume that when you buy the furniture from Ikea you can tick the box or ask the store to have somebody to come around and do it. So, you can organise it all in once; it's very simple; if you are busy you can fit it in. I don't think there would be any values around that. It's got to be predominantly convenience."

Crowdsourcing⁶⁶ odd jobs: TaskRabbit

Most interviewees had never heard of TaskRabbit, but expressed a positive judgement about the idea (despite some concerns around safety and reliability). Compared to a professional assembly service, the platform was considered a more social and amateurish solution, ideally suited for products already owned.

Having some spare time and useful skills, the possible motivations for becoming a 'Tasker' were summarised in: a) helping others; b) making extra money; c) task enjoyment; d) internal reward; or any combination of them.

⁶⁶ Crowdsourcing is defined by Estellés-Arolas and González-Ladrón-de-Guevara (2012: 197) as: "a type of participative online activity in which an individual, an institution, a non-profit organization, or company proposes to a group of individuals of varying knowledge, heterogeneity, and number, via a flexible open call, the voluntary undertaking of a task. The undertaking of the task, of variable complexity and modularity, and in which the crowd should participate bringing their work, money, knowledge and/or experience, always entails mutual benefit. The user will receive the satisfaction of a given type of need, be it economic, social recognition, self-esteem, or the development of individual skills, while the crowdsourcer will obtain and utilize to their advantage what the user has brought to the venture, whose form will depend on the type of activity undertaken."

a) Helping others

Offering to do odd jobs for someone was primarily explained with an eagerness for helping each other, being a good neighbour, and ideas of kindness towards people, collaboration, stronger local communities and empowerment.

Amy: "If somebody needs help with something, and especially if they're my neighbours, I think it's a nice thing to do."

b) Making extra money

Making extra cash was considered another reason for offering services through the platform.

Martha: "If I needed a bit of extra cash, that would be a good way of making use of my time."

c) Task enjoyment

Enjoying or having a particular passion for doing something was regarded as an incentive for offering to perform a task.

Thomas: "Actually, [assembling flat pack furniture] is something I thought about doing when I didn't have a job because it's quite an easy thing for someone who has got the ability and tools. And it's actually quite a good fun."

d) Internal reward

When asked why she would offer her skills through a platform such as TaskRabbit, Amy suggested that an element of pride (if not "showing off", in Connie's words) could also play a part.

Amy: "That's a good question. To help people, first and foremost, I guess. But there'd be another element.. maybe the pride I will take in doing a job well, you know, I'd probably enjoy it. ... I feel slightly smug about being able to share something I'm good at and help someone, and do the job for them and do it well."

Consumer goods: Values and Meanings

DIY was most directly associated with the values of 'Material resources' [i.e. power-resources], 'Autonomy of action' [i.e. self-direction-action], 'Stimulation', 'Autonomy of thought' [i.e. self-direction-thought] and 'Achievement'. The furniture assembly service was most directly associated with 'Dependability' [i.e. benevolence-dependability]. TaskRabbit was most directly associated with 'Personal security' [i.e. security-personal], 'Caring' [i.e. benevolence-caring], 'Dependability' [i.e. benevolence-dependability] and 'Societal security' [i.e. security-societal] (Figure 6.9).

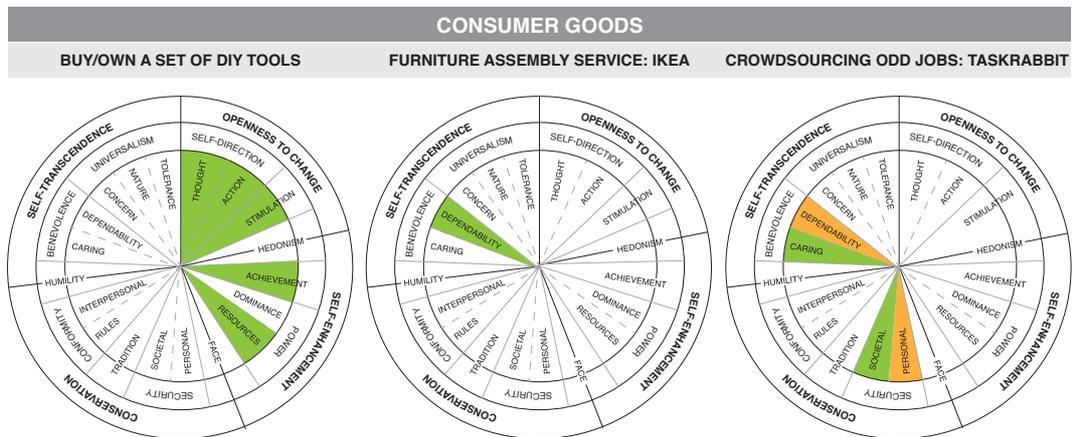


Figure 6.9 Consumer goods alternatives and associated values.
 Note: Positive associations in green; negative associations in orange.

- ‘Autonomy of thought’, ‘Autonomy of action’ and ‘Material resources’

Ideas of self-reliance, self-sufficiency, independence and flexibility were mentioned in relation to DIY. Owning the tools and being able to carry out odd jobs independently was positively connected with ‘Autonomy of thought’, ‘Autonomy of action’ and ‘Material resources’ (seen here as ownership of a material possession, enabling action and providing a degree of control over the situation).

Amy: “All I wanted for my twenty-first birthday was a cordless drill [sneers]. ... There’s a big tradition of twenty-first birthday parties in New Zealand, that being when you really become an adult. And I just thought: “Well, if I’m gonna be an adult, it’s a sign of my independence if I have my own tools and I can fix things on my own”. Maybe ‘Material resources’ comes in: ‘having the power to control events through [your material possessions]’. I think maybe ‘Autonomy of action’ comes into that, because I don’t have to rely on anybody else to help me doing something, I can just do it myself.”

- ‘Stimulation’

‘Stimulation’ was positively associated with DIY. In particular, most interviewees described it as an enjoyable, exciting and fun activity.

James: “You might get ‘Stimulation’ through giving it a go yourself, ... because you like fiddling around with screws and drills.”

- ‘Achievement’

‘Achievement’ was positively associated with DIY. Acquiring skills and knowing how to do something was believed to provide a sense of pride, personal satisfaction and accomplishment.

Connie: "Values around doing it yourself.. ... You might be learning how to do something new, you might get a buzz out at actually achieving it in itself. ... There might be a bit of a brag factor afterwards, you might be able to have some funny stories at work, you might be able to get some other capital out of doing it yourself as well."

- *'Personal security'*

Many interviewees considered outsourcing household errands and letting strangers coming in their house to be potentially dangerous. As such, they envisaged significant trust issues in a P2P crowdsourcing service such as TaskRabbit and negatively associated 'Personal security' with it.

Martha: "I would be slight worried about the 'Personal security' side of it, more than the having an electrician or someone like that coming around. Which is daft, really. But, you know, it's just worrying about whether they would actually subsequently break into your house, or they take something while they were there or whatever."

- *'Societal security'*

TaskRabbit was positively associated with 'Societal security' (or, alternatively, 'Societal concern'). Being a P2P marketplace for outsourcing neighbourhood errands and chores, it was deemed to have some potential to create job opportunities for unemployed persons, stay-at-home mothers, students and retired individuals.

Amy: "In terms of values, maybe 'Societal security' and 'Societal concern' are the closest ones here. Just the idea that it's quite democratising, really, something like that. Anybody can sign up for [TaskRabbit], you don't have to go to a job interview and get the job, you can just go on [the website] yourself and put up your skill and what you can help with and what you charge for that and it's there and available for people."

- *'Dependability'*

'Dependability'⁶⁷ was positively associated with professional assembly services, considered more reliable than the P2P option, TaskRabbit.

Brian: "The thing about getting the company who made the furniture to do it, it's all very predictable, dependable. If there is a complaint to be made, there is a problem or an issue with the delivery of the service, you have got a company that will deal with it."

⁶⁷ Although the definition of 'Dependability' originally reads 'being a reliable and trustworthy friend or family member', interviewees referred it to a more general concept of reliability.

A few interviewees expressed some doubt about the actual capability of the person advertising through TaskRabbit to perform the job.

Thomas: "This person might let me down, might damage it, might not actually be that good at it, and therefore they would just damage the new item of furniture."

- 'Caring'

'Caring' was positively associated with TaskRabbit, which was believed to enable beneficial interactions between neighbours.

Emma: "[TaskRabbit] is a very nice option. I really like this, because it's a 'Caring' thing. And it's good for the society, it's good for your local community, you might make contacts and you might recommend them to other people so you might be helping someone in some way."

- About 'sharing'

TaskRabbit was also related to ideas of collaboration, bringing society together, building trust between strangers and create community. Therefore, sharing skills and meeting people who live nearby was seen as "very positive", as well as "interesting" and "fun".

Connie: "It sounds like quite a bit of fun. It sounds like a way to get to know your neighbours a bit, which is good. ... If you can't do things yourselves, than I'd rather like that. Rather than paying somebody to make up my flat pack furniture, it would be great if I could get a neighbour around and do it together. Again, it's more sociable. I think there's something very positive and fun about that option."

The added value of TaskRabbit was believed to reside in the social experience it enables, which creates opportunities for forming social connections, rediscovering and creating a sense of belonging to the local area, and empowering communities. However, a degree of 'Interpersonal conformity' and 'Tolerance' was considered necessary to deal with other people and possible bad results.

Linda: "There could be something around 'Interpersonal conformity' here also, because if you have your really sweet, eager-to-do-something neighbour that does a crappy job [sneers], what do you do? So, there could be something about 'Tolerance' also. You might not get it perfect! And how do you live with that?"

6.4.5 Discussion

Section 6.4 investigated the relationship between values and collaborative consumption. Interviewees were first asked to comment upon different forms of consumption, including private ownership, B2C and P2P options. Their evaluations

seemed to be based on both *values*-related and *value*-related considerations (i.e. meanings). For example, lift sharing was regarded as an environmentally-friendly (i.e. *values*-related) but unpractical (i.e. *value*-related) solution. In a few cases interviewees found difficult to assess some of the options presented. For example, booking a hotel/hostel online was simply considered “*the way you normally do*”, thus revealing how behaviour can be deeply intertwined with notions of ‘normality’ and ingrained ways of doing go ultimately unquestioned.

Brian: “In terms of booking a hotel as such, I feel ambivalent to the whole thing. I don’t have much to tell you about values on that. I mean, that’s just what you do. I used to phone up a hotel; you used to use the Yellow Pages; now you use the Internet. I don’t have a problem with doing that. ... I suppose it’s traditional, it’s the way you normally do it.”

Interviewees were also asked to explicitly associate relevant values (if any) with each of the options described. The associations appeared to be made in relation to the meanings (i.e. cultural conventions, expectations and socially shared meanings) underlying each option (e.g. ‘Protecting nature’ was associated with ‘clothing swap’ since the latter was seen as a way to reuse and extend the useful life of clothing). Personal endorsement of a certain set of values seemed likely to affect what meanings were considered in relation to each option (e.g. interviewees regarded online clothing rental as an opportunity to help the environment rather than a way to keep up with fashion). As such, values can also bring people to reject meanings that are recognised as mainstream and largely socially shared. For example, interviewees criticised the common understanding of clothing as a way to show personal success and its use as a criterion to judge others. It follows that meanings underlying collaborative consumption practices are not necessarily socially shared: whereas interviewees primarily viewed clothing as environmentally unsustainable, mainstream understandings may differ.

The associations between values and different forms of consumption proved to be positive or negative, depending on the meanings took into consideration for each option. For example, clothing was generally related to ideas of wastefulness and inefficiency. Accordingly, buying new clothes was negatively associated with ‘Protecting nature’, which was positively associated with hiring and swapping solutions. Overall, interviewees found it easier to associate values with private ownership options than B2C ones (the latter being most often related to ‘value’ than ‘values’). P2P options generally had both positive and negative associations. Positive associations tended to reflect an appreciation of these solutions as being good for society and the environment (i.e. benevolence-caring, societal-security,

universalism-nature), as well as being personally stimulating and pleasurable (i.e. stimulation, hedonism). In contrast, they raise concerns (i.e. negative associations) about personal security (i.e. security-personal), their reliability (i.e. benevolence-dependability) and the possibility to restrict personal freedom (i.e. self-direction-action, conformity-interpersonal). Finally, self-transcendence values were more directly associated with B2C and P2P options, whilst self-enhancement values were only associated with private ownership options.

6.5 Part D: Ecomodo

The final part of the interview focussed on Ecomodo in order to get insights on why interviewees decided to join this online platform for P2P lending and borrowing and how they judge it (i.e. research objective 6) (Section 3.3).

Most interviewees found difficult to remember when and how they first heard about Ecomodo. Some of them came across the website out of personal research interests (Brian, Linda, Thomas) or through work (Amy, James), where they cover a role in the area of corporate social responsibility or are involved in community engagement with sustainability. Others found out about Ecomodo through promotional activity in local events (e.g. green fairs) (Isabel, Martha), or using similar online platforms such as Freecycle⁶⁸ (Emma, Holly, Isabel).

The stated motivations for joining Ecomodo included finding it a good idea, curiosity (e.g. see what was available, how the marketplace worked), willingness to try and recommend it to others, meeting people, and living sustainably. Overall, interviewees regarded lending and borrowing as a practical, sensible and convenient thing to do, which could prevent them from spending money and space gathering things that are seldom needed, as explained by Linda:

"I thought it was an interesting concept, this idea of sharing as opposed to buying. The first thing that came to my mind is practicality: I don't have enough space to have everything that I would need and, especially if I need it once, why would I buy it? The second thing was that it's interesting because it would give me the opportunity to become much more active in my community and get to know my neighbours, which I honestly don't."

Therefore, a sharing service like Ecomodo was believed to "make a lot of sense", both in terms of the use of resources (*value*-related) and the positive impact

⁶⁸ Freecycle is "a grassroots and entirely nonprofit movement of people who are giving (and getting) stuff for free in their own towns. It's all about reuse and keeping good stuff out of landfills." Retrieved from: <https://www.freecycle.org>

on local communities (*values-related*). None of the interviewees considered the possible drawback of lending possessions and having them broken, lost or not returned on time a barrier for joining the platform.

Unmet expectations

When interviewees were asked whether Ecomodo met their initial expectations, some of them expressed their discontentment with realising (after signing up) that most of the transactions were charged for, as suggested by Isabel (*“There was a commercial aspect to it that I discovered gradually that I just thought: a) it didn’t really work; and b) I just thought we could all be doing this for free.”*) and Emma. Also, Martha found that renting some of the items on offer was quite expensive (*“I’ve been a bit surprised of the price that somebody has been asking for something to be used”*).

Both Isabel and Emma compared Ecomodo with Freecycle, admitting to prefer the latter because of the more community-based model and *“grassroots sense”* of it.

Emma: “I have been using Freecycle, certainly when I’ve moved house in 2002. ... I had a garage filled with stuff ... so, I put it on Freecycle and loads of people came and they took also the stuff that I didn’t think was worth offering to people ... and it was great! It was really really nice. I must have joined Ecomodo on the same basis, but then when I saw a lot of things were to rent, I wasn’t quite as keen.”

Part of the reason for preferring Freecycle over Ecomodo is also attributable to the perceived convenience of giving away (or getting hold of no longer wanted things) compared to lending and borrowing, which involve receiving and returning items back.

The Ecomodo experience

When asked how they would like the experience of lending and borrowing through Ecomodo to be, interviewees wished the platform was easier to use and more functional. Amy, for example, did not manage to lend out her drill and this put her off from trying a second time:

“I signed up for the site but I didn’t really get along with all that well, unfortunately. I found it a bit confusing [sneers]. ... Somebody did try to borrow my drill and it just didn’t work for some reason, so I gave up on it. ... I found the site a bit confusing, like it said “send contract”⁶⁹ and I

⁶⁹ “When a ‘Borrower’ has requested your item, you need to agree to the request before they can book it. You do this by sending the contract. Once the contract is sent your ticket will be marked 'contract sent'. The Borrower will then need to book the item to continue with the transaction”. Retrieved from: http://ecomodo.com/pages/info_FAQdetail.aspx?faq=requests

didn't really know what that meant. So, I didn't really get very far with that unfortunately."

Most interviewees found Ecomodo of no practical value due to the unavailability of goods or their unfavourable location, as suggested by Emma's account (*"When I did look, they didn't have what I wanted"*). This situation was referred by some interviewees as *"frustrating"* and *"disappointing"*, and caused them to progressively abandon the platform.

Brian: "I think something like Ecomodo needs a kind of network effect. It's like being the only person that has a phone, you know, it's not much use. It's a brilliant invention, but it's pointless because no one else has a phone: you've got no one to call. And that is what my experience of Ecomodo has been in the main, which is that at the point of usage it doesn't deliver. And, you know, there is always so many times that you will try that before you stop using it."

*Circles of trust*⁷⁰

A few of the interviewees actively tried to establish Ecomodo in their networks (i.e. workplace, local groups) with discouraging results.

James: "I was a bit disappointed really and underwhelmed by the level of interest [among my colleagues at work]. We had just a handful, less than a dozen [signups] I think, and we had 4,000 people potentially on our site. We communicated via email and had some physical stalls as well to promote what we were doing, but very few people have actually followed up just to register, and never mind then to add their own things and then go the last step and actually borrow or hire something. So, I was very disappointed and surprised given the much higher use of things like Freecycle. I expected this to be not as popular, but I'm surprised more people haven't taken up. ... But I've also set it up in my [Transition] community group, with even less response [sneers]. ... I was surprised, again, how few of those people actually bothered to register."

