

Influence in Decision-Making: Perspectives of Adolescent Ethical Food Consumption

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Abstract

This thesis aims to investigate the processes and factors which affect influence in family decision-making, with a focus on how adolescents attempt to influence ethical food decision-making and consumption choices in their families. The study explores family microenvironment and the implications they might have for our existing understanding of family consumption. Although many studies have examined adolescents' food consumption, few studies have examined children's influence in family food decisions and none has examined children's influence in ethical food decision making within the family unit. This indicates that our understanding of familial decision-making process and ethical food consumption is still underdeveloped. This thesis contributes to this under-researched area and is in response to calls for further research to include sibling-to-sibling in addition to child-to-parent influence as part of the family decision-making and socialisation process. Twenty families were purposively chosen, and data was collected through a series of interviews and direct observation. IPA data analysis was used to capture stories of both adolescents and parents. The findings indicate a move away from the widely held view which considers family life to be a similar experience for all, recognising that within families there exist pockets of preferential and different treatment experienced by children and used through different parental communication and parenting styles. Two very distinct microenvironments emerge - parental level and sibling level. Family microenvironment emerged as a moderator of adolescent influence strategies decision-making and the extent to which they can participate in, and shape, decision-making in their families, the parental resistance experienced, and ultimately the extent of the adolescent's influence success. This thesis has made some progress in exploring adolescent's influence in ethical food decision-making, the family environment, and family microenvironments, which extends our understanding of family life and how adolescents are socialised within families.

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Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis focuses on the influence of family ethical food decision-making and how family members, particularly the Adolescents process of influence. The study examines family ethical food consumption as everyday behaviour within the household to understand how family members influence each other in their everyday ethical food decision-making. This chapter provides a background to the study, together with a rationale for studying ethical food consumption within the family setting and the parameters for the study. The aim and objectives of this study are stated.

1.2 Adolescent decision-making in Family consumption

Understanding the role of adolescent's influence in household decision-making is of great importance and has attracted the attention of marketers (Epp & Price, 2008; Kim, Lee & Han, 2018). Adolescents are children "about the age of eleven to the late teen years" (Olsen & Ruiz, 2008, p. 646), therefore, any references to children in this current study refer to adolescents rather than younger children. Adolescence is a period of increased autonomy (Wray-Lake, Crouter & McHale 2010), independent decision-making (Albert & Steinberg, 2011), a time of growing independence when individuals want to make their own decisions including what and when to eat (Boutelle, Lytle, Murray, Birnbaum & Story, 2001; Olsen & Ruiz, 2008) and develop responsibility for health-related behaviours and attitudes that affect their future (Chapmanb & Beagan, 2007; Leary, Clegg, Santella, Murray, Downs & Olfert, 2019). Adolescents have better

product knowledge and cognition (Piaget 1970; Brizio, Gabbatore, Tirassa, Bosco, 2015), gain consumer skills about information processing (Roedder, 1981; Kwak, Payne, Cohen & Huettel, 2015) and show a better understanding of economic principles (Strauss, 1952, Sutter, Zoller & Glätzle-Rützler, 2019). Moreover, adolescents grow their individuality and start to make their own decisions, such as what food to eat (Boutelle et al, 2001). The growth in adolescents' role in family decisions calls for further studies to further deepen our understanding of adolescents' influences on family decision-making in food consumption.

Studies suggest that adolescents do not only consume but also exert substantial influence in household decision-making (e.g. Lawlor & Prothero, 2011; Kim, Lee & Han 2018). Adolescents constitute a very important consumer group (Liu & Laird, 2008; Batat, 2010) that influences family purchases of various products in many ways (Caruana & Vassallo, 2003). Adolescents' family influence differs by a child, product, decision stage, family and parental characteristics and covers a wide range of products (Flurry, 2007; Thomson, Laing & McKee, 2007; Flurry & Veeck, 2009; Götze, Prange & Uhrovská, 2009). Moreover, adolescence is a thoughtful phase of social, psychological and physical development (John, 1999; John, 2008). Thus, recognising children as a primary market, and influencing the market, and a future market (Batat, 2010; Haryanto & Moutinho, 2016), children today are different from past generations as "they've grown up faster, are more connected, more direct and more informed. They have more personal power, more money, influence and attention than any other generation before them" (Lindstrom, 2003, p. 1).

Studies indicate that the family is crucial in assisting children to learn values and behaviours that enable them to adjust to their surrounding environments (Parke & Buriel, 1998; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders & Updegraff, 2013). Mostly, family consumption practices are interdependent, involving other persons rather than being a sole event (Wiswede, 2000a). Hamilton and Catterall (2006, p. 1032) opined that 'purchase decisions within the family are not always the outcome of individual choice but rather members influence each other'. As consumption decisions often occur in familial contexts and the family is an institution where children are socialised about consumption roles (Singh & Nyack, 2014), and family Consumption-related decision-making is an essential consumer behaviour process (Chaudhury & Hyman, 2019).

The family decision making studies perceive the family as a collective enterprise - family as a closely connected customer network (e.g. Epp & Price, 2008; Menon & Perali, 2011). The concept of collective enterprise is achieved through family identity which, is collectively built among family members and therefore differentiates that family from others. The current study suggests that families may give different attention to collective activities. Respondents suggested, for example, 'We are an ethical family and we cycle to reduce the carbon footprint', collective values for example, 'We are ethical consumers', collective tastes for example, 'We love organic fruits'. Everyday consumption, such as food, could display family dynamics because of the importance of such decisions (Phoenix & Brannen, 2014). Family food decision-making is complex, given that childhood traditions have a strong influence on later food choices (Patojoki & Tuomi-Gröhn, 2000; De Backer, 2013). Through common identity, families may adopt common consumption attitudes that symbolise everyday characteristics of family life.

However, literature regarding family consumption lacks collective enterprises (Ekström, 2007; Epp & Price, 2008). Family consumer literature is largely concerned with how individuals influence and undertake family consumption, normally stressing how individuals change their decision-making practices to reflect family concerns (Hamilton & Biehal, 2005), how individuals influence other family members (Martensen & Grønholdt, 2008; Mikeska, Harison, Carlson & Coryn, 2017), how individuals characterise family as aspects of their extended selves (Tian & Belk, 2005), and how individuals negotiate outcomes within a family setting (Commuri & Gentry, 2005). Discussions and compromises about consumption are part of their daily living. While most academics agree that family, irrespective of its structure offers the best context for understanding and predicting consumption-related behaviours in families (e.g. Epp & Price, 2008), most of the bases for this belief are dated, since most of these studies were done during the dual-parent-family of the 1970s and 1980s (Flurry, 2007). Family consumer decision-making (e.g. Ekström, 2007; Epp & Price, 2008; Mikeska et al., 2017) and ethical consumerism (e.g. Smith, 1990; Shaw, Grehan, Shiu, Hassan & Thomson, 2005; Apaolaza, Hartmann, D'Souza & López, 2018), including the influence of children in this area, are spheres of consumer behaviour where a considerable amount of academic research has already been undertaken. However, the combination of these two areas has received little attention.

Influence in family decision-making is "a change in a person's dispositions, as a result of interaction between parents and children" (Ekstrom, 1995, p. 24). Influence strategies are actions intended to achieve control over the decision outcome in the decision-

making process (Grønhøj, 2002; Flurry & Burns, 2005). The above definitions indicate that influence is about making a person(s) change their decisions interaction to achieve the desired outcome. Through family interaction children can, directly and indirectly, use several influence techniques to change family decision outcomes in their favour. Influence can also be more indirectly applied, when parents being aware of the child's preferences, acquiesced without direct interaction with the child (Belch, Belch & Ceresino, 1985; Grønhøj, 2002).

1.3 Ethical food and consumption

Ethical food is perceived as different from conventional food, where the production methods are considerably different (Lang, 2010). Ethical consumers regard it as a separate market such as fair-trade, free-range, organic foods, and those sold at farmers' markets (Institute of Grocery Distribution Report, 2018). The Institute of Grocery Distribution (2010) (IGD) suggested twelve features that define a product as ethical: (1) fairly traded products; (2) products produced to a high standard of animal welfare; (3) free-range products; (4) products that have not been tested on animals; (5) organic products; (6) products sourced from the local area or region of the country; (7) products sourced from national suppliers or farmers; (8) products from sustainably managed sources (to ensure they do not run out); (9) products committed to reducing their carbon footprint; (10) products which have not been transported by air; (11) products with minimum or reduced amounts of packaging; and (12) products with recycled, recyclable, or biodegradable packaging. Furthermore, the Ethical Consumer Markets Report (2018) characterized ethical foods to comprise Organic, Fairtrade,

Rainforest Alliance, Free Range Poultry and Eggs, Vegetarian Products, RSPCA Assured (Freedom Foods) and Sustainable Fish.

According to Mäkineniemi, Pirttilä-Backman & Pieri (2011, p. 495), ethical food consumption is "the conscious decision to make consumption choices for reasons having to do with moral beliefs." The presence of consumers who are ethically concerned has been long recognised and concerned about a wide range of issues stretching from human rights, the environment, animal welfare to other wider societal issues (Shaw et al., 2005; Apaolazaa et al., 2018). However, there is a misperception about what 'ethical consumption' means. Lewis & Potter (2011) provide broad critical tools to help understand ethical consumption practices, however, they acknowledge that notwithstanding the progress over the years, the concept of ethical consumption is yet to be clearly defined.

The term 'ethical consumption' has been used to describe an alternative set of consumption behaviours and practices (Carrigan, 2017; Apaolazaa et al., 2018). Ethical consumers are concern about animal issues, environmental issues, armaments, oppressive regimes, irresponsible selling practices, ethical practices, human rights during their daily consumption activities (Smith, 1990; Apaolazaa et al., 2018). Different terminologies have been used to describe ethical consumers including 'socially responsible' (Prendergast & Tsang, 2019), 'Fairtrade' (Strong, 1997; Andorfer & Liebe, 2012), 'environmentally concerned' (Tucker, 1980; Kalafatis et al., 1999; Shiksha, Dhir & Sagar, 2019), 'socially conscious' (Brooker, 1976; Prendergast & Tsang, 2019), and 'ethical consumers' (Shaw & Clarke, 1999; Uusitalo & Oksanen, 2004; Carrigan, 2017).

Ethical consumerism is wider than just 'green' issues; it encompasses an array of ethical issues such as travel, food, clothing, finances, cars, energy sources, homes and transport (Malloy, 2009; Ethical Consumer Markets Report, 2018) with associated issues about the social and economic sustainability and environment (Carrington et al., 2016).

Moreover, the term ethical consumer has been widely used when describing such consumers lately. These ethical issues are reflected in consumption activities such as purchasing organic foods, participating in recycling activities, using reusable bags, and using environmentally friendly products at home. Ethical consumers use their purchasing power to express their commitment to 'ethical consumption' (Berry & McEachern, 2005). They exercise their rights and privileges in the marketplace and this consumer power now symbolises modern consumer culture (Ismail & Panni, 2008). Ethical consumers seek to change society through consumption choices and practice and have become an essential part of the ethical consumption discourse. Consequently, some researchers consider ethical consumption as a form of political participation, since it seeks to bring about social change (Stolle & Micheletti, 2006b), for example, Fairtrade, health and safety risks, human rights, labour conditions, the boycott of objectionable practices i.e. tax-avoidance, armament or products from repressive regimes (e.g. Szmigin & Carrigan, 2006); others too, consider it as non-consumption or resistance to the marketplace (Gabriel & Lang, 2006, Cherrier, 2009), or aptly called "voluntary simplicity" (Shaw & Newholm, 2002; Elgin, 2009; Pravet & Holmlund, 2017) while others think that ethical consumption is a careful act carried out by consumers who are ethically concerned (e.g. Sheth, Nirmal & Shanthi, 2011; Shaw & Riach, 2011)

based on personal values - including social sustainability and/or environmental issues (Cherrier, 2007, Carrigan, 2017). The definitions depict consumption behaviours and practices that consider issues beyond the ordinary utility or values of the product (e.g., social, political, environmental, health concerns, religious), and therefore are "the conscious and deliberate choices to make certain decisions due to personal and moral beliefs" Crane and Matten (2003: 2) irrespective of whether those are personal, public, or a mixture of both. However, ethical consumers do consider issues such as affordability, health, quality, preference and convenience (Rana & Paul, 2017; Willer & Lernoud, 2017).

Nonetheless, ethical consumption has been criticised for lacking common focus (Sheth et al., 2011) and inconsistent conceptualisation of the construct under examination (Shaw & Newholm, 2002; McDonald, Oates, Young & Hwang, 2006; Bray et al., 2010). Studies generally focus on one subset or different captions such as green-consumption (e.g. Shaw & Shiu, 2003; Carrington, Neville & Whitwell, 2010), anti-consumption (Lee Fernandez & Hyman, 2009; Iyer & Muncy, 2009; Black & Cherrier, 2010), voluntary simplicity (McDonald et al. 2006; Pravet & Holmlund, 2017), counter-cultural movements (Zavestoski, 2002), and mindful consumption (Sheth, Sethia & Srinivas 2010; Milne, Ordenes & Kaplan, 2019). Moreover, consumer ethics studies mostly concentrate on ethical decision-making and consumers' assessment of several kinds of behaviour as "good" or "bad," including ethical guidelines determined by different moral philosophies (e.g. Vitell & Muncy, 2005; Ravis, Sheeran & Armitage, 2009).

Given the above discussions, this researcher concludes that ethical consumption is the process of selecting and consuming products based on ethical reasoning, while ethical consumerism is the movement for the promotion of ethics concerning the system of production by the consumer. Throughout this study, this researcher uses the term ethical consumption and ethical consumers to describe this alternative set of consumption and consumers respectively, since they remain the expressions which are commonly used by consumers, consumer magazines, academics and businesses.

1.4 Parameters of the study

The broad context of this study is consumer behaviour, focussing on family ethical food decision-making and how family members, specifically adolescents, influence each other during this process. Given the scant available family consumer research, children often continue to be excluded from family studies (Kerrane & Hogg, 2013). Where the input of children is sought, parental perceptions of their role and involvement in shaping family consumption are often used (e.g. Belch, Krentler & Willis-Flurry, 2005), or only a limited number of children per family are recruited (e.g. Geuens, Mast & Pelsmacker, 2002). Eventually, Morrow and Richards (1996, p. 93) suggested that existing family research is 'not about children' in as much as their voices are often unheard in favour of parental representations. Consequently, research is needed to examine fully the influence of children in family decision making (Kerrane & Hogg, 2013; Mikeska et al., 2017) and which employs the active participation of children in the research process. Götze, Prange & Uhrovská (2009) also call for research which explores the process of influence itself, which departs from the dominant fixation with measuring influence and determining who holds the most power.

From a developmental perspective, socialisation is a bi-directional and interactive process where parents' socialisation efforts are shaped by children's behaviours and characteristics (Maccoby, 1992; Ekström, 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013), and both parents and children are active participants in this process (Kuczynski, 2003; Kim, Lee & Han, 2018). Understanding these processes during the developmental transition is important because it captures the life span when individuals have the greatest opportunities for identity exploration (Arnett, 2000). Finally, socialisation is a process that occurs throughout the life span and family is considered to be a critical socialisation agent throughout different stages of development (e.g. Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013); thus, understanding how family socialisation and adolescent identity inform one another during late adolescence to emerging adulthood will extend previous work, which has focused largely on the developmental period of adolescence.

Existing studies exploring family decision making and child influence focus on family communication patterns (e.g. Carlson & Grossbart, 1988; Kim, Lee & Han, 2018) and parental socialisation styles (Carlson, Walsh, Laczniak & Grossbart., 1994; Bao, Fern & Sheng, 2007; Kim, Yang & Lee, 2015) and the effect that these might have on the influence of children within families. Such approaches underline the assumption about the homogeneous nature of family life which colours current research into family life in consumer behaviour, particularly for children. This suggests that all children in a family are exposed to the same socialisation and communication style from their parents as their sibling(s) and that each child experiences these socialisation and communication styles in the same way.

Consequently, this study contributes to an alternative research stream examining family ethical food consumption as everyday behaviour demonstrated by consumers (e.g. Adams & Raisborough, 2010). The family viewpoint of this study is in response to a growing body of studies in family consumer research (e.g. Epp & Price, 2008; Lawlor & Prothero, 2011) that stresses the importance of moving away from the over-individualisation of family research towards a more holistic, contextual approach. Epp & Price (2011), for example, conceptualise the family as a closely connected customer network, emphasising the interaction between family members and how such interaction leads to the emergence of collective consumption outcome. They further argued that this conceptualisation needs to be embedded in future child and family consumption studies, not only to develop a more holistic understanding of family consumption but also to reflect contemporary theoretical developments in consumer research and the broader social sciences better. However, an important, but an understudied area in the ethical consumption literature is how family interaction leads to the emergence of collective ethical food consumption. This indicates that our understanding of familial decision-making process of ethical food consumption is still underdeveloped (Kareklas, Carlson & Muehling, 2014; Hasselbach & Roosen, 2015).

1.5 Research aims, Objectives and questions

The overall aim of this research is to investigate the processes involved in applying influence in family decision-making, with a focus on how adolescents attempt to influence ethical food decision-making and consumption choices in their families, as identified by the participants in the study. This study attempts to examine the

antecedents and processes of those influence attempts and how they are exercised during decision-making to develop a conceptual understanding of the decision-making process of family ethical food consumption, and to capture those factors affecting their decisions. This research aim will be achieved by focusing attention on the following objectives, and questions derived from the literature review;

Research Objectives	Research Questions supporting the Objectives
<p>1. To explore extant literature on family decision-making and to identify adolescents' influence in ethical food consumption and decision-making.</p>	<p>RQ1. What factors within the family environment affect adolescents' ability to influence family ethical food consumption decisions?</p> <p>RQ2. What factors within the family environment affect an adolescents' choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions?</p> <p>RQ3. What factors determine the level of success or failure of adolescents' strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions?</p> <p>RQ4. Do adolescents work in group i.e. coalition with other family members, and if so, what factors determine adolescents' ability to form coalitions with others, and what issues determine the success or failure of those coalitions to influence family ethical food decisions?</p> <p>RQ5. Why do families consume ethical foods?</p>
<p>2. To understand the family environments and how they affect</p>	<p>RQ1. What factors within the family environment affect adolescents' ability to</p>

<p>adolescents' ability to influence family ethical food consumption decisions;</p>	<p>influence family ethical food consumption decisions?</p>
<p>3. To explore factors that affect an adolescents' choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions;</p>	<p>RQ2. What factors within the family environment affect an adolescents' choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions?</p> <p>RQ3. What factors determine the level of success or failure of adolescents' strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions?</p> <p>RQ4. Do adolescents work in group i.e. coalition with other family members, and if so, what factors determine adolescents' ability to form coalitions with others, and what issues determine the success or failure of those coalitions to influence family ethical food decisions?</p>
<p>4. To identify the ethical decisions adolescents and parents make of their daily consumption choices and to obtain an understanding of the range of factors influencing 'ethical' food purchase and consumption.</p>	<p>RQ5. Why do families consume ethical foods?</p>

Firstly, the study considers the gaps in the ethical literature regarding children's influence in decision making, which highlights the shortcomings of the extant decision-making models in understanding adolescents influence, particularly in ethical food decision-making. Given that family purchase decisions are not always the outcome of individual choice but rather members influence each other and that both parents and children can influence during consumption decision-making. Family consumer decision-

making, including the influence of children and ethical consumerism, are areas of consumer behaviour in which extensive academic research has already been done. However, the crossover of these two areas is under-researched. Although many studies have examined adolescents' food consumption (e.g. Kremers et al., 2003; Larson et al., 2007) few studies have examined children's influence in family food decisions (Cross & Gilly, 2014) and none that this researcher knows of has examined children's influence in ethical food decision making within the family unit. This study builds on calls to adopt 'family perspective' moving away from the over-individualisation of family research towards a more all-inclusive and contextual approach. It seeks to capture both children and adult's voices to gain insight into influence and ethical food decisions within a family setting and to further develop academic knowledge about child-parent motivation in the context of ethical decision-making. It also seeks to shift ethical consumption research from an individualistic/dyad to a contextual/familial focus, and to develop an understanding of, and to conceptualise, the intra-familial interaction processes leading to the eventual emergence of influence strategies and attendant ethical food consumption behaviour within the family.

Secondly, by exploring these research questions generated from the literature review, this thesis seeks to generate in-depth insights into the nature of adolescent's influence family ethical food purchase decision-making. More specifically, it is hoped that the findings will shed light on family environments and how they affect adolescents' ability to influence and adolescents' choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions and why families consume ethical foods. The organic, flexible approach which this research adopts will allow respondents to identify the decision-

making process appropriate to their situation. Insights will also be generated into the nature of adolescents' influence behaviours and tactics. This, in turn, may provide emergent insights into adolescent choice of influence strategy the factors affecting these, such as consumer socialisation attitudes of parents. The discussion of how decisions are made will reveal the nature of the family environment in terms of styles adopted, factors influencing this decision style, and the role of adolescents in the decision-making process.

1.6 Thesis Structure

Chapter two offers a review of the extant family research literature. The chapter begins extant literature family research. This literature review suggests that existing family research studies have captured only a limited range of voices within families, with the voice of children often excluded or ignored in existing family studies. Overcoming such exclusion guides the direction of this thesis, and children are thus positioned as a central concern of this thesis. Studies are reviewed which document what we currently know about the influence of children in families and how children's influence is moderated by the socialisation and communication style adopted by their parent(s).

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the literature on ethical consumption. The theories and frameworks highlight the complexity involved in understanding the ethical consumption. The chapter provides a detailed rationale for using ethical consumption as the research context and highlights the many difficulties previous studies have experienced.

In Chapter 4, matters relating to methodology and method are introduced. This chapter details the interpretive paradigm utilised for this empirical research. The researcher firmly locates himself as a tool in the process of interpretation, which underpins the existential phenomenology viewpoint. Bracketing the natural attitude is discussed, and the phenomenological interview as a method of data collection and interpretive phenomenological analysis is introduced. Practical matters are also addressed, such as the plan for selecting respondents and how the families were recruited.

Chapter 5 and 6 introduce the family stories of twenty families who participated. Comparisons are made, however, within the scope of this research, and within and across the twenty families recruited, to generate insights into ethical family food consumption decisions to extend existing theoretical contributions (Amould & Thompson, 2005).

Chapter 7 discusses the global themes which emerged from the individual family stories. Here microenvironment identifies that children do not experience family life in a homogenous manner and that within families, pockets of preferential treatment for certain children can be determined. Therefore, this chapter highlights the idea that adolescents inhabit their specific niche in their family's unit, with their niche maintained and developed by both parents and other siblings alike.

Chapter 8 discusses the general findings of this thesis.

In chapter 9, the conclusion begins by describing the major contributions of this thesis. This chapter concludes by presenting the limitations of this thesis and highlighting opportunities for future research.

Literature Review

The following two chapters cover the review of the literature for this thesis. Chapter 2 explores the available literature on family, family influence, adolescent influence and theories on socialisation, family communication styles and the conceptual framework of this thesis. Chapter 3 discusses the body of literature on ethical purchase and consumption.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1: Introduction

This chapter seeks to review family research, with specific attention focus on family research within the consumer research context. The chapter identifies gaps in the current body of literature regarding family decision-making. This chapter suggests that many changes have occurred within modern families and that the voices of children within the existing family research studies reviewed have not received adequate research attention. Consumer research needs to catch-up with family decision-making, and this chapter stresses the call for further research which recognises that children are active participants in family decision-making (Lawlor & Prothero, 2011) and the need to extend the restricted nature of the participants largely recruited for family studies (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013).

2.1.1: The significance of Family research

Family as a consuming and decision-making unit has been an important research area in marketing and consumer behaviour (Epp & Price, 2008, Gbadamosi, 2019). The family represents a fundamental phenomenon in marketing and consumer behaviour (e.g. Solomon, 2011; Tomás, 2013; Raggio & Gámbaro, 2018). Sheth (1974) stresses that:

'Family decision making is probably unique among research areas of the social sciences in that several disciplines have contributed to its development – rural sociology, social anthropology, social psychology, clinical psychology, home economics, consumer psychology, marketing, and economics. Diverse

disciplines are interested in family decision making largely because the entire social structure in the Western world rests on the consumption, maintenance, and survival of the family unit. In addition, from birth until death most decisions and consequent behaviours of individuals are anchored to the family. Consequently, family decision making enjoys a long tradition of research' (Sheth, 1974, p17).

This confirms the significance of family research. Commuri and Gentry (2000, p. 1) also agree with Sheth's (1974) view of the significance of carrying out family research, as the family 'serves as a consuming, producing, distributing and socializing unit and its interaction with other elements of society is intimate, immediate and thus telling'. Family's importance as a unit of analysis in consumer purchase decision-making is well established (Xia et al., 2006; Tomás, 2013). However, while most of the studies on family consumption revolve around the roles of spouses (Ndubisi & Koo, 2005; Barlés-Arizón, Fraj-Andrés & Martínez-Salinas, 2013), interest in the role of children is now gaining momentum in the field of marketing and international business (Kim et al., 2018). The main reasons for this growing interest can be categorized into three: first, they constitute a primary market for goods and services, spending their own money to fulfil their needs and wants; second, they influence the family decision making; and third, they are a future market for all goods and services that if cultivated now will provide steady stream for a new customer when they reach adulthood (Berey & Pollay, 1968; McNeal, 1999; Tomás, 2013).

Family decision-making, and eventually consumption, impact upon the national economy (Liu et al., 2018; Handriyani, 2018) which has renewed research interest in the area, mostly from marketers who are interested in understanding who makes and

contributes to family decisions (Chaudhury & Hyman, 2019). Such an understanding of family decision making and consumption, Davis (1971, p. 305) suggests, it is important for marketers 'in selecting appropriate media and appeals' and in determining 'the best prospects for sales efforts. However, much knowledge about family decision-making today is outdated (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013), based on research which was conducted in several decades ago. Chaudhury & Hyman (2019) have argued that little research attention has been given to family decision making, with the family as the unit of analysis often being overlooked and neglected lately. Because of this relative neglect, Burns (1993) proposes that many nuances may have been overlooked in changing patterns of decision making in families. Kirchler (1995, p. 394) suggests that families are undergoing a 'radical transformation', and these changes may be attributed to several things including changes in patterns of decision making and consumption choices in today's families (Sulaberidze, Gomelauri, Tsuladze & Gvritishvili, 2018).

The child market is important and coupled with the significant impact that children have on family consumption and purchases (Batat, 2010; Chaudhury & Hyman, 2019), the need for consumer researchers to obtain and listen to the views of children is also particularly acute. Furthermore, children have significant spending power and represent a future market for consumer researchers to understand (Geuens et al., 2002; Liu & Laird, 2008). The 'three kids' markets' (McNeal, 1998, p. 37), the primary purchaser, influencer and that of a future market, represent three important reasons why marketers should seek and listen to the voices of children in family consumption studies.

2.2. Defining the Family

A family is a group of people who are related to each other, such as a mother, a father, and their children (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus, 2019). Kerr & Bowen (1988, p. 27) defined the family as a “naturally occurring system” that developed from the natural evolutionary process and which is regulated by principles found in nature. Moreover, Murdock (1949) argued that all families originate from a basic structural group called the “nuclear family” which consists of a husband and wife and their children. Murdock (1949, p. 1) describes the family as a nuclear family, i.e. 'a social group characterised by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction. Murdock’s definition includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults.'

Within the extant literature, there is an exchange of the terminologies about a household, family, nuclear family, conjugal family and extended family (Lawson & Garrod, 2009). By contrast, a household is defined as a person living alone or a group of people who share the same address and share one meal a day and/or the living accommodation (Lawson & Garrod, 2007). Equally, some people may describe this living arrangement as a family. There have always been variations in family structure and social changes in the UK have resulted in continuing diversity. The sociology literature makes a distinction between the nuclear and the extended family (Buss & Schaniger, 1983). While the nuclear family is comprised of two spouses and a small number of children which makes up a family unit, the extended family may include

individuals such as grandparents, aunts and uncles and other family members. Further breakdowns of the categories can lead to even more definitions as to what constitutes the family such as single-person households, households consisting of unrelated people, households with no children or with none living at home. Thus, researchers are faced with multiple definitions of the family from which to draw their sample. While these categories may help provide clues about aggregate family behaviour, they do not tell us about processes of communication and interaction within the families and the influence patterns occurring. Thus, the nature and extent of influence within families have an impact on the consumer socialisation process (See section 2.7.1).

Murdock's (1949) nuclear family concepts have been criticised, particularly his exclusion of societies that did not fit into his heterosexual-nuclear model (e.g. Bessant & Watts, 1999). However, Murdock's concepts are still relevant to family texts. The introduction of the nuclear family is the creation of an ideology about how families should be structured along with nuclear conventions (Goode, 1970). This ideology involves the normality and desirability of nuclear families and adopted the development of a patriarchal system (Beechey, 1986). However, it has been criticised that the nuclear family, the patriarchal system had contributed towards the subordination of women, and unhappiness and abuse (Oakley, 1972; McEwen, 2017).

With increasing variability in family structure and type over time, the idea of achieving a single, workable definition appears elusive for researchers, service providers and policymakers alike. Families are what individuals define them to be (De Vaus, 2004). As

such, the family can be a fluid concept that may have markedly different meanings to different individuals, even those living under the same roof. When extended families are considered, the challenge of the definition is magnified. De Vaus (2004) pointed out that networks of family members beyond the household are an important part of families and the extended family network is a key assumption of many family policies, such as those associated with the provision of care and support to other family members. In some cultures, for example, African and East Asian, extended families are considered the basic family unit (Robinson, 2009). For certain cultures, “immediate” family members include aunts, uncles and many other relatives less likely to be considered close relatives in the Western concept of family (Robinson, 2009). Such extended families are also likely to include not just those related by blood but also “fictive kin”—those who are given the title of a family member and then treated in ways implied by that title, such as a family friend being called “uncle” (e.g. Jordan-Marsh & Harden, 2005, p. 26).

The nuclear family is a model of an ideological construct against which all other forms of family arrangement are judged (Dalley, 1996). Therefore, supporters of the nuclear family often argue that the family is in decline as many families do not subscribe to the heterosexual ideal any longer. Popenoe (1988, p. 8), a strong advocate of nuclear ideology, gave five reasons why he believes the family is in decline; [1] because of the deinstitutionalisation of the family, through members becoming more autonomous and less involved in family life, [2] the family failing to carry out many of its traditional social functions, [3] the family losing power to other forms of institutional groups in society,

[4] family groups are becoming smaller and more unstable with a shorter life span, and
[5] through the cultural weakening of familism by a preoccupation with self-fulfilment.

Whereas modern families were referred to as nuclear having a uniform structure, post-modern families are unclear (Simpson, 1998) about their composition. The perceived decline of the nuclear family has seen the visibility, and acceptance, of 'different' family forms. Several Sociologists have argued that 'the' family (as a natural, a-historical and essentialist institution) does not exist (e.g. Smart & Neale, 1999; Cheal, 1999). Instead, society should identify and embrace the fluidity of family life and accept different forms of families -rejecting the concept of 'the' family. Stacey (1990) further contends that no singular family form exists in the post-modern era. Eventually, the nuclear family form is 'quite simply unrealistic' (Bernardes, 1997, p. 3); irrelevant to contemporary family forms.