Connie: "I've tried to set it up within my WI [Women's Institute] as well, because of the 'lending circles' idea. I talked to my WI about it, and two or three of them did actually try to join and for one reason or another none of them managed to join."

This failure in uptake, even among like-minded people (possibly sharing a similar set of values), demonstrates how difficult it is for online platforms for P2P lending and borrowing to become mainstream.

⁷⁰ See also Section 4.1.

Market readiness

Although Ecomodo was designed in such a way as to motivate participation from diverse audiences⁷¹ (i.e. people wanting to save and make money, give to charity or offer for free) (Section 4.1), most interviewees imagined fellow users to be individuals concerned about the environment and community-minded, as suggested by Martha:

“For want of a better word, green-minded people. People that probably in some ways have similar values to us, that want to be part of a community that lends and borrows to others.”

Brian asserted that the name ‘Ecomodo’ could have influenced the type of users willing to join the platform. In particular, the choice of the prefix ‘eco’ in the name may have supported the targeting of a specific type of users, but resulted in a lack of interest from a larger audience:

“I would like to think anybody: anybody should be using it. The people that are probably using it are people that are environmentally concerned, possibly people who’re worried about over consumerism or things like social inequality and justice. I would like to think it was people who just would like a bargain or think it makes better sense to borrow than it does to buy, but the name sets itself up. I mean, “Ecomodo” doesn’t hide from the fact that it’s obviously an environmental solution. I’m not sure that wouldn’t bias the people who are going to use the service in the end.”

More generally, Brian summarised the challenges for Ecomodo in a lack of awareness and going against conventional (materialistic) mind-sets and ingrained habits difficult to disrupt:

“Why are not people signing up to do it? I think that the biggest reason why people don’t want to do it is because we are a society that owns things, we are materialist at heart. Whereas I don’t worry about lending my ladder because I might get a dent in it, there are plenty of people that don’t want to lend a ladder because they are scared that they might get a dent in it. People are very materialistic. ... The other side of it is the demand: there is not enough knowledge about these kind of services either. If you went and asked on the street how many people knew that you could use a service that allowed people to share their things with other people, I would have imagined a vast majority of them didn’t know that it existed and never heard of it.”

Interviewees, most of whom described themselves as being non-materialistic, tended to explain the limited uptake of Ecomodo as a lack of readiness towards embracing these alternative models of consumption in the larger society, as

⁷¹ The mix of possible motivations (and modalities) for lending and borrowing may also have made it difficult for users to identify how to most effectively interact with the platform.

suggested by both Holly (*"I don't think people have got their head around that yet."*) and Connie (*"The world isn't ready for it, yet. It needs to be, and I wish it was."*).

Ecomodo: Discussion

This section revealed a series of factors that affected Ecomodo and determined its failure to establish. First and foremost, the platform was unable to meet the expectations of its users. In particular, there were not enough goods available for borrowing. Building on the idle capacity of infrequently used assets, which are pooled and made accessible through the online platform by their owners, the effectiveness of a P2P marketplace such as Ecomodo relies on its readiness to connect something being offered with somebody wanting to have access to it. For this reason, a critical mass of items listed online and an active (local) community of potential users are essential to increase the chances of a positive match between supply and demand within a convenient proximity to make the exchange happen. Failure to achieve momentum and reach scale is liable to prevent the success of the platform.

Interviewees also experienced some difficulties while using the platform (e.g. Amy did not manage to accept a borrowing request for her drill). Others were disappointed by the little interest of neighbours, friends and work colleagues they invited to join Ecomodo. The lack of uptake was generally explained with the low market readiness for alternative ways of consuming or their appeal to a very specific type of consumer (e.g. holding a particular set of values).

6.6 Summary

Chapter 6 presented results from 10 semi-structured interviews with Ecomodo users. *Part A* (Section 6.2) provided an empirical validation of Schwartz et al.'s (2012) conceptualisation of values. The 19 basic individual values were used to explore Ecomodo users' understandings and accounts of their personal values. Commenting upon each value, interviewees expressed a range of views and interpretations. In a few cases the definitions provided on the cards were considered only partially accurate, including contrasting, or at least competing, aspects (i.e. 'Achievement', 'Face' and 'Interpersonal conformity'). In terms of value priorities, results from previous quantitative data analysis were largely confirmed: interviewees attributed higher importance to self-transcendence' and openness to change values over conservation and self-enhancement values (Section 6.2.1). The

examination also showed how changes in value priorities relevant for the embracement of more sustainable lifestyles were experienced by some of the interviewees. In most cases these were related to life course transitions (e.g. getting married, moving house, becoming a parent) and the occurrence of particular ‘transformative moments’ (Hards, 2012) in life (Section 6.2.2).

Part B (Section 6.3) explored collaborative consumption practices. The analysis unveiled the specific meanings (i.e. cultural conventions, expectations and socially shared meanings) underlying lending and borrowing (Section 6.3.1), bartering and swapping (Section 6.3.2), sharing and trading (Section 6.3.3), renting/hiring and gifting (Section 6.3.4). Interviewees tended to express more positive evaluations of the practices they associated with free transactions (e.g. sharing, swapping, gifting, lending and borrowing) and neutral or negative evaluations of the practices identified with transactions of a typically commercial nature (e.g. trading, renting/hiring, bartering). The meanings associated with each practice appeared to be *value*-related (e.g. practicality, efficiency, convenience) and *values*-related (e.g. collaboration, generosity, helpfulness). *Values*-related meanings generally outnumbered *value*-related meanings in the practices associated with free transactions, while *value*-related meanings were predominant in the case of practices associated with commercial transactions (Section 6.3.5).

Part C (Section 6.4) investigated the relationship between values and collaborative consumption. The analysis revealed the values that Ecomodo users associated with different methods of travelling (Section 6.4.1), finding holiday accommodation (Section 6.4.2), getting new clothes (Section 6.4.3), and doing odd jobs (Section 6.4.4). The analysis showed that the connection is not always straightforward. In some cases interviewees found it difficult to link values to the alternatives presented, in particular in relation to B2C options (PSSs), which appeared to be mostly *value*-related (*cf.* *values*-related). For P2P options, the 19 values proved inadequate to describe ideas related with the social element at the base of many collaborative consumption models. Furthermore, different (if not contrasting) values appeared to jointly contribute to the overall definition of a single practice, which often embraces a complex and multifaceted range of meanings. It follows that the relation between values and meanings is not definite and univocal, and alone is not sufficient to explain engagement in a practice. Perceptions of ‘value’ – what is considered to be convenient, practical and efficient – further come into play (Section 6.4.5).

Finally, *Part D* (Section 6.5) examined interviewees' motivations for joining Ecomodo and their evaluation of the platform. Overall, Ecomodo was considered a good idea (e.g. improving community cohesion; increasing or extending the usable life of products; reducing waste being created; achieving costs savings through sharing of existing items), but needing to grow. It appeared evident from users' accounts that the platform lacked the sufficient numbers to operate. In particular, Ecomodo suffered from a lack of product and geographic concentration, and it was weakened by the mix of possible motivations and ways to operate in the marketplace. Its limited uptake on the market (and subsequent closure) can be partly ascribed to its appeal to a very specific user profile (i.e. people who are community-minded and concerned about the environment) and a disinterest from the wider population.

Chapter 7

Discussion: The role of values in the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption

This chapter provides an overall interpretation of the results presented in Chapter 5 and 6 with reference to the research questions set at the beginning of the study (Section 3.3) and relevant literature (Figure 7.1). By drawing from and across the quantitative and qualitative strands of research, the discussion first unfolds the relationship between values and the meaning element of practice, and how this can influence the *acceptance* of collaborative consumption (Section 7.1). To do so, the chapter begins by considering ‘individual’ values (Section 7.1.1); it then addresses ‘cultural’ meanings (Section 7.1.2) and, finally, their connection (Section 7.1.3).

The existence of a mutual relationship between the individual and the meaning element of practice, mediated by values and perceptions of value, is used to demonstrate the validity of the conceptual framework underpinning the study (Section 3.3). The latter, named the ‘Individual-Practice Framework’, is thus put forward as a configuration able to better account for the dynamic interdependence between individuals and the practices they carry out (Section 7.2). Building on this idea, it is argued that, in order to become established, a practice needs to be supported by a combination of meanings, competences and materials that are successfully linked together and reproduced by individuals. Failure to form a stable linkage is liable to prevent the *adoption* of that practice and result in a departure from it, which seems to have been the case for all interviewees in relation to Ecomodo (Section 7.2.1). By contrast, the repeated reproduction of a practice (facilitated by a positive experience of it) leads to its routinisation and, ultimately,

normalisation, which is a prerequisite for its wider *diffusion* (Section 7.2.2). The chapter concludes with a summary of key findings (Section 7.3).



Figure 7.1 Interpretation phase in the design process.

7.1 Values and meanings

The connection between values and meanings has been central in the qualitative strand of research, where a great deal of attention has been devoted to exploring how values could influence and be influenced by the ‘meaning’ element of collaborative consumption practices. In this section, the dynamics of this relationship are unravelled (i.e. research objective 7) (Section 3.3). The ‘individual’ nature of values and their main characteristics are first described in order to present a well-rounded understanding of the value construct grounded in quantitative and qualitative research findings.

The discussion then moves from the individual to the social by looking at ‘cultural’ meanings. Departing from Shove et al.’s (2012) theorisation, it is argued that meanings go through processes of individual appropriation and renegotiation. It is shown how the relationship between individuals and meanings is mediated by personal values and perception of value. Alignment or misalignment between values, value and meanings is believed to have different implications for the *acceptance* of collaborative consumption.

7.1.1 ‘Individual’ values

This section provides an account of how values can be seen as cultural constructs internalised by individuals as to become perceived as personal and ‘individual’ values by their holder. It also discusses how values have a moral and normative dimension, which makes sociological framings of values particularly well suited to complement their social psychological conceptualisation. The contextual salience of values – the fact that they are often considered in relation to specific contexts and situations – is then explained and linked with the idea that different values are ‘activated’ by different contexts and situations. As such, this research adopts a

similar position to Hargreaves (2008) in viewing the context as something that is central to the kind of behavioural choices that arise and to the ways in which individuals make decisions on the basis of it. Finally, how value priorities can change over the lifetime and what changes them is described.

Individual and cultural values

People talk about and perceive their values as personal, while also having an idea of whether or not their particular appreciation of a given value matches the dominant understanding of that value in the society. For example, discussing ‘Achievement’ and the attainment of success in life, highlighted the possible discrepancy between personal notions of success and the widely established social standards of success (Section 6.2.1). It follows that values are cultural and socially shared constructions⁷², which are (more or less consciously) internalised by individuals. However, some form of individual renegotiation may occur along the way.

Understanding cultural values as internalised by the individual (and individual choices as serving to reproduce aspects of social structures) accounts for “individual innovation while allowing elements of agency to enter into the process of social reproduction” (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004: 384). As a result, values can be seen as created from the bottom up (from the individual) as well as the top down (dictated by culture), as suggested by Evans (2007).

Positive and negative values

Interviewees often described values as either positive or negative. This draws attention to the fact that values, besides being motivational constructs as theorised by Schwartz, have also an inherent moral and normative dimension. Namely, they are related to ideal standards and what is considered to be the ‘normal’ or ‘correct’ way of doing something. As such, they are accepted or rejected, sought after or averted. Acknowledging the moral and normative character of ‘individual’ values supports the argument of a substantial complementarity between social psychological and sociological understandings of values, the latter typically seeing values as conceptions of the desirable and beliefs about how things should be (see Evans, 2007).

Furthermore, the moral judgment of values expressed by interviewees explains why people tended to favour behaviours that are consistent with their

⁷² This view is also consistent with Schwartz and others’ (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz et al. 2001, 2012) idea that the structure of values is universal (i.e. the theory of basic individual values applies across a wide range of cultures), but their relative importance varies across different cultures.

endorsed values and, conversely, they (often regretfully) noticed when their actual behaviour is at odds with values they consider positive and important to pursue. For example, James recognised how, being often late, he fails to be as ‘dependable’ as he would like to be, or Linda suggested that she needs to develop more ‘Tolerance’ in order to align her behaviour with the importance she attributes to that value (Section 6.2.1).

The contextual salience of values

Schwartz conceptualised values as ‘trans-situational goals’ (i.e. abstract goals that transcend specific actions and situations) (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz et al., 2012). However, he also contended that people’s life circumstances can either provide opportunities to pursue or express some values more easily than others, or impose constraints against pursuing or expressing values (Schwartz, 2013). Interviewees often related values to particular contexts and situations (Section 6.2.1). For example, Martha differentiated between the attainment of ‘Autonomy of thought’ at home and at work. In keeping with Seligman and Katz (1996), this suggests that, in assessing a value, people are likely to think of (and associate it with) a given context, situation or issue. Therefore, personal life experiences and circumstances (that are, according to Schwartz, largely determined by people’s gender, age, education, and other individual characteristics) may influence how a value is understood (and possibly trigger the ‘values renegotiation’ process mentioned above).

Moreover, the importance attributed to a value appeared to be in some cases dynamic and dependent on contexts, situations and personal circumstances (e.g. roles and identities) (Section 6.2.1).⁷³ For instance, Martha posited ‘Autonomy of thought’ as more important in the work environment (where she has a managerial role) than at home. This resonates with Daniel et al.’s (2012) and Seligman and Katz’s (1996) argument that individuals might reorder the priority of relevant values depending on the context or specific issue under consideration. Similarly, Howes and Gifford (2009) empirically demonstrated that value importance judgments vary with situation and the pre-existing value endorsement level moderates the extent to which the situation influences the judgement.

⁷³ Although individual value priorities are assumed to be relatively stable over time, Schwartz (2013) also suggests that people typically adapt their values to their life circumstances by upgrading the importance of values that are easily attainable and downgrading the importance of values whose pursuit is difficult or hindered (albeit this is not the case for ‘power’ and ‘security’ values whose importance increases when they are blocked and decreases when they are easily attained).

Values activation

Irrespective of whether value priorities are viewed as largely constant (as in Schwartz's theorisation) or dynamic across life contexts (e.g. Seligman and Katz, 1996; Daniel et al., 2012; Howes and Gifford, 2009), findings from *Part A* and *Part C* of the interview support the idea that the context (specific situation, or issue) plays a key role in evoking and, possibly, 'activating' values. For example, when interviewees were prompted to think about a clothing swap (Section 6.4.3), they identified 'Protecting nature', 'Stimulation', 'Hedonism' and 'Autonomy of action' as values relevant to that situation. When considering car sharing with Zipcar (Section 6.4.1), they talked about 'Protecting nature' and 'Autonomy of action'.

According to Verplanken and Holland (2002), only when values-relevant aspects of a context or situation activate values are the latter liable to affect choices and behaviour.⁷⁴ Thus, prioritising universalism values (including 'Protecting nature') does not necessarily lead to act in pro-environmental ways. In keeping with Schwartz (2012), values are assumed to influence behaviour only when they are relevant to the context (hence likely to be activated) and important to the person. For instance, when discussing 'Protecting nature' (Section 6.2.1), Brian mentioned that he is a member of the Green Party. This suggests that some actions (e.g. green activism) are strongly associated with a certain value (or set of values) (e.g. 'Protecting nature') and may be seen as 'values-based actions'. Participation in a Green Party meeting is likely to make relevant and activate Brian's universalism values.

Changing value priorities

Findings from *Part A* of the interview largely support Hards's (2011a, 2011b) argument that values evolve through 'performance of practice', 'social interaction' and 'contextual experiences' (Section 3.2). Furthermore, it was found that as values change during the life-course, so do values priorities. Some attention has thus been devoted (Section 6.2.2) to life-course transitions and 'transformative moments' (Hards, 2012) (e.g. starting a family, moving house, changing job, experiencing an illness, embracing a new religious faith) that triggered a substantial shift in interviewees' value priorities and resulted in the adoption of more sustainable lifestyles. In particular, increased engagement with sustainability typically occurred in conjunction with a higher importance attributed to self-transcendence (e.g.

⁷⁴ The process of activation may or may not entail conscious thought about a value (Schwartz, 2006).

'Protecting nature', 'Societal concern' and 'Humility') and openness to change values (e.g. 'Autonomy of action', 'Autonomy of thought'). This further validates quantitative results on the values priorities of Ecomodo users (Section 5.2).

Personal life-course transitions and 'transformative moments' (Hards, 2012) proved to be deeply intertwined with (and contributing to) changes in individual practices and values, thus providing further theoretical and empirical evidence to the emerging body of literature that integrates psychosocial features into the study of practices (e.g. Hards 2011a, 2011b; Butler et al. 2014a, 2014b; Groves et al., forthcoming; Greene and Westerhoff, 2014) (Section 2.3.2). This approach, distinct from practice theory, albeit related to it, is believed by Groves et al. (forthcoming) to open up possibilities to link individual biographies with notions of agency and wider socio-cultural patterns of meaning, a possibility explored in the rest of Section 7.1.

7.1.2 'Cultural' meanings

Shove et al.'s (2012) meaning element of practice embraces cultural conventions, expectations and socially shared meanings (see also Spurling et al., 2013) – referred to as 'meanings' hereafter – that are associated with a practice and give significance to it. Meanings circulate within society and are decoded and appropriated by 'carriers of practice'. The decoding and appropriation of meaning is described by Shove et al. (2012: 56) as "an inherently local, inherently uncertain process." Drawing on findings from *Part B* and *Part C* of the interview, this section aims to shed some light on this process by suggesting that meanings are culturally constructed and socially shared, but also individually renegotiated. It also argues that meanings are given a positive or negative connotation according to their association with specific values or perceptions of value.

Renegotiated meanings

Meanings, which are cultural constructions that are shared in a given society and evolve with it, underlie practices and affect all actions and experiences of the carriers of practice (Shove et al., 2012). For instance, there are cultural conventions that make negotiating a price inappropriate in some occasions but not in others; there are expectations involved in returning a borrowed item (e.g. giving it back on time and in a good state); and there are socially shared meanings of what a swapping exchange entails (i.e. you give something to me and I give something to you in return) (Section 6.3).

However, findings from *Part B* and *Part C* of the interview suggest that personal experiences (and value priorities) (Section 6.4.5) could affect perceptions of meanings (e.g. what meanings are associated with a certain practice). For example, lending an item that comes back damaged can result in the subsequent identification of lending as a risky and unpleasant practice rather than, say, a way to help someone. Therefore, individual experiences may provide opportunities for the ‘decoding’ and ‘association’, as well as the ‘re-classification’ of meaning.⁷⁵ As such, it is argued that meanings associated with practices (albeit culturally constructed and socially shared) are continually renegotiated by each individual.

Departing from Shove et al. (2012), this view accounts for possible differences in meanings that people (in the same society) might associate with the same practice, e.g. someone may see borrowing as a way to save money, while someone else as a means to get to know their neighbours and build local community. In particular, this position proposes the existence of (i) meanings that may not coincide with the ones commonly attributed to a certain practice (because of resulting from the unique psychosocial biography of an individual), (ii) meanings only shared by a particular ‘community of practice’ (Lave and Wenger, 1991) or ‘niche’ that could, eventually, become mainstream (e.g. Ecomodo users might associate different meanings to lending and borrowing compared to non-users), and (iii) meanings that are established at a larger societal level.

It follows that the meanings associated with collaborative consumption practices reported in Section 6.3 need to be seen as an account of the collective understandings of the 10 interviewees of this study. As such, they might or might not coincide with the wider socially shared meanings of those practices. Moreover, there were also some differences in the meanings described by each interviewee. This substantiates the idea that meanings are personally renegotiated and, as a result of this process, each person might see certain meanings as more relevant to a practice than others (thus possibly revealing which meanings are rooted in their own experiences).

Positive and negative meanings

Similarly to values, interviewees attributed to meanings a more or less positive connotation. For instance, meanings associated with the practice of ‘gifting’ were

⁷⁵ This idea is consistent with Scott et al.’s (2012: 282) suggestion that the ‘image’ (i.e. ‘meaning’) element of practice “represents the social *and personal* meaning attempted or achieved through practices, including emotion, aspiration, belief, identity and aesthetics” [emphasis added].

generally positive, eliciting images of altruism, generosity, solidarity and kindness. On the contrary, meanings associated with ‘bartering’ typically had a negative connotation, related to ideas of unfairness and impoliteness (Section 6.3.5). While this reveals the possible normative character of meanings (e.g. if people appropriate the common understanding that ‘sharing is caring’, they are likely to regard sharing as a positive thing to do), it also raises the question of how meanings get to have a positive or negative connotation in the first place. A possible explanation is proposed in the next paragraph.

Meanings are values- and value-related

In describing the meanings associated with collaborative consumption practices (Section 6.3), interviewees often identified positive meaning connotations as ‘values-related’. This acknowledges an important existing link between ‘individual’ values and ‘cultural’ meanings. More specifically, when meanings were considered *values-related*, they typically referred to free transactions and embraced high ideals such as community empowerment, social cohesion, collaboration and personal enhancement. Conversely, when practices had a clear financial connotation (e.g. ‘trading’), meanings were mainly ‘value-related’. In this case, they were based on considerations around convenience, efficiency and practicality (Section 6.3.5).

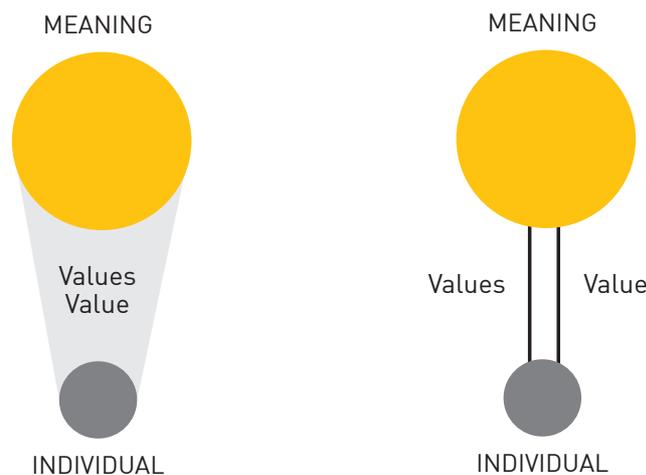


Figure 7.2 Meanings are values- and value-related.

This corroborates results from Havas Worldwide (2014: 22), which suggest that ‘sharing’ (standing for collaborative consumption) “is about value *and* values.” In particular, the interaction between the individual and the meaning element of practice could be seen as mediated by values and perceptions of value (Figure 7.2, left). In Figure 7.2, the two are not located within the individual due to their

fundamentally socio-cultural character. Their middle position reflects, instead, their dual nature (of personal *and* cultural constructs) that situates them as mediators between the individual and the meaning element of practice. What is likely to motivate and support (participation in) collaborative consumption practices is a favourable combination of *values*-related and *value*-related meanings (Figure 7.2, right). However, understanding the specific role enacted by values and perceptions of value in the construction and renegotiation of meanings requires further attention.

7.1.3 Acceptance: Values, value and meanings

In the previous section, values and perceptions of value have been found to have a role in mediating between individuals and the meaning element of practice. This section theorises the existing relationship between values and meanings, and its implications for the *acceptance* of collaborative consumption practices.⁷⁶ It does so by building on results from interviews in which interviewees were asked to associate relevant values (if any) with alternative ways of consuming in the areas of transportation, holiday accommodation, clothing and consumer goods (Section 6.4).

The discussion first considers how associations between values and meanings can be seen as either positive or negative. Second, it describes how values and perceptions of value can be aligned or misaligned to meanings in relation to a person's identity. Finally, the concept of self-identity is used to explain how individuals can be regarded as agents of change, transforming conventions and notions of normality.

Values and meanings: positive and negative associations

In this study, Schwartz's 19 values were ascribed to different modes of travelling, finding accommodation, getting new clothes and doing odd jobs in relation to specific meanings and underlying notions of normality, e.g. 'Autonomy of action' was associated with private ownership of a car in relation to ideas (i.e. meanings) about freedom, flexibility, convenience, practicality and notions of 'acceptable availability' (Section 6.4.1). The relationship between values and meanings proved to be either positive or negative depending on the meanings taken into consideration (Section 6.4.5) (Figure 7.3). In the case of transportation, for example, 'Protecting nature' was related to ideas of efficiency in use. As such, the value was negatively linked with

⁷⁶ Building on Bourdieu, Shove et al. (2012: 65) argued that "the chances of becoming the carrier of any one practice are closely related to the social and symbolic significance of participation" (i.e. the 'meaning' element of practice).

private ownership of cars and positively attributed to car sharing and lift sharing options. ‘Personal security’ was related to acceptable levels of safety, thus positively associated with car ownership and negatively with lift sharing (Piscicelli, 2014).

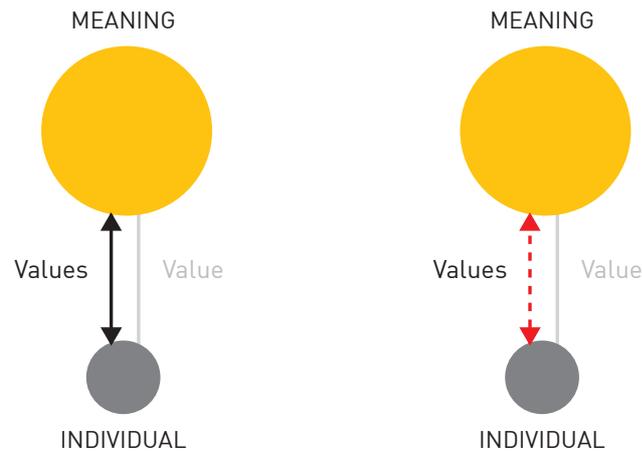


Figure 7.3 Values and meanings: positive (block line in black) and negative (dashed line in red) associations.

However, the association between values and meanings was often not univocal. If related to different meanings, the same value can be associated with a practice positively and negatively at the same time. For example, ‘Dependability’ was negatively associated with TaskRabbit in relation to the possible service unreliability, but positively linked to it when related to the idea of strengthening local communities (Piscicelli et al., 2015a).

Furthermore, individual value priorities may influence the direction of the association (i.e. positive or negative). For instance, clothing was generally related to ideas of self-gratification. However, ‘Hedonism’ and ‘Stimulation’ were associated negatively with buying new clothes and positively with hiring and swapping solutions. This could be explained by interviewees’ view of fashion as unsustainable and the higher importance they attribute to ‘Protecting nature’ compared to ‘Hedonism’ and ‘Stimulation’ (Piscicelli et al., 2015c).

Values, value and meanings: alignment and misalignment

Although all interviewees held high pro-environmental and pro-social values (Section 5.2), they showed some significant differences in their evaluation of distinct collaborative consumption options. For example, Linda would be keen to try TaskRabbit, whereas Brian would rather not use it. Moreover, each interviewee would participate in certain forms of collaborative consumption but not others. Thomas, for instance, regularly lift shares with strangers but would not join a

service such as Airbnb. It follows that endorsement of a particular set of values, alone, is not sufficient to explain why people carry out certain practices but not others: personal (and socially shared) perceptions of ‘value’ (i.e. what is considered to be convenient, practical and efficient) also come into play.

More specifically, if the values individuals aspire to and their perceptions of value are overall aligned with the meanings of a practice, engagement in that practice may be more likely (a). On the other hand, a misalignment between values, value and meanings may hinder such engagement (b). Intermediate situations may also occur: endorsed values may be aligned with meanings, while perceptions of value are not (c), or the reverse may be true (d) (Figure 7.4). A misalignment between values and meanings (b, d) can lead people to resist a practice and either engage in alternative practices (e.g. buying second hand clothes rather than new), or find ways to deal with the perceived inconsistency (e.g. buying new, but organic clothes) (Piscicelli et al., 2015a).

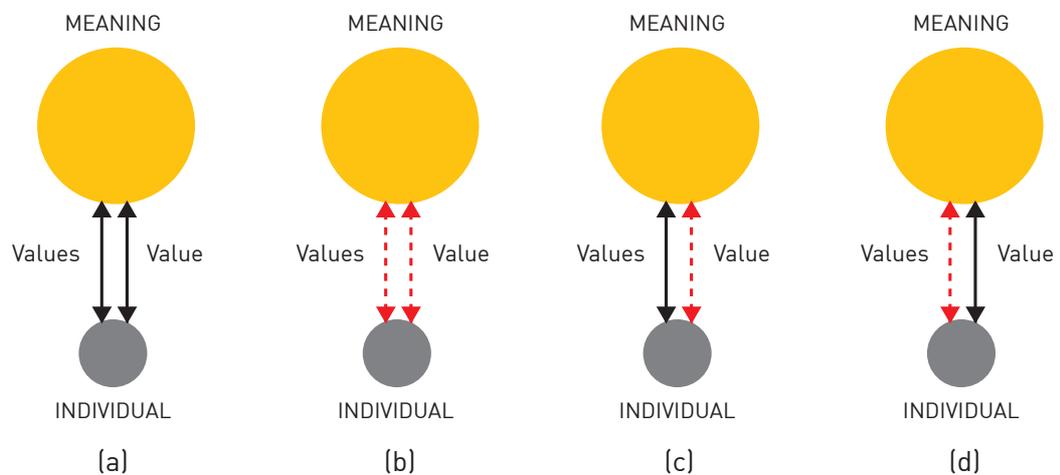


Figure 7.4 Values, value and meaning: alignment and misalignment.

This simplified schematisation of the relationship between values, (perceptions of) value and the meaning element of practice provides an explanation of how, in situations in which both values and value are positively aligned to meanings (i.e. case (a)), *acceptance* of collaborative consumption practices could be more likely. On the contrary, a negative overall alignment (i.e. case (b)) or a misalignment between values and meanings or value and meanings (i.e. case (c) and (d)) may hinder their acceptance.

However, people may appreciate a particular association (between values and meanings and/or value and meanings) dissimilarly, reflecting differences in individuals’ value priorities and/or perceptions of value. As such, while the

normative character of cultural meanings could affect the (direction of the) associations, the individual's connection to the meaning element of practice can also be seen as shaped by the psychosocial biography of the individual.⁷⁷ Furthermore, case (c) and (d) might still result in the acceptance of a given practice if one of the two associations is held particularly important. For example, in driving a car, convenience and practicality motives (*value*-related) may overcome *values*-related considerations (e.g. "*it's bad for the environment*"); similarly, expressing values through buying organic clothes may prevail over perceived inconvenience (e.g. less choice).

Self-identity

Findings from *Part C* of the interview (Section 6.4) suggest that alignments (i.e. positive associations) and misalignments (i.e. negative associations) could be explained in the light of the perceived degree of conflict or consistency of values, value and meanings with desired forms of the *self* (that prompt and subsume different individual value priorities and/or perceptions of value). In particular, interviewees' judgements appeared made on the basis of sought-after conceptions of the self (i.e. 'self-identity'), thus giving some support to the claim that collaborative consumption is about 'consuming better' and "making choices that are more closely aligned with one's personal values and self-perceptions." (Havas Worldwide, 2014: 9).

After all, the idea that consumption of material goods and (personal and collective) identity are intrinsically linked has a long pedigree in the study of consumer behaviour⁷⁸ (see Jackson, 2005; Belk, 1988). Values and behaviour have also been explicitly connected through the concept of self by Verplanken and Holland (2002), who contend that values are important to the self and thus contribute to one's sense of identity, when activated, leading to behaviour congruent with those values. A different perspective on values, practices and the self is offered by Pink (2005), Hards (2011a, 2011b) and Groves et al. (forthcoming), who argue that practices are constitutive of individual identities (and values), and support

⁷⁷ This mutual relationship is visually represented in the scheme by means of the double-ended arrows.

⁷⁸ In the context of social practice theory, Warde (2005: 144) suggested the possibility to look at practices in relation to processes of identity construction and reproduction: "An individual's pattern of consumption is the sum of the moments of consumption which occur in the totality of his or her practices. If the individual is merely the intersection point of many practices, and practices are the bedrock of consumption, then a new perspective on consumer behaviour emerges. New explanations of contemporary identities and the role of consumption in identity formation suggest themselves."

valued forms of identity.⁷⁹ This thesis supports and adds to the latter by suggesting that personal identity – which embraces and manifests itself in endorsed values and perceptions of value – ultimately affects the *acceptance* of those practices that reflect valued (or desired) forms of identity and fit in an overarching (identity-consistent) life project.

Transforming conventions and notions of normality

The idea that people may accept certain practices but not others depending on their conformity to personal standards and conceptions of the self resonates with Pink's (2005) argument that individuals are selective in the practices they engage in as part of their 'wider project of self-identity'. In particular, she argues that "practices constitute identity statements that serve to stretch, resist, challenge or confirm the cultural discourses that support the relationship between 'conventional' practice and moral correctness" (Pink, 2005: 278). In other words, individuals whose everyday practices go 'against the grain' challenge or resist culturally specific values and moralities held as conventional and manifested in (and maintained through) certain practices. It follows that when interviewees exchange their clothes in a swapping party, for instance, they can be seen as actively challenging or resisting conventional ways of buying new clothes.

In keeping with Pink (2005: 289), 'acts of resistance' – originating from the "diverse everyday ways of living identities and selves" – introduce new cultural conventions and moralities. By resisting or breaking existing (and often taken for granted) conventions, individuals have the potential to produce 'shifts in meaning' (of a practice) and participate in processes of change and could be seen as agents involved in transforming conventions and notions of normality. Collaborative consumption practices can be viewed as 'acts of resistance' to (and subversion of) traditional (unsustainable) ways of consuming. They are regarded by interviewees as morally appropriate and justifiable actions, based on specific conceptions of the self and a related set of personal experiences, aspirations and priorities. They have the potential to support a shift in cultural meanings and, thus, engender social change. However, to do so, collaborative consumption needs not only to be accepted, but also *adopted* and embedded in the dynamics of everyday life.

⁷⁹ In line with Bourdieu's (1977) idea that participation in specific activities and avoidance of others simultaneously reproduces systems of distinction and individual identities.