2.2.1 Contemporary Family structure

What constitutes a family in today's world has changed in different ways depending on individual circumstances (e.g. Lawson & Garrod, 2009; Steel, Kidd & Brown, 2012). The diversity in British family forms prompted Laslett (1982, p. xii) to argue that 'there is now no single British family.' Such arguments engender a belief which accepts that familial arrangements do not conform to nuclear conventions and recognises that families can be crafted to fulfil individual requirements. There is a perceived incompatibility about how families should be structured and organised (following nuclear conventions) and how families are structured and organised: Sevenhuijsen

(1998) claims that nuclear models are too rigid to accommodate contemporary century family forms, and Weeks et al. (2001) further argued that the lives of everyday people no longer conform to established patterns and that individuals 'have little choice but to form our ways of living' (p. 77). What emerge are families of choice (Weston, 1991), with Goss (1997) proclaiming that 'everyone has the right to create family forms that fit his or her needs'.

Family, which was once defined in terms of blood and marital ties (Murdock, 1949), should, in post-modern times, be described in terms of the strength of relationships and meanings and not necessarily solely by blood and marital ties - as in nuclear conventions (Ekstrom, 2003). According to Stacey (1990), individuals are tangled in a web of relationships, and that it is these relationships that can be characterised as family-like to individuals dependent on the strength of the relationship. Stacey (1990), further argued that the construct of 'family' is a very personal undertaking, and eventually, an individual can shape and construct a familial arrangement to suit their own needs, removing the imperative of nuclear notions which necessitates blood or marital ties.

Different age groups may also view families in different ways. A study conducted showed that adolescents viewed affective factors such as love, caring and support as being more important criteria for belonging in a family than legal status or the presence of two parents (Anyan & Pryor, 2002). In a similar study of children (Rigg & Pryor, 2006), the majority had an image of family that did not mirror a traditional nuclear

family form; affective factors were again most important. These findings, along with changing attitudes towards marriage and growing acceptance of cohabitation (Qu & Weston, 2008; Steel, Kidd & Brown, 2012), may indicate generational changes in perceptions of the important characteristics that define a family.

Values and belief systems can also lead people to understand family in a variety of ways, and often in a highly emotionally charged manner. Some ideas around particular types of family relationships may persist, or a simplistic view of a more complex relationship may be held, even after research and literature have indicated otherwise. These ideas may contribute to less satisfactory relationships between people if they hold different views about what constitutes a “real” family. Another important point is not just how we define family, but what constitutes the “ideal” or ‘proper’ family. Smart (2005, p. 546) drew a distinction between the family we “live with” and the ideal family that we “live by”. An example that she used is the grandmother who thinks that modern-day couples who divorce lack commitment and dedication yet feels that there are genuine reasons why her child has divorced. Smart highlighted family policies in the UK, which are complex and sometimes contradictory and argued that there are no clearly defined rules and obligations regarding family life. As Smart (2005) states:

“voicing support for the supremacy of heterosexual marriage, while providing support for post-divorce families, offering tangible protection to cohabitants or initiating civil partnership legislation for same-sex couples, maybe exactly the kind of contradictions with which families are well adjusted to living” (p. 554).

Policies and marketing practise must be responsive and dynamic in terms of the issues surrounding how people understand families. Many good examples of persisting myths that are related to families and the “ideal” way in which people expect them to operate exist around adolescents and their relationships with parents. In the early 1900s, adolescence was viewed by Hall (1904, p. xiii) as a time of “storm and stress” and inevitable conflict, and this became a common understanding, deeply embedded in Western culture about this period of development. Yet empirical studies since the 1950s have shown the limitations of the concept, and many attempts have been made by the research community to show that while a minority of young people experience stress and turbulence, many more adjust relatively well (Hamilton & Catterall, 2006; Steel et al., 2012). One of the key factors in positive development during adolescence family connectedness is reflected in the literature on resilience. Relationships are one of the fundamental underpinnings to resilience, particularly those with primary caregivers and those characterised by warmth and support combined with appropriate control or discipline (Luthar, 2006).

2.2.2 Family types

Three family types have been noted but even within these, there are variations. Families are complex institutions although studies have shown differences in behaviours and outcomes relative to family type. For example, researchers suggest that stepfamilies, in comparison to non-divorced nuclear families are less cohesive, have fewer clear expectations and are more flexible in response to change (Lawson & Garrod, 2009; Steel, Kidd & Brown, 2012). It may be that complexity within the family is not simply

about the number of people in the family but the types of relationships (i.e. difficult or easy) and how these are managed. Furthermore, stepfamily households can be considered "simple" or "complex" (Hetherington, 1999, p. v). Simple stepfamilies are those in which the children are from the mother's previous marriage only. Complex "blended" families include siblings within a family having different biological relationships with parents. The situation is compounded by the approach adopted when the new stepparent family forms. They (1989) posits the "substitution" model and the "durability" model when illustrating types of blended family. The first model simply replaces the roles and expectations of the intact nuclear family. That is, possibly to maximise stability for the children of divorce, there is a complete split from (typically) the biological father and the stepfather adopts the role of the father. Conversely, the durability model, whilst adding complexity to the roles and boundaries within the new stepfamily, ensures both biological parents have a role in the new family set-up. It may be that those in a blended family could behave similarly to an intact family about decision-making if they have adopted the substitution model.

Remarkably, studies on family type indicate that "blended" families do not think of themselves as unique. Indeed, the growing incidence of step-families has only recently begun to attract much popular or academic interest (Lawson & Garrod, 2009; Jensen, Shafer, & Larson, 2014), and this may be because there appears to be reluctance even among many step-families to acknowledge that their experiences are likely to be different to those of other family forms. Many prefer to present themselves as just "ordinary" families (Ribbens et al., 1996). However, as Hetherington (1999) notes,

stabilised stepfamilies must be together for five years before they can be compared with stabilised families in first marriages and as such blended families will be more likely to experience different social and behavioural outcomes in the first five years of cohabitation. Whereas there is scant literature on single-parent families (Flurry, 2007; Malczyk & Lawson, 2017), the measurement of single-parent families will become progressively less accurate because of marked changes in unmarried cohabitation and how the parent(s) choose to describe their relationships. Besides, extended family arrangements require more attention to the distinction between single-parent families and single-parent households (Nelson, 2006). Recording the details of single parents who also cohabit will have significant consequences for the analysis of data given the additional resources that will be potentially contributed to a co-habiting single-parent family compared to that of a single-parent household.

2.3 Interaction in family decision making

Family purchase decision-making is the process that directly or indirectly involves two or more family members (Lien, Westberg, Stavros & Robinson, 2018). Decision-making, a central construct in models of individual consumer behaviour, is an important part of family life. However, despite its importance, it has not received as much attention as individual decision-making (Vila-López & Küster-Boluda, 2018). Generally, researchers tend to focus more on individual decision-making because of the belief that the family is a poor decision-making unit. Studies in family decision-making have used several theoretical models: resource theory (Blood & Wolfe, 1960), social exchange theory (French, 1956), role theory (Eagly, 1978), and the process-oriented model. Resource

theory posits that, within the family, the relative power of each spouse varies with the socio-economic resources contributed by that spouse. The social exchange theory is most often used to assess family power and decision making. This theory assumes that people act in a manner which will maximize benefits to them. Role theory focuses on the traditional versus modern gender roles of the spouses to explain the relative power in the family. Traditional roles give more power to the husband; the children are second, and the wife is last. Modern roles are not clearly defined according to gender and all decisions are negotiable. Unlike the other approaches, the process-oriented model does not focus only on decision outcomes. Instead, it analyses the family decision-making process in conjunction with the effect of changing sex roles.

Davis and Rigaux (1974) note that family decisions can be classified according to who makes the decision and how the decision is made. The typology of a family decision, excluding children, includes husband dominant, wife dominant, autonomic (i.e., sometimes one spouse, sometimes the other), and syncratic (always decide together) decisions. Davis and Rigaux (1974) later identified *syncratic* and *autonomic* as types of decisions in family consumer behaviour. *Syncratic*, or joint decision making between husbands and wives, was about mortgage choices (Mohan, 1995) and the decision as to which house to buy (e.g. Munsinger et al., 1975), whilst *autonomic* decisions are characterised by spouses making an equal number of decisions individually. Sheth and Cosmas (1975) found that the greater competence of one partner; preferences for dividing up responsibilities in household management; the perceived greater importance of the decision to one of the spouses; being too busy to decide together; and peer group norms, were primarily responsible for autonomic decisions being made.

A major criticism of this typology is that it focuses on the outcome of a decision rather than on the decision process.

Generally, families tend to use two models in their decision-making. In the first model, the consensus model, family members agree about goals and then decide by way of role structure, budgets/rules, or problem-solving strategies. Consensus about goals leads to family problem-solving behaviour instead of reliance on the individuals or rules. In the second model, the accommodation model, family members disagree about goals and choose between persuasion and bargaining to arrive at a decision. If a decision cannot be reached, or if one family member tries to impose a decision, conflict is likely to develop, and no one wins.

In studying the family as a unit of analysis, researchers have questioned the adequacy of using one spouse to report on the family decision-making process because husbands and wives do not always agree in their responses to questions related to a given decision (e.g. Lien, 2018). The general belief is that administering instruments to only one spouse ignores the reality that family decision-making is a joint enterprise (Epp & Price, 2008; Lawlor & Prothero, 2011). Decision-making is a central construct in models of consumer behaviour. It is also an important part of family life. However, researchers have not focused much on this area. Two main reasons may be advanced to explain the continued focus on individual decision-making. First, the cost of conducting joint or family decision-making research far exceeds the cost associated with conducting

individual studies. Second, the family as a unit of analysis is a poor decision-making unit.

Gary Becker (1964), in his seminal work, devised the household decision-making framework in the field of economics. This framework applies economic analysis to the marriage decision and other decisions made in the family. The framework assumes that individuals within a family have shared interest (also referred to as "household utility function" in the economic literature) and promotes the family interest (called "maximizing the household utility function") is what all families aim for. Therefore, when family decisions are made all members are assumed to prefer decisions that maximize the overall family welfare.

Becker's framework, the common preference approach assumes that all family members have a common preference when family decisions are made, which does not apply so well to situations where family members have different or even conflicting interests. Manser and Brown (1980) presented another framework, often called the bargaining approach, as an alternative to Becker's common preference framework. The bargaining approach argues that household decisions are often made, and household resources distributed, through an internal bargaining process by its members. Individual household members use their "bargaining power", most notably the amount of income or wealth they can control, to have household decisions made/resources allocated in a way that most closely matches their personal preferences. The relative resources possessed by each spouse, such as income, occupational status, and

education, provide “leverage” in the bargaining and negotiation between spouses, thus affect marital power and the decision-making power in the family. Since the early 1980s, the bargaining approach has played a central role in the analysis of family decision-making behaviour (Pollak, 2005).

Among various factors that are considered to affect one’s bargaining power in the marriage or household decisions, economic power has always been identified as the key variable in the bargaining power balance (Friedberg & Webb, 2006; Colfer, Achdiawan, Roshetko, Mulyoutami, Yuliani, Mulyana, Moeliono, Adnan & Erni, 2015). For example, a study by Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) indicated that the amount of money a spouse earns is the main factor in establishing relative power in any kind of relationship except among lesbians. Most notably, Friedberg and Webb (2006) provided direct evidence for the effect of economic power on decision making power in the family. Most bargaining power research links household outcomes to variables that are assumed to influence the amount of bargaining power within the household. Findings of such studies should be regarded as indirect evidence for the association between the bargaining power distribution and these household decisions. In contrast, Friedberg and Webb’s (2006) study was based on household survey data which specifically asked the respondents to report who had the final say when it comes to major family decisions. Their findings show that of all the factors tested that may influence decision-making power, relative household earnings (i.e. the ratio of average lifetime earnings between husband and wife) has the biggest effect.

From the above literature, it is evident that power plays an important role in the decision-making process in the family and individuals who possess the most power tends to influence how buying decisions are made. The next section reviews literature which has examined the role children play in influencing family decisions. It focuses on exploring what influence is, followed by a review of the various influence strategies children are suggested to deploy when influencing family decisions.

2.4 The Influence of children in family decision making

Children are becoming increasingly influential in decision making within contemporary families (Lawlor & Prothero, 2011; Vila-López & Küster-Boluda, 2018) and are using more purchase influence across a wider range of products (e.g. Götze et al., 2009; Lien et al, 2018; Kim et al., 2018). Understanding the purchase influence of children is still as important as ever. McNeal (1992) acknowledged three different markets where children belong to. Firstly, children can constitute a market in their own right; secondly, as an influencer market; and thirdly as a future market. As influencers, children constitute a huge secondary market by influencing family purchases (Kim et al., 2018), which begins immediately children develop the necessary communication skills to make requests (Palan, Gentina & Muratore, 2010). However, a large proportion of family consumer research in the past focused on the roles of adult partners within purchase situations and largely ignored the impact that children can have on family purchase decision making. The lack of inclusion of children in research is disappointing, especially because there is a significant body of research which reveals the involvement of

children in family purchase decisions and their influence on the outcome of decisions (e.g. Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013; Cross & Gilly, 2014).

While children play a role in influencing family decisions, this is largely ignored within consumer behaviour research (Lawlor & Prothero, 2011; Loth, MacLehose, Larson, Berge & Neumark-Sztainer, 2016). Most of the studies which involve children obtained data relating to their parents' perceptions of the amount of influence the child exerted (e.g. Wortzel & Berkeley, 1981; Belch & Willis, 2001). This is surprising given the call for research to include children in family studies (Lawlor & Prothero, 2011, Kerrane et al, 2012). Likewise, some children research only use one child each family in the data collection phase (Holdert & Antonides, 1997; Geuens et al., 2002). Consequently, a small number of studies accounts for families that have two or more children (e.g. Cotte & Wood, 2004; Kim et al., 2018).

Burns and Granbois (1980) reviewed ten years of family purchasing literature and found three studies of family purchase decision-making interaction which focussed on parent-child interaction rather than the usual focus on the husband and wife (Berey & Pollay 1968; Ward & Wackman, 1972 and Atkin, 1978). From the late 1970s and during the 1980s, there was a move away from this dyadic approach which considered only spousal interaction to studies which considered multiple participants and the role of children. By this time, Ferber (1975), Davis (1976), and Granbois (1979) had all discussed the potential consequence of not including children when the products being discussed were consumed by numerous family members. Subsequently, Burns and Granbois (1980) acknowledged the beginning of a shift towards including the family

setting rather than merely the husband and wife (e.g. Jenkins, 1978; Moschis & Moore 1978).

Nevertheless, even though children were recognised as influencers, they did not always act as direct respondents. The earliest studies of child influence were based on reports from only one family member which was usually the mother (e.g. Mehrotra & Torges 1977; Szybillo & Sosanie, 1977; Roberts et al., 1981; Darley & Lim, 1986). Although Filiatrault and Ritchie (1980) included children in their study of family influence structure, they collected the data from the parents and not from the children. Consequently, Foxman et al. (1989a) questioned whether it was valid to measure children's influence in such an aggregate manner when a family had more than one child. Roberts et al. (1981) recommended that research measuring children's influence should focus on the children as individuals rather than a collective entity.

The move away to include children has continued, and there has been an ongoing emphasis placed on the role and impact of children on purchase decisions and the decision-making process (e.g. Martin & Bush, 2000; Lawlor & Prothero, 2011; Kerrane et al., 2012; Kim et al., 2018). As research in this area has developed, it has become even more evident that children play an important role in the family decision-making process (e.g. Caruana & Vassallo 2003; Bertocchi, Brunetti & Torricelli, 2014; Mikeska et al., 2017). Adolescents may also play a reciprocal role (Ekstrom et al., 1987; Kim et al., 2018) and influence their parent's consumer behaviour in many areas of household decisions (Baranowski, 1978; Singh & Nyack, 2014), and act as socialisation agents

modifying parental consumer roles to incorporate the expectations of children (Grønhøj & Thøgersen, 2012; Bertocchi, Brunetti & Torricelli, 2014)

However, interest in children research seems to have declined, in recent years. It is important to continue research in this area to add to our understanding of the involvement and influence of children. For instance, do children exert influence in all family decisions, including ethical products? Are there any factors that affect an adolescent's ability to influence family consumption decisions? This thesis highlights the process of parent-child influence in family ethical food decision-making process and the behaviours and communication environment within which child influence occurs. However, at this point, it is important to discuss what is meant by influence as it is a common term throughout this thesis. Influence is an act of an individual to change the behaviour of others (Cartwright, 1959). According to Coleman (1973) influence is the use of *power* to attain an outcome, and this comprises activities of family members that contribute to the decision-making process (Beatty & Talpade, 1994). The next section discusses what influence and power are within the family decision-making context.

2.4.1 Power and Influence

“Power” and “influence” are regarded as some of the essential features of social interaction by theorist from different disciplines (e.g. Olson & Cromwell, 1975; Bacharach & Lawler, 1981). However, for instance, power is perceived to be vague, it is difficult to understand and explain (Bierstedt, 1950) and is often used interchangeably by scholars (Olson & Cromwell, 1975a; Turk, 1975; Webster, 1998; Schwarzwald & Koslowsky, 1999). The term “power” and “influence” have been used interchangeably

and this is due to the linear association between these concepts. While power refers to the influence strategies that an individual uses to intentionally change an outcome (Benton & Maloni, 2005; Lui et al., 2015), influence, in turn, is how power is exercised through the use of different influence strategies (Simpson, Oriña & Rothman, 2015) to change beliefs, attitudes or behaviour of another person(s). Furthermore, Olson & Cromwell (1975) note that power is synonymous as an influence, control, authority, assertiveness, and dominance. In family decision-making, power relations are ambiguous, and the exertion of power takes place in very subtle ways. Much of the ambiguity in defining power stems from the multi-dimensional nature of the construct. French and Raven (1959, p. 150) 'define power in terms of influence'. They further argued that 'influence is kinetic power, just as power is potential influence' (French & Raven, 1959, p. 152). Raven (1992, p. 218) later added that influence is 'the change of belief, attitude or behaviour of a person - the target of influence, which results from the action, or presence, of another person or group of persons – the influencing agent ... power is defined as the potential for such influence'.

Furthermore, power is perceived as relational or system property that stresses dyadic processes rather than personal traits (Lewin, 1951; Emerson, 1962; Yukl, 1981). According to Emerson (1962), the power to influence or control the other exists indirectly in the other's dependence. Consumer researchers often use power and influence and do not offer suitable or definite distinctions. Except for Mallalieu and Faure (1998), who offered tentative definitions of both concepts. They said, 'Power is central to understanding how behaviour is influenced' (Mallalieu & Faure (1998, p. 408). Moreover, while there has been much research in the areas of power and influence,

there has been very little agreement on the definitions of these terms. The difficulties stem from how power could and should be defined and validated in empirical studies. These concerns are vital since different definitions of power could create differing theoretical conclusions (Simpson et al., 2015).

Michael Foucault's work on power is synonymous with power theorisations. Although this researcher does not intend to offer a comprehensive account of the work of Foucault, his concepts are relevant to the study of influence in families, given the close connection of influence and power. Foucault, like other researchers, did not offer one standard definition of power:

'When I examine relationships of power, I create no theory of power. I examine how relationships of power interact...I am no theoretician of power. The question of power in itself doesn't interest me' (1996, p. 360).

Foucault further argues that 'the important thing is not to attempt some kind of deduction of power starting from its centre and aimed at the discovery of the extent to which it permeates into the base' (1980a, p. 99) but rather to investigate how power is exercised. Foucault (1997) also argued that power as a physical thing does not exist, but rather only exists once it is utilised and put into action, and he stresses that he believes that all individuals are equal in their use of power potential, and that power should not be seen as a phenomenon 'of one individual's consolidated and homogenous domination over others, or that of one group or class over others' (1980a, p98).

Some researchers have conceptualised power as resource-based ability to attain proposed objective effects (Weber, 1947; Dahl, 1957; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003). From this perspective, power represents the personal resources that define the capacity to influence. Within the context of family decision making, this personal resource of power enables individuals to have the capacity to influence. According to Raven, Schwarzwald & Kolowsky (1998, p. 307) power is used 'so that he or she can influence another person to do what that person would not have done otherwise ...', power sources or bases differ from influence techniques as the former refer to potential and the latter to the actual use of power' (Raven, Schwarzwald & Kolowsky, 1998, p. 307).

This thesis adopts the definition of power as the aggregate discretion and means that one must influence others to achieve an outcome (Sturm & Antonakis, 2015). According to Blood and Wolfe (1960) partners with higher status background, more organisational experience and more education tend to make most of the decisions. Other studies indicate that a person's control over resources, including social resources (such as membership in groups), human resources (e.g. education), and economic resources improves their ability to exercise choice (Kabeer 1999; Sen & Batliwala 2000; Quisumbing & Maluccio 2003). Moreover, variables such as occupational status, education and income determine how influence is distributed. The bases of power, forming the foundations for the effectiveness of influence strategies, have been identified by French and Raven (1959) and were later extended by Raven (1992, 1993). These are discussed in the following section.

Olson and Cromwell (1975) discussed three domains of family power as *power bases*, *power processes* and *power outcomes*. The first domain, the basis of family power, consists mainly of the resources which a family member contributes to the household. This is thought to increase that member's ability to exercise control within the relationship. French and Raven (1959) also identified power bases from which a person can derive power. French and Raven's (1959) theory is discussed in detail in the sections below. The second domain, family power processes, focuses on the interaction between and among the family members. It includes processes occurring during family discussions and involves the degree to which individuals attempt to influence or control decision outcomes through assertiveness. The third domain, family power outcomes, focuses on who makes the decision or who wins the argument. While the domain of family power has been widely researched, the family power process has been relatively neglected because researchers find it easier to collect data on decision outcomes than on decision processes (Kerrane & Hogg, 2013; Mikeska et al., 2017). Consequently, in contemporary familial settings, how does family environments affect adolescents' choice and use of influence in ethical food decision-making. This thesis seeks to explore more in this area.

2.4.2 Bases of Power in family decision making

French and Raven (1959) identified six power bases. They argued that these bases were not an exhaustive list of all potential power bases (Brill, 1992; Williams & Burns, 2000). Although the original bases power bases were five, theoretical and empirical studies of organisational behaviour have identified seven behavioural power bases. Later Raven

(1965) included another power, "information power" (Raven & Kruglanski, 1970; Brown et al., 1983) and the seventh power, "connection" was added as another base of power (Hersey et al., 1979; Ansari, 1990). The six power bases which include reward power, expert power, legitimate power, referent power, coercive power and informational power, are discussed below (relating to how such power bases are utilised by parents/adolescents in families) is also offered.

2.4.2.1 Reward power is the ability of a person to grant something favourable to another person based on the desired outcome. Reward power depends on the target's perception that he or she is rewarded if he or she conforms to the agent's influence attempt. Reward power is thought to increase the attraction of the target to the agent. Reward power is evident within decision making in families, particularly concerning the use of bargaining and deal-making. For example, parents may make promises to reward the good behaviour of their children providing that they comply with their wishes or decisions. Conversely, children may reward their parents with good behaviour, such as helping with chores and showing of affection (Flurry & Burns, 2005) or make deals and compromise with their parents (Palan & Wilkes, 1997) in attempts to get what they want, with compromise often viewed in a favourable light by parents.

2.4.2.2 Expert power refers to how an individual is perceived to have knowledge in a specific area in which an influence attempt is made as well as a general perception of expertise (French & Raven, 1959; Hinkin & Schriesheim, 1989). Expert power is based not on actual competence, but perceived competence (Carli, 1999). Expert power is associated with autonomic decisions (Davis & Rigaux, 1974) being made, discussed

earlier, in which a family member is thought to possess superior knowledge in a specific area. In family decision making a parent or child have expert power when they are perceived to have considerable information in a product range (e.g. Simmons Market Research Bureau, 1993). The theory of socialisation also adds support for expert power being used within families. Parents are thought to be experts in consumption decisions and so possess expert power in decision-making and often teach consumer-related skills (Palan & Wilkes, 1997). However, reverse socialisation (Ekstrom, 2007; Grønhøj & Thøgersen, 2012) and reciprocal socialisation (Moore, Wilkie & Adler, 2001) indicate that parents can also learn and be guided by their children who may possess superior knowledge in a specific area, for instance in the use of innovative products (Cotte & Wood, 2004).

2.4.2.3 Legitimate Power refers to how an individual is perceived to have the right to exert influence or right to influence the beliefs or behaviour of another person (Bruins, 1999; Flurry & Burns, 2005). Legitimate power is based on a feeling of 'oughtness' and stems from internalised values (French & Raven, 1959, p.159). Legitimate power is based on position (Raven, 1993), and is perceived as a form of entitlement (Carli, 1999). In family decision-making, children with legitimate power are those perceived to have the right to make or influence decisions on the bases of their specific personal interest in a product (Flurry & Burns, 2005). Parents are naturally thought to have a legitimate right to have power over their children and influence their behaviour.

2.4.2.4 Referent power is the perceived ability of how an individual is attracted or closely associated with another person (French & Raven, 1959). It means an individual

or group's likeableness and social attraction and is relationship-based (Carli, 1999). Family members who possess referent power are thought to be socially skilled and pleasant; skills which Eagly (1987) associates with women more than with men. Referent power is used when a person wishes to emulate other persons' anticipated preferences to feel closer to him/her (Flurry & Burns, 2005). Referent power in families is evidenced through coalitions which may form (Lee & Collins, 2000). Individual family members may be attracted to a family subgroup based on that group's objectives and attractiveness.

2.4.2.5 Coercive Power is the perceived ability in the agent to administer punishment because of noncompliance of the target (French & Raven, 1959; Flurry & Burns, 2005). While, the perceived punishment may or may not eventually occur, coercive power is thought to decrease the attraction between the target and the agent. Palan and Wilkes (1997) suggest that parents can employ the coercive power base as a response to their child's influence strategies which Palan and Wilkes (1997) refers to as parental response strategies, by threatening to punish the child if he or she does not stop their influence strategy. While children may not be seen to have coercive power, they could engage in troublesome behaviours i.e. pestering, complaining, or anger which could psychologically act as coercion (Flurry & Burns, 2005) or utilise the coercive power base on their parents by threatening to cause a scene should they not get what they want, which is suggested to be particularly effective in public spaces (Moore et al., 2001). McHale, Updegraff, Tucker & Crouter (2002), for instance, suggest that children often use violence, or threats of violence to change the behaviour and opinions of other siblings in their favour.

2.4.2.6 Informational Power refers to the perceived ability of the agent to influence the target based on the judged relevance of the information contained in the agent's message (Erchul & Raven, 1997). Other researchers have used different terms for informational power (Raven et al., 1998), including rational persuasion (Yuki & Tracey, 1992) and persuasiveness (Yuki & Falbe, 1991). Parents often provide children with information and are often the main source of information for children, within family decision-making and in the socialisation process. However, today the Internet has changed the nature of the family decision-making process. With its ability to provide easily accessible information and purchase options, the Internet has potentially altered the decision-making roles of family members based on their interest in and expertise with the Internet. With easy internet access on their phones, tablets and computers, children have become "Internet Mavens" whom the family may depend more for providing information from the virtual marketplace and have greater relative influence in the family decision-making process than their "nonmaven" family members (Belch et al., 2005).

French and Raven's (1959) bases of power have been criticised on several levels; Podsakoff and Schriesheim (1985) consider their findings forced and artificial due to problems they consider rest with their methodology which included the use of ranking techniques; Kipnis and Schmidt (1983) suggest a greater number of power bases may exist; and Raven, Schwarzwald and Koslowsky (1998) highlight that multiple bases can be used at a given time, which the initial conceptualisation did not discuss. However, French and Raven's (1959) power bases remain highly insightful in helping us understand power and the associated influence studies.

With power and influence been discussed and introduced, attention is now directed towards exploring what we currently know about how children, initially excluded from family decision making studies, attempt to influence family decisions in the next section.

2.5 The influence strategies of Children

Influence strategies are actions intended to achieve control over the decision outcome in the decision-making process (Simpson et al., 2015). Understanding the role of children's influence in household decision making has been identified as an area of great importance and has attracted the attention of marketers (Kerrane & Hogg, 2013; Mikeska et al., 2017). There is plenty of evidence to suggest that children do not only consume but also exert substantial influence in household decision making (e.g. Lawlor & Prothero, 2011; Kim, et al., 2018). The existing literature on child influence strategies is reviewed, with the major influence strategies identified in table 2.1, which offers a summary and examples of the various influence strategies children use in attempts to influence decision outcomes.

Atkin (1978) gave an initial insight into the influence strategies children apply in a supermarket. Atkin (1978), researching cereal choice, concluded that the influence of children was highest in obtaining the cereal they wanted if they told their mothers to buy the item for them, rather than if they merely asked for it. The yielding to child demands was attributed to the desire of the mothers to leave the supermarket without their children "causing a scene". This seems to contradict Berey and Pollay's (1968)

findings which concluded that not all mothers gave in to their child's cereal demands, and that child-centred mothers chose the product that they felt was best for their child, regardless of their demands.

Atkin (1978) identified two influence strategies of children; directly asking for things and telling or demanding for items. Whereas the influence strategies of adult spouses within family decision making have been extensively researched (see Falbo & Peplau, 1980) the influence strategies of children have not received the same level of research attention (Williams & Burns, 2000; Kerrane & Hogg, 2013; Mikeska et al., 2017). There is a limited body of literature which explores the influence strategies of children, however, this body of knowledge solely focus on how “lone” children attempt to get their way in family decisions.

Cowan, Drinkard and MacGavin (1984) asked adolescents (aged between twelve and eighteen years) to write essays about how they got their way with their mother, father and best friend. Fifteen influence strategies were identified, subdivided by whether the strategies used were direct or indirect. Direct strategies include the use of more overt behaviours (asking, begging and pleading, telling or asserting, reasoning, demanding or arguing, stating importance, bargaining and persistence) whilst indirect strategies, termed manipulative by Tedeschi (1972), are believed to occur when 'the influencer acts as if the person on the receiving end is not aware of the influence' (Johnson, 1976, p. 100). By contrast, indirect strategies are described as devious and convoluted attempts to gain control (Webster & Reiss, 2001) and may include the use of negative

affect (e.g. crying, showing anger), positive affect (e.g. looking sweet and innocent), verbal manipulation (e.g. lying and sweet-talking), eliciting reciprocity (doing something positive and then asking), using an advocate (e.g. asking a sibling to help persuade parents) and evasion (e.g. asking the parent who is more likely to say yes), laissez-faire (e.g. doing what he/she wants, regardless) (Cowan et al., 1984; Falbo & Peplau, 1980).

Cowan and Avants (1988), in their follow up study, explicitly focused on the mother-child (aged between eleven and fifteen years old) dyad. In this 1988 study, twelve influence strategies were identified through a series of questionnaires administered to the child and his or her mother. The twelve influence strategies identified are *'ask, bargain, show positive feelings, do as I please, tell, show negative affect', persistence, beg and plead, perform good deeds, reason, cry and get angry'* Three general categories of influence strategies were further identified through factor analysis; those strategies which were used where high resistance from the parent was expected (anticipating non-compliance strategies, e.g. beg and plead, cry), those strategies used where low resistance was expected from the parent (autonomous strategies, e.g. tell, laissez-faire) and strategies used in which the relationship between the parent and child involved give and take (egalitarian strategies, e.g. bargain and reason).

Palan and Wilkes (1997), through in-depth interviews conducted with an adolescent (aged between twelve and fifteen years) and his or her mother and father, identified four classes of influence strategies which adolescents used to influence their parents. The classes of influence strategies identified by Palan and Wilkes (1997) include

bargaining strategies, persuasion strategies, emotional strategies and request strategies.

Whilst Palan and Wilkes (1997) did include both parents in their study, their study was predominantly orientated to intact, nuclear families (although it is recognised that a small percentage of parents involved in this study were stepparents). Acknowledging this point, they state that 'future research might also investigate more closely how family structure and parental rearing practices affect adolescent participation in family decision making' (Palan & Wilkes, 1997, p. 167). Equally, Palan and Wilkes (1997, p. 160) also limited the number of children per family involved in their family decision-making study, also acknowledging that '*all families had at least one child in addition to the participating adolescent*'. This additional untapped child may very well have different experiences and employ very different influence strategies from the adolescent who participated in their study. Likewise, the ability of siblings to undertake influence strategies as a collective (Lee & Collins, 2000; Kerrane, Hogg & Bettany, 2012) is neglected as this study merely collected data from one lone child per family.

Table 2.1: The child influence strategy studies

Author(s)	Context of study	Participants & Methods	Influence strategy
Kerrane, Hogg & Bettany (2012)	Influence strategies	29 family informants Child–parent interaction in family decision making	
Lawlor & Prothero (2011)	Influence strategies	52 boys & girls (7–9-year-old). Purchase requests	Ask, persistence, deal, positive affect, negative affect
Götze, Prange & Uhrovská (2009)	Influence strategies	14 parents (their children aged 10–15 years). Electronic products; food; clothing; sports equipment; playthings;	Bargaining, want, request, persuasion express

		accessories; cosmetic products; books and special interest magazines	
Shoham & Dalakas (2005)	adolescents' influence tactics	Parents of children ages 10 - 18 in Israel breakfast cereals and athletic shoes	
Flurry & Burns (2005)	Family influence	987 mother-child (13–17 years) pairs. Toy purchase	Ask nicely, Bargain, Show affection, Just ask, Con, Display anger, Beg
Belch, Krentler, and Willis-Flurry (2005)	Vacation purchase	Informational (Virtual knowledge used to contribute towards family decision making)	Informational, Show anger, Cry or pout, Con
Marquis (2004)	Influence strategies	267 boys and 267 girls (mean age 10.5±0.6 years' girls, 10.5±0.7 years' boys. Food purchases	Bargain, persuasion, emotional
Thomson & Laing (2003)	How the Internet is used to inform decision making	20 nuclear families (all parents and children, aged 13–15 years). How the Internet is used to inform decision making	Informational (Using the Internet to collect information to strengthen, purchase requests), bargaining
Williams & Burns (2002)	Common, purchase, influence	100 families: mother, father, & one child (12–15 years). Adolescent–parent interaction in family decision making	Persuasion, emotional, request, asking, bargaining, showing affection, behaving nicely, pleading and begging
Lee & Collins (2000)	Simulated decision making scenario; how to spend \$150 at a family restaurant	Videotaped observations of family interactions	Show anger, con, cry or pout, experience, coalition, Emotion
Palan & Wilkes (1997)	Adolescent–parent interaction in family decision making	100 families: mother, father, & one child (12–15 years). Adolescent–parent interaction in family decision making	Bargaining, anger, reasoning, cry, good behaviour, pleading
Cowan & Avants (1988)	Family influence	50 families; diary study of children (3–11years). Product requests (food, toys, clothes, sports equipment)	Emotional, ask, bargain, tell, negative feelings, positive feelings
Isler, Popper & Ward (1987)	Children's purchase requests	250 families; mothers encouraged to keep a four week diary entry for one child (5-7 years) in the family	Laissez-faire, pleading, bargaining, evasion, asking

Cowan, Drinkard, & MacGavin (1984)	'How I get my way with my mother... father...best friend'	198 adolescents (11–17 years) Individual Essays	Asking, Begging and pleading, Telling or assertion
Atkin (1978)	Parent-child interaction in supermarket decision-making	516 family shopping units (children aged 2–12years). Cereal purchase decisions	Demands, request or express desire

Source: Adapted from Kerrane, Hogg & Bettany (2012, p. 812-817)

Others have also contributed to what we know about child influence strategies. Williams and Burns (2000), through semi-structured in-depth and telephone interviews with a child (aged eight to eleven years old) and his or her mother, and questionnaire distribution to children, identified seven dimensions of direct influence strategies; asking nicely, displaying anger, bargaining, showing affection, begging and pleading, just asking and conning. Examples of the influence strategies (see table 2.1). Whilst Johnson, McPhail and Yau (1994) identified 'Politics' as a way in which a family member can get his or her way, the potential to form coalitions and of teamwork is largely an unexplored area in existing consumer research studies focussing on the influence strategies of children, although Lee and Collins (2000) found empirical evidence to support the formation of coalitions in family decision making in their nuclear family study. The next section reviews coalition as a decision-making strategy.

2.5.1 Coalition Strategy

Research suggests that coalition formation provide a mutual tactic for resolving decision-making conflict (Vuchinich et al., 1988). Coalition influence attempt has been associated with political strategies and application of coercion (Sheth, 1974; Johnson et al., 1994) and only arises when the family disagrees during the decision-making

process. Politicking comprises the formation of coalitions and sub-groups to segregate any member with whom there is conflict. Lee and Collins (2000, p. 1183) define 'coalition' as "two or more members of the family unit who collude to influence the outcome of a particular decision". The coalition strategy is often called 'majority rule' (Pearson, 1989). Children may form a coalition with a sibling or a parent to influence a purchase decision (Lee & Collins, 2000, 2002; Thomson, 2007; Gbadamosi, 2012). Coalition strategy is a means by which children can boost their chances of influence success by forming unions with other family members to best sell or justify a purchase request (Lee & Collins, 2000; Thomson et al., 2007). Children recognise the chance to form a coalition with other family members to influence a high involvement purchase decision. This can include planned and unplanned coalitions between siblings, or between children and parents directed at influencing a decision outcome. Child initiated coalitions often targeted one parent whom they see as being easier to persuade or more supportive but, with highly involved purchases, these are often longer-term coalitions established over a long time (Thompson et al., 2007). Vuchinich et al.'s (1988) study suggest that more than 50 per cent of family decisions are resolved through the formation of coalitions. However, other studies assert that the use of coalition strategy in decision making is rare (Sheth & Cosmos, 1975; Belch et al., 1980). Studies on coalition behaviour have had conflicting conclusions.

Given the changing role of the child (attributable to individualisation and the changing of family lifestyles), it would be highly insightful to see if siblings do work together to get their way - especially so at times of great change, such as growth in ethical lifestyle.

Indeed, it would be equally insightful to explore the influence strategies of sibling groups across a range of products such as ethical foods, firmly focussing on better understanding the process of influence itself - following Williams and Burns (2000); Kerrane et al., (2012) and Kim et al's., (2015) call for further research to explore the influence strategies of adolescents, and also addressing Palan and Wilkes' (1997) call for research that explores the influence strategies of adolescents across a range of family structures. Lack of research about coalitions raises many unanswered questions. For example, do adolescents work in group i.e. coalition with other family members, and if so, what factors determine adolescent's ability to form coalitions with others, and what issues determine the success or failure of those coalitions to influence family ethical food decisions? This thesis seeks to explore these questions further.

2.5.2 Product related influence

Much of the research on child purchase influence has highlighted a strong link between levels of influence and the specific product purchase decision. Geuens et al. (2002) suggested that product type was one of the most important factors affecting the extent of child purchase influence. Numerous researchers have found evidence to suggest that the influence of children on family decision making varies depending on the type of product involved (e.g. Isler et al., 1987; Götze et al., 2009; Chaudhary & Gupta, 2012). Research, in general, has noted a degree of variation both between and within families concerning influence levels for various products (Hall et al., 1995; Kim et al., 2018). Research has often concluded that children are more likely to influence the purchase decisions that directly affect them (e.g. Foxman et al. 1989a; Hall et al., 1995; Götze et

al., 2009). These purchases are either purchases for the child or family purchases in which the child is involved in the consumption of the final product and is therefore included within the decision process. Overall, children tend to have more influence over less expensive products and those for their use (e.g. Foxman et al., 1989a). Therefore, as may be predicted, children have been found to have considerable influence over products where they are the primary consumer such as snacks (Ahuja & Stinson 1993), toys (Frideres 1973; Mangleburg 1990), children's wear (Foxman & Tansuhaj, 1988), cereal (Atkin, 1978; Belch et al., 1985) and eating out (Labrecque & Ricard 2001; Lee & Beatty, 2002).

Similarly, Hall et al. (1995) found that children had considerable influence over low involvement, everyday purchases such as breakfast cereal, take-away food, video games, and brand of clothes. This influence behaviour is perhaps predictable considering the products researched seem very child orientated and are relatively small items rather than family products such as cars and televisions which require a much larger amount of spending and risk. This will be discussed in the next section.

Rather than merely influencing purchase decisions for products that they directly use or consume, as was mentioned above, children have been found to influence a much wider range of product decisions for items that are used by the whole family (e.g. Foxman et al., 1989a; 1989b). Studies have shown that children can influence a wide range of large product decisions including cars, holidays and televisions (Götze et al., 2009; Chaudhary & Gupta, 2012; Kim et al., 2015). Some of the highest levels of influence have been found in child-oriented family purchases such as holidays and leisure

activities (e.g. Mangleburg, 1990; Hall et al., 1995; Ashraf & Khan, 2016) although it is acknowledged that often this influence level is less than for individual purchases for the child. Influence levels are lower for family purchases that are classed as adult-oriented such as cars, furniture and TV's (e.g. Mangleburg, 1990). Children may not be interested in these purchases and parents seeing the purchase as risky may prefer to decide without allowing the child to make an input. However, Foxman and Tansuhaj, (1988) found that both mothers and adolescents agreed that the adolescents had some influence on products perceived as high-risk, family purchases (e.g. living room furniture). Their research has added to the body of evidence supporting the notion that adolescents make an active contribution to family purchase decisions even for expensive purchases that are not for their use.

Finally, an important point to consider when discussing influence on larger family purchases is much of the research has focused on only direct influence behaviour and has not acknowledged the potential for indirect influence. Therefore, it may be true to say that although levels of direct influence are sometimes low for family purchases, this may be compensated by increased levels of indirect influence. However, it is questionable whether research is capturing this type of influence and therefore may be underestimating influence levels.

The previous discussion has explored the types of purchase decisions that children influence. A key factor suggested by researchers for the variation in child influence across purchase decisions is interest in the decision. Roberts et al., (1981) found that children had higher influence over family purchases that had high usage rates for the

family. Ekstrom et al., (1987) felt that a reasonable explanation for this was that children were more likely to try to influence product decisions they saw as important. It is suggested that the more interested a person is in the product decision, the more likely they are to become involved in the decision-making process and therefore influence the outcome (e.g. Foxman et al., 1989b; Levy & Lee, 2004).

In their results, Foxman et al. (1989b) supported these suggestions and found that knowledge and importance affected adolescent's influence. Similarly, Beatty and Talpade (1994) found that product importance and usage provided the most consistent explanation for the influence that teenagers believed they had on family decision making. The more interested an individual is in a purchase decision, the more likely they are to invest time and effort in influencing the purchase decision. They may collect purchase information or may rely on their knowledge to the extent that they are an expert. There are also links made to relative investment theory with the suggestion that an individual's involvement in a decision (and therefore perhaps influence) is determined in part by how much that purchase decision affects them (Beatty & Talpade, 1994). The Involvement theory suggests that the individual who is more highly involved with the product (in terms of interest, knowledge, use) will have more decision -making power for that product (Qualls, 1987).

The influence strategies adopted by children are also suggested to vary by product category (Hall et al., 1995). Children may be more willing to adopt elaborate influence strategies if they perceive the purchase as important. Foxman and Tansuhaj (1988) explored the link between the perceived importance of the purchase and influence, but

no concrete conclusions were reached. They highlighted the lack of research investigating the link between product importance perceptions and children's perceived purchase influence suggesting there is a need to explore the importance of this factor on influence levels further as research to date seems to suggest there is a positive relationship.

2.5.2 Summary

A diversity of strategies has been identified. Kerrane, Hogg & Bettany (2012) attempted to classify these different child influence as request (e.g. direct ask, demanding, informed requests), persuasion (e.g. opinionating, coalition formation, nagging/persistence and pestering), laissez-faire strategies (e.g. taking independent action), bargaining (e.g. deal-making, eliciting reciprocity), and emotional (e.g. displays of positive and negative affect). This section has reviewed the literature on direct and indirect influence strategies of children. Whereas direct strategies involve the use of more overt behaviours (e.g. asking, begging, and pleading), indirect strategies are believed to occur when 'the influencer acts as if the person on the receiving end is not aware of the influence' (Johnson, 1976, p. 100). Williams and Burns (2000) call for further research which investigates the influence strategies of children. Whilst the influence strategies of adult spouses within families are widely documented, the influence of children within families has been under-researched.

The next section further elaborates on the influence strategies of children, reviewing literature which suggests that their potential to influence family decision making, and the extent of their participation in the process, is affected by several antecedent factors.

2.6 Factors affecting Child Influence

Research has shown that apart from product type (discussed above) there are other factors which can impact on influence levels. Table 2.2 below summarises some key areas identified by researchers as having an impact on child influence and provides summary examples of findings. These factors will not be discussed at length for three reasons; firstly, research into many of these factors is limited and sometimes inconclusive and therefore does not warrant extended discussion; secondly, much of the research on the impact of these factors has been conducted concerning husbands and wives and has not considered the impact on - child influence to a great extent (e.g. sex role-orientation of parents); thirdly, these factors were not a key focus for this thesis as rather than measuring influence levels, this research aimed to generate depth insight into the family ethical food decision-making process and adolescent influence behaviours. The table below indicates that children's purchase influence varies according to several factors, but there is little explanation as to why this is the case. Consequently, Mangleburg (1990) raised the need for sound theorising within the field.

An important point to note is the interactive nature of the factors affecting influence. There is not one single factor working in isolation, rather there is an interplay between

numerous factors, making it very difficult for researchers to reach concrete conclusions about the specific input of a single factor (Ekstrom et al. 1987).

Table 2.2: Factors affecting child influence

Factors affecting influence	Example of authors	Summary of factors
Age of the child	Ward & Wackman (1972)	Influence attempts seemed to decrease with age. The older child, mother more likely to respond positively to a request
	Sherry et al. (1999) Dunne (1999) Rust (1993)	Older children found to have more influence than younger children
Gender of child	Atkin (1978)	Higher success rate for purchase requests among female children than male.
	Moschis & Mitchell (1986)	Female adolescents were more likely than male adolescents to request products, make product-related decisions and purchase the products.
Social Class	Mehrotra & Torges (1977)	Increasing child influence the higher the social class of parents.
	Jenkins (1979)	Higher levels of child influence in families with higher socio-economic status.
Family structure/size	Mangleburg et al. (1999) Hahlo (1999) Geuens et al. (2003).	Highest levels of perceived adolescent influence in single-parent families, lowest in step-families
	Darley and Lim (1986) Ahuja (1993)	Adolescent influence increased in size for some products in single-parent families.
	Mehrotra & Torges (1977) Dunne (1999)	Child influence increased as family size increased
Parents employment status	Beatty & Talpade (1994)	Dual income status allowed teenagers employment status greater influence for

		some durable family purchases
Parental sex-role orientation (SRO)	Scanzoni & Szinovacz (1980) Roberts et al. (1981) Lee & Beatty (2002)	Parents with a modern SRO will encourage adolescent participation decision making and therefore they will have more influence. Children had less influence over purchase decisions when the mother was considered traditional or conservative in her role. Adolescents of modern mothers are more influential if their mothers do not work outside the home; if they work outside the home, the impact of SRO is less
Child resources (income contribution, employment status, education, grades, parental love and affection)	Moschis & Mitchell (1986) Foxman et al. (1989a) Foxman et al. (1989b)	Adolescents with more money have more purchasing independence and are less likely to request and discuss products for individual or family use. Earnings and employment positively affect teen's perceived influence Grades were particularly significant in explaining increased influence by children.
Situational characteristics (e.g. perceived risk and time pressure); related to product characteristics	Davis & Rigaux (1974) Qualls (1982) Sheth (1974) Lee (1992)	For a high-risk purchase (e.g. expensive purchase) joint decision making it likely. When there is pressure to make a quick decision, a joint decision is less likely. A low risk may be made by individual members.

For example, Levy and Lee (2004) suggested that family, individual and situational characteristics work together to determine who will have a direct and indirect influence. Similarly, Foxman et al. (1989b) found that the extent to which adolescents influenced purchase decisions was affected by the family communication environment, the adolescent's personal resources and perceived product knowledge and importance. A key area into which several factors fall is family characteristics; this includes factors such as social class; parental employment status; family structure and sex-role orientation. Findings within this area have been mixed and largely inconclusive. For example, studies indicate that children have more influence in higher socioeconomic status families (Jenkins, 1979; Moschis & Mitchell, 1986) however Atkins (1978), Jenkins (1979) and Cross & Gilly (2014) did not find any significant relationship.

Some researchers have made claims that child influence increased as family size increased (Kerrane & Hogg, 2013), this finding has been disputed by others (e.g. Ward et al. 1977). With parental employment status, Beatty and Taplade (1994) found that adolescents in dual-income families were allowed more influence. However, when Lee and Beatty (2002) explored the interaction effects of SRO (Qualls, 1987) and occupational status of wives, the result was less clear cut. The results indicated that adolescents of modern mothers were more influential if their mothers did not work outside the home than if they did.

In addition to the family characteristics that impact on influence, the table also highlights situational and individual characteristics of the child (e. g. resources, age and

gender) that can affect influence levels. Concerning resources, the resource theory (Blood & Wolfe, 1960) suggests that by comparing the resources of parents and children, who plays the dominant role within a family purchase decision can be determined. However, this seems to be dependent on the type of resource as although some have found that resources such as grades can positively affect influence (Foxman et al. 1989a), others have found that resources such as income can decrease influence among adolescent children as this makes them more independent (e.g. Moschis & Mitchell, 1986).

Conceivably, most studies have found that older children have considerably more influence than younger children. This can be explained by the fact that older children (adolescents) have more experience with products and have acquired, a greater level of consumer skill (Mangleburg, 1990; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013), and may use different influence strategies to change decision outcomes than younger children (Foxman, Tansuhaj & Ekstrom 1989a; Mikeska et al., 2017; Kim, Lee & Han, 2018). While younger children tend to simply ask for products, adolescents (e.g., 11 years and above) are found to interact more with parents and use a wider variety of influence strategies than younger children (e.g., 3-11 years) do (Atkin, 1978; Isler, Popper & Ward 1987; Flurry & Veeck, 2009). This has been the case in all decision stages for durables, non-durables, and outside entertainments (Götze, Prange & Uhrovská, 2009).

Within the marketing literature, there is very little research reported on the impact of gender on child purchase influence. Perhaps due to their early learning of sex roles,

Moschis and Mitchell (1986) found that female adolescents were more likely than a male adolescent to request products, make product-related decisions and purchase the products. Atkin (1978) also found a higher success rate for purchase requests among female children than male. In addition to the factors related to the family and the purchase situation, some researchers have explored the impact of culture on influence behaviour, although much of this has been focussed on spouses and did not include children (e.g. Hempel, 1974; Green et al. 1983). These studies reported conflicting results on the impact of culture. However, there are some signs that culture does impact on influence structures (Rose, Dalakas & Kropp, 2003) and therefore there is a need for further cross-cultural research.

Additional family characteristics not mentioned in the table which have been found to impact on child purchase influence are parental communication style and consumer socialisation attitudes. To understand the impact of these factors, it is first important to introduce these concepts to the reader. The following section will introduce the concept of consumer socialisation and will explore the dynamics of parent-child communication also address how power relational theory would relate to the parent-child interaction. The discussion will seek to highlight how these factors impact on child purchase influence.

2.6.1 Parental socialisation

The consumer socialisation theory argues that the journey through childhood is a learning curve during which children acquire consumer-related knowledge, skills, and behaviours (John, 2008; Kim et al., 2015). Children acquire such skills from interacting

with parents, peers, and the media (Moschis & Churchill, 1978; Thomson & Laing, 2003). The theory of consumer socialisation originates from the wider research in socialisation, which Zigler and Child (1969) referred to as the method by which individuals, through interaction or transaction with others, develop their precise forms of socially relevant experiences and behaviours. The purpose of socialisation is to live in a society where there is a need for conforming to societal norms or expectations. Moschis (1987, p. 23) writes: "from a social perspective, an individual can be said to be socialized when he or she has learned to think and feel according to society's expectations." To live in society comprises becoming a member of that society. According to Brim (1966, p. 3), "socialisation refers to the process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions that make them able members of their society." This definition strongly influenced Ward's (1974) definition of socialisation. Moreover, Gecas (1981, p. 166) highlights the membership element and argued that: "...identification with the socialiser or the socialising group makes one more receptive to their influence and motivated to be socialized in accordance with their standards." It has been suggested that an individual is not born as a member of society: "he is born with a predisposition towards sociality, and he becomes a member of society" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 149). From a marketing perspective, to live in society involves functioning in the marketplace (e.g., Ward, 1974).

The object of consumer socialisation studies has been about how individuals learn to be effective consumers. Ward (1974, p. 2) adopted the concept of socialisation to marketing context by defining the consumer socialisation as "the process by which young people acquire skills, knowledge, and attitudes relevant to their functioning as

consumers in the marketplace." Later studies examine the *antecedents, process, and outcomes* of consumer socialisation (Moschis & Churchill, 1978; Moschis & Moore, 1979; Moschis 1985, 1987). While consumer socialisation definition comprises young people, Ward further elaborates, in the same article, that socialisation is a life-long process and this process has inspired the concept of reverse socialisation (Ekström, 2007; Grønhøj & Thøgersen, 2012) where parents also learn about consumption behaviour from their children.

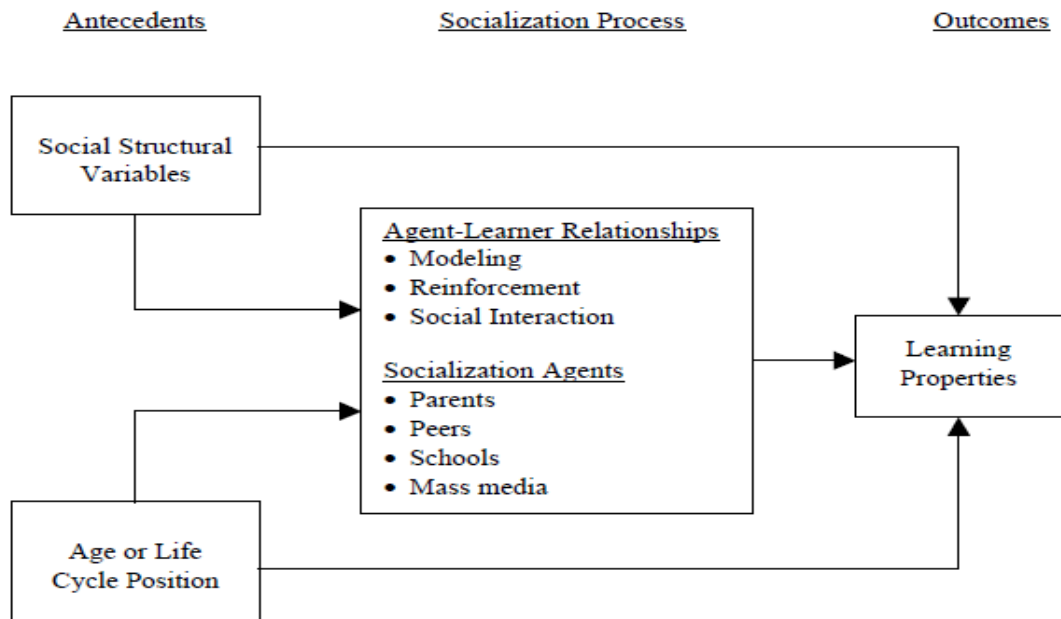
Consequently, consumer socialisation theory (see fig. 2.1) has gained extensive application in the study of how children develop as consumers. It emphasises that children acquire consumption-related skills, knowledge, and attitudes through interactivity with various socialisation agents – family, friends, social and mass/social media. It has been suggested that children's learning may take place through the following three processes: *social interaction, reinforcement* and *modelling* (McLeod & Chaffee, 1972; Moschis & Churchill, 1978; Moschis & Moore, 1979; McNeal, 1987).

2.6.1.1 Social Interaction

The reinforcement and modelling processes focus on how socialisation agents such as parents transform children's development through their behaviour as setting the pace, reinforcers and role models. Nevertheless, children are essentially active contributors in the entire socialisation process and not just passive recipients. They might influence socialisation agents at the same time as they are influenced by the socialisation agents (e.g. Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Caruana & Vassallo, 2003; Wang et al., 2007; Lawlor &

Prothero, 2011). This phenomenon of 'reciprocal socialisation' (Moore et al., 2003; Kim et al., 2018) or reciprocal influence between socialisation agents and 'socialisees' becomes the focus of the learning process of social interaction. Throughout the social interaction process, children react to social relationship and not just simply act. Occasionally, parents may explain, for example why children should eat healthy food and children may analyse the reasoning and accept the explanation. The mutual response process encourages shared reinforcement and punishment (Raush, 1965). Therefore, the frequency and quality of communication between parents and children could have a great deal of effect on how children develop, as well as parents' adjustment toward children (Hsieh, Chiu & Lin, 2006; Kim, Lee & Tomiuk, 2009). Out of this communication, children may learn the practice of consuming ethical foods. However, parents may also pay attention to their children, appraise their reasoning and may go ahead and change their mind on the restrictions. The change of mind indicates the influence of children on parents through the interaction. Social interaction could be a mixture of modelling and reinforcement (Moschis & Churchill, 1978). This interaction may be inspired by children's earlier actions and the consequences of parents' behaviours which, those actions engender (Viswanathan, Childers, & Moore, 2000).

Figure 2.1: A conceptual framework of consumer socialisation



(Moschis and Churchill 1978, p. 600)

These interactions between children and parents (socialisation agent) continually change children’s behaviour and develop their self-concept (e.g. Carlson & Grossbart, 1988; Bao et al., 2007). For instance, regular parent-child communication enhances parents’ influence on children’s consumption behaviours (Moschis, 1985; 1989; Fletcher, Walls, Cook, Madison & Bridges, 2008). Examinations of children interaction were done with cereal choices. The study found that both the child’s assertiveness and the mother’s child-centeredness were central to a mother’s susceptibility to her child’s requests (Berey & Pollay, 1968). Furthermore, Atkin (1978), in his study investigated how parents and children interact in the lead up to supermarket decision-making. Atkin found that whenever children asked their parents to purchase a certain cereal, parents gave in to sixty per cent of those requests. In other words, children are more successful

if they tell their parents to buy them cereal or if they demand their choice, rather than if they simply ask their mother for it or request the item. However, when children employed a more forceful method when demanding cereal, parents gave in to sixty-six per cent of these demands. Parents' yielding to the demands of their children is extremely affected by the way children communicate their needs. Social interaction occurs in a mutual relationship. This finding seems to contradict Berey and Pollay's (1968) study which concluded that not all mothers, again in terms of cereal choices, yielded to their child's demands and that child-centred mothers chose the product that they felt was best for their child, regardless of their demands. The actions and reactions become important when they are understood by persons in the relationship (Youniss, 1980).

2.6.1.2 Modelling

Modelling involves children's observation and imitation of social agent's (i.e. parents or siblings) behaviour. Children could gain new behaviours, become aware of the consequences of different behaviours, and learn new ways to combine several factors in their existing collection of behaviours when observing others' behaviour (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Yee, Lwin & Ho, 2017). Children may observe parents or siblings get rewards for acting a certain behaviour, and by acting similar behaviours in the future, children themselves may be rewarded (Bandura, 1977; Farrow, Belcher, Coulthard, Thomas, Lumsden, Hakobyan & Haycraft, 2019). Consequently, children through the process of imitation acquire some of social agents' (e.g. parents or siblings) behaviours. This confirms the findings of various studies arguing that children tend to have similar

preferred store types and brand choice to their parents (Childers & Rao, 1992; Heckler, Childers & Arunachalam, 1989; Ebster, Wagner & Neumueller, 2009).

Children are most likely to imitate socialisation agents who are perceived to be influential, respected, caretaker, and have superior knowledge and skill than they do (Johnston & Chen, 2010). Parents provide constant presence with their children since their infancy; offering essential physical and mental needs to their children, therefore they are perceived to be influential; care-providers and offer emotional support; knowledgeable and skilful in carrying out several responsibilities including consumption of which children need to learn. Therefore, parents become one of the most important socialisation agents from whom children are likely to learn how to consume ethically and get involved in the daily ethical food decision-making process. It could also mean that children may learn how to consume ethically outside the family home and then influence other family members to consume ethically.

Modelling or imitation is likely to take place either in circumstances where they are taught to imitate or in other circumstances the parent's actions show them how to use new material or consume in new conditions (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Amato & Fowler, 2002; Farrow et al., 2019). Since parents play a pivotal role in the socialisation process and provide directions about the various elements of a children's life, children's modelling may change if different parents give different directions. It has been found that parents with different parental styles (i.e. Neglecting parents vs. Authoritarian parents) differ in how they direct consumption behaviours, clarifying advertising campaigns and limiting their exposure to the media in general (Carlson & Grossbart,

1988; Kim, Yang & Lee, 2015). Therefore, children's modelling or imitating after parents may change due to different parental styles. More so, the difference could be more apparent with, for instance, authoritative parents who provide more instructions and reasons.

2.6.1.3 Reinforcement

Reinforcement is the learning process where both reward (positive reinforcement of desired attitudes, knowledge and skills) and punishment (negative reinforcement of undesired attitudes, knowledge and skills) are used whenever appropriate by the socialisation agents to engender desired behaviour (Moschis & Churchill, 1978; Bao et al., 2007; Haakens & Pettersen, 2017). Whenever children are rewarded for consuming ethical foods, they could continue to do so to expect a further reward. Conversely, when children are punished for not buying or consuming ethical (healthy) foods, they could start consuming them to prevent any such punishment in the future. This learning process is crucial in developing children's behaviour and attitude (Mischel & Mischel, 1976; Kim, Yang & Lee, 2015). Children's selection of purchase influence in family consumption decisions is entrenched in a series of decision episodes over time, and children are understood to recall decision history and successes when choosing suitable influence strategies (Flurry & Burns, 2005). Eventually, they stick with an influence strategy if it proves effective in persuading parents to buy the products they wanted (Palan & Wilkes, 1997; Götze et al., 2009). On the contrary, if a certain influence strategy proves ineffective, children may not attempt to use it again. When this learning process leads to the discovery of strategies that work, children's confidence increases

with their self-perceived relative influence (Bao et al., 2007), and children are found to repeat rewarding behaviours until they are no longer successful (Flurry & Burns, 2005).