7.2 The Individual-Practice Framework

The previous section has uncovered the existence and inherent dynamics of the relationship between values, perceptions of value and meanings. In doing so, the possibility that values influence, and are influenced by, the meaning element of practice (research question Q2) has been discussed. The explanation provided does not support the hypothesis that values are ‘proxies for meaning’ (Section 3.3), as they appeared instead to be personal criteria through which meanings are appreciated. However, the role of mediation conducted by values corroborates the conceptual framework (Figure 3.3) that underpins this study. In particular, the model elaborated has the merit of capturing how the agency of individuals is linked to practices, a complex issue requiring further exploration (Groves et al., forthcoming) that Shove’s account of social practice theory fails to address adequately. Given the potential value of such a model, referred to hereafter as the ‘Individual-Practice Framework’, this is proposed as a configuration able to better account for the relationship between individuals and the meaning, material and competence elements of practice (Figure 7.5). Besides connecting the three elements together through the performance of a practice (Figure 7.5, left), the individual interacts with, and renegotiates, each element (Figure 7.5, centre). This relationship (operating both ways) is mediated by personal preferences and characteristics (Figure 7.5, right), including individual values (as described in Section 7.1.3).⁸⁰

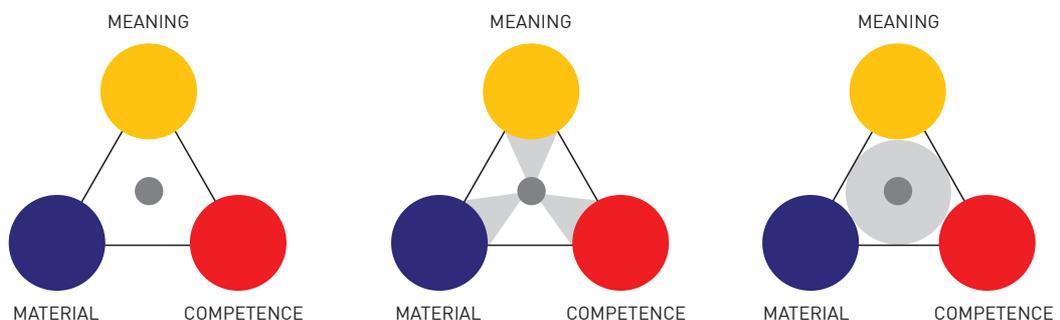


Figure 7.5 The Individual-Practice Framework: individual (dark grey) and interaction (light grey) with elements of practice. Adapted from Piscicelli et al., 2015b. Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

⁸⁰ While values and perceptions of value have been identified as the two main features mediating the relationship between the individual and the meaning element of practice, further empirical research is needed to determine what might specifically mediate the relationship with the material and competence elements.

In the context of this research, the framework was used to explore the relationship between the individual and the meaning element of practice, resulting in an account of how individuals' values may either facilitate or hinder the *acceptance* of collaborative consumption. However, little has been revealed about its *adoption* and *diffusion* (Figure 7.6). Indeed, it would be insufficient, as well as misleading, to investigate any practice by solely looking at underlying meanings. As the framework makes evident, competences and materials play a complementary – and just as important – part. Therefore, the Individual-Practice Framework is employed below to explain the dynamics of adoption (i.e. the sustained integration of meaning, competence and material elements of which a practice is made of) and diffusion of a practice with reference to the (unsuccessful) case of lending and borrowing through Ecomodo.



Figure 7.6 The dynamics of acceptance of collaborative consumption practices.

7.2.1 Adoption: (Un)supported practices

According to Shove et al. (2012) a practice involves the active integration of meaning, competence and material elements. If a specific configuration of these elements is to remain effective, the connection between them has to be renewed time and again. By contrast, when their linkage is no longer 'sustained', the practice disintegrates. For example, borrowing through Ecomodo can be regarded as a practice as long as enough people manage to find what they need on the website (i.e. material), are able to request and get hold of the item they want (i.e. competence), and consider it to be a convenient and more rewarding way to operate (i.e. meaning). While this indicates that *adoption* (as repeated reproduction of a practice) by a sufficient number of users (or carriers, in keeping with Shove's terminology) is

necessary for a practice to thrive, it also implies that a failure to effectively link the elements (i.e. meaning, competence and material) together is likely to result in a departure from that practice.

This supports the idea that even when *acceptance* of a practice is not an issue *per se*, there may be many reasons why its meaning, competence and material elements (that already exist and are in place) are not repeatedly linked together. Findings from *Part D* of the interview (Section 6.5) suggest that some of those may be attributed to (i) ‘mismatched meanings’, others to (ii) a ‘lack of required competences’, and others again to (iii) ‘ineffective materials’ (Figure 7.7). Each of these possibilities is now briefly discussed in relation to the failure in adoption of the practice of lending and borrowing through Ecomodo.

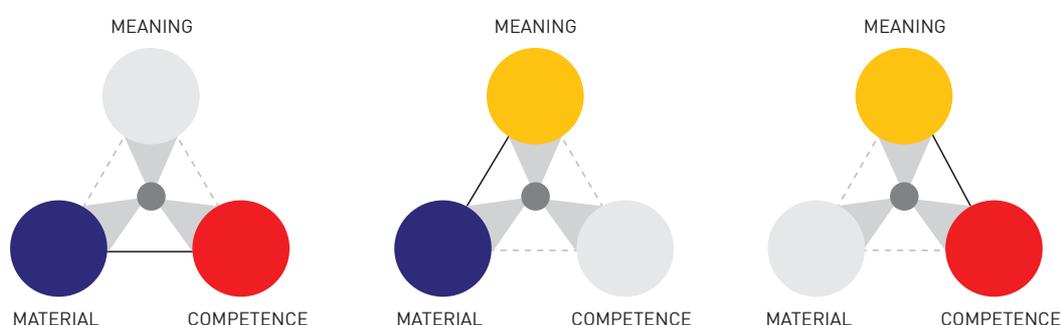


Figure 7.7 Unsupported practice: ‘mismatched meanings’ (on the left), ‘lack of required competences’ (in the centre) and ‘ineffective materials’ (on the right).

(Mismatched) meanings

A practice can be associated with different, and possibly competing, meanings. For instance, some people may have seen lending through Ecomodo as a means to get to know their neighbours and help someone, others as an easy way to make money. This situation brought Ecomodo to believe a three-pronged solution (i.e. free of charge, for a fee, or donating to charity) would have the potential for the widest reach to drive motivation within diverse communities. However, these diverse forms of participation gave rise to a number of problems. Users joining the platform on the basis of *values*-related considerations and meanings (i.e. case (c) in Figure 7.4) found their initial expectations at odds with the actual system dynamics (i.e. largely based on monetary transactions). Conceivably, most of the other Ecomodo registered users were participating out of *value*-based motivations (i.e. case (d) in

Figure 7.4), thus creating a situation of perceived ‘mismatched meanings’ that discouraged some interviewees from getting more involved with the platform.⁸¹

The ‘values vs value’ mismatch seems also to apply to other forms of collaborative consumption. For instance, Couchsurfing (i.e. a free accommodation online platform) was sometimes mentioned as a preferred option to Airbnb. Interviewees who considered monetary returns as a secondary factor for participating were more likely to question whether the financial character of Airbnb compromised the “*real*” purpose of hosting a stranger at home (and the ideology of generosity and openness) that is likely to (or “*should*”) underpin it.

Similarly, TaskRabbit was criticised to “*formalis[e] an informal behaviour*”, thus jeopardising the idea of helping out a neighbour (as opposed to working for them). When asked if they would offer to do some jobs through the platform, most interviewees appeared reluctant and said they would rather help someone in a more casual way, and for free. Therefore, also in this case there seems to be a mismatch between *values*-related considerations (i.e. helping people appreciated as an act of caring and spontaneous generosity towards others) and the (*value*-related) profit-making aspect underpinning the TaskRabbit business model.^{82 83}

(Lack of required) competences

Participation in collaborative consumption requires a set of skills and specific knowledge (i.e. the competence element of practice). In order to lend an item through Ecomodo, for instance, users needed to have access to a computer and be able to operate it; they had to know how to sign up and create an online profile; they had to be capable of taking pictures and uploading an image of the item they were willing to lend; they had to be able to monitor and manage incoming requests; and so on and so forth.

A lack of required competences could, therefore, prevent users to lend items through Ecomodo. For example, Amy failed to lend her drill due to not knowing the specific procedures for accepting ‘borrowing requests’ by sending out a ‘contract’.

⁸¹ Conversely, this may have triggered a renegotiation of meanings by other interviewees (e.g. leading to a greater appreciation of the *value*-related aspects of Ecomodo). Conceivably, the same situation would not deter participation of people joining the platform under case (a) (Figure 7.4).

⁸² In addition to this, interviewees seemed uncomfortable with the idea of quantifying in monetary terms the value and worthiness of their skills, or making their services available to everyone as opposed to just helping friends and neighbours.

⁸³ A similar mismatch in meanings associated with collaborative consumption (i.e. its idealistic vs materialistic nature) can be argued to be at the base of much criticism recently raised against it (see Section 1.1.3).

After that episode, she lost her interest in the platform and virtually stopped using it (Section 6.5).

(Ineffective) materials

The design of the platform – which can be seen as part of the material element of practice (i.e. objects, tools and infrastructures) – played a crucial (concomitant) role in determining Amy’s departure from the practice. Although the Ecomodo website was generally well-received by the 10 interviewees in terms of its user interface and main features, it failed to deliver an effective match-making service primarily because it never reached a critical mass of listed products and active local users. This lack of “*practicality*” was liable for the progressive abandoning of the platform by all interviewees.

(A negative) experience

As shown through the case of lending and borrowing through Ecomodo, possible issues with any of the three elements (or a combination of them) may prevent the repeated linkage of meanings, competences and materials that define a specific practice, leading to a failure in the *adoption* of the practice. In particular, a negative experience caused by their failure to connect may be responsible for a departure of the individual from the practice. By contrast, the successful linkage of meaning, competence and material elements, which may support a positive experience, is likely to result in the *adoption* of that practice.⁸⁴

It is important to notice how deeply rooted this conclusion is in the conceptual premises of the Individual-Practice Framework in that possible issues are seen to arise from the elements of practice, the individual, and their mutual interaction (see Figure 7.7). As such, the individual and collective experience of a particular practice becomes key to its establishment (or collapse). Moreover, a perspective that simultaneously accounts for the elements of practice and individuals that carry out that practice appears better placed and equipped for explaining patterns of engagement in and departure from practices from the point of view of the individuals involved.⁸⁵ In particular, such a perspective is argued to provide a more appropriate frame for Shove et al.’s (2012) argument that departure

⁸⁴ Shove and Pantzar (2007: 164) draw a similar conclusion by suggesting that “positive experiences give rise to processes of repetition and reproduction through which the new entity [i.e. practice] becomes part of an individual’s life.”

⁸⁵ The fact that Shove et al. (2012) claim processes of departure from a practice to be necessarily dependant on the carriers of practice seems to further support the thesis that it is valuable (and much needed) to account for the individual in practice theory and, more specifically, in Shove’s model.

from a practice can be attributed to a lack of: (i) 'internal rewards', originating from performing a practice well; (ii) 'symbolic or normative anchoring', when a practice is not strongly associated with either good or bad behaviour, with the reproduction of distinctions, or with fulfilling injunctions and obligations; and (iii) 'connection to and dependence on other practices', when a practice is not embedded in a wider set of social and institutional arrangements.

The Individual-Practice Framework makes it possible to consider 'internal rewards' as inherent to the relation between the individual and competences (e.g. being able to master a particular skill), the individual and meanings (e.g. carrying out an activity that is inwardly gratifying due to its ability to express sought-after forms of identity), or the individual and materials (e.g. the pleasure originating from an appreciation of the aesthetic or sensorial qualities of a product). For example, many interviewees associated their willingness to lend possessions through Ecomodo with a "*feel good factor*", which can be easily related to the 'internal rewards' category suggested by Shove et al. (2012). Along the same line of reasoning, the 'symbolic or normative anchoring' could be regarded as originating from the interaction of the individual and the meaning element, since the identification of a practice with 'good or bad behaviour' (or 'with fulfilling injunctions and obligations', etc.) depends on the normative character of cultural meanings, which are subject to collective and individual processes of renegotiation (Section 7.1.2). On the contrary, 'connection to and dependence on other practices' is something not immediately captured by the Individual-Practice Framework as represented in Figure 7.5. The model displays the individual and a practice in the act of its performance. However, it should be noticed that different individuals might carry out the same practice in slightly different ways (Figure 7.8) and that the same individual carries out more than one practice (Figure 7.9), all of which compete and collaborate with each other (Shove et al., 2012), and have to fit in the daily and life paths of the individual.

It follows that practices that are easy to incorporate in existing social and institutional arrangements are more likely to be adopted, whereas practices that are more difficult to integrate in the portfolio of practices that a carrier reproduces are more likely to be dropped or carried out differently (i.e. adapted to the individual's daily and life paths).

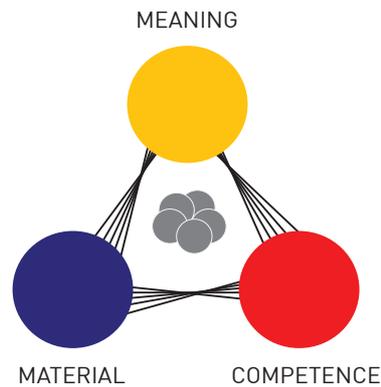


Figure 7.8 Multiple individuals carrying out the same practice.

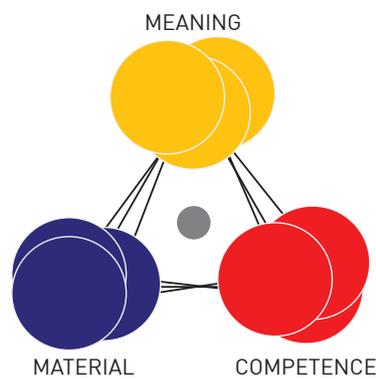


Figure 7.9 Individual carrying out multiple practices.

7.2.2 Diffusion: Routinisation and normalisation

Adoption of a practice (i.e. the sustained integration of meaning, competence and material elements of which a practice is made of) may eventually lead to its *diffusion* in society. However, diffusion of a practice (which is supported by the positive experiences it produces) importantly depends on dynamic processes of routinisation and normalisation. These are now discussed with reference to the failure in wider diffusion of Ecomodo.

Reconfiguring routines

Novel configurations of meaning, competence and material elements of practices have the potential to change people's habits and routines by establishing new (and possibly more sustainable) ways of consuming. However, to do so, they have to become deeply embedded and supersede other, competing, practices. For instance, lending and borrowing through Ecomodo needs first to be accepted and then adopted so many times as to become habitual. Nevertheless, this process of routinisation is hampered by the existence of alternative practices which can be embedded in the individual's life (and in society). In other words, borrowing

through Ecomodo has to compete with buying new in a shop, for instance. While a very positive experience of borrowing through Ecomodo might contribute to its embedment as an individual (and collective) practice, the opposite is also true. For example, the inability to find items to borrow within a workable distance and at a reasonable price on Ecomodo would be liable to favour the establishment of alternative practices (e.g. buying new in a shop, ask directly to friends and neighbours, etc.).

Brian: If I'm typing that I need a drill in Manchester and [Ecomodo] tells me that the closest one is in Liverpool, it's not useful and it doesn't solve my problem. Therefore, I have to go and either do the traditional way of knocking on doors or I have to go and buy a drill.

Lending and borrowing through Ecomodo has clearly failed to become embedded in the daily habits and routine of the 10 interviewees of this study, as well as in the general UK population. This has prevented the scaling-up of the platform and, ultimately, its wider diffusion.

'The' normal thing to do

It is argued here that routinisation of a practice leads to its normalisation. Findings from *Part D* of the interview support the idea that the repeated reproduction of a practice might result in the individual and, eventually, collective perception of that practice being *the* normal thing to do.

James: Ecomodo is just not there in my mind as somewhere to go and look at. It just doesn't come to mind. [...] That's still the primary initial thought: "Oh, I need this! Let's go and buy it", instead of thinking: "Oh, is there someone ... I can borrow from?"

Building on Shove et al. (2012), it is possible to conceive engagement in practices as transformative both of the individuals involved and of the practices they reproduce. In particular, repeated performances are believed by Shove et al. (*op. cit.*) to tie practices and practitioners together as participation in the practice promotes the accumulation of competences, the redistribution of materials and the renegotiation of meanings.⁸⁶ As a result, elements supporting practices are transformed and individuals are shaped by the experience. It follows that a positive experience of lending and borrowing through Ecomodo could support and reinforce the association of favourable images and ideas with the practice, thus paving the way for its normalisation.

⁸⁶ Similarly, Lave and Wenger (1991: 68) suggested that "persons and practices change, reproduce, and transform each other."

Brian: When you actually practice things like sharing ... worries evaporate. Things that you thought were going to be problems, don't turn to be problems and the benefits that you get over are much greater. ... Once you lend something for the first time, ... when you start with just an easy thing, those barriers break down, I think, and then you become much more enthusiastic about the whole thing.

Although the individual and collective normalisation of a practice has been argued to lead to its diffusion, the process is likely to operate both ways. Rates of penetration into the population matter for the normalisation of practices. Widespread diffusion of a practice may change individual and collective perceptions of normality. For example, one of the interviewees suggested that a more widespread use of Airbnb has normalised (“*mainstreamed*”) the idea of having strangers at home and staying in someone else’s home.

This seems to support the thesis that conceptions of normality are culturally and socially shared as well as personally determined (Section 7.1.3), and that cultural conventions, expectations and socially shared meanings (i.e. the ‘meaning’ element of practices) are mediated by and through personal traits, characteristics and preferences (Piscicelli et al., 2015b). Furthermore, the normalisation of one practice may have the potential to make people more receptive to similar practices, since these may share the same (or, at least, compatible) meanings, competences or materials (e.g. borrowing online may have elements in common with online swapping). In that sense, participation in lending and borrowing through Ecomodo may lower the barrier to participation in other forms of collaborative consumption.

7.3 Summary

Findings from the quantitative and qualitative strands of the research have been brought together in this chapter in order to address the research aim to identify the role of consumers’ values in the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption (Section 1.5 and Section 3.3).