Parents may use both reward and punishment to train children to achieve their socialisation objectives. Parents with different parental styles such as - Indulgent parents vs. Authoritative parents - have been identified to display different expectations about children's development of consumption skills, knowledge, and values (Rose, 1999). Consequently, children's repeat behaviour may be rewarded or punished depending on the parental style. Consequently, children may find it difficult or dither to influence Authoritarian parents. Indulgent parents, on the contrary, are usually tolerant toward children's influence attempts and more willing to satisfy children's request and their underlying reasons. Children may perceive such tolerance of their request as a reward and therefore repeat such influence attempts more often to get their outcome (Palan & Wilkes, 1997; Götze et al., 2009). Consequently, children whose parents use Indulgent style of parenting are likely to exert more influence in family food consumption decision-making than those children whose parents use Authoritarian style. Therefore, it is probable that different parental styles will engender different levels of consumption knowledge and skills, and additionally promote the different scope of influence children may bring to family consumption decisions (Fletcher et al., 2008). Moschis & Churchill's (1978) socialisation framework proposed three key elements in the model as antecedents, socialisation processes, and outcomes and they are discussed below.

2.6.1.4 Antecedents

These comprise social structural variables and life cycle position or age. Social structural variables consist of elements such as family structure, family size and social class (Moschis & Churchill, 1978). These elements provide the basic social setting where learning occurs both directly and indirectly through their impact on the socialisation process (Ward, 1974; Kim, Yang & Lee, 2015). Life cycle position or age do reveal children's lifetime span within which they learn. Just like social structural variables, life cycle position or age could influence children's attainment of consumer learning properties directly or indirectly.

In many research, antecedent variables are acknowledged as incidental factors that affect outcomes of socialisation but are beyond the primary research interest (Mangleburg, 1992; Götze et al., 2009). However, some studies explicitly examined the effect of antecedent variables on consumer socialisation. Moschis and Mitchell (1986) found that children's influence in family consumption decisions (i.e., mentioning the need for products, discussing the purchase, making a purchasing decision, and buying products) is affected by children's age, money earned outside the home, gender, and socioeconomic status. Both Brown and Mann (1990) and Ahuja (1993) found that family structure has a direct impact on children's influence in family decision making, with adolescents in one-parent families participate in more family decisions than those in dual-parent families.

In their study, Moschis and Mitchell (1986) established that the amount and extent of children's influence in family consumption decisions (e.g. declaring the need for

products, discussing what to purchase, making a purchasing decision, and essentially buying products) is affected by their age, money earned outside the home, gender, and socioeconomic status. Other characteristics of the child, including variables such as gender (Wang et al., 2007), and birth position (Flurry, 2007), are also suggested to affect the amount and extent of child influence. Other studies have found that family structure has a direct impact on children's influence in family decision-making with adolescents in one-parent families participate in more family decisions than those in dual-parent families (Brown & Mann, 1990; Ahuja & Stinson, 1993). Moreover, family type (Flurry, 2007) and family size (Caruana & Vassallo, 2003) have also been found to affect children's influence. Burns and Gillett (1987) also investigated the direct effect of antecedent variables such as child's age, sex, number of siblings, weekly allowance, and, on how children participate in family purchase decision-making and whether there is an indirect effect of these antecedent variables on children's purchase participation through their impact on socialisation processes (e.g. family communication environment). They found a significant impact from several siblings when it comes to direct effect. Families with a smaller number of children were likely to adopt a concept-oriented family communication environment. More research is required to completely explore how antecedent variables affect outcomes indirectly through socialisation processes.

2.6.1.5 Socialisation Processes

These processes are social developments by which children attain 'skills, knowledge, and attitudes' (Ward, 1974). They include both the socialisation agents and the learning regimes being used (Moschis & Churchill, 1978; McKinney & Renk, 2008; Kim et al.,

2015). Socialisation agents are bases through which influence elements such as behaviours, attitudes, motivations and norms are conveyed to the learner. Socialisation agents might be an individual or organisation directly involved in socialising the learner, contact with the learner, and control of rewards and punishments toward the learner (Kim et al., 2015). Four commonly studied consumer socialisation agents are parents, mass media, school, and peers. Among the four agents, parents are the most available from infancy through adolescence, supporting children's physical and psychological development. In their studies, Moore-Shay & Lutz, (1988) proposed the child socialisation 'transmission' model which suggests that parents are the prime consumer socialisation force for children - i.e. a child develops as a consumer within the behaviour, rules and restrictions of their parents. Nevertheless, there have been calls for further research to include sibling-to-sibling in addition to parent-to-child influence as part of the socialisation process (Cotte & Wood, 2004, Kerrane, Hogg & Bettany, 2012; Kim, Lee and Han, 2018). Moreover, in many cases, the knowledge children gain through their parents' influence what they learn from other social agents (i.e. Social media, mass media, school, and peers). Because of the exceptional role of parents in children's development, and the intra-familial orientation of this study, this research is interested in the socialisation process which occurs between parents and children (i.e., family socialisation), leaving the other socialisation agents and their interaction with children for future research.

A child's learning process from socialisation agents could comprise modelling, reinforcement, and social interaction. Nonetheless, these three forms of learning regularly occur unconsciously. Children's learning process could occur concurrently in

one single occasion or they could occur interchangeably and independently on different occasions. Consequently, it may be difficult to recognise and monitor the precise learning process occurring between children and their social agents (i.e. parents). Therefore, socialisation studies often encompass the content, structure and frequency of child-agent relationship instead of the precise form of learning (e.g. Moschis & Moore, 1979; Moschis, 1985; Bao et al., 2007; Kim et al., 2015). Studies usually focus on the quality and quantity of relationship that exists between parents and children instead of finding the precise mode of learning, when it comes to family socialisation. Parental style and family communication environment are the two-family socialisation processes that have received a lot of academic attention regarding children's influence and associated learning mechanisms.

2.6.2 Parental style and child influence

The family communication environment comprises both the degree of agent-learner relationship (e.g., frequency of parent-child communication) and the quality of agent-learner relationship - e.g., concept-orientation vs. socio-orientation (McLeod & Chaffee, 1972; Moschis, 1985). Parental style, while not precisely related to Moschis and Churchill's (1978) framework, has been used extensively in consumer socialisation research, this may be because of its close relation to the learning process (Manchanda & Moore-Shay, 1996; Rose, 1999).

The family communication environment creates the backdrop for parent-child communication regarding consumption and consumer learning (Bao et al., 2007). The

family communication environment includes two unrelated extents of communication structure (McLeod & Chaffee, 1972). Different parents use different children parenting styles along two dimensions of demandingness and responsiveness, which are shown in the interaction between parents and children (Carlo, McGinley, Hayes, Batenhorst & Wilkinson, 2007).

Family Communication Environment sets the context for parent-child communication about consumption and consumer learning (Moschis, 1985). It is composed of two uncorrelated dimensions of communication structure (McLeod & Chaffee, 1972). The first one, socio-orientation, refers to the type of communication that produces social deference and fosters harmonious and pleasant social relationship at home. The second one, concept-orientation, reflects the type of communication that encourages children to develop their views about events and issues in the world. Together, the two dimensions of communication structure further yield four patterns of family communication environment: laissez-faire, protective, pluralistic, and consensual. Laissez-faire families are low on both socio-oriented and concept-oriented communications (See table 2.3). In these families, there is little communication between parents and children. Protective families are high on socio-oriented but low on concept-oriented communication. These families stress obedience and social harmony and are not concerned with conceptual matters. Pluralistic families are low on socio-oriented but high on concept-oriented communication. In these families, the emphasis is placed on the mutuality of respect and interest. Children are encouraged to explore new ideas and to express them openly without fear of reprisal. Finally, consensual families are high on both socio-oriented and concept-oriented communications.

Children in consensual families are encouraged to explore the world about them yet should not disrupt the family's established internal social harmony (Moschis, Prahasto & Mitchell, 1986). Using the two dimensions developed by McLeod and Chaffee (1972), researchers in consumer socialisation found that socio-oriented communication environment limits children's influence in family consumption decisions because such families emphasize harmony and children in these families are expected to go along with parent's decisions. Conversely, concept-oriented communication environment enhances children's influence because parents in these families encourage children to develop concept-related thoughts and children are granted more decision independence (Bao et al., 2007; Fletcher et al., 2008).

Table 2.3: Family Communication Pattern

	Low socio-orientation	High socio-orientation
Low concept orientation	Laissez Faire	Protective
High concept Orientation	Pluralistic	Consensual

(Source: McLeod and Chaffee 1972, p. 85)

Two studies further applied the four communication patterns to examine the effect of family communication on children's development of consumer behaviour (Moschis, Prahasto & Mitchell, 1986; Carlson, Grossbart & Walsh, 1990). Since parents in different communication environment deviate from each other in socio-oriented and/or concept-oriented communications, they are expected to vary in socializing their children as a consumer. As a result, children in different communication environments would exhibit

dissimilar consumption-related behaviours. This contention is generally supported by empirical results. Carlson, Grossbart & Walsh, (1990) showed that mothers in pluralistic and consensual families would (1) give children more consumption independence, (2) give in more to children's consumption requests, and (3) pay attention more to children's views than mothers in laissez-faire and protective families. Moschis, Prahasto and Mitchell (1986) suggested that adolescents in pluralistic families develop (1) more negative attitudes toward the marketplace, (2) more brand preferences, (3) greater shopping independence, (4) a higher degree of egalitarian sex-role perception, and (5) a higher degree of syncretic family-role structure than their counterparts in other families.

These studies implied that in different family communication environments, children from dissimilar consumption knowledge and concepts because of parents' variant communication orientation. Children's consumption requests are either encouraged or discouraged. As a result, children in different family communication environments exhibit a different level of involvement and influence in family consumption decisions. It appears the family communication environment, as a family socialisation process, provides some valid explanation of children's influence in family ethical food consumption decisions.

Parental style, which was not part of Moschis and Churchill's (1978) framework, has been used in several studies on consumer socialisation process, this may be due to its close link with the learning process (e.g. Manchanda & Moore-Shay, 1996; Rose, 1999). Parental Style is a "constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to

the child and that, taken together, create an emotional climate in which the parent's behaviours are expressed" (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 488). Parental style provides a family socialisation context in which parents direct parenting practices to children and gradually reach their parental goals and values. In the process of socializing children, parents with different parental styles contrast in several respects, including how they attempt to control children's behaviour and elicit children's compliance, and how warm and responsive they are toward children. In general, certain types of parental style are more effective in promoting children's social competencies than others (e.g. Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Biggam & Power, 1998; Carlo et al., 2007; Pong, Johnston, & Chen, 2010). Researchers have generally applied two approaches to study the role of parental style in family socialisation – the dimensional approach (Becker, 1964) and the typological approach (Baumrind, 1971).

2.6.2.1: Dimensional Approach

Under this tradition, parental style is assumed to consist of different dimensions that are different from each other. Although labels vary, dimensions found are similar across studies. They include acceptance/rejection and dominance/submission (Symonds 1939); emotional warmth/hostility and detachment/involvement (Baldwin 1955); love/hostility and autonomy/control (Schaefer 1959); warmth and permissiveness/strictness (Sears, Maccoby & Levin 1957); and acceptance/rejection, psychological autonomy/psychological control, and firm/lax control (Schaefer, 1965).

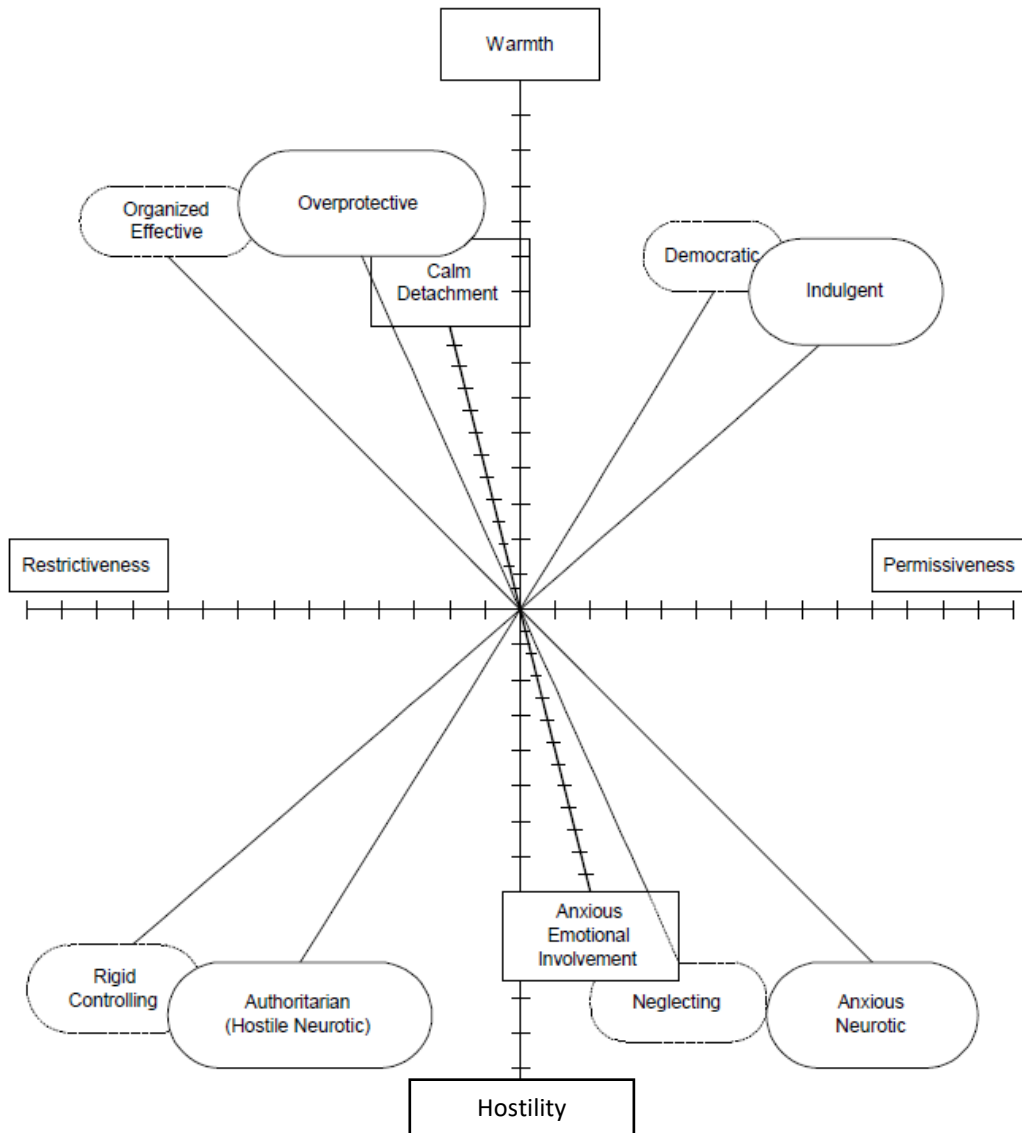
Based on prior parenting behaviour research, Becker (1964) conceptualised a three-dimensional model that has been regarded as the representative of this approach (see

figure 2.3 below). He suggested that parental discipline behaviour could be reflected by three general dimensions, including warmth vs. hostility, restrictiveness vs. permissiveness, and calm detachment vs. Anxious emotional involvement. The warmth vs. hostility dimension reflects the degree of parental accepting, affection, child centredness, and use of explanation, reasoning, praise, or reliance on physical punishment. The restrictiveness vs. permissiveness dimension denotes the extent of parental use of restrictions and strict enforcement of demands regarding manners, neatness, care of family items, obedience, and attitude toward peers, siblings, and parents. And the calm detachment vs. emotional involvement defines the parent's emotionality with child, babying, protectiveness, and concern for the child's welfare. Based on these three dimensions, parents are divided into eight types, including Rigid Controlling, Authoritarian, Organized Effective, Overprotective, Democratic, Indulgent, Anxious Neurotic, and Neglecting. Therefore, both Democratic parents and Indulgent parents are warm and permissive, but Indulgent parents tend to be emotionally involved while Democratic parents are more calmly detached about children. Both Overprotective parents and Organized Effective parents are high on warmth and restrictiveness, but Overprotective parents are like Indulgent parents, showing high anxious emotional involvement, while Organized Effective parents tend to be calm detached. Further inspection of the model shows that both Authoritarian parents and Rigid Controlling parents are hostile and restrictive, but Authoritarian parents are also high on anxious emotional involvement while Rigid Controlling parents are calmer detached. Neglecting parents and Anxious Neurotic parents are both hostile but permissive toward their children, however, the former is calm detached, and the latter are more emotionally involved in child parenting. In this approach, parental style is

typically treated as continuous along different dimensions, and researchers try to assess the quantitative relationship between different aspects of the parental style and children's adjustment. For example, Eastburg and Johnson (1990) showed that college women's shyness correlated negatively with perceived maternal acceptance, and positively with perceived maternal psychological control.

Paulson (1994) showed that adolescent's reports of parental style predict their school achievement outcome. Bernardino (1996) found adult co-dependency is significantly correlated with parental style. In contrast with dimensional approach's regarding parental style as a linear combination of different dimensions, typological approach (as discussed below) defines parental style as parents' characteristic that provides a context for the overall parenting behaviour (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Figure 2.2: Three-dimension model of parental style



Source: Becker (1964, p. 175)

2.6.2.2 Typological Approach

Typological Approach was set forth by Baumrind (1971) whose theoretical framework about parental style has been widely accepted and had a considerable impact on the parent socialisation research in the past three decades. Baumrind's parental style typology is composed of three distinct types of parental control: Authoritarian,

Authoritative, and Permissive. Authoritarian parents maintain a high level of control over their children and limit children's autonomy. They value respect for authority, respect for work, and respect for tradition. These parents judge and evaluate children's conduct by a set of standards endorsed by higher authority figures. They strictly enforce rules, favour children's unquestionable obedience, and punish willful behaviour (Baumrind 1968; Carlson & Grossbart, 1988). Authoritative parents recognise their rights as adults, but also acknowledge children's interests. They view the rights and responsibilities of adults and children as complementary, thus try to balance between parents' right and children's development. These parents value children's autonomy but also expect disciplined conformity. They encourage self-expression as well as give instrumental attribution. Similar to authoritarian parents, they also set standards for children's conduct. However, they explain rules and use reasoning as well as the power to direct children's activity. They are warm and supportive, but also expect children's responsive behaviour (Baumrind, 1971).

Permissive parents view children as having adult rights but few responsibilities (Baumrind, 1978). They present themselves to children as resources to use, but not as an agent to actively direct their development. They rarely enforce externally defined standards, instead, they consult with children about policy decisions and explain family rules. These parents allow children to regulate their activities and avoid the exercise of control. They obtain children's compliance by reasoning rather than by applying power (Baumrind, 1971; Carlson & Grossbart, 1988).

The primary interest of this typological approach is the general pattern, organisation, or climate of parenting (Steinberg et al., 1994). Subjects are often categorized into groups with alternative parental style (e.g., Authoritative, Authoritarian, or Permissive), and then children's developmental outcome is compared among these groups. For instance, Baumrind (1971) compared the social and emotional behaviour of preschool children from families with the three parental styles. Further, in 1978, Baumrind theoretically explained how parents with different parental styles facilitate the development of social competence in children and adolescents.

2.6.2.3 Integrative Approach

Both Becker's (1964) and Baumrind's (1971) model of parental style represent ideal family socialisation types (Carlson, Grossbart & Stuenkel 1992). Becker's model was conceptualized from prior parenting behaviour research, and Baumrind's classification was derived empirically by grouping parents with similar parenting orientations and behaviours. Although determined from different methods, the two approaches are similar and converge to some extent. For example, Baumrind's authoritarian parental style corresponds to Becker's Authoritarian and Rigid Controlling styles, and Baumrind's Authoritative style in most part overlaps Becker's Overprotective and Organized Effective styles.

However, comparing Baumrind's approach and Becker's approach, there also appears to be one striking difference. In Baumrind's approach, parental style classifications

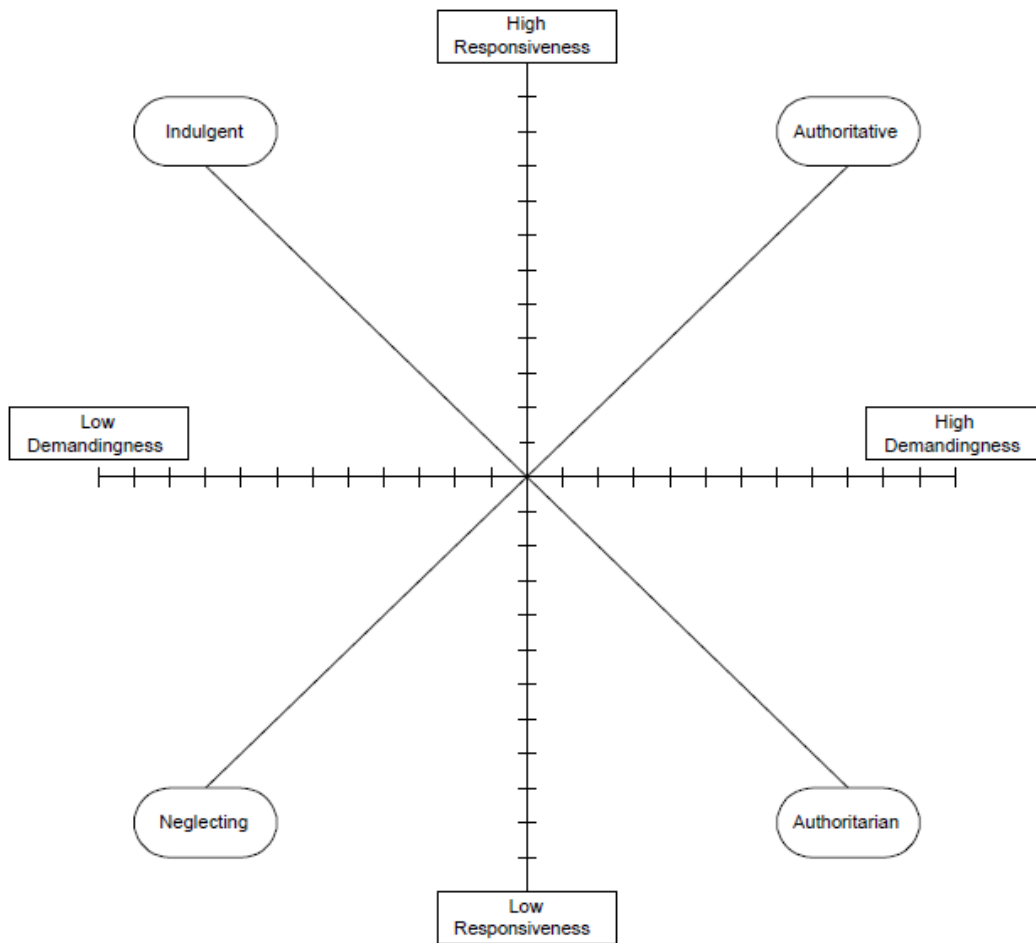
appear to fit two dimensions, warmth and restrictiveness. Yet, her three primary parenting styles seem to only cover three areas, including high restrictiveness and low warmth (Authoritarian), high restrictiveness and high warmth (Authoritative), and high warmth and low restrictiveness (Permissive). Although she mentioned the fourth area of low warmth and low restrictiveness as Rejecting-Neglecting (1971, p. 24), she does not draw much attention to this parental style in her research (e.g., Baumrind, 1967, 1978; 1980) probably because, in her early research the focus was on families where parents were relatively active in child-rearing (Baumrind, 1971). In regular family samples, the Neglecting parental style often emerges (e.g., Carlson & Grossbart, 1988; Steinberg et al., 1994).

In reverse, Becker subdivided the restrictiveness dimension into restrictiveness vs. permissiveness and calm detachment vs. anxious emotional involvement dimensions (Becker, 1964). The reason for adding the third dimension is probably that most of the literature Becker reviewed were primarily dealing with subjects from clinical settings and concerned with examining children's problematic behaviour such as aggression, hostility, socially withdrawn, and neurotic" problems. These types of children behaviour relate more with parents' restrictiveness due to extreme anxious emotional concern about children's well-being than with restrictiveness due to disciplinary values (Mangleburg, 1992). Consequently, not all of Becker's refined parental styles (especially Anxious Neurotics) could be found in nonclinical settings (Carlson, Grossbart & Stuenkel 1992).

To integrate the similarity of the dimensional approach and typological approach as well as overcome their respective disadvantages, researchers have attempted to merge these two approaches so that the parenting classification could be generalized to regular family settings. Maccoby and Martin (1983) are among the first advocates. Baumrind also developed a similar approach in her works (1991a, 1991b). They defined parental style as a function of two dimensions, i.e., responsiveness and demandingness. The responsiveness dimension, like (although not exactly) the warmth vs. hostility dimension, refers to the extent that parents engage in activities that encourage children's individuality and autonomy by staying attuned, supportive and compliant to the children's needs and demands. The demandingness dimension, relating to the restrictiveness vs. permissiveness dimension, reflects the extent that parents direct children's development by maturity demands, close supervision, disciplinary efforts and willingness to confront the child who disobeys (Baumrind, 1991a). Accordingly, parental style with high responsiveness and high demandingness corresponds to Authoritative styles; parental style with low responsiveness but high demandingness corresponds to Authoritarian style.

Further, Indulgent parents are those with high responsiveness but low demandingness, and Neglecting parents are those with low responsiveness and low demandingness. An exhibition of the four parental styles is presented in Figure 2.3 above. The integrative approach incorporates the advantages of both the dimensional approach and the typological approach. It could not only examine whether responsiveness and demandingness are equally relevant to children's choice of influence strategy, but also explore whether and how children under different parental styles diverge from each

Figure 2.3: An integrative model of parental style



Source: Adapted from Maccoby and Martin (1983, p. 23)

other in a choice of influence strategy. Thus, the integrative approach is applied in this dissertation to investigate the effect of parental style on consumer socialisation.

2.6.3 Parental Style and Consumer Socialisation

The role of parental style in family socialisation, especially child development, has remained a research theme in psychology and sociology for almost three decades. But in marketing, it is not until the 1990's that researchers started to employ the parental

style as a socialisation process to examine children's consumer socialisation. Carlson & Grossbart (1988), Mangleburg (1992), Manchanda and Moore-Shay (1996), and Rose (1999) are among the leaders.

Carlson and Grossbart (1988) examined the relationship between mothers' parental style and their consumer socialisation of children. They applied the typological approach but with Becker's (1964) three dimensions (i.e., warmth, restrictiveness, and anxious emotional involvement). Mothers were empirically clustered into five groups with distinctive parental styles (i.e., Authoritarian, Permissive, Rigid Controlling, Authoritative, and Neglecting). Mother's consumer socialisation tendencies were then compared across these groups. Specifically, the authors examined children's consumption autonomy (measured by mother's yielding to children's requests, allowing purchase if children pay all or part of the cost or do chores, and permitting independence in product selection), parent-child communication about consumptions (measured by co-shopping, concept-orientation in family communication, child's influence, and extent of family communication), and restriction and monitoring of consumption and media exposure (measured by socio-orientation in family communications, refusing children's requests, refusing with explanation, control of TV viewing, amount of child's TV viewing, discussions about advertising, and co-viewing). Since parents with different parental style diverge in directing parenting practices toward children, it is expected that they will also show a difference in the socialisation of children as consumers.

Results were mixed in terms of supporting their research hypotheses. As proposed, Carlson and Grossbart found that Authoritative and Permissive mothers communicate more with their children about consumption than do Authoritarian and Neglecting mothers. Authoritative mothers have more restriction of consumption than do Permissive mothers and Authoritarian mothers are more restrictive about consumption than are Rigid Controlling and Permissive mothers. Authoritative mothers do more to mediate media exposure than Permissive, Neglecting, and Authoritarian mothers. Rigid Controlling mothers engage in more media mediation than Neglecting mothers. Authoritative mothers possessed more concern regarding children's ads and less positive attitudes toward ads in general than Authoritarian and Neglecting mothers do. They are also more concerned about children's ads than are Permissive mothers. Contrary to hypotheses, however, they found no difference in children's consumption autonomy among mothers with different parental styles. This finding is striking. Given that Authoritarians are the most and Permissions are the least restrictive among all parents, one would expect that at least there should be a difference between these two types of parents in granting children consumption autonomy.

Rose (1999) investigated the relations among consumer socialisation, parental style, and parental age expectations in the United States and Japan. The author applied the typological approach but with Becker's (1964) three dimensions (i.e., restrictiveness, anxious emotional involvement, and warmth) to analyse parental style. For the US sample, he found very consistent parental style types with Baumrind's results, 37.3% of mothers appearing to be authoritative, 23.7% to be authoritarian, and 22.1% to be permissive. The other three parental styles detached (characterized as non-restrictive,

not anxiously emotionally involved and low warm), Indulgent amae (characterized as non-restrictive, anxiously emotionally involved, and low warm), and Strict amae (characterized as restrictive, anxiously emotionally involved, and warm) are more suitable with Japanese subjects. The study showed mixed support to the hypothesized relationships between parental style and consumer socialisation regarding expectations for consumer-related skills and understanding advertising practices, communications about consumption, children's influence and participation in family purchases, children's consumption autonomy, and parental restriction of consumption and media exposure. Rose's work involves cross-cultural comparisons. It appears the relationships between parental style and consumer socialisation is much more complicated cross-culturally, because of the different social norms, values, and goals adopted in different cultures. Given this complexity, Rose's mixed results are rather not surprising. Provided the early stage of research about consumer socialisation, it might be plausible for researchers to further investigate the effect of parental style on children's development as consumers in one single cultural context before advancing to cross-cultural contexts.

2.6.4 Limitations of consumer socialisation

Consumer socialisation theory has been criticised for viewing the socialisation process as essentially static and one-sided from agents to 'socialisees' (e.g., from parents to children) (Gecas, 1981; Peterson & Rollins, 1987; Cotte & Wood, 2004). Critics charge that consumer socialisation theory views children as "blank slates" upon which values of different agents are imprinted. In the three-learning mechanism, although social interaction involves the reciprocal change between agents and 'socialisees', it still

emphasizes more on socialisees' learning from this reciprocity. As such, consumer socialisation theory overlooks socialisees' initiative in the socialisation process (Demo, Dmall & Savin-Williams, 1987). For instance, children learn consumption related skills and knowledge from parents. However, they could also be socialisation agents for parents in the sense that they could be motivated to participate in purchase decisions and try to impact the decisions toward their end by using different influence strategies. Thus, consumer socialisation could be a dynamic and bi-directional process. This alternative view of socialisation is captured by power relational theory, which views the agent-child as a dynamic system and treats children as actors rather than receivers in the system (e.g. Howard et al., 1986).