Using the Individual-Practice Framework as an overall base for the discussion, *acceptance* has been explained in terms of the existing, mutual, relationship between the individual and the meaning element of practice. In particular, it has been argued that personal values and perceptions of value (i.e. what is considered to be convenient, practical and efficient) mediate this relationship. Importantly, it has been suggested that values and perception of values are neither solely individual constructs nor entirely embedded in the elements of

practices, which provides justification for the middle ground position embraced in this research.

From the focus on values and meaning, the discussion moved to the competence and material elements of practice. *Adoption* of a practice demanded the repeated linkage of the specific meanings, competences and materials of which a practice is made. A failure in connecting these elements together was attributed to mismatched meanings, a lack of required competences or ineffective materials. Each of those issues, or a combination of them, was deemed responsible for a negative individual experience of that practice and subsequent departure from it. Taking the practice of lending and borrowing through Ecomodo as an example, it has been demonstrated how the inability of the platform (falling under the material element) to provide an effective marketplace has fundamentally hampered its adoption, even among people for whom acceptance of the practice was not an obstacle in the first place.

Finally, *diffusion* of a practice has been explained in terms of its routinisation and normalisation at an individual and societal level. More specifically, processes of routinisation of a practice have been found to support the active and dynamic redefinition of notions of normality. The more a practice is considered to be '*the normal way of doing*', the more likely it is to diffuse. However, the opposite is also true. Practices that are widely spread necessarily influence conceptions of normality in such a way that might facilitate their embedment in habits and routines.

This two-way process has implications for the diffusion of collaborative consumption. These alternative patterns of consumption fundamentally challenge engrained habits and ways of thinking and have the untapped potential to bring about (sustainable) change by reconfiguring routines and, with them, conceptions of normality. Conversely, wider diffusion of collaborative consumption would facilitate its scaling up and establishment in society.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: Do I share because I care?

This thesis started off, in Chapter 1, by presenting collaborative consumption as an emerging socio-economic phenomenon with some untapped potential for the establishment of alternative, and possibly more sustainable, ways of consuming (Section 1.1). It argued that the uptake on the market is still quite limited and there are several outstanding barriers for collaborative consumption to overcome in order to gain broad traction (Section 1.3). In particular, inadequate acceptance, adoption and diffusion were deemed responsible for the failure of collaborative consumption to move from early adopters into the mainstream. Moreover, it suggested that little is currently known on how and why people participate in collaborative consumption activities, and how consumers do or can influence the introduction and scaling up processes of collaborative forms of consumption (Section 1.5). Given the challenges and gaps in knowledge identified, this study investigated how consumers' values may contribute to the acceptance, adoption and wider diffusion of collaborative consumption.

In Chapter 2, a literature review of existing theoretical frameworks for pro-environmental behaviour was conducted, especially focusing on social psychological theories and model of consumer behaviour (Section 2.1), social practice theory (Section 2.2), and recent attempts to integrate the two in the context of sustainable consumption (Section 2.3). In line with the latter strand of research, a conceptual framework that combines insights from social psychology and social practice theory was developed in Chapter 3 to guide the study, which was structured around the two following research questions (Section 3.3):

Q1: What are the values of people who join a PSS that enables collaborative consumption and how do they differ from the general UK population?

Q2: How do these values influence, and how are they influenced by, the 'meaning' element of collaborative consumption practices?

In Chapter 4, Ecomodo – a UK-based online marketplace for lending and borrowing privately owned objects, spaces and skills that was struggling to reach critical mass – was chosen as a case study (Section 4.1). Mixed methods research was conducted to examine the values of its users, whether these differ from the ones prioritised by the general UK population (Chapter 5) and how values may facilitate or hinder the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of different collaborative consumption practices by influencing, or being influenced by, their underlying meanings (i.e. cultural conventions, expectations and socially shared meanings associated with a practice) (Chapter 6). In Chapter 7, the relationship between the individual and the meaning element of practice, mediated by values and perceptions of value, was deemed able to explain the acceptance of collaborative forms of consumption (Section 7.1). A failure in their adoption was ascribed, instead, to the material, competence and meaning elements of practice and their unsupported linkage, which appeared to have prevented the normalisation and wider diffusion of the practice of lending and borrowing through Ecomodo (Section 7.2).

This chapter concludes the thesis by evaluating the significance of the study and summarising key results in Section 8.1, while the limitations of the research are discussed in Section 8.2. It also examines, in Section 8.3, the implications of the findings for design and how the Individual-Practice Framework could bring together 'behaviour-oriented' and 'practice-oriented' approaches in sustainable design. Section 8.4 concludes the thesis by suggesting some possible directions for future research.

8.1 Contribution to knowledge

The title of this thesis calls into question whether 'sharing' is actually related to 'caring', as implied by the common saying '*sharing is caring*'. Hence, the research set out to examine whether and to what extent 'sharing' (an umbrella term often used to refer to collaborative consumption activities such as swapping, gifting, renting, lending and borrowing) fundamentally depends on, and it is motivated by, a personal concern with the welfare of others and the environment (i.e. caring) (see also the 'Premise' of this thesis). In particular, the study sought to determine whether the endorsement of pro-environmental and pro-social values could explain

why some people – and not others – currently participate in collaborative consumption (and, if so, how).

In doing so, this thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge in three different ways. First, it analyses empirical data to explain how values mediate the relationship between the individual and the meaning element of practice in the context of collaborative consumption (Section 8.1.1). Second, it makes a theoretical contribution by positioning this relationship in a wider conceptual framework that locates the individual at the centre of the practice he or she carries out, strengthening the growing body of literature that extends approaches from social practice theory by complementing them with insights from social psychology (Section 8.1.2). Third, it uncovers the dynamics of acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption practices by understanding Ecomodo's failure (Section 8.1.3).

The following sub-sections elaborate each of these three points sequentially.

8.1.1 The role of values in collaborative consumption

Botsman and Rogers's (2010) definition of collaborative consumption puts practices of a typically commercial character (e.g. trading, renting, bartering) alongside practices more directly associated with 'pure sharing' based on the principles of collaboration, equality and sustainability (e.g. swapping, gifting, lending and borrowing) (Section 6.3.5). This makes the collaborative consumption 'space' a grey area in which financial and altruistic motives for participation mix, compete and coexist altogether (Section 1.2).

This blurred situation has divided the public, media and academics between enthusiastic advocates and disenchanted critics of these alternative forms of consumption (Section 1.1.3). Findings from this research (Section 6.4.5) have confirmed the dual nature of collaborative consumption, it being concerned with personal values *and* economic value simultaneously. However, the study has also shed light on another fundamental, and often under-evaluated, aspect: the practical value of collaborative consumption. To put it simply, people are unlikely to participate in collaborative forms of consumption if that is perceived to be either impractical, inconvenient or inefficient.

In this research the practical and economic dimensions of collaborative consumption have been combined in an extended notion of 'value', which is argued to act in parallel with 'values' (Section 7.1). To answer the research question Q2, this thesis proposes that the interaction between the individual and the meaning

element of practice is mediated by values and perceptions of value (which are both individually and socially determined) in four different ways: the two components can be either aligned or misaligned with the meaning element of practice or, alternatively, there may be situations in which one is aligned and the other is not (see Figure 7.4). These four combinations have different implications for the likelihood of acceptance of collaborative consumption practices (Section 7.1.3).

To answer the research question Q1, some people are willing to 'share' because they actually 'care' about other people and the planet; they are likely to hold stronger pro-environmental and pro-social values compared to the general population, as shown by findings from the sample of Ecomodo users (Section 5.3). However, it is also argued that people sharing a value orientation similar to the one detected in this study and, thus, potentially inclined to engage in collaborative forms of consumption, might not be already doing so due to the perceived low economic and practical value of current collaborative consumption options. Conversely, people who may not yet be participating in collaborative activities out of a disengagement with social and environmental issues (i.e. holding weaker pro-environmental and pro-social values) might be prepared to do so if it is perceived as having value.

8.1.2 The individual in social practice theory

The second major contribution to knowledge is the elaboration of a conceptual framework – the Individual-Practice Framework – that combines insights from social psychology and social practice theory by putting the individual at the centre of the practice he/she carries out. In doing so, however, the aim is not to centralise individual behaviour as the focal unit of analysis and change. This thesis asserts that individuals are embedded in practices and these practices form the bedrock for agency (e.g. the appropriation and renegotiation of meanings, competences and materials). In recognition of that, it is contended that individuals and practices must be considered simultaneously and more attention needs to be devoted to the role of the individual in the stricter formulations of social practice theory.

This thesis also goes well beyond asserting that individuals' values translate (or fail to translate) directly into behaviour (Section 2.1.5). The study empirically tested and validated Schwartz et al.'s (2012) theorisation of values (Section 6.2), explored what values are relevant in the context of collaborative consumption (Section 6.4) and the interplay between these values and the meaning element of collaborative consumption practices (Section 7.1.3). In doing so, agency was not

attributed to the individual, but seen as residing in his/her interaction with a practice. Similarly, the 'context' was not identified as a barrier to action (i.e. to the translation of values into behaviour), but rather as the space in which practices and change happen. What this thesis considered to be a "barrier" to or an "enabler" of collaborative consumption were the meaning, material and competence elements of which a practice is made, and the way these elements are linked (or fail to be linked) by the individual-carrier (Section 7.2.1). Hence, the unit of analysis is not the individual (and his/her personal values) nor the practice, but their mutual interaction. Reconciling social psychological approaches and social practice theory, the thesis maintains that conventions and standards of practice steer behaviour. However, conventions and standards of practice are, in turn, influenced by individuals/carriers (e.g. through their values and perceptions of value).

This study contributes to a growing body of research that works towards building a 'psychology of practice' and aims at "the "rehabilitation" of the individual within the social practice field" (Hards, 2011a: 301), on the basis that social psychology and social practice theory are compatible and their integration can provide complementary views. In particular, the Individual-Practice Framework builds on and extends Shove et al.'s (2012) model of practice theory by adding to it insights from social psychology in relation to individual values. In doing so, it proposes a more nuanced version of Shove's formulation of social practice theory able to simultaneously account for individual behaviour, social practices and their interactions.

8.1.3 The dynamics of acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption

This research makes a third contribution to knowledge by unravelling the dynamics of acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption. Based on findings from the analysis of Ecomodo (Section 6.5), it suggested that the acceptance of collaborative consumption practices depends on the relationship between values, perceptions of value and meanings (Section 7.1.3). Once accepted, a practice needs to be adopted through its recursive reproduction. However, adoption heavily relies on the existence of supported configurations of meaning, competence and material elements (Section 7.2.1). Finally, the routinisation of a practice may lead to its (personal and social) normalisation and, ultimately, its diffusion (Section 7.2.2). The latter may determine, in turn, the acceptance of the practice, thus closing (or starting again) the three-step cycle illustrated in Figure 8.1.

In the case of Ecomodo, inadequate acceptance amongst UK consumers (resulting in a limited market uptake of the platform) was explained in relation to individuals' values. In particular, lending and borrowing through Ecomodo appeared to be only appealing to people that prioritise a specific a set of values (i.e. self-transcendence and openness to change values). A failure in adoption by its registered users was largely ascribed to the platform's inability to build critical mass, and the consequent inability to scale up and achieve diffusion (Section 6.5).

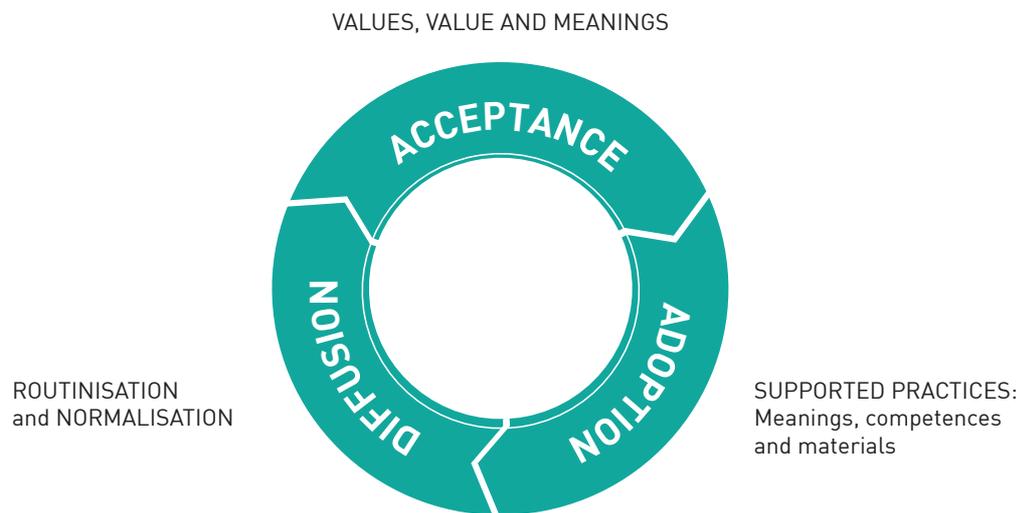


Figure 8.1 The dynamics of acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption practices.

Conceptualising the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption practices as a circular loop supports the idea that behavioural and social change (the former standing for a change in practices carried out by an individual and the latter meaning a change in practices at a societal level) may be viewed as ongoing and related processes. Individual behaviour change may, eventually, lead to a change in social practices; a wider change in social practices can, in turn, trigger individual behaviour change in response to new configurations of meaning, competence or material elements in circulation.

8.2 Limitations of the study

This section reflects on the limitations of the methods used in this research, possible weaknesses in its findings, and implications for the conclusions drawn from them.

A first important consideration is that the study assumes the sustainable (environmental, social and economic) potential of collaborative consumption and

the PSSs that enable it (Section 1.6). However, collaborative forms of consumption are not necessarily more sustainable and the extent to which they achieve environmental, social and economic gains can vary considerably from case to case. The actual impact of these activities needs, thus, to be more systematically assessed. Furthermore, it is necessary to take into consideration possible rebound effects that could nullify the positive results obtained by these alternative ways of consuming (e.g. sharing reduces expenditure, but income is not decreased and may simply be spent on other goods or services) (Section 1.1.3).

A second issue concerns the generalisability of the findings. As suggested earlier in the thesis (Section 4.1), the study aims for theoretical (or analytical) generalisability rather than the statistical generalisation of results. In particular, the sample of Ecomodo users participating in the quantitative and qualitative strands of research cannot be considered representative of the Ecomodo user population. Those who responded may have been highly motivated individuals with stronger pro-environmental or pro-social values compared to other users of the same platform (Section 5.3). Furthermore, results from the Ecomodo online platform may differ from other forms of collaborative consumption (e.g. car sharing). As such, future research is needed to confirm findings of this study against different collaborative consumption services and activities. Moreover, the study employed a UK-based platform as a case study. Although the Ecomodo sample included non-British people (Section 5.1 and 6.1), it would be possible to gain additional knowledge on how cultural differences could affect the relationship between values and meanings associated with collaborative consumption by replicating this study with users of similar platforms in other countries.

A third methodological limitation is that the investigation primarily focused on the interaction between individual values and the meaning element of practice in order to address the question of how consumers can influence the introduction and scaling up processes of collaborative forms of consumption (Section 7.2). Complementing this study with an account of the competence and material elements underlying collaborative consumption practices would provide a more detailed picture of the breadth and complexity of factors at stake (e.g. what mediates the relationship between the individual and the material and competence elements of practice) and further assess the theoretical soundness of the Individual-Practice Framework. In particular, an analysis of the material element would prove useful to further explore what is, and what could be, the role played by design and how PSSs

that enable collaborative consumption can be designed to foster user acceptance, adoption and diffusion.

Finally, although consumer values might hinder or contribute to the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption (Section 7.3), innovative business models are likely to find other difficulties in becoming mainstream. Even when well received by larger audiences (e.g. Airbnb, Uber and BlaBlaCar), these propositions may still find additional barriers at the level of established systems of provision (i.e. the social and economic organisation of the delivery of products and services) and existing policy and legislation frameworks (e.g. Uber controversies) (Section 1.3.2). While combining insights from social psychology and social practice theory is valuable to advance understandings of consumers' behaviour and the social practices they engage in, system innovation theory and multi-level perspectives on sociotechnical change (see Quist and Tukker, 2013) may be the appropriate territory for further exploration (Piscicelli et al., 2015b).

8.3 Implications for sustainable design

The aim of this research was to understand how consumers' values may contribute to the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption. This was considered to have some potential for determining what are the conditions that could bring collaborative consumption into the mainstream and how to create them through design (Section 1.6). This section suggests some implications for sustainable design of the Individual-Practice Framework and its theoretical underpinnings by putting them in relation to the growing body of design research that aims at influencing and triggering a change in consumers' behaviours (or practices) towards more sustainable patterns of consumption (see Weaver, 2012; Niedderer et al., 2014; Bhamra and Lilley, 2015).

In the last decade, social psychological theories and models of behaviour (Section 2.1) and sociological theories of practice (Section 2.2) have informed the development of different design approaches, strategies, tools and methods falling under the banner of either 'design for sustainable behaviour' (also referred to as 'design for behavioural change') (Lilley, 2009; Lilley and Lofthouse, 2010) or 'practice-oriented design' (Scott et al., 2012). The two are often presented as opposites and largely reproduce the theoretical divides discussed in Chapter 2. As suggested by Lilley and Wilson (2013), research investigating the potential for their

fruitful connection in the area of sustainable design is relatively new and there is still a lack of a comprehensive 'fit' between social psychological theories and models and social practice theory. This section contributes to building a dialogue between the two by comparing and contrasting design for sustainable behaviour (Section 8.3.1) and practice-oriented design (Section 8.3.2), which sets the context to discuss the potential for the Individual-Practice Framework to be applied within design (Section 8.3.3).