2.7 Rational and build of the Conceptual Model

With the guidance of theories on family, influence, consumer socialisation theory, family environment reviewed above and ethical consumption (see chapter 3), this study develops a conceptual framework to road-map how the research questions have driven the exploration into the adolescent decision-making process of ethical food purchase and consumption in the family. The conceptual model is divided into three stages: antecedents, family environment and outcome

2.7.1 Antecedents

This study seeks to investigate the processes involved in applying influence in family decision-making, with a focus on how adolescents attempt to influence ethical food decision-making and consumption choices in their families, as identified by the

participants in the study. The issues regarding why parents and adolescents buy ethical foods, which are referred to as antecedents in this study (see conceptual model below) including altruism, egotistic and ethical obligations. Consumers purchase and consume ethical foods for a range of reasons including moral, political, religious motives, concern for health, quality or safety of conventional food produces, environmental consideration, animal welfare, personal values, social issues, religious and political (e.g. Magnusson et al. 2003; Lockie et al. 2004; Dreezens et al. 2005; Giffort & Bernard, 2006). These reasons have been broadly classified as egoistic and altruistic (e.g. Leary et al., 2019). Egoistic reasons are religious, moral, health and personal safety and altruistic reasons are environmental, animal welfare, social welfare and political (Maaya et al., 2018). Ethical consumption is borne out of self-centred motivations and on the other altruistic concerns stemming from deep-rooted beliefs. This self-centred motivation and deep-rooted belief make ethical consumers derive deep satisfaction in engaging in the family decision-making process to achieve their outcome. Furthermore, there is an important personal characteristic that affects the consumption of ethical foods; personal values. Findings in previous research (e.g. Pepper, Jackson & Uzzell, 2009; Maaya, et al., 2018) show that consumers with a preference for altruistic values are more likely to engage in ethical consumption choices. Reasons for ethical consumption are explored in-depth in chapter 3 below).

Ethical obligation and self-identity are predictors of ethical consumption behaviour and consumption (e.g. Shin, Ma & Koh, 2017). The ethical obligation which comes from consumers adopted ethical values, beliefs and rules regarding what is right and wrong informs their attitude and translates them into an intention to purchase (Ajzen, 2011) or

to consume ethically. Ethical consumers may make ethical consumption choices because ethical issues have become an important part of their self-identity – a way of expressing themselves (Shaw et al., 2000). The concept of ethical obligation suggests that ethical consumers make deontological and teleological evaluations of all conceivable alternative behaviours to come to a general ethical decision which directs their intention and subsequent purchase of ethical foods (Hunt & Vittel, 1986). Ethical obligation is antecedent to consumption which creates the intention to consume ethically (Shaw & Clarke, 2000; Shaw & Shiu, 2002). Individuals shared a sense of responsibility towards society and the environment becomes an obligation (Shaw & Clarke, 1999, Shaw *et al.*, 2000). This sense of obligation stems from people's internalised ethical values, beliefs and rules regarding what is right and wrong, thus motivates to consume ethically to help to bring about social, environmental or political change. Ethical obligation is explored further in chapter 3 below.

2.7.2 Family environments and outcome

Major factors in children's social environment that play crucial roles in their consumer socialisation include the family (Moschis, 1985; Carlson et al., 1994; Kerrane & Hogg, 2013), media (Moschis, 1985; Mangleburg & Bristol, 1998) and peers (Moschis, 1985; Moore et al., 2002). Between these environments, the family, particularly, parents are the most important, influential and enduring agents of socialisation for children (Moschis, 1985; Brown & Bakken, 2011). The family environment comprises variables (e.g. family communication styles and parental styles) on adolescent socialization outcome variables (e.g. adolescent decision-making styles, consumption autonomy, materialism and influence in family purchase decisions), as discussed extensively in the

above sections and reflected in figure 2.4 below. Furthermore, communication is thought to be the most vital mechanism of children's socialisation (Palan, 1998; Moschis, 1985). Family communication of consumption offers the principal instruments by which parents communicate consumer-related skills and knowledge to their children (Carlson et al., 1992; Palan, 1998) as seen in figure 2.4 below.

Family communications have been acknowledged as the concept depicting the type, frequency and quality of communication within the family (Carlson et al., 1994) and have become the theoretical underpinning for understanding the role of parents in children's consumer socialisation (Moschis, 1985; Mikeska et al., 2017). Family communication style is normally considered as a characterisation of parental messages to children (Kim et al., 2009) – along the dimensions of socio orientation and concept orientation. Socio orientation style emphasises children's deference to parents and harmonious parent-child relationships (McLeod & Chaffee, 1972), and endorses parental monitoring and controlling of children's consumption activities (Mikeska et al., 2017). However, concept orientation emphasizes children's development of their own views of the world and open exchange of ideas in parent-child relationships (McLeod & Chaffee, 1972; Ritchie, 1991). Therefore, this orientation is associated with parental nurturing of children's independent development of consumer-related skills and knowledge (Carlson et al., 1990a).

Extant literature indicates that children within the same family occupy their own distinct microenvironment (Harris, 1995). Eventually, children within the same family are treated differently based on factors several factors (Cotte & Wood, 2004). Children's

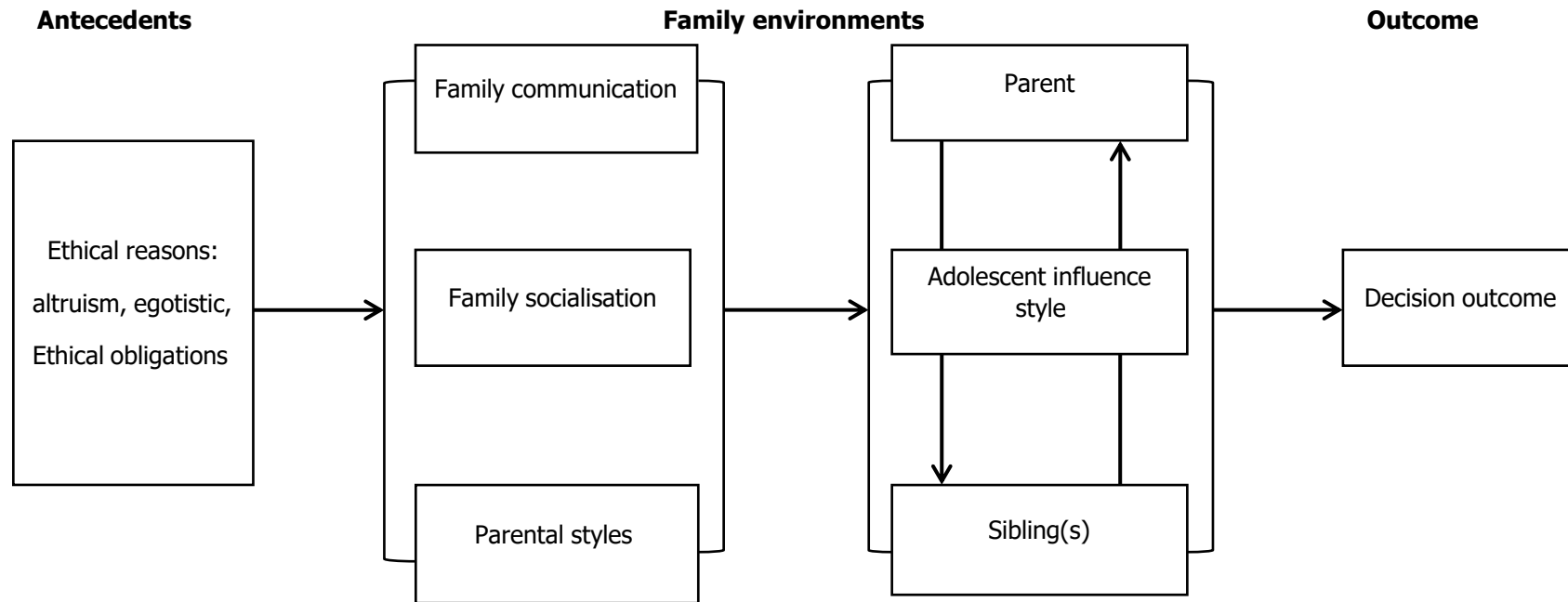
choice of influence strategies depends in part on the parental response and levels of parental resistance they anticipate to their chosen strategy (Cowan & Avants, 1988; Palan & Wilkes, 1997; Götze et al., 2009). Furthermore, children adapt their influence strategies by integrating the beliefs of their parents into their purchase requests (Kerrane et al., 2012). Concerning parents' response strategies, Palan and Wilkes (1997) identified six categories that parents normally use in responding to their children's influence attempts: expert, directive, bargaining, persuasion, emotional and legitimate. Their research found that bargaining (e.g. suggesting other product choices) was most frequently used. Legitimate (e.g. denying purchase based on inability to afford them), directive (e.g. establishing product/price boundaries to guide purchase) and persuasion (e.g. expressing opinions about purchases) strategies were also used frequently by parents, but not as much as bargaining. Palan and Wilkes' study further opines that there is a reasonable correlation between the parental response strategy and the adolescent influence strategy, e.g. if parents used a "can't afford" (legitimate) strategy, adolescents may likely use strategies that decrease costs, such as money deals and other deals. Furthermore, Götze et al. (2009) also found that legitimate strategy occurred most frequently, followed by bargaining, directive and emotional strategies. However, parents infrequently used persuasion in their study. Given the suggestions that children's influence strategies are constructed through parent-child interactions and negotiations (Kerrane et al., 2012; Palan & Wilkes, 1997), more research attention is needed in the parental side of the parent-child interaction taking place during family purchase decision-making. Furthermore, siblings can play a part in adolescents influence strategy. Children may form a coalition with a sibling or a parent to influence a purchase decision (Gbadamosi, 2012). Coalition strategy is a

means by which children could boost their chances of influence success by forming unions with other family members to influence an outcome (Lee & Collins, 2000; Thomson et al., 2007) as illustrated in figure 2.4 below.

A relationship between family environment and children's influence in family purchase decisions has long been alleged, although there is a limited amount of evidence for it. Moreover, notwithstanding the prevailing view that these family environments (family communication styles and parental styles) have strong implications in the parent-child interaction/communication in family purchase situations (Moschis, 1985; Mikeska et al., 2017), studies investigating the impact of family environments and children's use of influence strategies and the impact of the family microenvironment and parents' response strategies rare. Furthermore, family communications and socialisation theories underline the assumption about the homogeneous nature of family life. They suggest that all children in a family are exposed to the same socialisation and communication style from their parents as their sibling(s) and that each child experiences these socialisation and communication styles in the same way. Is this actually the case? From the above discussions, the overriding questions are: Do all adolescents (siblings) experience the same socialisation and communication style from their parents? What factors within the household affect an adolescent's ability to influence family ethical food consumption decisions? What factors within the household affect an adolescent's choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions? What factors determine the level of success or failure of adolescent's influence in family ethical food decisions?

These and many questions colour current research into family life in consumer behaviour, particularly for children and indicate that our understanding of familial decision-making process is still underdeveloped. This thesis seeks to explore, among others, these questions in this understudied area and contribute to shedding light on how (if any) these family environments affect children's influence in family decision-making from the perspective of ethical foods purchase and consumption.

Figure 2.4: Conceptual Model



2.8 Summary

It seems that the opportunities children must employ influence strategies and their involvement in family decision making is moderated by the socialisation styles of their parent(s). Whilst parents favouring a permissive or neglecting parental socialisation style are likely to involve their children in family decision making, children of authoritarians are likely to find that their views and opinions remain unheard and unwanted. Our understanding of the role of parental style in consumer socialisation is still in early stage, as evidenced in the limited number of related studies as well as the mixed results supporting the research hypotheses in each of those studies (Carlson & Grossbart, 1988; Manchanda & Moore-Shay, 1996; Mangleburg, 1992; Rose, 1999). Thus, an effort is needed to further explore the effect of parental style as a socialisation process on consumer socialisation of children.

While the influence of adolescents in the family decision-making process is mostly ignored in current consumer research (e.g. Commuri & Gentry, 2000; Lawlor & Prothero, 2011; Kerrane, Hogg & Bettany, 2012) there are a few main studies which have been done on them (e.g. Cotte & Wood, 2004; Palan & Wilkes, 1997). Children are thought to shape the decisions their families make, but the extent of their influence relates to several factors. These factors include the socialisation styles of their parents (which serve to include or exclude the input of children in decisions), family communication patterns (which either mute or listen to the child's voice), family characteristics and child characteristics (John, 2008).

This chapter has reviewed literature in the sociology of the family and family consumer research. The sociology of the family literature highlights the extent of the changes that have happened within families and how they are arranged and formed. What emerges is a complex account of family living which is not fully taken account of in the existing family consumer research which still tends towards nuclear conventions, and which are in turn increasingly recognised as out of date in today's world. It results in an outdated account of families, particularly with regards to the power processes in decision-making within families which still rest on research conducted with the husband-wife dyad. While advances are being made towards a more inclusive research approach (e.g. Cotte & Wood, 2004) further work is required to generate a wider account of consumption in family life. Similarly, the voices of children in families have been ignored for far too long, resulting in considerable research opportunities.

Chapter 3: Ethical Consumption

3.1 Introduction

Ethical consumption has been growing over the years and the reason for this perceived rise has generated a great deal of academic interest (e.g. Harrison et al., 2005). Ethical consumption and sustainable marketing have entered the conventional global business and political activity (Peattie & Peattie, 2009), and this has brought about a significant change in public understanding of the destructive behaviours of some big organisations (Harrison, 2006). Organisational ethics and social responsibility have become a fundamental issue of marketing practice in today's world of societal marketing concept. Ethical consumerism has enabled consumers to express their rights and privileges in the marketplace (Ismail & Panni, 2008). Consumer power has come to represent modern consumer culture. Consumers are empowered to oppose, adapt and ignore the sleek and expensive media campaigns. To maintain the concept that the customer is powerful given their capability to exercise free choice (Gabriel & Lang, 1995) could be an intelligent strategy as a free consumer absolve marketing from accusations of manipulation, seduction and compulsion (Ritzer, 1999).

From an economist point of view, consumers buy quality products or services at the best price when they go shopping. Consumers often buy the cheapest products when they perceive that its utility is equal to more expensive alternatives available (Beardshaw, 1992, p. 59). This type of buying is referred to as traditional purchasing behaviour.

However, there have been a growing number of people who do not buy based on just the price and quality but will avoid the purchase of a specific brand or company due to reasons such as concern for the environment, unethical corporate practice or concern for developing countries. Smith (1990) was first to refer to this buying behaviour as 'ethical purchase behaviour' or 'ethical consumption'. However, it is worth noting that ethical consumers do not ignore quality and price when buying, but rather they do consider additional standards when making decisions to purchase (Newholm, 2005). This section reviews available literature on ethical consumption.

This chapter sets out to provide a critical discussion of the relevant literature by identifying the key concepts: ethical consumption and ethics of consumption. The chapter addresses the issues evident in the literature such as the dominant intention-behaviour gap in ethical choice and the limited literature on family decision-making process prevailing scientific approach to ethical consumption research. It provides a rationale for family ethical consumption research context and identifies gaps in the literature on ethical consumption.

3.2 Ethical consumption defined

The term 'ethical consumer' has been used to describe consumers whose concern for animal issues, ethical issues and environmental issues, including armaments and oppressive regimes influence their consumption behaviour, and since this term has been widely used when referring to such a consumer group (Intel, 1994; Maaya et al., 2018). Lately, ethical consumption issues have been studied as part of the bigger

consumption picture (Mayo & Fielder, 2006; Willer & Lernoud, 2017), however, this include energy-efficient and reduced consumption behaviours, purchase of environmentally friendly or Fairly-traded products and the avoidance and boycott of certain goods and companies. Ethical consumers are led more by principles than by the consequences of their buying behaviour (Vitell, Singhapakdi & Thomas, 2001). Although the behaviours and issues relatable to ethical consumers are many, an important factor is the personal ethical values within the decision-making process (Harrison et al., 2005). Newholm & Shaw (2002) summed it up by suggesting that ethical consumers are motivated by environmental, religious, political, spiritual and social issues when purchasing products.

The concept of ethical consumption is wider than a green or environmental consumer. Moreover, ethical consumption has assumed different meanings and could be an expression for both consumers and companies. Ethical consumers boycott products that they perceive to;

“endanger the health of the consumer or others; causing significant damage to the environment during manufacture, use or disposal; consume a disproportionate amount of energy; cause unnecessary waste; use materials derived from threatened species or environments; involve unnecessary use – or cruelty to animals; adversely affect other countries” (Elkington & Hailes, 1989).

Furthermore, subsequent studies have corroborated Elkington and Hailes’ definition by saying concerns of ethical consumers are the environmental impact of materials, manufacturing processes of products and their packaging; the methods of product distribution, sale and disposal, reputation for environmental stewardship and the

company's corporate beliefs (e.g. Makower, 2001). Ethical consumption also involves issues about social concern, animal welfare, the environment and business ethics (Harrison, 1997; Cowe & Williams, 2001). It also includes issues relating to health benefits behind the purchase of organic foods (Cowe & Williams, 2001) and Fairtrade goods (Andorfer & Liebe, 2012).

Ethical consumers are not only concerned about the environment, animal welfare and human rights but are also concerned with the developing world and how producers should get fair prices/wages and improved working conditions (Shaw & Clarke 1998). The précis of ethical issues is not extensive however, it includes the relevant characteristics needed as background information for this study, as the issues of concern are broad (Shaw & Shiu, 2003, Thorsøe, 2015), personal to the individual (Yazdanpanah, Forouzani & Hojjati, 2015) and constantly changing (Newholm, 2005). Such a wide definition reflects the variety of ethical consumption in the UK market. Moreover, Crane and Matten (2003) argued that it is difficult, to sum up, the full variety of activities that comes under the term ethical consumption.

The global ethical food market has grown considerably (Dangour et al., 2010; Mascitelli et al., 2014) and several reasons have been attributed to this phenomenon including a concern for health (e.g. Magnusson et al., 2001; Lockie et al., 2002; Magnusson et al., 2003), ethical, moral, political or religious motives (& Honkanen et al., 2006; Ravis et al., 2009), quality or safety of conventional food produces (Makatouni, 2002; Baker et al., 2004; Giffort & Bernard, 2006), environmental consideration (Vindigni et al., 2002; Lockie et al., 2004) and personal values (Dreezens et al., 2005; Lea & Worsley, 2005).

The reasons for ethical food consumption have been broadly categorised by existing literature into two (e.g. Wandel & Bugge 1997; Padel & Foster 2005) namely; individual or health (egoistic) reasons and environmental and animal welfare (altruistic) reasons (e.g. Magnusson et al. 2003, Maaya, et al., 2018). Firstly, consumers perceive ethical foods as a healthier alternative to conventional foods as they contain more nutrients (Lea & Worsley, 2005; Loebnitz & Aschemann-Witzel, 2016) which promote personal wellbeing (Yazdanpanah et al., 2015). Organic produce is also considered safer (Padel & Foster, 2005; Willer & Lernoud, 2017), better in taste and more enjoyable than conventional products (Baker et al. 2004; Aschemann-Witzel & Grunert, 2015).

Secondly, environmental issues and animal welfare have also been identified to influence the purchase of organic produce (Hemmerling, Hamm & Spiller, 2015; Thorsøe, 2015). Studies have examined the effects of values, beliefs and motives and attitudes towards ethical produce, purchase intentions and/or purchase frequency, with inconclusive results (e.g. Magnusson et al. 2003; 2001; Padel & Foster 2005; Honkanen et al. 2006). For example, Magnusson et al. (2003) found health to be the stronger predictor of attitudes and purchase intention towards organic foods compared to environmental motives. However, Honkanen et al. (2006) identified environmental and animal motives as having a strong influence on attitudes. Likewise, earlier research found health to be the principal predictor of motives and attitudes towards organic food consumption (Schifferstein & Oude Ophuis, 1998), however, this finding was disproved by Tarkiainen and Sundqvist (2005), and Baker et al. (2004) found discrepancies in the motives explaining attitudes towards organic foods.

Further, Baker et al. (2004) found discrepancies in the motives explaining attitudes towards organic foods between the UK and German consumers. In addition to the conflicting findings, extant research has focused on examining specific motives and their effect on purchase intention and frequency (e.g. Tarkiainen & Sundqvist 2005; Magnusson et al. 2003) omitting others, such as food safety and its role as a predictor of attitude and intention. However, current studies do not support claims of health and nutritional benefits (Dangour, Lock, Hayter, Aikenhead, Allen & Uauy, 2010; Smith-Spangler et al., 2012; Baranski et al., 2014; Ellison, Duff, Wang & White, 2016), while other studies also reject the claims that organic farming does conserve the environment better than conventional methods (Trewavas, 2001; Seufert, Ramankutty & Foley, 2012).

Environmental awareness is driving consumers to purchase brands and products that are environmentally and animal friendly (Ottman, Stafford & Hartman, 2006; Scalco, Noventa, Sartori & Ceschi, 2017). The growing food safety and personal health concerns which have given rise to ethical consumption stem from the food scandals in recent years (Michaelidou & Hassan, 2008; Rana & Paul, 2017). Food crises such as E.coli epidemics and avian influenza affected consumers' perceptions of conventional food risks and their choice of food (Hasimu, Marchesini & Canavari, 2017; Tiozzo et al., 2017; Prentice, Chen & Wang, 2017).

The growth of green consumerism brought about a widened consumption theory called ethical consumerism (Uusitalo & Oksanen, 2004). Ethical consumerism is a type of symbolic consumption as consumers not only consider their principles but also social

values, the environment and ideologies (Uusitalo & Oksanen, 2004; Orquin & Scholderer, 2015). An increasing number of individuals seek to act beyond their immediate interests as a consumer and consider the impact of their choices on wider society (Doane, 2001; Ellison et al., 2016). In this context, therefore, notions of consumer citizenship (Lang & Gabriel, 2005) have become important. Several possible reasons have been credited to this increasing consumer concern for issues namely; growing availability of alternative products (Rana & Paul, 2017); increasing available information (Aschemann-Witzel & Grunert, 2015) and the increased media attention (Strong, 1996; Rana & Paul, 2017).

3.2.1 Voluntary Simplifiers

In a related definition, ethical consumers subscribe to voluntary restraint of consumption practices (Cherrier, 2005) therefore describing these consumers as voluntary simplifiers (Iyer & Muncy, 2009; Peyer, Balderjahn, Seegebarth & Klemm, 2016). Ethical consumption was stretched by Zavestoski (2002) to include anti-consumption attitudes. However, it has been argued that consumers buy for personal reasons rather than societal ones (O'Cass & Otahal, 2018).

Voluntary simplifiers may also be ethical consumers just as one would expect that consumption within the voluntary Simplifier's lifestyle to be ethically driven, however, there is evidence that this connection cannot be believed (Bekin et al., 2005; Peyer et al., 2016). Although ethical consumers are worried about consumption levels, they are not essentially deep-seated anti-consumerists (Shaw & Newholm, 2002; Ellison et al.,

2016). Rather their decision-making is primarily about how to consume with sensitivity by selecting ethical substitutes. Ethical consumption behaviour may be driven by values, nonetheless, with complex and regularly many ethical issues, optimistic choices may not always be made (Shaw & Clarke, 1998; Thøgersen, 2017). Some writers have given a general approach to consumer ethics. Ethical consumers do not reject consumption, rather they choose goods and services that reflect their social, moral and ethical concern. Ethical consumption is very much part of the active social process of consumption and that it should not be seen in isolation but that its attributes are measured by consumers alongside others important to their choice decisions (Carrigan, 2017). It could be argued that the increasing awareness of social and environmental effects of consumption has generated a growing demand for ethical products; for example, Fairtrade and organic brands, the decision by Co-operative foods to only use fair traded ingredients in its own-brand block chocolate and coffee products. Moreover, ethical consumers go beyond their beliefs and knowledge about goods and services companies produce and sell but also to broader aspects such as a company's support of environmental education programmes, financial contribution to environmental causes and the use of natural resources in daily business operations. Retailers are making environmentally responsible decisions by building environmentally friendly retail store space and sustainable development (Raidford, 2000; Toevs, 2000).

3.3 Ethics in Consumption

The 'ethical' concept describes how ethics or moral guidelines are used by consumers to inform their conduct (e.g. Ravis et al., 2009; Zollo et al., 2018), in ordinary practices,

such as consumption. Moreover, 'ethical' refers to an individual's adopted rules, which reflect their personal beliefs about what is right and wrong (Kurland, 1995). Consumer ethics, such as issues of moral, social and environmental concern to consumers is growing, and they generate ethical obligation stemming from these self-interested concerns (Sparks et al., 1995; Zollo et al., 2018).

Ethical consumers may make ethical consumption choices because ethical issues have become an important part of their self-identity – a way of expressing themselves (Hall, 2011). Rise, Sheeran, & Hukkelberg (2010, p. 1087) defines Self-identity as "*the salient and enduring aspects of one's self-perception*". Self-identity makes up 6% of unique variance in the intention of a variety of behaviours (Rise et al., 2010). Similarly, the role of ethical self-identity as an antecedent to attitude and intention has not been explored in the context of organic purchases despite its contribution in predicting attitudes and intention in similar contexts (Shaw & Shiu, 2002a).

Consumption is the "use of goods and services in which the object or activity becomes simultaneously a practice in the world and a form in which we construct our understandings of ourselves in the world" (Miller, 1995, p. 30). Products may be converted from their material state into resources to express (moral) identities, based on how individuals use them. Nonetheless, the association between morals and consumption is not a current concept (Clarke, 2008; Ravis et al., 2009), but one which is predicated on an established notion about how ethical consumption is practised on daily basis. As a matter of choice and moral obligation, consumption enables people to assert

responsibility and ethics through their decision-making (Barnett et al., 2005; Hall, 2011). However, we know very little about everyday ethical dilemmas of everyday consumption and the moral tensions of everyday consumption decision-making. Everyday behaviours and practices may then seek to strengthen and direct individuals' moral nature as a means of determining ethical beliefs. The accounts and practices of consumers such as family decision-making explored in this current study are a means of reflecting personal ethics through everyday ethical consumption.

Consumption is an important everyday practise, 'to live is to consume' (Borgmann, 2000, p. 418). Consumption is morally important by its very nature, as it creates an intimate interface between people and products (Whatmore & Thorne, 1997; Hall, 2011). Wilk (2001) suggested that;

'consumption is, in essence a moral matter, since it always and inevitably raises issues of fairness, self vs. group interests, and immediate vs. delayed gratification [... .] moral debate about consumption is an essential and ancient part of human politics' (p. 246).

Therefore, the precise negotiations on which consumption is established (Rivis et al., 2009; Zollo et al., 2018) - ethical constructs such as power and justice and, and elementary moral values of right vs. wrong and good vs. bad - making consumer behaviour a channel for the expression of personal ethics. The practices and experiences of consumers such as families deliberated in this study are ways of reassessing but also constructing personal ethics. Everyday behaviours and practices can help to strengthen and reassign people's moral preferences as a means of determining their ethical beliefs. Contemporary consumers are inclined to participate in

the consumption process (Barnett et al., 2004) and are more conscious of their influence as a 'consuming body' (Bell & Valentine, 1997). The physical nature of consumption, such as food which is ingested into the body (Fine, 2002), imply that consumption can influence our health and appearance. Ethical consumption discourses have highlighted the physical nature of consumption. Nonetheless, the debate about ethical consumption is more than just the physical nature of consumption, to include fair trading (Dolan, 2008; O'Connor, Sims & White, 2017), local production (Pratt, 2008), environmental and sustainability concerns (Hasselbach & Roosen, 2015) and human rights concerns (Micheletti & Stolle, 2008; De Marchi et al., 2016).

3.4 Ethical Consumer Behaviour

Within ethical consumer behaviour, two principal areas of research have been identified namely: ethical consumption and consumer ethics. Whereas ethical consumption considers the degree to which consumers take responsibility for their harmful actions (Gardner et al., 1999; Apaolaza et al., 2018), consumer ethics is focussed mainly on fraudulent consumers (Vitell et al., 2013; Arli & Tjiptono, 2014). Consumer ethics have been studied based on 'wrong' or unethical behaviour such as illegal downloads, fraud and shoplifting (e.g. Al-Khabit et al., 1997; Singhapakdi et al., 2013). Regarding ethical consumption, Muncy and Vitell (1992) acknowledged a lack of consumer research of expressed ethical attitudes which triggered several new studies seeking to identify peoples' real ethical beliefs and judgments. Muncy and Vitell (1992) proposed the 'Consumer Ethics Scale' mostly built on studies of Davis (1979) and Wilkes (1978). This model categorises consumer behaviour into active or passive based on an individual's

degree of involvement. It measures ethical behaviour stretching from low to high where consumers who passively gain from wrong behaviour are deemed more ethical than those who gain from active illegal activities. While this model helps increase our understanding of ethical consumer about involvement and unethical behaviour, it provides little comprehension of positive ethical behaviour or ethical consumption. Vitell and Muncy (2005) focussed on positive ethical behaviour when amending the Consumer Ethics Scale by considering positive behaviours such as environmental awareness and recycling.

Furthermore, many studies have used Ajzens' (1991) Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) with the view to understand ethical intentions as a predictor of future behaviours. People's beliefs are controlled and lead to attitude formation; therefore, attitude acts as a predictor of behavioural intention (Shaw et al., 2000; Loken, 2006). The TPB provides a good framework for conceptualising, measuring and empirically identifying factors that determine behaviour and behavioural intention and to offer a systematic approach to information campaign development (Montano et al., 1997; Hackman & Knowlden, 2014). It has an inherent assumption that an individual's behaviour is determined by a person's intention to conduct the behaviour, and their intention is determined by their attitudes and subjective norm. Both the attitude acquired and the subjective norms (e.g. family consumption practices) are functions of beliefs. Robinson and Smith (2002) demonstrated that attitudes perceived behavioural control and subjective norms independently predict purchase intention of ethical products. Moreover, empirical

studies have confirmed that a measure of “ethical obligation” helps in explaining the predictive power of the TPB (Shaw & Shiu, 2002; Ozcaglar-Toulouse et al., 2006).

The TPB model originally does not consider ethical consumption within its model measures. However, Ajzen (1991) called for the consideration of additional model measures by suggesting that;

“The Theory of Planned Behaviour is, in principle, open to the inclusion of additional predictors if it can be shown that they capture a significant proportion of the variance in intention or behaviour after the theory’s current variables have been taken into account” (p. 199).

The TPB’s original focus on the self-interested individual issues may be limited given that ethical consumers are more socially oriented. It has been long suggested that a measure of personal ‘moral’ or ‘ethical’ responsibility should be included in the traditional TPB structure (e.g. Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Such a measure signifies a person’s adopted ethical concerns, perhaps from family members, friends or other social agents, which reflect their personal beliefs about what is right and wrong. However, this study is more concerned about the adapted version of the TPB model which introduces ethical obligation as an antecedent to ethical consumption and it is explained in the following section.

3.5 Ethical obligation

There have been two major theoretical approaches, among the relatively limited studies on individual ethical decision making, i.e. Hunt and Vitell’s General Theory of Marketing

Ethics (Hunt & Vitell, 1986) and the behavioural theories of Ajzen and Fishbein (Chatzidakis et al., 2006). Hunt and Vitell's General Theory of Marketing Ethics (Hunt & Vitell, 1986; Vitell & Muncy, 1992) was originally proposed to explain the ethical behaviour of marketing practitioners, however, it has been proved to be useful for the study of ethical consumer behaviour (e.g. Marks & Mayo, 1991; Vitell et al., 2001). The model, which was founded on the philosophical principles of deontology (obligations or rules) and teleology (consequences of actions), is widely accepted and it has been empirically tested in several studies (Vitell, 2003). The final section of the model suggests that the outcome of behaviour is transformed into learning, a critical element in ethical consumption where according to Chatzidakis et al. (2006) greater satisfaction could come through the consumption of ethical products or guilt from consuming a substitute ethical product.

Shaw and Clarke (2000) and Shaw and Shiu (2002) identified ethical obligation and self-identity as suitable predictors of ethical consumption behaviour. These studies suggest that ethical obligation is antecedent to an attitude which translates into an intention to consume ethically. But does this apply in the case of adolescents? Individuals shared a sense of responsibility towards society and the environment regarding consumption choice and purchase behaviour becomes an obligation (Shaw et al., 2007; Zollo et al., 2018). This sense of obligation stems from people's internalised ethical values, beliefs and rules regarding what is right and wrong. However, this study suggests that family ethical decision-making starts when individual family members or the family unit identify an ethical problem and are influenced by ethical obligations to consume

ethically, believing that by exercising their purchasing power to consume ethically, they may help to bring about social, environmental or political change. Ethical consumers make deontological and teleological evaluations of all conceivable alternative behaviours to come to a general ethical decision which directs their intention and subsequent purchase of ethical foods (Hunt & Vitell, 1986). Ethical consumers, as a matter of choice and moral obligation, use consumption to assert their responsibility and ethics through their decision-making (Barnett et al., 2005). They feel by doing so, they may derive positive self-rewarding feelings of doing “the right thing” (Arvola et al., 2008), self-rewarding feelings as a “feel good” factor which plays a crucial role in consumer shopping practices (Midmore et al., 2005), and achieve personal values (Dreezens et al., 2005). Ethical consumers associate happiness and pleasure with the consumption of ethical foods (Vega-Zamora, Torres-Ruiz, Murgado-Armenteros, & Parras-Rosa, 2014).

Empirical studies have confirmed that a measure of “ethical obligation” helps in explaining the predictive power of the TPB (Shaw & Shiu, 2002; Sun, 2019). Shaw et al. (2000) examined the impact of Fairtrade concerns in consumer decision making and found out that the inclusion of a measure of ethical obligation played a crucial part in explaining behavioural intention to consume a Fairtrade grocery product. Ajzen’s basic model was extended by two determinants that are theorized to affect consumers’ behavioural intention to buy ethical products as follows: (1) ethical obligation, meaning “[...] an individual’s internalized ethical rules, which reflect their personal beliefs about right and wrong” (Shaw et al., 2000, p. 881), and (2) self-identity, understood as ethical concerns which becomes central to an individual’s identity (p. 882). This finding

supports the exploratory research of ethical consumers which identified that individuals hold strong feelings of obligation for others and the environment that it affects their purchasing choices (Rise et al., 2010; Zollo et al., 2018).

For other extensions concerning (1) the development of ethical beliefs (Shaw & Clarke 1999), (2) volitional and motivational processes (Shaw et al., 2007), (3) consumers' neutralization mechanisms (Chatzidakis et al., 2007) and (4) consumer socialisation processes (Nicholls & Lee, 2006) have been proposed to further improve Ajzen's TPB with regards to the explanation of ethical consumption. However, there are some inherent limitations to Shaw's study, most notably in the samples used. To collect the views of especially ethically motivated consumers, Shaw sampled subscribers to The Ethical Consumer magazine and focused on the purchase of Fairtrade grocery lines. The latter situational factor, together with the 'extreme' (Shaw et al., 2000, p. 884) nature of the sample may have compromised the generalizability of the results.

3.6 Ethical food decision-making

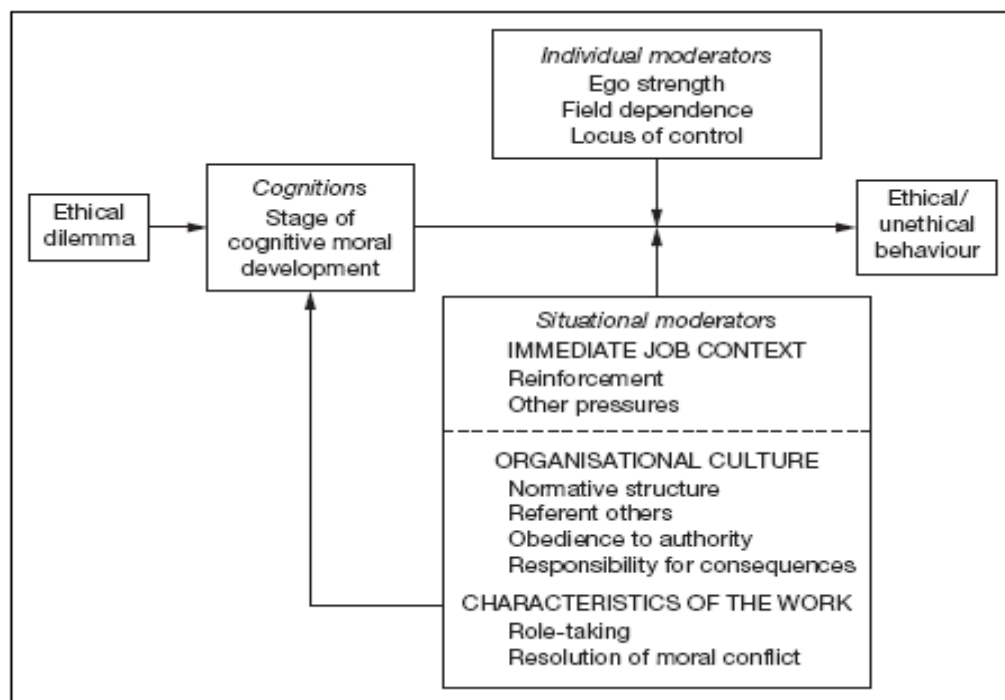
Mostly, consumption practices are interdependent, involving other persons rather than being a sole event (Wiswede, 2000a). Hamilton and Catterall (2006, p. 1032) opined that *'purchase decisions within the family are not always the outcome of individual choice but rather members influence each other'*. Therefore, families are interacting stakeholders with often diverse and competing interests. Family members must continually adapt to the actions of others and to a changing environment they find themselves in. Family members interact among themselves to consider, among other

things, individuals' food and eating preferences. As consumption decisions often occur in familial contexts and the family is an institution where children are socialised about consumption roles (Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 2003), families are of special interest for marketing and consumer behaviour research (Commuri & Gentry, 2000). Consumption-related decision making in the context of family life is a core consumer behaviour process (Howard & Sheth 1969; Scanzoni & Szinovacz, 1980).

According to Cooper-Martin and Holbrook (1993, p. 113), ethical consumer behaviour relates to the "*decision-making, purchases and other consumption experiences that are affected by the consumer's ethical concerns*". Purchase decision making and the increasing significance of family types and individual's ethical decision making involves the "*process of identifying a problem, generating alternatives, and choosing among them so that the alternative selected maximises the most important ethical values while also achieving the intended goal*" (Guy, 1990, cited in Fennell, 2006, p. 257). This process resonates with the broader consumer behaviour perspective as it displays many similarities with the three integrated theories of consumer decision making by Nicosia (1966), Engel et al., (1968, 1993), and Howard and Sheth (1969). These models emerged from a behavioural, cognitive perspective assuming that consumers are essentially complex, rational decision-makers (Nicosia, 1966, Howard & Sheth, 1969, Olshavsky & Granbois, 1979). These models have not changed radically since their origin but have been adapted and enhanced. According to Malhorta and Miller (1998), such models are not appropriate for ethical contexts as they do not account for the complexities of ethical issues even though "decision-making models have philosophical theories as their roots" (p. 266).

A central ethical decision-making framework resides with Rest (1979; 1980). Rest's framework includes four stages of ethical decision making: interpreting the situation, deciding what is morally right, choosing between moral values and other values, and implementing a plan of action. This framework has been criticised for not considering external factors such as situational influences (Trevino, 1986; Jones, 1991). As a result, many theorists have adapted Rest's framework (e.g. Trevino, 1986, Jones, 1991) to incorporate external influences such as '*moral intensity*' a measure of the ethical issue at hand, which includes individual and situational variables. Trevino's (1986) adaptation resulted in the '*Interactionists-Model*' of ethical decision making. This model incorporates Kohlberg's (1969) '*Cognitive Moral Development*' (CMD) to help establish the moral maturity of individuals. Thus, this model considers an individual's ability to process ethical information. Behavioural studies have confirmed that, over time, individuals develop a moral system; however, there is no guarantee that an individual of any age will progress from the initial stage of moral development. Individuals may not be able to process ethical information because of a lack of skills or knowledge (Foxall et al., 1998, cited in Fukukawa, 2002). Likewise, Kohlberg's model does not guarantee that an individual will progress beyond the pre-conventional stage of moral development or, indeed, that one will progress beyond evaluating alternative action. As a result, the motivation to behave ethically may be due to an obedience orientation or a fear of punishment and not on ethical beliefs and values. The shortcomings of these models are that they provided little clarification about an individual's ethical decision-making process. But importantly, it focuses on individuals within the family and does not consider the collective or family as a unit, which is the focus of this current study.

Figure 3.1: The 'Interactionists-Model' of Ethical Decision Making



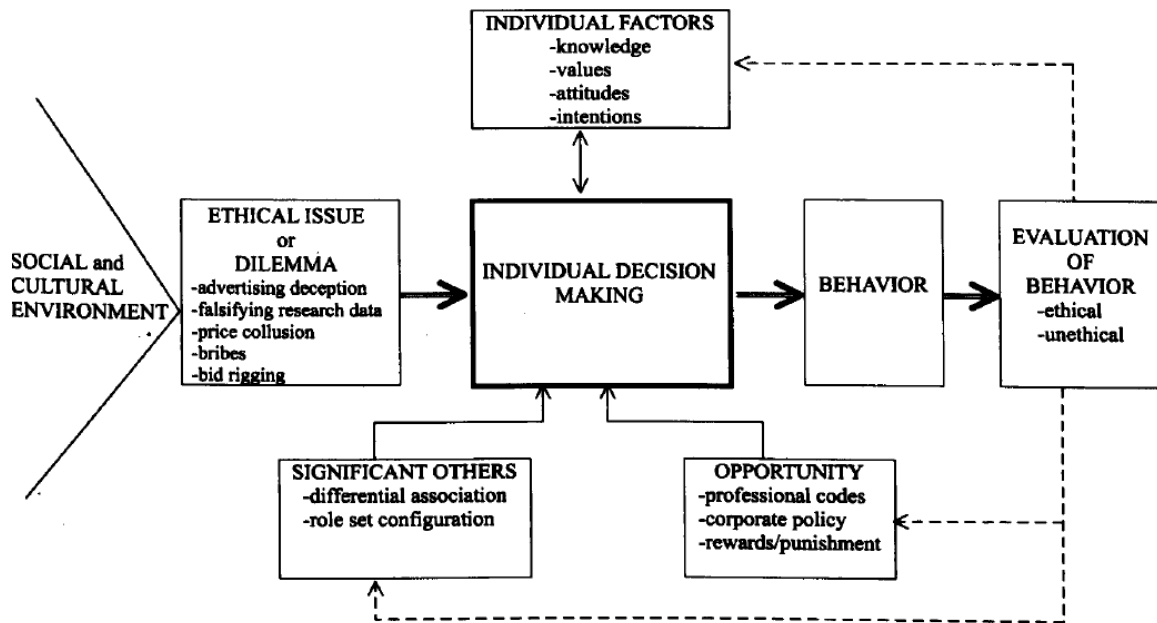
Source: Trevino (1990, p. 603)

Ferrell and Gresham (1985) presented the 'Multidimensional Contingency Framework' of ethical decision making which considers an individual's attributes e.g. background, knowledge, and values, as well as organisational contingencies such as significant others, role set constructs and opportunities such as self-esteem, status, reward to help understand ethical decision-making. A feedback loop based on the evaluation of alternative action provides information for individuals when deciding the future. Although Ferrell and Gresham's model has received much attention in the literature on ethical choice, many have criticised its lack of sophistication and its dominant organisational perspective. It is suggested that this model is deficient in terms of understanding the complexities of a consumer's ethical decision making and in dealing with the issue of an ethical nature (Reidenbach & Robin, 1989; Marks & Mayo, 1991).

From a marketing-specific perspective, Hunt and Vitell (1986) offered *'The General Theory of Marketing Ethics'*. This theory focuses on an individual's decision-making process for issues of an ethical nature. In establishing alternatives, the ethical evaluations of deontology and teleology are employed (Immanuel Kant's Theory of Ethics, 1790). A deontological view focuses on right or wrong action based on an individual's beliefs, values and internalised rules. A teleological evaluation concentrates on the consequences to other stemming from a course of action as good or bad.

These two moral philosophies assist with the evaluation of alternatives. Indeed, deontological and teleological evaluations are often considered simultaneously (Reidenbach & Robin, 1990) resulting in a complex decision-making process. However, a limitation of Hunt and Vitell's (1986) model is its assumption that teleological evaluations can influence an individual's behavioural intention. Like Ajzens' (1991) Theory of Planned Behaviour, it implies that teleological evaluation is a rational process, which motivates choice, thus, compelling individuals towards ethical alternatives. The consequences of one's actions or intentions to act may be influenced by non-rational factors such as emotion. The Hunt and Vitell's (1986) model does not consider the role of emotion as part of an individual's ethical evaluation process even though individuals will often experience feelings of guilt when an ethical alternative is unavailable or when ethical beliefs and action are conflicting (Marks & Mayo, 1991).

Figure 3.2: A Contingency Framework for Ethical Decision Making



Source: Ferrell and Gresham (1985, p. 89)

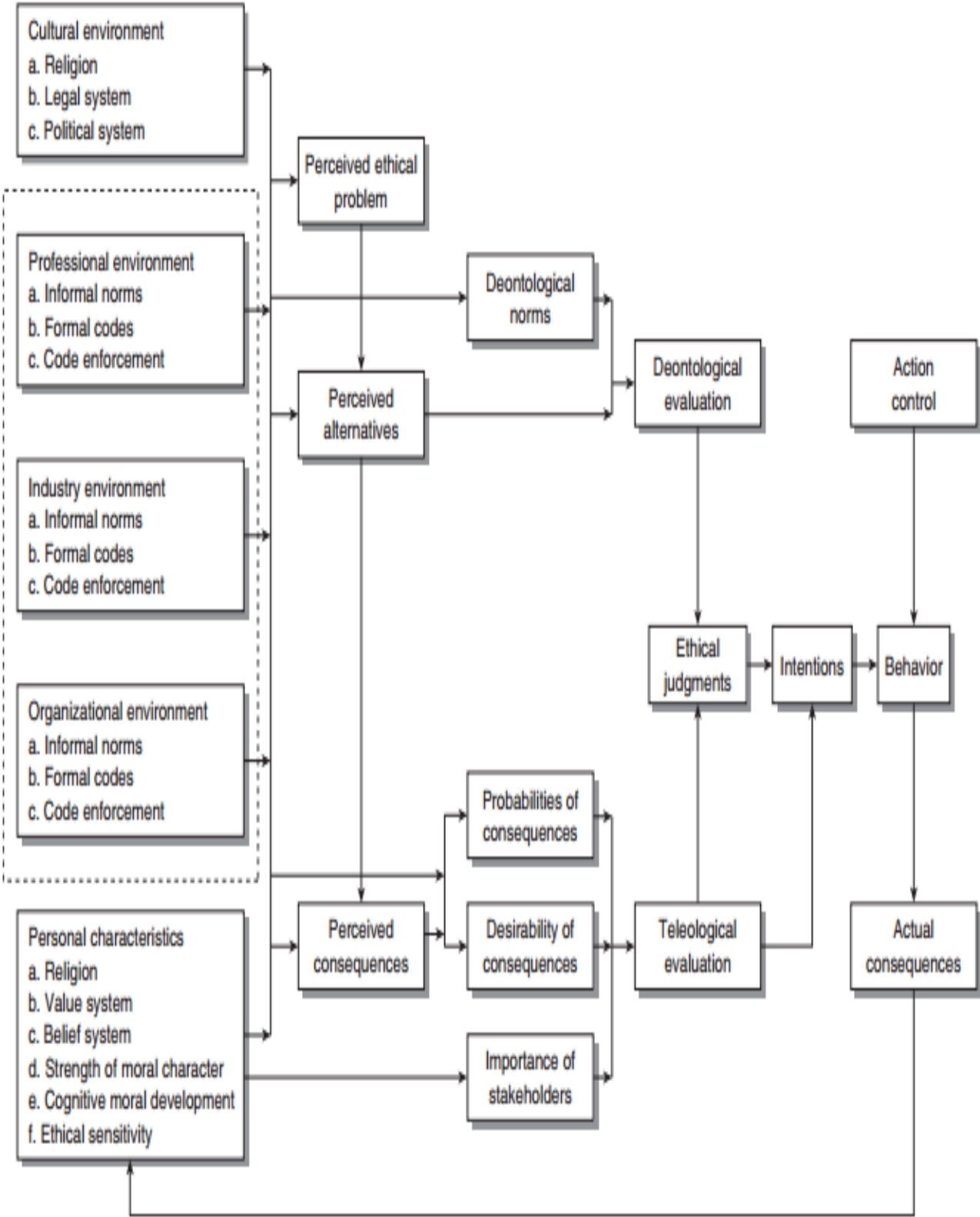
A further limitation of Hunt and Vitell's (1986) model is its assumed level of moral maturity and ethical prowess. The model assumes that an individual can process ethical information and the skills to evaluate a choice of ethical alternatives. Many researchers (c.f. Laczniak et al., 1991; Muncy & Vitell, 1992; Fullerton et al., 1996; Foxall et al., 1998; cited in Fukukawa, 2002) highlight consumers' lack of skills or ability to process ethical information.

Consequently, Trevino's (1986) Interactionists-Model measures the level of ethical maturity considering Kohlberg's '*Cognitive Moral Development*' (CMD), as moral reasoning is believed to be the basis of ethical behaviour. The motivation to behave ethically may be attributed to cognitive and rational reasoning; however, according to

Gaudine and Thorne (2001), ethical decision making is a complex process, often charged with emotion.

They argue that to feel ethically obliged to behave in a particular manner or to consider the consequences of a specific course of action, imply a degree of emotional involvement stemming from a shared sense of concern. Trevino and the Hunt and Vitell's (1986) model do not measure the ability of an individual to recognise an ethical dilemma in the first instance or the role of emotion in ethical decision making. Reidenbach and Robin (1988, 1990) claim that ethical decision making is a highly complex process often involving many ethical philosophies and not just deontology and teleology. The '*Multidimensional Ethical Scale*' (MES) Reidenbach & Robin (1988, 1990) advances previous models, as it measures a range of ethical philosophies as part of an individual's formation of an ethical judgement such as Utilitarianism, Relativism, Egoism and Justice. Besides, they acknowledge that the role of ethics in ethical judgement can change from one situation to the next thereby highlighting a weakness and inadequacy of previous ethical decision-making models. Consequently, MES is a multiple ethical philosophy paradigm applicable to a range of scenarios. This scale has received much criticism of the reliability and validity of the measures used in the original scale (e.g. Mudrack & Mason, 2013). Despite this methodological flaw, the knowledge offered by Reidenbach and Robin (1988, 1990) in terms of the complexity of ethical judgement formation is valuable and insightful (Street et al., 2001).

Figure 3.3: Marketing Ethics Model



Source: Hunt and Vitell (1986, p. 8)

The ethical decision-making models described thus far have concentrated on an organisational perspective. To date, few consumer decision-making models have emerged. To address this gap Marks and Mayo (1991) adapted Hunt-Vitell's 'General Theory of Marketing Ethics' for application to a consumer context. This model emphasises the role of teleological evaluations in identifying ethical dilemmas as independent factors in the decision-making process with the ability to change behaviour (Shaw & Shiu, 2002). The model highlights the importance of the consumer's feelings in the process of evaluating alternatives and influencing an individual's ethical decision-making process. They argued that conflicting situations often lead to feelings of guilt, which, in turn, can "influence the consumer's future behaviour" (Marks & Mayo, 1991, p. 721). An individual can experience feelings of guilt "when behaviour and intentions are inconsistent with ethical judgments" (Ferrell et al., 1989, p. 60). These findings highlight the importance of emotion as part of an individual's ethical decision-making process and its potential to influence ethical consumption practices. While there is a lot of research done on ethical consumption, the few ethical consumption models so far have focused on individual decision-making, with very limited research in family decision-making and particularly family ethical food decision-making. Furthermore, an important, but an understudied area in the ethical consumption literature is how family interaction leads to the emergence of collective ethical food consumption. This indicates that our understanding of familial decision-making process of ethical food consumption is still underdeveloped. Consequently, the question here is; what are the factors influencing family ethical food purchase and consumption? This thesis seeks to identify the ethical decisions adolescents and parents make of their daily consumption

choices and to obtain an understanding of the range of factors influencing ethical food purchase and consumption.

3.7 Chapter Conclusion

This section reviews the literature on consumer ethics and ethical consumption to help understand the emergence of these concepts. It offers an insight into ethical decision making both from a consumer perspective. It demonstrates a link between consumers' ethical decision-making and the ethical aspects of consumption experiences. That is, it acknowledges the potentially significant role of ethics in decision-making and consumption practices.

Chapter 4: Methodology

It is argued that marketing research has suffered from a dominant functionalist/positivist paradigm applying quantitative approaches (Hudson et al., 1988, Nicholson, Lindgreen, & Kitchen, 2009). Authors such as Nicholson et al. (2009) claim that a prevailing research paradigm exists in various disciplines, as early researchers are encouraged to reside in one single paradigm. In the past decade, qualitative research has gained momentum in both the marketing discipline and in consumer behaviour, through alternative ways of attaining new knowledge (Arnould & Thompson, 2005), such as phenomenology (Thompson et al., 1990, Goulding, 2005), ethnography (Penaloza, 1994; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Goulding, 2005), hermeneutics (Arnold & Fischer, 1994), semiotics (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1993, Mick, 1986), and literary criticism (Stern, 1989, 1993). These studies employed methods such as grounded theory and ethnography, to name just two, as a means of providing new knowledge from new perspectives. Indeed, naturalistic (Belk et al., 1988), interpretative (Hirschman, 1989), humanistic (Hirschman 1986) and phenomenological (Thompson et al., 1989, 1990) studies are now commonplace within the marketing literature. These studies have helped understand consumer behaviour process and their implication for marketing practices. It is from this perspective that the current research aims to contribute to this growing area of interpretative studies, as it aspires to understand, in detail, participants' ethical food decision-making process and their ethical consumption practices.

This chapter explains the philosophical and methodological methods used in the study and therefore consider the related assumptions and philosophies. This study adopts an interpretive method, focusing on the subjective nature of reality (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Consequently, an Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis (IPA) approach, embedded in hermeneutic phenomenology, was adopted as the methodological structure for the study. Thus, it is to stress going "back to the things themselves" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 12), where the principle of the experience stems from participants' 'lifeworld' since they subjectively experience it. The study is mainly concerned about the 'particular', that is, a specific phenomenon - influence in family ethical food decision-making). Consequently, it is essential to have 'particular' participants as a focus of analysis, with 'particular' experiential phenomena as understood by those participants in a 'particular' setting (Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, participants who were purposively chosen to represent the research phenomenon have personal applicability to influence in family ethical food decision-making.

4.1 Research Philosophy

According to Burrell and Morgan (1979), research projects in social sciences must consider the philosophical assumptions and limitations of research paradigms. A paradigm is "a cluster of beliefs and dictates which for scientists, in a particular discipline influence what should be studied, how research should be done, [and] how results should be interpreted" (Bryman, 1988, p. 4). It relates to the sharing of common assumptions about the nature of reality and the use of common methodologies (Thompson et al., 1989). Thus, core assumptions within paradigms are treated as

"unquestionable givens" (Lakatos, 1970, cited in Thompson et al., 1989, p. 133) and give rise to limitations regarding the methods employed to obtain a specific knowledge. However, the assumptions may not be the same in different scientific disciplines, thus giving rise to Kuhn's 'incommensurability' thesis (Bryman & Bell, 2003). Therefore, it is necessary to consider the research paradigm in each research project following the research aims and questions, concerning three key areas: ontology, epistemology, and methodology (Healy & Perry, 2000).

Ontological considerations relate to the study of being, reality, and the nature of existence, that is, 'what is reality'. According to Burrell and Morgan (1979, p. 4) research schools of thought are based on "two broad polarised philosophical perspectives": objective and subjective. An objective study assumes 'reality' to be objective, measurable and observable (Bryman & Bell, 2003). It views social science as a world with a "hard, external, objective reality (in which) the scientific endeavour is likely to focus upon an analysis of relationship[s] and regularities between the various elements which it comprises" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 3). The subjective view of social reality "stresses the importance of the subjective experience of individuals in the creation of the social world", a reality that does not exist in an observable, tangible sense but is 'subjectively' experienced through individual everyday experiences (ibid, p. 3). Therefore, "reality is essentially mental and perceived" and should be researched in context (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988, p. 509). Bryman and Bell (2003) and Healy and Perry (2000) refer to these studies as constructionism since individuals construct their accounts of the world they are in. The approach emphasises an "understanding of the

way in which the individual creates, modifies, and interprets the world in which he/she finds himself" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 3).

Taking the above into account, the epistemological underpinning of a study refers to what is acceptable knowledge in a specific discipline, that is, 'ways of knowing' (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). While Crotty (2006, p. 3) suggested that epistemology relates to how we view the world in terms of explaining 'how we know what we know'. This provides a rationale for the choice of methods employed to address the research questions. According to Bryman and Bell (2003), two epistemological perspectives exist positivism and interpretivism. From a positivist perspective, research provides links between variables, resulting in cause-and-effect relationships, that is, reality is separate from the individual who observes it. However, an interpretivist perspective respects the differences between people, capturing their subjective assessments by focusing on interpretation, meaning and understanding (Bryman & Bell, 2003). In this case, reality and the individual who observes it cannot be separated. According to Husserl (1970), such studies concentrate on people's 'lifeworld', given that "our perceptions about the world are inextricably bound to a stream of experiences we have had throughout our lives" (Weber, 2004, p. 5). Thus, ontological and epistemological considerations combined consider reality and knowledge, that is, how we know what we know, based on what we believe reality is (Crotty, 1988, Burrell & Morgan, 1979, Bryman & Bell, 2003).

Crotty (2006, p. 3) suggested that there are three main epistemological views objectivism, constructionism, and subjectivism (and their variants). Objectivism is

discussed by Crotty (2006) in the context of positivism and post-positivism which subscribe to the realist ontology which asserts that there is one absolute reality which exists outside the mind. Objectivism asserts that objective truth and meaning can be attained through 'careful (scientific?) research' (Crotty, 2006, p. 6). Constructionism stands in stark contrast to the positivist and post-positivist paradigms, viewing the existence of one absolute reality as untenable. It holds that 'all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of an interaction between human beings and their world and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context' (Crotty, 2006, p. 42). Constructionism views meaning not simply as objective or subjective; 'we do not create meaning. We construct meaning. We have something to work with ... the world is already there' (Crotty, 2006, p. 44). Constructionism asserts that meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage in the world that they are interpreting. Subjectivism, on the other hand, differs from constructionism in that in subjectivism 'meaning does not come out of an interplay between subject and object but is imposed on the object by the subject' (Crotty, 2006, p. 9).

A further level of distinction in research is called for by Bryman and Bell (2003). They claim it is necessary to distinguish between qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, as part of the research strategy. The qualitative/quantitative distinction provides a basis for the methods employed and is a part of the research planning process. Moreover, "quantitative and qualitative research differs with respect to their epistemological foundations" and "give rise to different methods to be employed" (Bryman, 2003, p. 25). Positivist researchers aim to unearth regularities and

relationships in the research, thus they use quantitative research. This emphasises quantifying, and the measurable collection of data. Generally, theories/hypotheses will be tested from the outset, using a deductive approach (Bryman & Bell, 2003, see Table).

On the other hand, qualitative research uses an inductive strategy, intending to generate theory as a result (Berg, 2004). It is concerned with the participants' subjective meanings and interpretations as they "form structures out of interpretations" (Fisher, 2004, p. 41-43). However, Bryman and Bell (2003, p. 12) point out that an inductive approach is not exclusive: "just as deductive entails an element of induction, the inductive process is likely to entail a modicum of deduction". The following section outlines and provides a rationale for the research approach taken in this study. This thesis cannot adopt an objectivist or subjectivist stance because the objectives involved achieving a better understanding (using qualitative methods) of the lived experiences of family members and their influence in decision-making processes; focusing on child perspectives; and favouring understanding over quantifying. Likewise, it is accepted that knowledge cannot be formed without interpretation (Thompson, 1991) and that in trying to make sense of the respondent's world interpretation would be unavoidable. Therefore, constructionism seemed to fit best with the objectives and direction of this study, with a constructionist epistemology consistent with the theoretical perspective of existential phenomenology (see section 4.2.4).

Table 4.1: Methodological assumptions

Metatheoretical Assumptions About	Positivism	Interpretivism
Ontology	Person (researcher) and reality are separate	Person (researcher) and reality are inseparable (life-world)
Epistemology	Objective reality exists beyond the human mind	Knowledge of the world is intentionally constituted through a person's lived experience
Research Object	Research object has inherent qualities that exist independently of the researcher	Research object is interpreted in light of meaning structure of person's (researcher's) lived experience
Method	Statistics, content analysis	Hermeneutics, phenomenology, etc.
Theory of Truth	Correspondence theory of truth: one-to-one mapping between research statements and reality	Truth as intentional fulfilment: interpretations of research object match lived experience of object
Validity	Certainty: data truly measures Reality	Defensible knowledge claims
Reliability	Replicability: research results can be reproduced	Interpretive awareness: researchers recognize and address the implications of their subjectivity

Source: (Weber, 2004, p. iv)

4.1.1 Interpretivist research

Interpretive researchers translate the experiences of others (Hirschman, 1986): the knowledge that is constructed rests on that obtained from participants. Interpretation rests within an ontology which asserts that meaning is negotiated between the researcher and the researched (Crotty, 2006). Certainly, it is even claimed that knowledge cannot be formed without interpretation (Thompson, 1991). The role of the interpretivist researcher, in direct comparison to the objective, positivist researcher, is, therefore, to be very active in helping to facilitate this meaning construction. There exists a union of perspectives between researcher and researched (Thompson, Pollio & Locander, 1994) through which the researcher's understanding stems from personally

experienced knowledge (Hirschman, 1986). Eventually, the researcher is a tool of the interpretation (Sherry & Kozinets, 2001) and his or her situatedness with respondents in the world is to be used in the process of interpretation (Thompson, 1991).

Interpretivism aims to seek the first-hand understanding from participants (Calder & Tybout, 1989; Szmigin & Foxall, 2000), rather than an explanation as in the positivistic tradition (Ozanne & Hudson, 1989). This understanding is guided by accepting consumer experiences in their terms, rather than trying to capture them via some pre-determined framework (Hirschman & Holbrook, 1986). Whilst interpretivists accept that their interpretations will never converge on the interpretation and that what is presented is an interpretation from the researcher's perspective, accepting Shankar and Patterson's (2001, p. 491) assertion that 'never is there only one story', interpretivists stress that consumers are continuously changing, and reject the positivistic approach which views consumers as being in a static state (Szmigin & Foxall, 2000).