8.3.1 Design for sustainable behaviour

Falling under the remit of sustainable design, 'design for sustainable behaviour' aims at reducing negative environmental and social impacts of product and services by moderating users' interaction with them (Lilley, 2009; Lilley and Lofthouse, 2010). Several design strategies and tools have been developed for changing the behaviour of individuals towards more sustainable patterns of product use (e.g. Jelsma, 1997; Lilley 2007, 2009; Elias et al., 2007; Bhamra et al. 2008, 2011; Lockton et al. 2008, 2010; Zachrisson et al., 2012).⁸⁷ These strategies are typically organised along an 'axis of influence' (or 'choice-control axis') (Lilley et al., 2006; Lilley and Wilson, 2013) that indicates the distribution of control between user and product. On one end of the spectrum there are design strategies leaving the users in complete control over their behaviour and the product. On the other end, users have no control or choice over their behaviour since the product requires them to act in a certain way or causes the behaviour automatically (Zachrisson et al., 2012).

Falling between these extremes, design strategies for sustainable behaviour focus on individual decision-making processes (e.g. how users could be convinced to put less water in their kettles, keep the windows closed when the heating is on, or reduce fridge opening time) and are grounded in social psychological understanding of behaviour and its antecedents (Bhamra et al., 2008; Zachrisson and Boks, 2012; Zachrisson et al., 2012). The possibility to promote behaviour change through design rests upon an underpinning view of users as primary agents of choice and change; design interventions aim at affecting the interaction between the user and the product (or service) by triggering the 'right' (i.e. desired) user reaction (Bhamra et al., 2011).

Behaviour change strategies have not yet been widely applied in practice by industry or government and there is a lack of empirical data on their theoretical and

⁸⁷ For a literature review see Zachrisson and Boks (2012).

practical effectiveness (Bhamra et al., 2011). Also, studies conducted so far have tended to focus on relatively small samples, over a limited timescale (Lilley and Wilson, 2013). Furthermore, critics (mainly embracing a social practice theory perspective) have pointed out some intrinsic limitations of these approaches. For example, Kuijer and Bakker (2015) argue that design for sustainable behaviour strategies tend to focus on micro-level dynamics targeting specific behaviours in defined and somewhat stable environments. Based on these assumptions, products and services meant to change a particular behaviour are susceptible to failure because the ways, situations and contexts of use may vary considerably. In addition, these approaches run the risk of achieving only incremental savings (Kuijer and Bakker, 2015) and neglecting the need for change at other scales beyond the individual consumer (Brynjarsdottir et al., 2012). Accordingly, critics argue for a more holistic perspective and systemic level of design intervention, as provided through social practice theory (e.g. Shove et al., 2007; Ingram et al., 2007; Kuijer and de Jong, 2012; Scott et al., 2012; Pettersen et al., 2013; Kuijer and Bakker, 2015; Pettersen, 2015).

8.3.2 Practice-oriented design

Combining science, technology and innovation studies with theories of consumption and design, Shove and colleagues (Shove and Watson, 2006; Shove et al., 2007; Ingram et al., 2007) have advanced a 'Practice Oriented Product Design' (POPD) conceptual model which attributes to designers a unique influence in the configuration, persistence and evolution of social practices. In their 'POPD manifesto' Shove and Watson (2006) urge designers to consider material artefacts as embedded in (and enablers of) practices, in order to understand the relations between users, objects (i.e. materials), meanings and competences and to identify possible areas of intervention. This provided the basis for subsequent elaboration of 'practice-oriented design' (Scott et al., 2012), an approach that integrates social practice theory into design processes.

Practice-oriented design is built around the idea that "understanding the mechanisms of persistence and change in practices can inform the development of innovative and more sustainable ways of living and doing" (Scott et al., 2012: 283). In taking practices as the unit of analysis, practice-oriented design shifts the focus from products and services to practices (e.g. 'showering' instead of 'shower heads', 'commuting' instead of 'cars'), and from design innovation in products and services to innovation in social practices of which those products and services are part.

Opportunities for design arise from the possibility to modify or disrupt existing practices and establish new ones by enabling novel (material) elements to be integrated into novel configurations (Kuijer and de Jong, 2012).

Practice-oriented design is still in its infancy and to date only a few attempts have been made to apply it in the area of sustainable design; these have been in the context of bathing (Scott et al., 2012), energy efficiency (Kuijer and de Jong, 2012; Haines et al., 2012) and rethinking thermal comfort (Kuijer, 2014). These studies provide little empirical evidence that the approach is able to support durable changes in practices towards more sustainable patterns of consumption. Moreover, critics argue that it is necessary to combine both individual and contextual elements in order to address complex ecological and social challenges (Niedderer et al., 2014). Approaches grounded in strict formulations of social practice theory, on the contrary, run the risk of disregarding how individuals interact with and may renegotiate the elements of which a practice is made (Piscicelli et al., 2015b). Furthermore, although in practice-oriented design the practice is the unit of analysis and intervention for design, prominent scholars working in this area integrate insights from user-centred design⁸⁸, thus recognising, more or less explicitly, the key role of individuals, as users, in the introduction and diffusion of practices (Piscicelli et al., 2015c). For example, practice-oriented design typically uses co-design methods and engages users in redefining their individual practices (e.g. Scott et al., 2012).

8.3.3 The potential for the Individual-Practice Framework to inform design

Whether practice-oriented design is compatible with other principles and approaches from the design field (e.g. user-centred design, design for sustainability) is contentious. For example, Pettersen (2015) investigated the extent to which existing design resources may be used in the development of ‘practice-oriented design for sustainability’ and welcomed a cross-pollination of different design-related concepts (e.g. PSSs) and social practice theory. Adopting a stricter position, Kuijer and Bakker (2015: 219) followed Shove (2010) in arguing that ‘behaviour-oriented’ and ‘practice-oriented’ approaches in sustainable design “are like chalk

⁸⁸User-centred design (or ‘human-centred design’) is a design approach that aims to make products and services more usable by focusing on their users and applying human factors/ergonomics and usability knowledge and techniques. User-centred design processes often involve users either as ‘reactive informers’ (users seen as ‘subjects’ of the study) or ‘active co-creators’ (users participating ‘as partners’ in the design process) (Sanders, 2006).

and cheese.” As such, they maintained that they are “concerned about ... the unjustified conflation of concepts from different theoretical strands” and, in particular, objected to “the mix and match of both theories” adopted in some of the papers analysed in their literature review (Kuijer and Bakker, 2015: 228). Their position is indicative of tension between attempts to integrate insights from social psychology and social practice theory in relation to sustainable design, on one side, and keeping the two theoretical paradigms distinct and separate, on the other.

Although Niedderer et al. (2014: 33) classified social practice theory as one of the approaches that “mediate the middle ground between the individual agency and contextual approaches”⁸⁹ in their cross-sectional literature review of theories and models informing design for behaviour change, this thesis has argued (Section 8.1.2) that some of the stricter formulation of social practice theory (and Shove’s in particular) could better deliver their ambition to resolve the agency-structure divide (Section 2.2.1) by devoting greater attention to the individuals/carriers of practice. By doing exactly that, the Individual-Practice Framework is a natural candidate for reconciling social psychological and social practice approaches in the area of sustainable design. In particular, such a framework has major implications for (i) the way behaviour change is understood and how design could bring about change; and (ii) how to design PSSs that enable collaborative consumption in such a way as to facilitate their introduction and market uptake.

Changing behaviour and practices by and through design

Design strategies informed by social psychological theories and models aim at influencing individual behaviour by shaping the interaction between users and products (or services) in desired (e.g. more sustainable) directions (Section 8.3.1). Meanwhile, practice-oriented design strives to bring change by providing new (material) elements (e.g. products) that can be integrated into novel, and possibly less resource-intensive, social practices (Section 8.3.2).

Building on the complementarity of these views, the Individual-Practice Framework allows for both individual-level behaviour change and changes in social practices. The two are seen as connected processes in which one type of change affects the other (Section 8.1.3). In particular, it is argued that individual-level

⁸⁹ Thus reconciling individualistic rational choice models of behaviour (primarily addressing the *cognition* of individuals and placing agency with their capacity to act independently and make free choices) and social structuralist theories (addressing the *context* outside the individual and viewing behaviour as the consequence of societal norms and expectations held in place by the systems of provision and social structures that the individual lives within) (Niedderer et al., 2014).

behaviour change interventions may result in a change in social practices, while intervening at the level of social practices may trigger a change in individual behaviour. In keeping with Boldero and Binder's (2015: 14) assertion that "a practice has material, organisational and psychological aspects, each of which is necessary for that practice to be enacted", possibilities for designers to bring about a change in individual behaviour and social practices can arise from modifying – by and through design – the material, organisational *and psychological* aspects of practices.

Designing PSSs that enable collaborative consumption for wider acceptance, adoption and diffusion

The Individual-Practice Framework helps designers identifying and creating the conditions that may facilitate the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption. First, design could influence the acceptance of collaborative consumption practices by taking account of their associated meanings. Second, design could play a crucial role in their adoption by facilitating the linkage between the underlying meaning, competence and materials elements. Third, design of PSSs that enable collaborative consumption could create experiences that stimulate a change in behaviour and practices. The rest of this subsection describes these three possibilities.

Building on findings from this research (Section 7.1.3), designers could facilitate the acceptance of collaborative consumption practices by accounting for the relationship between individuals' values and the meaning element of practice. For example, in their analysis of values and collaborative consumption in relation to grassroots innovations, Martin and Uphal (2015) attributes the success of free reuse platforms such as Freecycle and Freegle to the 'values-neutral' image these have built around the practice of free reuse, which allows participants with a diverse range of values (and, possibly, motivations) to "see different values reflected in, and enact different values through, free reuse groups." (Martin and Uphal, 2015: 15-16). In particular, they suggest that "free reuse groups present affordances for participants to enact not only self-transcendence values, but also the values of openness to change and conservation." It follows that PSSs that enable collaborative consumption might be designed to embody 'affordances' or, more specifically, 'design cues' for certain values that could facilitate people's acceptance of alternative consumption patterns (Section 5.3). However, further research needs to be conducted to identify what exactly activates a particular set of values (e.g. pro-

environmental values). Moreover, some considerations need to be made whether it is more appropriate to embed cues for a particular set of values (i.e. thus targeting a specific segment of the population), or to address more values simultaneously (i.e. thus aiming at reaching a wider population).

The second implication concerning the role of design relates to the adoption of collaborative consumption practices. Shove et al. (2007) argued that design can put in place the conditions for 'reconfiguring routines' (e.g. towards less resource-intensive ways of living) and enabling change by acting at the level of the material element of practice. Findings of this study (Section 7.2.1) suggest that designers could (and should) also explicitly address the meaning and competence elements, in order to ensure that all three elements support the reproduction of a given practice. In designing PSSs, attention could thus be given to providing effective materials to perform a certain practice, building on existing competences (or creating new ones), while addressing relevant meanings.

Finally, design could facilitate the diffusion of collaborative consumption practices by designing (or co-designing) PSSs that provide a better user experience able to stimulate a change in behaviour and practices. This research explained the lack of diffusion of Ecomodo as the result of a failure in recursive reproduction (i.e. routinisation) and subsequent normalisation of the practice of lending and borrowing through this platform (Section 7.2.2). From a design perspective, this draws attention to the importance of the user experience of PSSs that enable collaborative consumption (Section 1.4). In particular, having a positive experience through Ecomodo could have supported and reinforced the association of favourable images and ideas (i.e. meanings) with the practice of lending and borrowing, thus facilitating its wider acceptance, adoption and diffusion.

8.4 Future research

The limitations of the study (Section 8.2) opened up a series of opportunities for future research, first and foremost the possibility to expand and refine the Individual-Practice Framework by examining the interaction between the individual and the material and competence elements of practice. This is essential to understand what mediates these other two relationships hypothesised by the conceptual framework but not explored in this thesis and to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how consumers can (or do) influence the acceptance, adoption and diffusion of collaborative consumption. It was also

proposed to examine the Individual-Practice Framework in a different context (e.g. users of another collaborative consumption platform), location and culture (e.g. to check how these may affect individual values and the meanings associated with collaborative consumption practices).

This final section concludes the thesis by discussing two additional directions for future research which are more closely related to design. In particular, it envisages the possibility for a practical application of the Individual-Practice Framework as a design tool – the ‘DIP Toolkit’ – that could help designers to design for individuals and practices, building on insights from social psychology and social practice theory, and also user-centred design. Finally, it considers the possibility to (co-) design ‘meaningful experiences’ that could trigger a change in consumer behaviour and practices towards more sustainable ways of living.

Design for Individuals and Practices: The DIP Toolkit

The discussion of design for sustainable behaviour (Section 8.3.1) and practice-oriented design (Section 8.3.2) has highlighted some limitations of design strategies informed by either social psychological theories and models of behaviour or social practice theory. In particular, a focus solely on individual behaviour (in design for sustainable behaviour approaches) or, alternatively, on the elements and dynamics of practices (in practice-oriented design), fails to capture the interaction between both. Using the Individual-Practice Framework to explore this interaction could reveal opportunities to enable and trigger a change in behaviour and practice, especially in the context of sustainability (Section 8.3.3).

As an extension of this PhD research, the Individual-Practice Framework structure and conceptual premises (Section 7.2) have been used to develop a preliminary set of four cards – the ‘DIP Toolkit’ – to guide the design process.⁹⁰ The cards, used in the early ‘ideation’ stages of the design process (i.e. when the parameters of a project are explored and defined) are intended to help designers to examine the practices that people carry out in different situations, as well as the diverse contexts in which users engage with certain products and services. In collaboration with a colleague, funding was secured to create a website (Figure 8.2) and test the toolkit in two workshops, one for students and the other for design practitioners and academics. These were conducted in May and June 2015 in Nottingham and had 12 and 9 participants, respectively. The aim of the workshops

⁹⁰The potential for the practical application of the Individual-Practice Framework as a design tool to conceive innovative, and potentially more sustainable, products and services is discussed in Piscicelli et al. (forthcoming).

(Figure 8.3) was to provide an initial assessment of the practical use, advantages and limitations of the toolkit. Further research is needed to improve and validate the DIP Toolkit, which is one potential direction for future research.

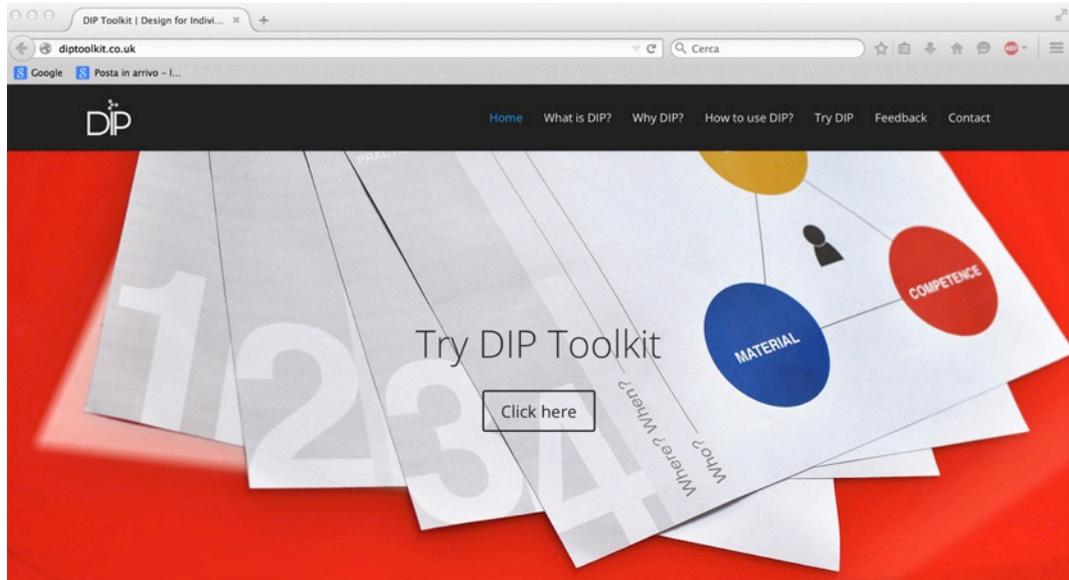


Figure 8.2 DIP Toolkit homepage: www.diptoolkit.co.uk



Figure 8.3 DIP students' workshop.

(Co-) Designing 'meaningful experiences': a pathway to behaviour and practice change

This thesis has argued that efforts to move away from traditional, wasteful consumerism towards innovative practices and more sustainable patterns of consumption (e.g. collaborative consumption) should consider the role that values and perceptions of value play in the acceptance of social practices (Section 7.1.3). Acknowledging the relationship between values, value and meanings was deemed to have implications for the design of PSS that enable collaborative consumption (Section 8.3.3). In particular, it was suggested that this should aim at providing

'design cues' able to convey desired meanings and activate values supportive of 'sharing', while addressing convenience, efficiency and practicality. Besides addressing values and meanings, design should act at a more systemic level in order to ensure that competence and material elements are in place and support the reproduction of collaborative consumption practices. Finally, a positive experience of a practice was considered key to facilitate the processes of routinisation and normalisation that can ultimately lead to the wider diffusion of collaborative consumption models such as Ecomodo.