Whereas interpretive researchers acknowledge that it is impossible to see the world through the eyes of others, they stress that such experiences can be interpreted using the researcher as a tool to construct knowledge. Such interpretation requires that the researcher put aside biases and a *priori* knowledge, whereby he or she 'consciously tries to bracket personal beliefs and views' (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988, p. 510).

Interpretive researchers search for obtaining a first-hand account of experiences from consumers, using the researcher as a tool for knowledge construction, which is not tainted by imposing pre-determined frameworks upon participants, and which requires the researcher to bracket personal beliefs and assumptions, shares several similarities with the views of phenomenology, and more specifically with existential phenomenology. Certainly, Hudson and Ozanne (1988) state that interpretive approaches capture phenomenology, with Bogdan and Taylor (1975) arguing that the task of the phenomenologist is to capture the process of interpretation by which the researcher attempts to understand the participant's point of view. Such phenomenological methods focus on participants and their experiences, addressing Hirschman and Holbrook's (1986) claim that consumer research needs to adopt first-hand consumer experiences and move away from the preoccupation with conventional decision orientated approaches. Thompson, Locander and Pollio (1989, 1990) also agree that existential phenomenology is one way in which such first-hand accounts from consumers can be obtained. The tenets of phenomenology, and more specifically existential phenomenology (as adopted in this thesis), are discussed in the following section.

4.2 Phenomenology and Existential Phenomenology

Whilst the meaning of phenomenology has become confused (Cope, 2005), the fundamental features of phenomenology can be acknowledged: the need to describe the *experience*; the importance of *intentionality*; and the *bracketing* of the natural attitude. These key characteristics will be discussed in turn. Section 4.2.1 focuses on

phenomenology's description of an experience, section 4.2.2 explores the concept of intentionality, and section 4.2.3 discusses the process of bracketing.

4.2.1 Description of Experience

Phenomenology is an inquiry 'which discovers the inherent essences of appearances' (Stewart & Mickunas, 1990, p. 3). However, Pettit (1969) defines phenomenology as the study or description of phenomena (with phenomena being defined by Hammond, Howarth and Keat (1992, p. 1) as 'anything that appears or presents itself to someone'). Phenomenology disagrees with the ontological separation of reality and appearance (Cope, 2005) and consciousness and matter (Hammond, Howarth & Keat, 1992) which requires a separation between an 'inner world' (of private experiences) and 'outer world' (of public objects). Phenomenology focuses on describing an experience, wherein distinctions as to what is 'real' or 'unreal' recede and focus on the experience itself and how this experience is interpreted by the participant. Such description of experience necessitates the elimination of pre-determine frameworks and hypothesis testing (Groenwald, 2004) through which the phenomenologists can get to the 'facts' and understand the phenomena in its terms (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998) through the context of discovery, not justification (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The core concern of Phenomenology is describing experiences (Moran, 2000) 'just as one experiences them' (Hammond, Howarth & Keat, 1992, p. 14). Eventually, research data would emerge, and not have its origins within pre-determined frameworks (Groenwald, 2004). The phenomenological maxim of "back to the things themselves" is noticeable here; it is phenomenology's task to describe phenomena, as presented to consciousness, in an

untarnished manner. Husserl regards consciousness as the basis of all experience (Moran, 2000). Consciousness is mirrored in another feature of phenomenology, intentionality.

4.2.2 Intentionality

Intentionality emphasizes the relationship between object and subject, and that neither can be defined in isolation from the other. Husserl (1931, p. 245) states that intentionality is 'the starting point and basis' of phenomenology. Intentionality suggests that every conscious experience is a consciousness of something, every mental act is always directed at an object, you cannot describe the experience without 'describing what it is that is seen, touched, heard and so on' (Hammond, Howarth & Keat, 1992, p. 3). However, to get "back to the things themselves" (that which is presented to us in consciousness) phenomenologists believe that what we know about what is presented to us through consciousness needs to be placed to one side:

'Phenomenology suggests that, if we lay aside, as best we can, the prevailing understandings of those phenomena and revisit our immediate experience of them, possibilities for new meaning emerge for us' (Crotty, 2006, p. 78).

The 'laying to one side' of that which is believed to be known involves the phenomenological process of bracketing.

4.2.3 Bracketing, Epoche and the Natural Attitude

Phenomenology is to "get back to the things themselves", involving the careful, untarnished description of an experience.

... Husserl distinguished between the 'philosophical' or 'transcendental' attitude and the 'natural attitude', according to which we accept the world and its forms of givenness as simply there, 'on hand' (vorhanden) ... for us. The philosophical attitude arises when we recognise the natural attitude as one of naivete. Borrowing from the Greek sceptics, Husserl terms this disruption or break with the natural attitude, epoche (literally 'check' or 'suspension' but used by ancient Greek philosophers to mean 'suspension of judgement'). He characterises it as a 'certain refraining from judgement' ... an 'abstention' (Enthaltung), 'bracketing' (Einklammerung) or 'putting out of play' (ausser Spiel zu setzen), (Moran, 2005, p. 7; emphasis as original).

This yearning derives from the phenomenologist's belief that previous philosophers have 'either ignored this altogether or described it [the description of ordinary conscious experience] in an inaccurate or misleading fashion' (Hammond, Howarth & Keat, 1992, p. 3). Such claims of divergence are based on the belief that previous philosophers have 'allowed their prior philosophical commitments to distort this descriptive enterprise so that, for example, their accounts of perceptual experiences have been influenced more by what this 'should' be like, given those commitments, than by what it actually is like' Hammond, Howarth & Keat (1992, p. 3).

Husserl believes that our normal knowledge, along with our scientific, philosophical and cultural assumptions taint a pure consideration of experiences as they are presented to us (Moran, 2000). Husserl emphasises that such conditions could misrepresent how things are and he proposed the idea of epoche, suspension and bracketing as

metaphors to describe the change in attitude, the result of which breaks with the givenness of the world, requiring the adoption of the philosophical and transcendental attitude. Moving away from the natural attitude means the phenomenologist to suspend all his or her assumptions held within the natural attitude which allows the phenomenologist to direct his or her attention to the important factors of the phenomena in question, without prejudice and distortion (Cope, 2005).

Phenomenologist sees the world as it is, not as it should be. The philosophical or transcendental attitude is achieved through epoche and the corresponding suspension of Generalthesis (general thesis) which necessitates the bracketing of the existence of the world to focus on the actual phenomena. Eventually, phenomenologists have no prejudice from the beginning and therefore the phenomenologist can only accept what he or she is unable to doubt (Husserl, 1977). Phenomenology treats culture, therefore, with a degree of caution (Crotty, 2006), and suggested that 'it is the task of phenomenology ... to make us conscious of what the world was like before we learned how to see it' (Marton, 1986, p. 40).

Husserl was adamant that the process of reduction (involving the metaphors of bracketing, suspension and epoche) was central to conducting pure phenomenological research, in which the transcendental ego, itself separate from the world studied (Hammond, Howarth & Keat, 1992), make sense of the world. In this view, the phenomenologist is a detached observer of the world, transcendental in the sense that one must go beyond the natural attitude (Sokolowski, 2000) and view the world with open eyes. The transcendental detached nature of phenomenology has been criticised.

It is well-known that Husserl was branded as a 'leader without followers' (Moran, 2000, p. 2) as his students were cynical about the necessity of this reduction. Cope (2005) emphasised that Husserlian phenomenology is based on the detached feature of the researcher. Within consumer research, existential phenomenology, different phenomenology, has been espoused which eliminates the detached nature of the researcher and builds upon their 'situatedness' in the world with the study participants. Existential phenomenologists critique the importance of bracketing the natural attitude and argued that in seeing the world from a detached stance (as in Husserlian phenomenology) 'one becomes too removed from the situatedness of human existence' (Cope, 2005, p. 168).

4.2.4 Existential Phenomenology

Existential phenomenologist argues that the existence of the world is not to be bracketed; human beings are beings in the world and should not be studied in separation from it (Hammond, Howarth & Keat, 1992). It is argued that;

'Existential phenomenologists do not seek to study individuals separate from the environments in which they live or the interaction of the two (which implies separation); rather, the study is of the totality of human-being-in-the world (Heidegger, 1962/orig.1927) ... Existential phenomenology seeks to describe experience as it emerges in some context(s) or, to use phenomenological terms, as it is "lived". The concept of Lebenswelt, or lifeworld, is one manifestation of existential-phenomenology's focus on lived experience' (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989, p. 135).

While Husserl's philosophical/transcendental phenomenology describes the world from the view of a detached observer, the existential phenomenology acknowledges that researchers cannot be separated from the world in which they live (Stewart & Mickunas,

1990), and vigorously use this situatedness in the construction of knowledge. Existential phenomenologists while rejecting Husserl's transcendental idealism (Hammond, Howarth & Keat, 1992) still use his method of description. The existential phenomenologist, like phenomenologists, continue to regard the perspective of the experiencing individual as very important (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1990), still seek personal descriptions of experience in the respondent's terms (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989), still do not impose pre-determined frameworks upon the experiences of others (which contradicts Mick and Buht's (1992) semi-phenomenological approach which assessed a pre-determined framework on the subsequent experiences of three respondents), but rejects the transcendental nature of Husserlian phenomenology by studying the entirety of human beings in-the-world.

The existential phenomenologists still seek to understand consumer experiences but do not consider an analysis of the normal to necessitate transcendentalism (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Existential phenomenologists doubt whether bracketing is possible. Existential phenomenology is similar to Schutz and social phenomenology which argues that knowledge is generated through interpretation, through the interaction of researcher and researched, adopting an in-the-world ontology (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989). The existential phenomenological view is therefore highly tangled with constructionism (Crotty, 2006) and the belief that knowledge is created through interaction.

Though the parts of phenomenology have been discussed it is also significant to emphasise that phenomenology is not prescriptive nor are they step-by-step guides as

to how phenomenological or existential phenomenological research should be conducted (Moran, 2000, p. 3). Whilst the phenomenological kind of bracketing, and the rejection of the natural attitude, was not adopted, a version of bracketing was applied. This version of bracketing is like that used by Hirschman (1992, p. 160), who defines her type of bracketing as concentrating only on 'those aspects that are present in the consumer's consciousness'. Having relatively little experience of family life (at the start of the data collection I did not have children) I was comparatively oblivious of the intricacies of power dynamics and family practices. Eccles (2000), researching addicted consumers, also did not feel intimidated by the process of bracketing, as she had little experience of being an addicted consumer. As such, I was already open to discovering whatever presented itself, although I had undertaken a necessary literature review to guide the research process and therefore to ensure that there were substantial research gaps to fill so that my research had some purpose.

However, as my research design advanced naturally (and emergent themes subsequently developed and became apparent) the literature did not dictate the path of the data collection, nor what was to be found there. Like Thompson (1996), the data drove subsequent literature reviews. It is interesting to note that Hirschman (1992), in following this version of bracketing, did not find any problem in researching drug addicts even though she was a recovering addict, and she even suggested that her own experiences of using drugs facilitated rapport with respondents, eased recruitment and gave her further insight into their experiences. In this manner, Hirschman (1992) used her own experiences to interpret her data, as interpretive researchers often do.

The type of bracketing used focused exclusively on the participants. No theories were imposed to direct the course of the data collection, and the data (and subsequent themes) emerged during conversations with family respondents. This type of bracketing means the researcher should bracket assumptions and prior personal beliefs (and those contained in the literature) to ensure that the researcher's assumptions do not taint the experiences of the respondents. Throughout the data collection process, respondents and their experiences were the central focus. Like phenomenological research, their descriptions and terms were the supreme focus, secondary to those of the researcher or those contained within the literature. Respondents were regarded as the experts on their own lives (Thompson et al., 1990). The research focussed on participant's experiences, and what it was like for them to be involved in family ethical food decision-making.

Acknowledging the limitations of pure phenomenology, this researcher rejected the detached observer role but rather adopted the principles of constructionism where meaning was constructed based on the interaction between the researcher and researched which is based on the researcher's interpretation of the participant's interpretation of their experiences (a double interpretive endeavour). Consequently, an interpretive (existential) phenomenology was adopted (Smith & Osborn, 2003) to stick close to the experiences of the participants; capture how participants made sense of their world; bracket any preconception about family life to get to the 'truth' of their experience; and focus on participant's experiences and how they interpreted them using the researcher (who is very much in-the-world, breaking with pure phenomenology) as a tool of the interpretation. Data was collected in an ethnographic

manner, by which the ethnographer assigned meaning to respondent interpretations (Brewer, 2000). Nevertheless, the main aim was that the stories of the participants were retold and interpreted using their own words, in their terms, striving for a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of their "lived experiences" (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989).

4.3 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

4.3.1 An Overview

Traditionally, psychology studies have been dominated by rational models such as those of Piaget (1932, 1965) and Kohlberg (1969, 1979), and based upon quantitative, scientific methods of research as part of the behaviourist paradigm (Skoe, Cumberland, Eisenberg, Hansen & Perry, 2002; Smith, 2008). IPA is a qualitative research approach, predominantly applied in the discipline of psychology. It sits within a hermeneutic phenomenology perspective and was influenced by the work of Edmund Husserl, as it emphasises going "back to the things themselves", that is, the essence of the experience and its common-sense terms (Smith et al., 2009, p12). According to Giorgi et al. (cited in Willig et al., 2008), IPA is a phenomenological-interpretative strategy. It is not a prescriptive methodology but an approach or a perspective, a way of undertaking research that provides a flexible set of guidelines that can be adapted by the researcher considering their research aims (Smith et al., 2009). IPA is more interpretative than phenomenological concerning methodology as it investigates the

'lifeworld' of the individual, a fundamental concept based on hermeneutic phenomenology that is concerned with the qualities and characteristics of the individual's life and their subjective embodiment (Eatough & Smith, 2006a, 2006b).

Earlier IPA studies concentrated on health psychology. However, the approach "is growing in the areas of clinical, counselling and social psychology" (Eatough et al., 2008, cited in Willig et al., 2008, p. 186). Furthermore, IPA is expanding into the related disciplines of human health, social sciences and criminology (Meek, 2007). Researchers who are familiar with the underlying philosophy of IPA claim it provides "more consistent, sophisticated and nuanced analyses" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 5). It draws broadly on a range of ideas in philosophy, primarily in the study of phenomenology and hermeneutics. It is necessary to understand its philosophical underpinnings before relating its relevance to this research. There are three theoretic bases to IPA: *phenomenology*, *hermeneutics* and *idiography*. These will be discussed in the following sections.

4.3.2 Hermeneutics

Heidegger described phenomenology as a hermeneutic activity, thus forging 'hermeneutic phenomenology' (Smith et al., 2009). Hermeneutics is the theory of interpretation and is concerned with gathering meaning and knowledge from an ontological view. It looks at the question of existence itself: how the world appears to us, our subjective view of it, the worldliness of our experience and our reality (Smith, 2008). Schleiermacher, a hermeneutic enthusiast, puts forward the double

hermeneutic as the idea of the researcher making sense of the participant who, in turn, is making sense of their experience (Smith et al., 2009, p. 35). Smith et al. (2009) describe this situation as the researcher acting as a detective, drawing out and disclosing meaning from experiences. The researcher's preconceptions need to be bracketed or acknowledged, thus prioritising the participant's responses through attentiveness and engagement: "The participant's meaning-making is first-order, while the researcher's sense-making is second-order" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 36). The researcher must be both empathetic and questioning of the participant's meaning-making to 'understand' and interpret the responses given: "the very process of putting experience into language is a meaning-making process" (Vygotsky, 1987, cited in Seidman, 2006, p. 19).

4.3.3 Hermeneutic Circle

As part of the theory of hermeneutics, the hermeneutic circle refers to the dynamic relationship between the part and the whole (Smith et al., 2009). It allows the researcher to make sense of the whole by looking at the parts and to make sense of each part by considering the whole (in its context). It describes the process of interpretation through meaning-making, sense-making, and the convergence and divergence of the data. It is an iterative, cyclical process. This is vital in the data analysis phase as it allows the research to go back and forth through the data and facilitates different thinking at different stages (Smith et al., 2009). It is non-linear, allowing different perspectives to be taken on different parts of or the whole of the text. The flexibility of the hermeneutic cycle is important as "the meaning, which is bestowed by

the participant on experience, as it becomes an experience, can be said to represent the experience itself" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 33). The researcher is trying to make sense of the participant making sense of the phenomenon or experience (double hermeneutic: Smith et al., 2009, Smith, 2008). Thus, the experience is viewed in the eyes of the participant, and the personal relevance to the phenomenon being researched but the experience "is not really the property of the individual per se (...) A given person can offer us a personally unique perspective on their relationship to, or involvement in, various phenomena of interest" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 29).

4.3.4 An Idiographic Study

The final concept of IPA is its idiographic focus. IPA involves idiographic study as it is concerned with the 'particular' or specifics (Larkin et al., 2006) whereby the individual is the unit of analysis (Smith et al., 2004, cited in Eatough & Smith, 2006). The opposite to this type of research would be a nomothetic study, which "prevent(s) the retrieval or analysis of the individuals who provided the data in the first place" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 30). A nomothetic approach generally provides typologies through inferential statistics and numbers and divorces the information-rich individual from the laws, averages and statistics used to explain objective phenomena. Furthermore, the author of the present study does not assume that an idiographic study will provide generalisable findings. Although a long-debated issue, the "interpretivist approach to research does not readily facilitate the statement of generalizations outside the context of the study" (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988, p. 511). Therefore, to address this issue, IPA

concentrates on transferable findings. This relates to the particulars of a specific context to other 'similar' cases (ibid).

4.3.5 Rationale for Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Given the subjective nature of consumption and value-based experiences, the current study employs an interpretive research approach. This study aims to uncover participants' subjective experiences, their meaning, and how participants make sense of them, in line with the overall research aims. As qualitative research intends to uncover in-depth understandings of phenomena, it has "the power to take the investigator into the minds and lives of the respondents, to capture them warts and all" (McCracken, 1988, p. 10). The strategy employed for this study is IPA (Smith, 2008). This approach is particularly relevant to the current study as it focuses on understanding how individuals influence family members during an ethical food decision-making process. Therefore, IPA enables the exploration and understanding of participants' experiences, perceptions and views of a 'particular' phenomenon in a 'particular' context by a 'particular' participant group (Reid et al., 2005; Brocki & Wearden, 2006). By concentrating on the 'particular', this enables "thick descriptions from which it is difficult to create generalized knowledge statements" to the specific participants or research context in question (Berger et al., 1982, cited in Hudson & Ozanne, 1988, p. 511). It offers "a deeper, more personal, individualised analysis" (Brocki & Wearden, 2006, p. 99), facilitating a greater understanding through individuals' sense-making of their subjective experiences, and based on the participants' stories, given in their own words. The foundations of IPA are firmly

embedded in hermeneutic phenomenology. As a result, the emphasis is placed on the 'interpretation' of the individual's subjective experiences and not simply on the facts or how they are described as "interpretivism is better capable of uncovering the rich descriptions and insights" (Beverland & Lindgreen, 2004, cited in Nicholson et al., 2009, p. 189).

4.3.6 Phenomenological Research in the Marketing and Ethics Literature

Different strands of phenomenological research are utilised in marketing (Thompson et al., 1989, 1990) and ethics research (Cherrier, 2005, cited in Harrison et al., 2005). All three of these studies used existential phenomenological interviews to help provide insight and understanding into the consumer experiences of ethical consumers and the meaning of ethical consumption. Cherrier (2005) acknowledges the subjective nature of the consumer's ethical decision process and uses the interviews to capture everyday experiences as they are lived. However, existential phenomenology is more of descriptive science, as the researcher assumes a phenomenological attitude by bracketing his/her preconceptions and takes the position that the reality of the descriptions is subjective (Thompson et al., 1989, Giorgi, 2008, cited in Willig et al., 2008). According to Willig (2009, p. 55), descriptive phenomenology acknowledges the role of interpretation but aims to minimise it as it focuses on "that which lies before one in phenomenological purity". It seeks to describe experiences as it emerges". Cherrier (2005, cited in Harrison et al., 2005, p. 129) encourages "the researcher [to] share their personal thoughts and feelings with the informant" throughout the interview. According to Smith et al. (2009), if the researcher provides their experience while interviewing the

participant, the researcher may have failed to bracket their preconceptions, thereby not able to enter the lifeworld of the participant. Finally, Cherrier (2005) claims that 'why' questions in existential phenomenology should not be asked, whereas, in an IPA study the use of 'why' questions enable the researcher to get the participant to go deeper. This is essential as it encourages rhythm and momentum in the interview resulting in the collection of richer data for interpretation (Smith et al., 2009). This, therefore, highlights the shortcomings of Cherrier's (2005) research, as it overlooks the interpretative element required to understand the participant's lifeworld. The present research aims to overcome such deficiencies and undertake qualitative research in an area that has otherwise been dominated by a positivist paradigm (Smith, 2004). The following section details IPA and other qualitative methods, as identified from the literature.

4.3.7 IPA and Other Qualitative Methods

IPA differs from other qualitative research methods, such as grounded theory and content analysis, although some similarities are evident. First, as mentioned previously, grounded theory aims at the conceptual, explanatory, macro level. Meanwhile, IPA aims to purposefully select participants to clarify a specific research question and to develop a full and interesting interpretation of the data. Grounded theory is concerned with theoretical sampling, that is, a "process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses (...) data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, to develop (...) theory as it emerges" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 45). The purpose of theoretical sampling is to establish

claims that apply to a broader population, thereby enabling the generalisation of the findings. Furthermore, Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 22) regard the theory as "a set of well-developed categories". While phenomenological research may use a similar approach, it does not aim for a single set of well-developed categories. Phenomenology assumes that multiple respondents will have multiple concepts and perspectives, in other words, subjective experience creates meanings and relationships that need to be individually researched. Additionally, grounded theory concentrates on theoretical saturation, a point at which no new theoretical insights are evident. IPA, on the other hand, is concerned with the study of 'particulars'. Thus, it tends to use a smaller number of participants in an idiographic study and aims at theoretical transferability, that is, the transfer of similar phenomena to different contexts.

Second, IPA goes beyond discourse or content analysis by "providing a detailed interpretative analysis of themes. IPA starts with but should go beyond, a standard thematic analysis" (Brocki & Wearden, 2006, p. 89). That is, content analysis often has predefined categories. Thus it;

"seek[s] to produce quantitative analysis of discrete categories from qualitative data. [However, in] IPA the importance of the narrative portrayal remains paramount with a final analysis providing a detailed interpretative analysis of themes" (Brocki & Wearden, 2006, p. 89).

IPA can be described as experiential research in contrast to discursive research" (Reicher, 2000, cited in Eatough & Smith, 2006) as narrative and content analysis employ resources such as narratives and language to represent individual experiences. An IPA study, however, views language as shaping an individual's experiences, not

representing them. That is, IPA goes one step further, in interpreting individuals' experiences by drawing out the meaning to develop real and deep insights. "The focus is more on understanding, representing and making sense of people's ways of thinking, their motivations, actions and so on whereas for discourse analysis, the emphasis is on how language constructs people's worlds, the performative aspects of talk" (Eatough & Smith, 2006a; p. 485). IPA is not concerned with the frequency of themes, patterns in data or the function of language but concentrates on the meaning and interpretation of the themes arising in a specific context, thus providing rich insights into the phenomena. Importantly, however, the unit of analysis in IPA is not texts; it is participants, and their attempts to make sense of their experiences and how the world appears to them (Smith et al., 2009). The next section will provide an overview of the philosophical concepts of IPA.

4.4 Methodology

The chapter 2 of this study has already discussed many of the shortcomings of existing family research in the consumer behaviour literature, such as the focus on husband-wife dyads to the exclusion of other family members (most notably children) which ignores the influence that children may have in shaping family decisions and consumption; and with the preoccupation of measuring influence itself using quantitative methods. Likewise, the previous section critiqued the positivist methods used in consumer research which rely on the detachment of the researcher from the researched. The decisions documented in the previous sections, concerning ontological and epistemological choices, thus have ramifications for the research methodology

used in this thesis. The choice of methodology was also influenced by existing family research studies which tend to rely on objective, quantitative methods. The methodology chapter highlights how the family stories were collected, and fully describes the method employed.

4.4.1 Phenomenological Interview as a Method

Whereas many of the points raised by Thompson et al. (1989) have been discussed in earlier sections of this chapter, it is important to review the central themes with specific reference to interviews to understand the implications at the methodological level. Thompson, Locander & Pollio (1989) explained interviews as the significant way by which the existential phenomenologist can seek to understand the lived experiences of consumers. Interviews obtain "a deeper, more personal, individualised analysis" (Brocki & Wearden, 2006, p. 99).

Interviews have been successfully utilised in earlier studies which have sought to capture the voices of families including children (Palan & Wilkes, 1997; Thomson & Laing, 2003; Lawlor & Prothero, 2011; Kerrane, Hogg & Bettany, 2012), and have the potential to yield rich details of the experiences of adolescents and their parents. By using semi-structured interviews (see appendix 6 for the interview guide), this researcher seeks to gain insight into participants' influence in their ethical food decision-making process and their motivation to consume ethical foods and to uncover in-depth detailed information i.e. examples, accounts and stories of their previous decision-making process, their influence or relative influence in family food

consumption decisions, their choice of influence strategy and what impact their relative influence. Considering the research questions, a semi-structured interview was suitable for this study. Semi-structured interviews "*are widely used in flexible, qualitative designs*", helping to obtain a good amount of knowledge (Robson, 2002, p. 71).

The interview begins with informing the participants of their anonymity and seeking their informed consent. The respondents were asked for their permission to tape-record the interviews and assured that no other party would listen to the tape recordings. Although the term 'interview' has been used, 'conversation' (Thompson & Haytko, 1997) is perhaps a better description of the interviews in phenomenology through which the dialogue between the researcher and researched is set by the participant (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989). In effect, the researcher is a non-directive listener with the conversation seeking a first-person description of experience (Cope, 2005). An opening question was used in each interview to stimulate discussion. For instance, in the first interviews with respondents, they were asked: "tell me about your family". According to Fisher (2004), open questions are an invitation to the participants to elaborate their wealth of knowledge on a specific phenomenon, thus complementing an interview approach. Subsequent follow-up questions largely emerged from the conversations with the families.

This researcher, while interviewing multiple family members, triangulates the accounts of multiple family members by bringing out the voices of both adolescents and parents and to gain data within a family interview. Each family were interviewed together with the view to triangulate the data to increase the internal validity of the research. This

three-way technique has been widely used in previous research on influence in family decision-making (Belch et al., 1985; Foxman et al., 1989; Qualls & Jaffe, 1992; Shoham & Dalakas, 2005). Throughout the interview the researcher and participants are in positions of equality (Thompson et al., 1989) and importance is placed on the researched's experiences and concepts (Thompson et al., 1990). The concepts of the researcher, and those contained in the literature and existing theories, are secondary to the respondent's (Thompson et al., 1990); the respondent is seen as the expert (Cope, 2005). The next section discusses the research strategy which involves a discussion of how the respondent families were recruited and selected to take part in the research process.

4.4.2 The research strategy

This research seeks to revisit family research, move away from this dyadic approach to research which considered multiple participants and, the role of children and the dominance of positivist paradigm by going "back to the things themselves" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 12), to understand participants subjective lived experience, as discussed in earlier sections. Nuclear family forms were used while acknowledging the presence and role of "other family" in contemporary society, nuclear families needed to be recruited to ensure consistency of the sample. The family outlook of this study is in response to a growing body of studies in family consumer research (e.g. Epp & Price, 2008; Lawlor & Prothero, 2011) that stresses the importance of moving away from the over-individualisation of family research towards a more holistic, contextual approach. Epp & Price (2011), for example, conceptualise the family as a closely connected customer

network, stressing the interaction between family members and how such interaction leads to the emergence of collective consumption outcome.

4.4.3 Sampling

Many methods could have been used to recruit participants, including purposive sampling, snowballing via referral, or the use of the researcher's contacts (Smith et al., 2009). Following interpretivist research conventions, the families were purposively chosen (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Collis & Hussey, 2003; Bryman & Bell, 2007) to ensure that all participant families recruited were most appropriate participants to answer the research questions outlined. All families chosen were nuclear forms, one of the family forms identified as receiving inadequate consumer research attention (Harrison & Gentry, 2007a; Harrison & Gentry, 2007b). A purposive sampling plan (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was used to 'maximise potential insight' (Moore, Wilkie & Adler, 2001; p. 288) into the phenomena of adolescent – food decision-making. Certainly, purposive sampling is very commonly used within interpretive research (Fournier, 1998; Thompson & Troester, 2002), and enables a study of participants who are most likely to have experience of the phenomenon in question (Glaser & Straus, 1967), and gather rich and detailed data out of "groups or individuals where and (for whom) the processes being studied are most likely to occur" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; p. 54). Consequently, it did not make sense to employ random sampling, convenience sample or probability sampling, as the consumer group is predefined as ethical food decision-makers in a family context.

Twenty-three families were initially selected, of which twenty were deemed useable. Data collected on three families were removed from the sample as individual members dropped out during the data collection. By using twenty family units (mother, father and adolescents) in this study, more than sixty voices were captured. Morrow argues (2005);

'qualitative research is idiographic and emic (focusing on one or a very few individuals, findings categories of meaning from the individuals studied) as opposed to nomothetic and etic (focusing on standardized methods of obtaining knowledge from large samples of individuals, using categories taken from existing theory and operationalized by the researcher (p. 252).'

Moreover, this number of families was considered reasonable given that the focus is on a relatively small number of respondents, as with existential phenomenology which aims to develop a deep understanding of the lived experiences of consumers - this deep understanding necessitates a small respondent base (Holt & Thompson, 2004; Thompson, 2005; Carrigan & Szmigin, 2006). This study is about depth, as opposed to breadth, of data study where adequate attention can be devoted to each participant to ensure that their experiences and stories are told with sufficient detail. It is not the intention of this thesis to produce generalisable as this goes totally against the phenomenological ethos; rather go gain a better understanding of the experiences of influence in family decision-making, from which some theoretical insights can be derived. The number of family members recruited in this study is also comparable to existing child influence studies. For instance, Götze, Prange & Uhrovská (2009) used 14 families; Williams & Burns (2000) used 20 and Thomson & Laing (2003) used 20

families to investigate family influence, highlighting the usually small sample sizes involved in qualitative research (See table 4.2).

4.4.4 Family recruitment and selection

To ensure homogeneity and consistency, families were sought based on the criteria that they choose, bought and consume ethical foods in their everyday purchase and consumption practices and always take part in ethical decision-making; they would be willing to meet, and allow their child/children to participate in the research, and that families have at least one child aged between 11 - 16 (to allow for parent-child interaction and influence to be explored) who still lives in the family home. All adolescents between the ages of 11–16 in a family were eligible to participate. However, while most of the families recruited had more than one eligible adolescent, and not all of them were prepared to participate in the study. Given the financial and logistical constraints of doctoral research, family members with physical disabilities such as deafness, visual impairment or mental disabilities were not allowed to participate in the study purely for lack of resources needed to facilitate their participation. If no adolescent, father or mother was willing to participate, that family was dropped out of the sample.