Building on this conclusion, a second, compelling direction for future research is to use the Individual-Practice Framework to explore the concept of 'meaningful experiences' and their potential to foster change in behaviour and practices towards more sustainable patterns of consumption. In particular, more research is needed to understand how a positive experience of a PSS that enables collaborative consumption may support a change in values, behaviours and practices. Understanding what makes an experience 'meaningful' and how to design (or even co-design) 'meaningful experiences' able to trigger change could provide new insights into the opportunities and challenges involved in developing sustainable PSSs. This research would locate itself at the intersection between design for experience and design for behaviour change, a currently underexplored area of design research with much untapped potential.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Schwartz's Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-R3)

| | |
|------|--|
| SDT1 | 1. It is important to him to expand his knowledge. |
| SES1 | 2. It is important to him that there is stability and order in the wider society. |
| HE1 | 3. It is important to him to have a good time. |
| COI1 | 4. It is important to him to avoid upsetting other people. |
| UNC1 | 5. It is important to him to protect the weak and vulnerable people in society. |
| POD1 | 6. It is important to him that people do what he says they should. |
| HUM1 | 7. It is important to him never to be boastful or self-important. |
| UNN1 | 8. It is important to him to care for nature. |
| FAC1 | 9. It is important to him that no one should ever shame him. |
| ST1 | 10. It is important to him always to look for different things to do. |
| BEC1 | 11. It is important to him to take care of people he is close to. |
| POR1 | 12. It is important to him to have the money that money can bring. |
| SEP1 | 13. It is very important to him to avoid disease and protect his health. |
| UNT1 | 14. It is important to him to be tolerant toward all kinds of people and groups. |
| COR1 | 15. It is important to him never to violate rules or regulations. |
| SDA1 | 16. It is important to him to make his own decisions about his life. |
| AC1 | 17. It is important to him to have ambitions in life. |
| TR1 | 18. It is important to him to maintain traditional values and ways of thinking. |
| BED1 | 19. It is important to him that people he knows have full confidence in him. |
| POR2 | 20. It is important to him to be wealthy. |
| UNN2 | 21. It is important to him to take part in activities to defend nature. |
| COI2 | 22. It is important to him never to annoy anyone. |
| SDT2 | 23. It is important to him to have his own original ideas. |
| FAC2 | 24. It is important to him to protect his public image. |
| BEC2 | 25. It is very important to him to help the people dear to him. |
| SEP2 | 26. It is important to him to be personally safe and secure. |
| BED2 | 27. It is important to him to be a dependable and trustworthy friend. |
| ST2 | 28. It is important to him to take risks that make life exciting. |
| POD2 | 29. It is important to him to have the power to make people do what he wants. |
| SDA2 | 30. It is important to him to plan his activities independently. |
| COR2 | 31. It is important to him to follow rules even when no-one is watching. |
| AC2 | 32. It is important to him to be very successful. |
| TR2 | 33. It is important to him to follow his family's customs or the customs of a religion. |
| UNT2 | 34. It is important to him to listen to and understand people who are different from him. |
| SES2 | 35. It is important to him to have a strong state that can defend its citizens. |
| HE2 | 36. It is important to him to enjoy life's pleasures. |
| UNC2 | 37. It is important to him that every person in the world have equal opportunities in life. |
| HUM2 | 38. It is important to him to be humble. |
| SDT3 | 39. It is important to him to develop his own understanding of things. |
| TR3 | 40. It is important to him to honor the traditional practices of his culture. |
| POD3 | 41. It is important to him to be the one who tells others what to do.. |
| COR3 | 42. It is important to him to obey all the laws. |
| ST3 | 43. It is important to him to have all sorts of new experiences.. |
| POR3 | 44. It is important to him to own expensive things that show his wealth |
| UNN3 | 45. It is important to him to protect the natural environment from destruction or pollution. |
| HE3 | 46. It is important to him to take advantage of every opportunity to have fun. |
| BEC3 | 47. It is important to him to concern himself with every need of his dear ones. |
| AC3 | 48. It is important to him that people recognize what he achieves. |

| | |
|------|--|
| FAC3 | 49. It is important to him never to be humiliated. |
| SES3 | 50. It is important to him that his country protects itself against all threats. |
| COI3 | 51. It is important to him never to make other people angry. |
| UNC3 | 52. It is important to him that everyone be treated justly, even people he doesn't know. |
| SEP3 | 53. It is important to him never to do anything dangerous. |
| HUM3 | 54. It is important to him never to seek public attention or praise. |
| BED3 | 55. It is important to him that all his friends and family can rely on him completely. |
| SDA3 | 56. It is important to him to be free to choose himself what he does. |
| UNT3 | 57. It is important to him to accept people even when he disagrees with them. |

KEY: SDT= self direction: thought; SDA= self-direction: action; ST= stimulation; HE= hedonism; AC= achievement; POR= power: resources; POD= power: dominance; FAC= face; SES= security: societal; SEP= security: personal; COR= conformity: rules; COI= conformity: interpersonal; TR= tradition; HU= humility; BED= benevolence: dependability; BEC= benevolence: caring; UNC= universalism: concern; UNN= universalism: nature; UNT= universalism: tolerance.

PVQ-R2 Male

Here we briefly describe different people. Please read each description and think about how much that person is or is not like you. Put an X in the box to the right that shows how much the person described is like you.

HOW MUCH LIKE YOU IS THIS PERSON?

| | Not like me at all | Not like me | A little like me | Moder- ately like me | Like me | Very much like me |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. It is important to him to form his own understanding of things | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. It is important to him that there is stability and order in the wider society . | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. It is important to him to have a good time. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. It is important to him to avoid upsetting other people. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. It is important to him to protect the weak and vulnerable people in society. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. It is important to him that people do what he says they should. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. It is important to him never to be boastful or self-important. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. It is important to him to care for nature. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. It is important to him that no one should ever shame him. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. It is important to him always to look for different things to do. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. It is important to him to take care of people he is close to. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. It is important to him to have the power that money can bring. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. It is very important to him to avoid disease and protect his health. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. It is important to him to be tolerant toward all kinds of people and groups. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. It is important to him never to violate rules or regulations. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16. It is important to him to make his own decisions about his life. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. It is important to him to have ambitions in life. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. It is important to him to maintain traditional values and ways of thinking. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. It is important to him that people he knows have full confidence in him. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20. It is important to him to be wealthy. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21. It is important to him to take part in activities to defend nature. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22. It is important to him never to annoy anyone. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23. It is important to him to have his own original ideas. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 24. It is important to him to protect his public image. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 25. It is very important to him to help the people dear to him. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 26. It is important to him to be personally safe and secure. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 27. It is important to him to be a dependable and trustworthy friend. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| | HOW MUCH LIKE YOU IS THIS PERSON? | | | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Not like me at all | Not like me | A little like me | Moder- ately like me | Like me | Very much like me |
| 28. It is important to him to take risks that make life exciting. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 29. It is important to him to have the power to make people do what he wants.. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 30. It is important to him to plan his activities independently. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 31. It is important to him to follow rules even when no-one is watching. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 32. It is important to him to be very successful. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 33. It is important to him to follow his family's customs or the customs of a religion. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 34. It is important to him to listen to and understand people who are different from him. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 35. It is important to him to have a strong state that can defend its citizens. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 36. It is important to him to enjoy life's pleasures. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 37. It is important to him that every person in the world have equal opportunities in life. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 38. It is important to him to be humble. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 39. It is important to him to expand his knowledge. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 40. It is important to him to honor the traditional practices of his culture. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 41. It is important to him to be the one who tells others what to do.. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 42. It is important to him to obey all the laws. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 43. It is important to him to have all sorts of new experiences.. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 44. It is important to him to own expensive things that show his wealth | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 45. It is important to him to protect the natural environment from destruction or pollution. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 46. It is important to him to take advantage of every opportunity to have fun. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 47. It is important to him to concern himself with every need of his dear ones. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 48. It is important to him that people recognize what he achieves. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 49. It is important to him never to be humiliated. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 50. It is important to him that his country protect itself against all threats. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 51. It is important to him never to make other people angry. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 52. It is important to him that everyone be treated justly, even people he doesn't know. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 53. It is important to him never to do anything dangerous. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 54. It is important to him never to seek public attention or praise. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 55. It is important to him that all his friends and family can rely on him completely. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 56. It is important to him to be free to choose what he does by himself. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 57. It is important to him to accept people even when he disagrees with them. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

PVQ-R2 Female

Here we briefly describe different people. Please read each description and think about how much that person is or is not like you. Put an X in the box to the right that shows how much the person described is like you.

| | HOW MUCH LIKE YOU IS THIS PERSON? | | | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Not like me at all | Not like me | A little like me | Moder- ately like me | Like me | Very much like me |
| 1. It is important to him to develop her own understanding of things. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. It is important to her that there is stability and order in the wider society . | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. It is important to her to have a good time. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. It is important to her to avoid upsetting other people. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. It is important to her to protect the weak and vulnerable people in society. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. It is important to her that people do what she says they should. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. It is important to her never to be boastful or self-important. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. It is important to her to care for nature. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. It is important to her that no one should ever shame her. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. It is important to her always to look for different things to do. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. It is important to her to take care of people she is close to. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. It is important to her to have the power that money can bring. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. It is very important to her to avoid disease and protect her health. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. It is important to her to be tolerant toward all kinds of people and groups. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. It is important to her never to violate rules or regulations. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16. It is important to her to make her own decisions about her life. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. It is important to her to have ambitions in life. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. It is important to her to maintain traditional values and ways of thinking. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. It is important to her that people she knows have full confidence in her. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20. It is important to her to be wealthy. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21. It is important to her to take part in activities to defend nature. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22. It is important to her never to annoy anyone. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23. It is important to her to have her own original ideas. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 24. It is important to her to protect her public image. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 25. It is very important to her to help the people dear to her. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 26. It is important to her to be personally safe and secure. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 27. It is important to her to be a dependable and trustworthy friend. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| | HOW MUCH LIKE YOU IS THIS PERSON? | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Not like me at all | Not like me | A little like me | Moder- ately like me | Like me | Very much like me |
| 28. It is important to her to take risks that make life exciting. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 29. It is important to her to have the power to make people do what she wants.. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 30. It is important to him to plan her activities independently. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 31. It is important to her to follow rules even when no-one is watching. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 32. It is important to her to be very successful. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 33. It is important to her to follow her family's customs or the customs of a religion. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 34. It is important to her to listen to and understand people who are different from her. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 35. It is important to her to have a strong state that can defend its citizens. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 36. It is important to her to enjoy life's pleasures. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 37. It is important to her that every person in the world have equal opportunities in life. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 38. It is important to her to be humble. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 39. It is important to her to expand her knowledge. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 40. It is important to her to honor the traditional practices of her culture. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 41. It is important to her to be the one who tells others what to do.. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 42. It is important to her to obey all the laws. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 43. It is important to her to have all sorts of new experiences.. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 44. It is important to her to own expensive things that show her wealth | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 45. It is important to her to protect the natural environment from destruction or pollution. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 46. It is important to her to take advantage of every opportunity to have fun. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 47. It is important to her to concern herself with every need of her dear ones. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 48. It is important to her that people recognize what she achieves. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 49. It is important to her never to be humiliated. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 50. It is important to her that her country protect itself against all threats. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 51. It is important to her never to make other people angry. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 52. It is important to her that everyone be treated justly, even people she doesn't know. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 53. It is important to her never to do anything dangerous. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 54. It is important to her never to seek public attention or praise. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 55. It is important to her that all her friends and family can rely on her completely. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 56. It is important to her to be free to choose what she does by herself.. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 57. It is important to her to accept people even when she disagrees with them. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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Appendix II

'Values' online survey

Values

What is your age?

- 16-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-65
- 66-100

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

Please specify your ethnicity

- White - British
- White - Irish
- White - Any other white background
- Black
- Asian
- Mixed ethnicity
- Other

What is your marital status?

- Never married (single)
- Domestic partner (living as a couple)
- Married
- Separated (not divorced)
- Divorced
- Widowed

Number of people in household?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 or more

Household income?

- Under £5 000
- £5 000 - 9 999
- £10 000 - 14 999
- £15 000 - 19 999
- £20 000 - 24 999
- £25 000 - 34 999
- £35 000 - 44 999
- £45 000 - 54 999
- £55 000 - 99 999
- £100 000 or more
- Prefer not to answer

Are you currently...?

- Employed full time
- Employed part time
- Self employed
- Unemployed but looking for a job
- Not employed and not looking for a job (e.g. Permanently disabled; Housewife; Retired)
- Student in full time education

What is the highest level of educational qualification you have completed?

- Degree level qualification (or equivalent)
- A-levels (or equivalent)
- GCSE/O-Levels (or equivalent)
- No formal qualifications
- Other

What is your religious affiliation?

- Church of England
- Roman Catholic
- Presbyterian/Church of Scotland
- Methodist
- Other Protestant
- Other Christian
- Judaism
- Muslim
- Hindu
- Buddhist
- Sikh
- None
- Other

Why did you join Ecomodo? Ecomodo is a website that enables people to lend out their everyday goods skills and spaces to others locally.

- to save/make some money
- to be "green"
- to give to a charity or a good cause
- to get more out of what you already own
- to connect with your local community/lending circle
- I haven't yet joined Ecomodo
- If you haven't joined as yet please tell us why (state reason)
- Other (state reason)

Here we briefly describe different people. Please read each description and think about how much that person is or is not like you.

HOW MUCH LIKE YOU IS THIS PERSON?

1. It is important to him/her to form his/her own understanding of things.

- Not like me at all
- Not like me
- A little like me
- Moderately like me
- Like me
- Very much like me

2. It is important to him/her that there is stability and order in the wider society.

- Not like me at all
- Not like me
- A little like me
- Moderately like me
- Like me
- Very much like me

3. It is important to him/her to have a good time.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

4. It is important to him/her to avoid upsetting other people.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

5. It is important to him/her to protect the weak and vulnerable people in society.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

6. It is important to him/her that people do what he/she says they should.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

7. It is important to him/her never to be boastful or self-important.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

8. It is important to him/her to care for nature.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

9. It is important to him/her that no one should ever shame him/her.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

10. It is important to him/her always to look for different things to do.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

11. It is important to him/her to take care of people he/she is close to.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

12. It is important to him/her to have the power that money can bring.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

13. It is very important to him/her to avoid disease and protect his/her health.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

14. It is important to him/her to be tolerant toward all kinds of people and groups.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

15. It is important to him/her never to violate rules or regulations.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

16. It is important to him/her to make his/her own decisions about his/her life.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

17. It is important to him/her to have ambitions in life.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

18. It is important to him/her to maintain traditional values and ways of thinking.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

19. It is important to him/her that people he/she knows have full confidence in him/her.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

20. It is important to him/her to be wealthy.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

21. It is important to him/her to take part in activities to defend nature.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

22. It is important to him/her never to annoy anyone.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

23. It is important to him/her to have his/her own original ideas.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

24. It is important to him/her to protect his/her public image.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

25. It is very important to him/her to help the people dear to him/her.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

26. It is important to him/her to be personally safe and secure.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

27. It is important to him/her to be a dependable and trustworthy friend.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

28. It is important to him/her to take risks that make life exciting.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

29. It is important to him/her to have the power to make people do what he/she wants.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

30. It is important to him/her to plan his/her activities independently.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

31. It is important to him/her to follow rules even when no-one is watching.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

32. It is important to him/her to be very successful.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

33. It is important to him/her to follow his/her family's customs or the customs of a religion.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

34. It is important to him/her to listen to and understand people who are different from him/her.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

35. It is important to him/her to have a strong state that can defend its citizens.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

36. It is important to him/her to enjoy life's pleasures.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

37. It is important to him/her that every person in the world has equal opportunities in life.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

38. It is important to him/her to be humble.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

39. It is important to him/her to expand his knowledge.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

40. It is important to him/her to honor the traditional practices of his/her culture.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

41. It is important to him/her to be the one who tells others what to do.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

42. It is important to him/her to obey all the laws.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

43. It is important to him/her to have all sorts of new experiences.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

44. It is important to him/her to own expensive things that show his/her wealth.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

45. It is important to him/her to protect the natural environment from destruction or pollution.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

46. It is important to him/her to take advantage of every opportunity to have fun.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

47. It is important to him/her to concern himself/herself with every need of his/her dear ones.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

48. It is important to him/her that people recognize what he/she achieves.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

49. It is important to him/her never to be humiliated.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

50. It is important to him/her that his/her country protects itself against all threats.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

51. It is important to him/her never to make other people angry.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

52. It is important to him/her that everyone be treated justly, even people he/she doesn't know.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

53. It is important to him/her never to do anything dangerous.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

54. It is important to him/her never to seek public attention or praise.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

55. It is important to him/her that all his friends and family can rely on him/her completely.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

56. It is important to him/her to be free to choose what he/she does by himself/herself.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

57. It is important to him/her to accept people even when he/she disagrees with them.

- Not like me at all Not like me A little like me Moderately like me
 Like me Very much like me

Thank you!

If you wish to participate to the prize draw, please type your email

Many thanks for your time and your help! I may be interested in coming back to you again to conduct further research. Would you be happy to be contacted again?

- Yes
 No

Appendix III

Interview guide

An outline of the topics to be covered, with suggested questions.

Briefing

* consent form; purpose of the interview; use of a video recorder; any questions before starting.

Part A: Individual values

1- I give you 19 cards (A). I ask you to arrange them according to how these values are important or not for you as guiding principles in your life. Can you motivate your choices?

* Point out values of interest from the survey questionnaire.

2- Do you think that your personal values have changed during your life? If so, can you tell me which of them, in particular, and what led to these change(s)?

Part B: Collaborative consumption practices

3- Now, I present you some words (B). For each of them, can you tell me what the word means to you and what are the ideas that come in your mind in relation to it?

* Ask for examples. (e.g. Can you tell me about ...?'; 'Do you remember an occasion when ...?';

'What happened in the episode you mentioned?'; 'Could you describe in as much detail as possible a situation in which ... occurred for you?')

* Probing questions. (e.g. 'Could you say something more about that?'; 'Can you give a more detailed description of what happened?'; 'Do you have further examples of this').

Part C: Values and collaborative consumption

4- Now, I present you some things you may need, and different scenarios of how you can get them.

Scenario 1_Transportation

Imagine that you may need to get around your city by car or to travel to a closer one.

- You may buy and own a car;
- You may choose to join a car sharing scheme like Zipcar;
- You may check online through BlaBlaCar.com for other travellers going the same way and share a ride with them.

Can you make an evaluation of the different alternatives?

Can you pick some values, if any, that you can relate somehow with these different scenarios?

If you had your own car, would you consider to use a website like BlaBlaCar to find people to share your ride with?

Scenario 2_Travelling

Imagine that you are planning a short vacation somewhere.

- You may buy and own a private vacation home;
- You may book online a hotel or hostel through Hostelworld.com;
- You may look for a house or spare room offered by someone on Airbnb.com.

Can you make an evaluation of the different alternatives?

Can you pick some values, if any, that you can relate somehow with these different scenarios?

If you had your own vacation home or at spare room in you house, would you advertise it on Airbnb?

Scenario 3_Clothing

Imagine that you need a new piece of cloth.

- You may want to buy it in a shop;
- You may have a look online and hire a designer brand one for few days;
- You may swap a piece of cloth you have for another one with someone else online or in a swapping party.

Can you make an evaluation of the different alternatives?

Can you pick some values, if any, that you can relate somehow with these different scenarios?

If you had a piece of cloth you don't really want anymore, would you consider to swap it for another piece of cloth with someone else?

Scenario 4_Consumer goods

Imagine that you have just bought a new piece of furniture at IKEA and you need to assembly it.

- You may buy or own your DIY set of tools and do it by yourself;
- You may ask for the IKEA assembly service;
- You may advertise the task you need to have done on Taskrabbit.com and pay for someone from your neighbourhood to do the job for you.

Can you make an evaluation of the different alternatives?

Can you pick some values, if any, that you can relate somehow with these different scenarios?

If you have a useful skill and same spare time, would you consider bidding on Taskrabbit to get some jobs to do for your neighbours?

Part D: Ecomodo (as a platform for P2P lending and borrowing)

As you may know, another option to get a DIY set of tools could have been to borrow it online through Ecomodo.

5- Could you tell me when and how you first heard about Ecomodo?

6- Could you describe the motivations that brought you to join Ecomodo?

7- Have your initial expectations been met?

8- What were, if any, the main uncertainties and barriers for you in taking the decision to join Ecomodo?

9- What positively influenced and contributed to your decision to join Ecomodo?

10- What kind of people do you imagine are using Ecomodo?

11- How often do you use the Ecomodo website, and for what?

12- Have you already borrowed something through Ecomodo? Is there any reason for that?

13- What items might you be happy to lend through Ecomodo? Is there a particular reason for that?

14- How do you imagine the experience of lending and borrowing through Ecomodo to be?

15- What would possibly be the positive outcomes for you of lending and borrowing through Ecomodo?

16- What might be the possible drawbacks?

17- Overall, how do you evaluate a service such as Ecomodo?

Debriefing

* Is there anything else you would like to bring up, or ask about, before we finish the interview?

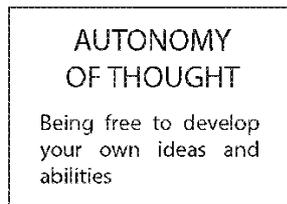
How did you experience this interview?

Appendix IV

Visual prompts

A. 19 values cards

1. Autonomy of thought



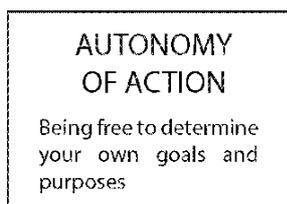
Original definition:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| SELF-DIRECTION-THOUGHT | Freedom to cultivate one's own ideas and abilities |
|-------------------------------|--|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|--|
| It is important to him/her to form his/her own understanding of things. It is important to him/her to have his/her own original ideas. It is important to him/her to expand his knowledge. |
|--|

2. Autonomy of action



Original definition:

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| SELF-DIRECTION-ACTION | Freedom to determine one's own actions |
|------------------------------|--|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|--|
| It is important to him/her to make his/her own decisions about his/her life. It is important to him/her to plan his/her activities independently. It is important to him/her to be free to choose what he/she does by himself/herself. |
|--|

3. Stimulation

| |
|---|
| STIMULATION |
| Having excitement, novelty, and change in your life |

Original definition:

| | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|
| STIMULATION | Excitement, novelty, and change |
|-------------|---------------------------------|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|--|
| It is important to him/her always to look for different things to do. It is important to him/her to take risks that make life exciting. It is important to him/her to have all sorts of new experiences. |
|--|

4. Hedonism

| |
|---|
| HEDONISM |
| Having pleasure and sensuous gratification in your life |

Original definition:

| | |
|----------|-------------------------------------|
| HEDONISM | Pleasure and sensuous gratification |
|----------|-------------------------------------|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|--|
| It is important to him/her to have a good time. It is important to him/her to enjoy life's pleasures. It is important to him/her to take advantage of every opportunity to have fun. |
|--|

5. Achievement

| |
|---|
| ACHIEVEMENT |
| Achieving success according to social standards |

Original definition:

| | |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| ACHIEVEMENT | Success according to social standards |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|--|
| It is important to him/her to have ambitions in life. It is important to him/her to be very successful. It is important to him/her that people recognize what he/she achieves. |
|--|

6. Dominance over people

| |
|---|
| DOMINANCE OVER PEOPLE |
| Having power to exercise your control over others |

Original definition:

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| POWER-DOMINANCE | Power through exercising control over people |
|------------------------|--|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|---|
| It is important to him/her that people do what he/she says they should. It is important to him/her to have the power to make people do what he/she wants. It is important to him/her to be the one who tells others what to do. |
|---|

7. Material resources

| |
|--|
| MATERIAL RESOURCES |
| Having power to control events through your material possessions |

Original definition:

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| POWER-RESOURCES | Power through control of material and social resources |
|------------------------|--|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|---|
| It is important to him/her to have the power that money can bring. It is important to him/her to be wealthy. It is important to him/her to own expensive things that show his/her wealth. |
|---|

8. Face

| |
|---|
| FACE |
| Having security and power through maintaining your public image and avoiding humiliation |

Original definition:

| | |
|-------------|--|
| FACE | Security and power through maintaining one's public image and avoiding humiliation |
|-------------|--|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|--|
| It is important to him/her that no one should ever shame him/her. It is important to him/her to protect his/her public image. It is important to him/her never to be humiliated. |
|--|

9. Personal security

| |
|---|
| <p>PERSONAL SECURITY</p> <p>Feeling safe in your immediate environment</p> |
|---|

Original definition:

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| SECURITY-PERSONAL | Safety in one's immediate environment |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|---|
| <p>It is very important to him/her to avoid disease and protect his/her health. It is important to him/her to be personally safe and secure. It is important to him/her never to do anything dangerous.</p> |
|---|

10. Societal security

| |
|---|
| <p>SOCIETAL SECURITY</p> <p>Having safety and stability in the wider society</p> |
|---|

Original definition:

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| SECURITY-SOCIETAL | Safety and stability in the wider society |
|--------------------------|---|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|--|
| <p>It is important to him/her that there is stability and order in the wider society. It is important to him/her to have a strong state that can defend its citizens. It is important to him/her that his/her country protects itself against all threats.</p> |
|--|

11. Tradition

| |
|--|
| <p>TRADITION</p> <p>Maintaining and preserving your cultural, family, or religious traditions</p> |
|--|

Original definition:

| | |
|------------------|--|
| TRADITION | Maintaining and preserving cultural, family, or religious traditions |
|------------------|--|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|---|
| <p>It is important to him/her to maintain traditional values and ways of thinking. It is important to him/her to follow his/her family's customs or the customs of a religion. It is important to him/her to honour the traditional practices of his/her culture.</p> |
|---|

12. Compliance with rules

| |
|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">COMPLIANCE WITH RULES</p> <p>Being compliant with rules, laws and formal obligations</p> |
|--|

Original definition:

| | |
|------------------|---|
| CONFORMITY-RULES | Compliance with rules, laws, and formal obligations |
|------------------|---|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|--|
| <p>It is important to him/her never to violate rules or regulations. It is important to him/her to follow rules even when no one is watching. It is important to him/her to obey all the laws.</p> |
|--|

13. Interpersonal conformity

| |
|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">INTERPERSONAL CONFORMITY</p> <p>Avoiding upsetting or harming other people</p> |
|--|

Original definition:

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| CONFORMITY-INTERPERSONAL | Avoidance of upsetting or harming other people |
|--------------------------|--|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|---|
| <p>It is important to him/her to avoid upsetting other people. It is important to him/her never to annoy anyone. It is important to him/her never to make other people angry.</p> |
|---|

14. Humility

| |
|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">HUMILITY</p> <p>Recognising your insignificance in the larger scheme of things</p> |
|--|

Original definition:

| | |
|----------|---|
| HUMILITY | Recognising one's insignificance in the larger scheme of things |
|----------|---|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|---|
| <p>It is important to him/her never to be boastful or self-important. It is important to him/her to be humble. It is important to him/her never to seek public attention or praise.</p> |
|---|

15. Caring

| |
|--|
| CARING |
| Being devoted to the welfare of your family and close others |

Original definition:

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| BENEVOLENCE-CARING | Devotion to the welfare of ingroup members |
|---------------------------|--|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|---|
| It is important to him/her to take care of people he/she is close to. It is very important to him/her to help the people dear to him/her. It is important to him/her to concern himself/herself with every need of his/her dear ones. |
|---|

16. Dependability

| |
|--|
| DEPENDABILITY |
| Being a reliable and trustworthy friend or family member |

Original definition:

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| BENEVOLENCE-DEPENDABILITY | Being a reliable and trustworthy member of the ingroup |
|----------------------------------|--|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|---|
| It is important to him/her that people he/she knows have full confidence in him/her. It is important to him/her to be a dependable and trustworthy friend. It is important to him/her that all his friends and family can rely on him/her completely. |
|---|

17. Societal concern

| |
|---|
| SOCIETAL CONCERN |
| Being committed to equality, justice, and protection for all people |

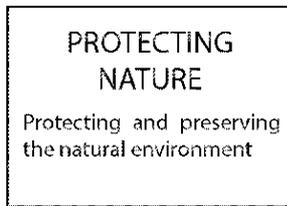
Original definition:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| UNIVERSALISM-CONCERN | Commitment to equality, justice, and protection for all people |
|-----------------------------|--|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|--|
| It is important to him/her to protect the weak and vulnerable people in society. It is important to him/her that every person in the world has equal opportunities in life. It is important to him/her that everyone be treated justly, even people he/she doesn't know. |
|--|

18. Protecting nature



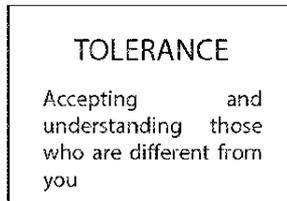
Original definition:

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| UNIVERSALISM-NATURE | Preservation of the natural environment |
|---------------------|---|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|--|
| <p>It is important to him/her to care for nature. It is important to him/her to take part in activities to defend nature. It is important to him/her to protect the natural environment from destruction or pollution.</p> |
|--|

19. Tolerance

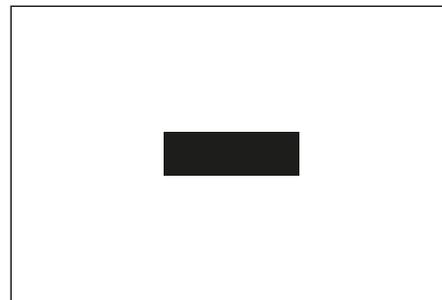
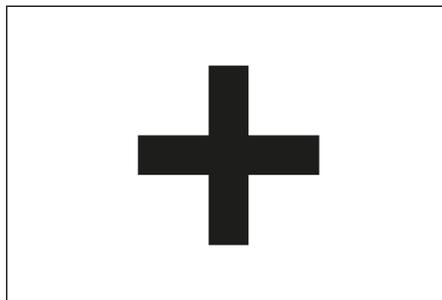


Original definition:

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| UNIVERSALISM- TOLERANCE | Acceptance and understanding of those who are different from oneself |
|----------------------------|---|

Related items in the PVQ-R3 questionnaire:

| |
|---|
| <p>It is important to him/her to be tolerant toward all kinds of people and groups. It is important to him/her to listen to and understand people who are different from him/her. It is important to him/her to accept people even when he/she disagrees with them.</p> |
|---|



B. 8 collaborative consumption cards

The following 8 words have been selected as representative of the practices at the base of 'collaborative consumption', as defined by Botsman and Rogers (2010: xv):

"Collaborative consumption – traditional sharing, bartering, lending, trading, renting, gifting and swapping, redefined through technology and peer communities."



Appendix V

Consent form

Nottingham Trent University
School of Architecture, Design & the Built Environment

CONSENT FORM

Project Title: **Values shaping design. Design shaping values.**

The research explores collaborative consumption practices (i.e. sharing, lending and borrowing, trading, bartering) in relation to personal values. The purpose of the study is to understand consumer values in order to inform the design of products and services enabling sharing.

The data from the interviews will be used as part of my research and participants will remain anonymous.

Please read and confirm your consent to being interviewed for this project by ticking the appropriate boxes and signing and dating this form

1. I confirm that the purpose of the project has been explained to me, that I have been given information about it in writing, and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any implications for my legal rights
3. I give permission for the interview to be recorded by research staff, on the understanding that the recordings will be used for research purposes only
4. I agree to take part in this project

Name of respondent

Date

Signature

For office use only

Name of researcher taking consent

Date

Signature

Project Address:
c/o Laura Piscicelli
School of Architecture, Design & the Built Environment
Nottingham Trent University
laura.piscicelli2011@my.ntu.ac.uk

Appendix VI

Participant information sheet

Laura Piscicelli – PhD research: Participant Information Sheet

Values shaping design. Design shaping values.

Thank you for agreeing to consider participating in this research project. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important that you understand the reason why this research is being carried out and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following carefully and discuss it with other people if you wish. Please feel free to contact us if anything is unclear.

What is the purpose of the study?

The study is being undertaken as part of a PhD thesis. It arises from the growing interest in collaborative consumption practices (i.e. sharing, lending, renting, borrowing, trading, bartering, swapping, gifting) and the design of products and services enabling them. The main purpose is to explore what are the personal values, motivations, expectations and perceptions of people engaging in these alternative patterns of consumption.

The investigation will therefore explore the following topics:

- personal values
- collaborative consumption practices
- Streetbank.com as an online platform for lending and borrowing

The methods used for gathering information include an online survey questionnaire on values and interviews with people registered on Streetbank.com and Ecomodo.com.

Who is running and supervising the study?

The project is being run entirely by Laura Piscicelli, a PhD student at Nottingham Trent University (NTU). The supervisory team are Professor Tim Cooper and Professor Tom Fisher.

Why have I been chosen to take part?

You have been asked to participate as you are registered on Streetbank.com or Ecomodo.com and you have previously completed the online survey questionnaire on values. If this is not the case, then please let us know and we will not ask for your participation.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is entirely voluntary. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep, and you will also be asked to sign a consent form. You will still be free to withdraw at any time, including the right to withdraw your interview from the study up to three weeks after it has taken place. If you decide not to take part, or to withdraw at any stage, you will not be asked to give us any reasons.

What do you want me to do?

We would like you to take part in an interview lasting approximately one hour. It will take place at a mutually agreed location and time convenient to you. The topics to be covered are set out above. The interview will be carried out by Laura Piscicelli around a pre-determined series of issues. Your permission will be sought to tape the interview to ensure the information you give is accurately recorded.

What will happen to the information I give?

The tape of your interview will be transcribed. This transcription will be analysed and fed into the results. The results will be written up and submitted as part of the PhD thesis. Aspects of the work may also be published.

How will you protect my confidentiality and anonymity?

Data files and transcripts of interviews will be handled by Laura Piscicelli. You will be assigned a pseudonym and will not be otherwise named or identified in any publication

arising from this project. All possible care will be exercised in ensuring that you cannot be identified by the way findings are written up.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks in taking part?

The main cost to you will be the time needed to conduct the interview. We are confident that the arrangements described above will prevent your information being shared with anyone else. For this reason we think the risk of detriment is very low.

What are the possible advantages of taking part?

We hope that you will find the interview interesting, and will take satisfaction from helping to both develop knowledge of this topic and contribute to a PhD thesis! A summary of the results can be shared with you at your request.

Has anyone reviewed the study?

The study has been approved by the NTU Research Degrees Committee and is subject to ongoing review by the supervisory team and an independent assessor.

Who is responsible if anything goes wrong?

Nottingham Trent University is responsible for the conduct of the project.

Contact for further information:

Researcher:

Laura Piscicelli

School of Architecture, Design & the Built Environment

Nottingham Trent University

Burton Street, Nottingham, NG1 4BU.

Email: laura.piscicelli2011@my.ntu.ac.uk

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