Families were recruited from a diverse background in the South-East area of the UK through personal contacts, posting fliers and canvassing at 'ethical shops' requesting eligible participants, relying on acquaintances, or acquaintances of friends for

participants and through online forums. The South-East area was chosen primarily for convenience, but also as it was felt that larger cities and towns in the area such as London were likely to hold a greater variety of families from diverse backgrounds. Initially, it was hoped to distribute letters appealing for families to participate in the research via schools, following the recruitment practices of Holdert and Antonides (1997), Mangleburg and Grewal (1999), Johnson (1995) and Palan and Wilkes (1997) which seemed an obvious place to recruit families. However, the increasing issues about children's safety and individual security and safety in recent years have made

such approaches more difficult to use.

To gain access to self-defined ethical food consumers, the researcher identified many offline and online 'ethical consumer groups', 'ethical' foods shops, 'responsible consumption groups' and groups claiming to be 'ethical food consumers' such as the Ethical Consumer, The Whole Food Collective, Vegan food UK, Health and Wellness UK. The researcher contacted and recruited self-defined ethical food consuming families who purchase ethical food at least once every week through various ethical foods shops in and around Greater London and the Southeast area of the UK. These shops are renowned for promoting and selling ethical foods only. The Natural Food Store in Kentish Town, London; the Vital Ingredient store in Liverpool Street, London; the Planet Organic store in London; ethicalconsumer.org, ethicalfoods.com, planetorganic.com; ethicalsuperstore.com; thefoodmedic.co.uk to canvas and recruit participants in their shops and allowed the researcher to advertise the study on their social networking sites. To ensure participants were ethical consumers and that they were just not buying for

someone, I filtered them through questioning. For agreeing to participate in the study participants were given a food voucher of £50 as a token to compensate for their time.

The researcher requested referrals from colleagues and friends who were also self-defined ethical consumers 'ethical food consumers' and who were willing to take part in the research. While all participants recruited were self-defined, to ensure consistency across the participants, families recruited were questioned to ensure they were everyday ethical consumers. Furthermore, given the broad range of ethical concerns exhibited by individual/family incorporating moral choices in their ethical food, maximum variety selection (Morse, 1998) was employed. This method is the process of deliberately choosing a heterogeneous sample, selecting people from a variety of backgrounds to gain a wide spectrum of opinion. Participants for this study were drawn from various geographical and socio-economic backgrounds to allow for cross-sectional representation to gain diversity in response and capture the range and diversity of experience, beliefs and opinions (See table 5.1).

TABLE 4.2: Studies on family influence

Author(s)	Context of study	Product choice/scenario	Sample	Methodology
Shoham & Dalakas (2005)	adolescents' influence tactics	breakfast cereals and athletic shoes	Parents of children ages 10 - 18 in Israel	Questionnaires
Flurry & Burns (2005)	Family influence	Toy purchase	987 mother-child (13–17 years) pairs	Questionnaires
Kerrane, Hogg & Bettany (2012)	Influence strategies	Child–parent interaction in family decision making	29 family informants	in-depth interviews
Götze, Prange & Uhrovská (2009)	Influence strategies	Electronic products; food; clothing; sports equipment; playthings; accessories; cosmetic products; books and special interest magazines	14 parents (their children aged 10–15 years)	Diary method; parents were asked to explain and record their children's influence
Lawlor & Prothero (2011)	Influence strategies	Purchase requests	52 boys & girls (7–9-year-old)	Focus groups and in-depth interviews
Marquis (2004)	Influence strategies	Food purchases	267 boys and 267 girls (mean age 10.5±0.6 years girls, 10.5±0.7 years boys)	Questionnaires
Belch, Krentler & Willis-Flurry (2005)	Family influence	Vacation purchase	67 parent-teen (13–17 years) pairs	Cross-sectional survey
Lee & Collins (2000)	Family influence	Simulated decision-making scenario; how to spend \$150 at a family restaurant	89 nuclear families (children aged 12–19 years)	Questionnaire videotaped observations of family interactions
Thomson & Laing (2003)	Family influence	How the Internet is used to inform decision making	20 nuclear families (all parents and children, aged 13–15 years)	Questionnaires Semi-structured, in-depth interviews
Palan & Wilkes (1997)	Family influence	Adolescent–parent interaction in family decision making	100 families: mother, father, & one child (12–15 years)	Depth interview
Williams & Burns (2000)	Family influence	General purchase influence	20 children (8–11 years) and 12 mothers	Literature Review & Interviews

Isler, Popper & Ward (1987)	Influence strategies	Product requests (food, toys, clothes, sports equipment)	50 families; diary study of children (3–11years)	Diary study; mothers completed the diary study for four weeks, focussing on one child
Cowan & Avants (1988)	Family influence	‘How I get my way with my mother when I want to do something that is important to me’	195 children (11–15 years) and 114 mothers	Individual questionnaires
Atkin (1978)	Influence strategies	Cereal purchase decisions	516 family shopping units (children aged 2–12years)	Observations of parent-child dyads Express desire/request Asking In natural supermarket setting
Cowan, Drinkard, & MacGavin (1984)		‘How I get my way with my mother... father...best friend’	198 adolescents (11–17 years)	Individual essays

Each family was observed and interviewed together with the view to corroborate and triangulate the data to increase the internal validity of the research (Carrigan & Szmigin, 2006). This technique has been widely used in previous research on children's influence in family decision-making (Belch et al., 1985; Foxman et al., 1989; Shoham & Dalakas, 2005). In this study, parents were included as they are normally recipients of children's influence attempts, especially mothers (Cowan et al., 1984; Cowan & Avants, 1988). Moreover, mothers traditionally are the purchasing agents for the family and are well-informed about their children's purchase influence attempts. Family participants were met within one to four months and each family was visited between one and three times. Each interview lasted approximately between seventy-five and one hundred and twenty minutes, and to further enhance the validity of the study, direct observation and interviews were all conducted simultaneously within the family home. The logic behind interviewing the families within the family home was twofold. First, it was to reassure parents that they will always be present, or near, their children when they are being interviewed and so encourage a favourable response to the recruitment appeal; and second, that each participant would feel at ease in their natural environment during the conversations (e.g. Fournier & Mick, 1999; Holt & Thompson, 2004). Similarly, it has been well documented within consumer research (e.g. Davis, 1971) that families behave differently in laboratory settings than they do in their natural environment, and so the family home as the research site was chosen accordingly.

4.5 Studying Children

'Children are often denied the right to speak for themselves either because they are held incompetent in making judgements or because they are thought of as unreliable witnesses about their own lives' (Qvortrup et al., 1994, p. 2)

Whilst a detailed review of children research has been offered in the literature review chapter, a brief outline of the procedures involved in researching with children within the families recruited and justification for selecting adolescent in this study will be offered at this point. This section aims to specifically relate the literature offered in the previous overview of the practicalities adopted in this study. Adopting Waksler's (1991) assertion that children are equal to adults, in terms of the richness of the data they can present to researchers, the children involved in the data collection were not viewed as incomplete adults (Jenks, 1996). Indeed, Punch (2002) stresses that if adults believe that they can depict the world of children (based on the notion that they were children at one time) without directly asking children themselves, then they will generate misleading and inaccurate data. Rather it should be stressed that children are the experts in their own lives (Clark, 2004), and therefore should be treated with respect, and it should be recognised that although they may possess different competencies from their adults, these competencies are not necessarily inferior.

First, older children (e.g., 11 years and above) are found to have a greater influence on parents than younger children (e.g., 3-11 years) do (Atkin, 1978; Darley & Lim, 1986; Lawlor & Prothero, 2011; Kim, Lee & Han, 2018). This has been the case in all decision

stages for durables, non-durables, and outside entertainments (Swinyard & Sim, 1987). Second, older children involve more interaction with parents in attempting to influence parents. Younger children tend to simply ask for products, while older children are more likely to use a wider variety of influence strategies (Isler, Popper & Ward 1987; Palan & Wilkes 1997). The difference between younger and older children's influence behaviour reflects their difference in cognitive and social development. Compared to younger children, adolescents are cognitively mature, proficient in encoding, acquiring, retrieving and organising information, and able to understand the social aspects of products and consumption. Based on cognitive and social development, John (1999) divided children's consumer socialisation into three stages, perceptual stage (3-7 years), analytical stage (7-11 years) and reflective stage (11-16 years). Children in the reflective stage possess a full repertoire of influence strategies and use them in a flexible means to achieve their desired outcomes or answer the objection of a parent. Based on this research, it is obvious that older children (e.g., in reflective stage) rather than younger children will be appropriate respondents for this study. Given that children in the reflective stage are adaptive decision-makers, able to make independent decisions and self-evaluations, and employ influence tactics to negotiate for desired outcomes (McNeal, 1992; Roedder-John, 1999), children between the ages 11 – 16 were selected as participants due to their cognitive capabilities and their level of consumer experience, as discussed above.

4.5.1 Child Competencies

Adopting the semi-participatory research role requires an acceptance and belief that children can provide reliable testimonies. Concerns about the competencies of children are equally true of adults too, with Kellet and Ding (2004, p. 165) stating 'adults are just as likely to blur truth and fiction as children' and that 'children can and do provide reliable responses if questioned in a manner they can understand'. Whilst some researchers have adopted 'child-centric' research approaches (Banister & Booth, 2005) Christensen and James (2001a, p. 2) propose that:

'To carry out research with children does not necessarily entail adopting different or particular methods ... like adults, children can and do participate in structured and unstructured interviews; they fill in questionnaires; and, on their own terms, they allow the participant observer to join with them in their daily lives. Thus, although some research techniques might sometimes be thought to be more appropriate for use with children, with regard to particular research contexts or the framing of particular research questions, there is, we would argue, nothing particular or indeed peculiar to children that makes the use of any technique imperative.'

This study seeks to capture both adolescents and adults' perspectives by ensuring that all participants understood the questions and could respond by offering their accounts of their experiences. Consequently, questions were designed to be simple and 'child-friendly' – using simple language devoid of any big words or technical jargons that adolescents could understand, relate to and answer them appropriately. Children and their parents were encouraged to speak up and seek further clarification if they did not

understand anything during the data collection. The aim here was to bring out the voice of children and adults and their account and to gain rich data within a single-family interview and other data collection activities. In-depth, rich data was sought in the form of stories, examples and accounts of how participants understood their experiences (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

To establish rapport, this researcher started by asking about things adolescents already know or see as relatively less threatening (Cameron, 2005), such as specific daily events, routines or feelings (Mauthner, 1997). Cameron (2005) suggested that interviews with children should begin with this period of 'free narrative' to facilitate 'both the child's settling-in phase and the interviewer's grasp of this child's communication style and concerns' (p. 601). The interview sessions took the form of an informal conversation to enable the adolescents to easily participate and not struggle in any way in responding to questions.

Furthermore, the study process and questions have been tested in the pilot study which helped fine-tune the construction of the interview questions, the wordings and the interview process. Throughout the interview, this researcher developed an informal conversational style, which was particularly apparent talking with the children and their parents. The interview as a method facilitated this, with the interviews intended to yield a conversation-like quality (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989), whereby rich data could emerge from informal researcher-participant conversations (Elliott & Janke I-Elliott, 2003) as participants provided a detailed explanation.

Previous research has already shown that children tend to overestimate their relative influence while parents tend to underestimate it (Belch, et al., 1985; Foxman, Tansuhaj & Ekstrom 1989a; Kim & Lee, 1997). Kim & Lee (1997) suggested that multi-participant and multi-item measures be used to improve the reliability and validity of children's influence. Thus, this study inquired parents' opinion regarding children's influence and interviewed them together.

4.5.2 Access, Gatekeeping and Ethical Concerns

Whilst gaining access involved ensuring the honourable intentions of the credibility of the study to the adult gatekeepers, the parents and children, it is important that families understand the necessity and importance of the researcher gaining a first-hand account of their influence in ethical food decision-making, to better understand the influence process, from the adolescents and parent themselves. Because humans are the objects of inquiry potential ethical dilemmas and concerns will necessarily occur and therefore need to be discussed. Notably, the three points of concern regarding ethical issues in the research centre on the topics of informed *consent*, *confidentiality* and *protection from harm* (Fontana & Frey, 2000). This was done following the Middlesex University ethical research guidelines where participants were able to read the family recruitment pack before being asked to give written consent for the study.

The initial recruitment pack for family participation makes it clear the nature of involvement that will be required from the adolescents and parents in the participating families (see appendix 1). A family recruitment pack (see appendix 2) was sent to each

family who showed interest in the study, printed on Middlesex University headed paper, and the email addresses of my Director of Studies and myself were made available should any individual wish to enquire further about the nature of the research.

Throughout the data collection, this researcher ensures that written consent was sought from the parents, including consent to approach their children and to ask for their participation (see appendix 3); an adult was always present within the family home whenever the children were contacted for data collection; that interviews were fully audio recorded; that no further contact would be made with the children directly; and that steps were taken to ensure both the wellbeing of the children and parents involved and equally ensured that no harmful or detrimental allegations were directed towards the researcher (Fontana & Frey, 2000; Kerrane, Hogg & Bettany, 2012).

First, consent was obtained from the parents for their permission to seek their child/children's involvement. Then, and only then, were the children directly asked for their consent to participate (See appendix 4 for adolescent consent form). This researcher followed Mason's (2004) guidelines for gaining informed consent, the parents and children were informed of the purpose of the research; they were told what they would need to do to participate; assure them that their names would be changed to allow for anonymity; and that they could choose not to take part in the research process and could withdraw at any time. Consent for audiotaping was gained at the time of initial contact and repeated at the beginning of each interview, it was considered

important that true consent was gained only if the request was not a surprise and the interviewees had had time to reflect upon the appeal.

4.5.3 The researcher's role

Mandel (1991) offers three roles a researcher could take when researching with children; *detached observer*, *complete involvement* and *semi-participatory*. Adopting the role of a detached observer was not possible in this instance for two main reasons. First, it is incongruent with the interpretivist ethos and with the researcher's need to be directly involved with the participants to facilitate interpretation and knowledge construction. Second, the role of detached observer necessitates the belief that children and adults are entirely different from one another and that children are viewed as incompetent and incomplete adults. Accordingly, the researcher's role as a detached observer is rejected. Similarly, the role of complete involvement (Mandel, 1991) was also rejected based on Mandel's own experiences of using such a role which led to the harm of one of the children in her care. This role requires the researcher to suspend all adult characteristics except physical size in the hope that they can fully enter the social worlds of children. Ultimately, Mandel's (1991) semi-participatory role is adopted which accepts the similarities between children and adults, and which recognises that adults are 'unable to pass unnoticed in the society of children' (Fine, 1987, p. 222).

4.6 The Pilot Study

The pilot study is a reflective, knowledge building exercise and this section is written from the first-person perspective as I provide a reflective account of the pilot process. According to Smith et al. (2009), it is good practice for a novice researcher to carry out pilot interviews help improve the 'flow' and 'rhythm' of a purposeful conversation. The pilot aimed to test and identify potential benefits and challenging areas in the research process, data collection instruments, sample recruitment strategies in preparation for the actual thesis. Four ethical food consuming families were selected for the study, using interviews, field experimental interaction procedure and consumption dairies and photos.

The study was done in three stages:

- Participants individually answered questions to indicate their personal choice of food;
- family joint decision-making on an optimal food choice;
- Family joint interviews.

To apply the field experimental interaction procedure, a conjoint design was used to capture participant's ethical food consumption and choices of influence strategy in family consumption decisions. Specifically, a set of hypothetical decision scenarios were developed. In each scenario, several alternatives with similar attractiveness and retail value were provided. Firstly, individual participants independently indicated their

likelihood to choose each alternative, and secondly, the family got together to jointly rate the same set of alternatives and decide on an optimal choice. Finally, families were interviewed and asked to submit their consumption diaries and photos of which was done poorly.

It was evident from the interviews that the ordering of prompts was not necessary. It was more beneficial to allow the conversation to flow, as it put the participant at ease, but I was aware of topics that needed to be covered. For example, the purpose of the first prompt was to encourage conversation with the participant: "*Can you tell me about the last time you made ethical food decision-making?*" However, while carrying out the interviews I realised that it was better to start by asking the participant the following: "Can you tell me what it means to you to be an ethical consumer?" This was a better conversation starter. Furthermore, it set the scene for the whole interview. Moreover, the prompts/questions in the interview schedule (see appendix 6 for the interview guide) were based on the main research questions. As the conversation progressed, further questions were asked about the role adolescents play in the family decision-making process. This was aimed at encouraging participants to discuss the family environment and how they affect adolescents' ability to influence family ethical food consumption decisions and choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions. As momentum grew, I aimed towards the actual research questions: What factors within the household affect an adolescent's ability to influence family ethical food consumption decisions.

Participants feedback indicated that different stages of the study and some data collection instruments were “tiring” and “boring” so decided to streamline the data collection process to make it simple for participants as follows;

- Dropped the field experimental interaction procedure;
- Asked participants to shop with £50 voucher and observing the interaction it generates and interviews them based on what was observed and;
- dropped the consumption diary and photos from the studies but used participant observation and kept a journal/notes.

This pilot enabled me to develop my skills in managing any preconceptions I may have, to learn how to put the interviewee at ease and to fine-tune the interview schedule by rewording the construction of the interview questions and streamlined the field experimental interaction procedure. Finally, it helped me to check and clarify that there was no bias or misinterpretation of the questions and the data collection process. It gave me greater confidence as I became more familiar with the use of prompts, when to use them and which ones to use. I learnt from the initial stages of the pilot not to rely on the interview schedule too much as this detracted from the interview and its natural progress.

4.7 Data Collection Methods

The data collection strategy for this study is to use two methods concurrently – observation and interviews. The data collection normally begins with an observation of family interaction and followed by the interviews partly based on what was observed. Both methods were used simultaneously to increase the internal validity of the study.

4.7.1 Observation

Participant observation helps researchers to observe, talk with participants and participate in the study process. It generates a distinctive understanding of the participants (Bernard, 2011), and enable the researcher to understand participants way of life (Schensul & LeCompte, 2013). With participant observation, this researcher was able to get close enough to participants so that they feel comfortable narrating their lived experience to gain an emic understanding. It gave this researcher an intuitive and intellectual grasp of how participants relate to each other during the family decision-making process and why they consume ethical foods. Importantly, this researcher used participant observation to add validity to the study as it helped to see and understand what participants are doing, which can compare to what people are saying during the interviews. While observing, this researcher took notes about verbal descriptions of the setting, the participants and their behaviours and that became the raw data (Spradley, 1980). Direct quotations were noted as they would be explored further during the interview sessions. Participant observation helps the researcher see if participants are doing something different from what they say they do. Likewise, participant observation adds depth to data analysis and helps to witness and understand

participants behaviour in this thesis. The observation was done in isolation but done jointly with the interviews to add validity and generate one data set.

Most ethical consumption studies use stated preferences (surveys), but this study applies field observation through experimental methods (family shopping together) and interviews to reveal rather than solicit the disposition of individuals influence in ethical food decision-making. The main advantages of using these methods are reliability, control features and incentive-compatibility (Davis & Holt, 1993; Goodin, Gerber & Green, 2011).

4.7.2: The data collection process and use of incentives

The family conversations were conducted with the family members who made themselves available in the interview processes like Hamilton & Catterall (2006). Membership of the family conversations was fluid, and family members freely moved in and out of the discussions as they wished. Consequently, several family members were present during the conversations at any one time and this might, on reflection, have caused harm to the relationships that individual family members had with each other. The family members were not inhibited by the presence of their parents, children or siblings, and often questioned the views and opinions of individuals or corroborated stories as they felt necessary.

The purpose of the concurrent interviewing of several family members was to mostly reassure family participants, particularly the children, and create a relaxed setting in

which the conversations could take place. Mahon et al. (1996) suggested that children prefer group interviewing as opposed to a one-on-one interview context. Likewise, it was hoped, similarly to Hamilton and Catterall (2006, p. 1037), that 'the interviewing of multiple family members [would] also permit a deeper understanding of the family dynamics in terms of each person's role and influence in consumption decisions'.

While this deeper understanding occurs from conversations with multiple family members it requires the presence of several family members at one time. Although this is problematic, in terms of managing the challenges represented by the presence of multiple participants and organising their simultaneous presence, the participants were free to discuss family ethical food consumption and associated issues together. Often this involved the comparison of children in the same family, in terms of their characteristics or the way they attempted to influence decisions, which could have been quite uncomfortable for the children. Whereas one-on-one interviews may have spared family members from hearing the views of others (particularly those views that mocked them or were negative in some way), the group interview setting revealed a great deal about family interactions, coalitions and the dynamic nature of family decision making. Unlike Hamilton and Catterall (2006) the family members did not show any signs of being intimidated or restrained in their discussions; the issues raised by individual family members were analysed, validated or dismissed by others which offered a rich and detailed account of their family life and interactions.

The exploitation of research participants and the potential damage that could be caused to them (and in this case, to their relationships with other family members) because

they participated in research studies has largely been ignored within consumer research. However, within studies of child development, such relevant issues are discussed at length. Thompson (1990), for instance, suggested the need to carry out ethical 'risk assessments' when conducting research with children and proposing further that research may pose potential threats to a child's self-concept because of their participation, largely through issues which relate to social comparison.

Furthermore, offering vouchers to the families may have encouraged their participation in the research process, and some individuals may not have wanted to fully participate. For the adolescents particularly, they may have felt pressured to participate by their parents who may have been keen to receive the financial incentive. Such a monetary incentive was not offered to the children directly, and the incentive was not disclosed by myself to the children directly but was offered to the parents for their time to participate in response to my appeal for participant families. The parents were charged with buying that ethical food they chose during the direct observation. The ethics of giving incentives to participants, particularly children (Rice & Broome, 2004), is a very contentious issue. Nevertheless, it was felt necessary (like Hamilton & Catterall, 2006) to provide an 'incentive' to the parents of the families to gain access to the children in as timely a manner as feasible due to the constraints of doctoral research. In any case, recruiting a range of families and family members to participate without the use of an incentive should, I consider, be viewed as a degree of scepticism. Several individuals feel that given the level of intrusion involved in allowing a researcher into the family (Harden et al., 2000; Lindsay, 2000) some form of thanks is needed and proper.

4.8 Analysis of Data

'There is an appropriate reluctance on the part of the phenomenologist to focus too much on specific steps in research methods for fear that they will become reified ... what is presented here is but one possible manner of phenomenologically analyzing data' (Hycner, 1999, p. 143).

While the term 'analysis' has been used to discuss how 'data' (stories of families in this research) are examined when using a phenomenological approach (e.g. Fournier & Mick, 1999; Smith & Osborn, 2003), phenomenology approach does not often subscribe to 'analysis' which implies breaking data down into parts (Spiggle, 1994) which is against the all-inclusive approach to data interpretation which phenomenology promotes. (Thompson & Haytko, 1997). While some phenomenologists do use the term 'analysis', Hycner (1999) prefers to use the term 'contextualisation of data' which examines the 'constituents of a phenomena while keeping the context of the whole' (p. 161). Through this process, the interpretation of phenomenological data occurs through explaining units of general meaning (Hycner, 1999); the steps of which as used in this research are discussed in this section.

4.8.1 Two levels of 'Analysis'

As the data collected was to be explored at two levels, that is within the family, and across the family, 'analysis' was therefore conducted at two levels, similar to that employed by Thompson, Locander and Pollio (1989), Thompson, Locander and Pollio (1990), and Fournier, (1998). The first level specifically examined each family as a unit, reviewing the transcripts of each family and seeking an understanding of each

interview' (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989, p. 141). In effect, the interviews with each family were treated as one extended interview to be 'analysed' as one body. The second stage of analysis occurred after each family had been 'analysed', in this case, 'a new part-to-whole phase begins in which separate interviews [in this case the interviews from each family] are related to each other and common patterns identified. These patterns of commonalities are referred to as global themes' (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989, p. 141). An emic understanding of the participants in each family was initially sought, which intended to 'articulate the system of meanings that compose the worldviews of the participants', followed by an etic interpretation which aimed to 'link these emic meanings into more global theoretical terms' (Thompson, 1996, p. 390).

4.8.2 The Data 'Analysis' Process

Phenomenology does not advocate specific, step by step guidelines regarding how data is to be interpreted, and so what is presented here is but one way in which interpretation can advance (as based on Smith and Osborn's (2003) 'Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis' guidance). As the data was to be interpreted at two levels, steps one through to five detail the 'analysis' was conducted with each family in turn. The families were 'analysed' in the order that I met them, using their interview transcripts as an individual corpus of data.

4.8.2.1 Stage 1: Transcription

Verbatim transcription of each interview with the families was done at this stage. Transcriptions were augmented with written field notes, which were typed up as soon as each interview/observation was complete to capture the richness of the data. The transcribed interview texts, alongside field notes, formed the data set for analysis. The transcribed text was treated as an independent body of data (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989) which required that all suppositions and existing theories were set aside and, to use the phenomenological term, bracketed. Although bracketing does not suggest viewing the world from an impartial perspective (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989), accepting that the world must be described and interpreted from some perspective, it is important to recognise that the researcher must be open to uncovering experience as it is lived and as it is presented by the respondent. Nevertheless, Thompson et al. (1989) argued that 'keeping an open mind is not the same as having an empty head' (Dey, 1993, p. 63). Ultimately 'the research data, that is the recordings and transcriptions, are approached with an openness to whatever meanings emerged' (Hycner, 1999, p. 144). The transcription led to over three hundred and ninety pages of material to interpret.

4.8.2.2 Stage 2: Rereading the transcription and listening to recordings

The transcriptions were reread several times and interview recordings were revisited to gain a sense of the whole. This helped in understanding respondents and their

experiences. Throughout the review of each interview, text notes were made either in the left-hand margin of the page or on the relevant section of the text itself, to identify 'what is interesting or significant about what the respondent has said' (Smith & Osborn, 2003, p. 67). This step is like one done by Hycner (1999), describing units of general meaning, in which the demanding process of going over each word, sentence and line of data starts with notes made in the margin to identify extracts of importance at this early stage. Nevertheless, Smith and Osborn (2003, p. 67) stress, 'there are no rules as to what is commented upon, and there is no requirement, for example, to divide the text into meaning units and assign a comment for each unit. '

4.8.2.3 Stage 3: Assigning title themes

At this stage the text was then reread from the beginning, this time using the right-hand margin to develop the earlier comments made into 'concise phrases which aim to capture the essential quality of what was found in the text' (Smith & Osborn, 2003; p. 68). By going back to the interview transcripts, the researcher was able to bracket any of his preconceptions, by listening to what was said. The initial notes made in step 2 are thus transformed into themes.

4.8.2.4 Stage 4: Connecting the themes

This involved connecting the themes listed in step 3. The initial themes were listed in chronological order as they presented themselves in each family. This step required a more analytical approach to the data through which the initial themes were clustered

based on a theoretical ordering. Each cluster was then allocated a group heading which was consistent with what the respondents were saying; 'as a researcher one is drawing on one's interpretive resources to make sense of what the person is saying, but at the same time, one is constantly checking one's sense-making against what the person said' (Smith & Osborn, 2003, p. 72). This process helps to highlight any connections between emerging themes and to uncover convergence and divergence, commonality and nuances (Eatough et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2009).

This stage produced two lists; the first included the initial marginal notes made, and the second, a more analytical list containing the transformation of the initial list into broader conceptual classes, grouped by cluster theme. Identifiers were also used in which a master list was constructed which identified the occurrence of each theme in each transcript.

4.8.2.5 Stage 5: Family Narrative Cases

The case for each family was written up individually, based on the themes which had emerged from each of their interviews. By adopting a phenomenological approach this researcher engaged in two main activities to 'validate' the data (Groenwald, 2004); bringing the data back to the respondents (Denzin, 1997) to review if the transcript is a valid summary of their experiences (and making appropriate modifications if need be); and using two judges (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989; Hycner, 1999; Groenwald, 2004). The data and corresponding interpretations were discussed with the judges who enthusiastically critiqued and questioned the emerging interpretations (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989) to ensure that the interpretation has certainly emerged from the data.

4.8.2.6 Stage 6: Cross Case Analysis

Each family's transcriptions were done separately in all the five stages thus far. This stage comparison of the emergent themes, and family case narratives, and what emerged were overall global themes, which offered comparisons across each family. Consequently, the final global themes were a combination of all the preceding interpretations adapted by continuous analysis through a hermeneutical method. An iterative approach was used by which each case narrative and family transcript informed the broader, global themes. There were global themes in each family, and it is important to stress that for a theme to be considered 'global', support for each theme must have been present within each family's transcripts. Common themes between the families have been called global themes (Thompson, et al., 1990). The iterative process of going back and forth within, and across, each family enabled larger patterns of thematic relationships to emerge (Thompson, 1996) which aimed to 'capture the important dimensions common to all the participants' interviews' (p. 393).

4.8.3 Recruiting judges

This researcher recruited two academics to help validate the data (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989; Hycner, 1999; Groenwald, 2004). The data and corresponding interpretations were discussed with the judges who enthusiastically critiqued and questioned the emerging interpretations (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989) to ensure that the interpretation has certainly emerged from the data. Two research assistants were recruited to help with the data collection, and later two other independent academics were recruited to judge the data interpreted to ensure investigator triangulation (Decrop, 1999). The assistants and the judges were briefed about the study, the

research process, their responsibilities and their ethical obligations towards respondents i.e. confidentiality. The data and corresponding interpretations were discussed with the judges to reconcile the judgements, ensure that the interpretation has certainly emerged from the data, and to ensure their consistency [reliability] (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

4.8.4 Validity

The quality of qualitative methods of research has been the subject of many academic discussions (Bryman & Bell, 2003), nonetheless, Yardley's (2000) validation benchmarks for interpretivist studies have been well-received (Smith et al., 2009). While participants' narratives cannot be judged by their objectivity or validity, they may be perceived as exchanges with a purpose associated to personal accounts or meaningful phenomena, therefore these conversations reflect how participants' make meanings. Reliability in qualitative research may be unsuitable, since it's intended to provide just one interpretation, out of many possible interpretations (Yardley, 2000). Moreover, Yardley (2000) offers four extensive benchmarks to address validity issues in qualitative research as follows;

4.8.4.1 Sensitivity to context

The interpretivist approach is sensitive to the research questions being answered. Moreover, this study used a small participant group with close engagement, to research

the 'particular' of their own experiences. Interviews enable close engagement in a non-intrusive fashion, through a 'purposeful conversation' style.

4.8.4.2 Commitment and rigour

This researcher was attentive to the participants during data collection and data analysis periods and cleared up any preconceptions and kept the findings as close as possible to the participants' 'lifeworlds' (experience), as described by the participants. Rigour is apparent in the appropriateness of the chosen participant group to the research questions that have been outlined (McCracken, 1988). This study asked adolescents and parents to talk about their influence on ethical food decision-making. Therefore, homogeneous participants who match the research topic and questions were selected.

4.8.4.3 Transparency and coherency

To be transparent in this study, the researcher outlines a clear methodology and methods that would be used in the study. Interview schedules and timetabling were used. Coherence requires drafting and redrafting. However, coherence is mainly judged by the reader. The pilot study helped in redrafting the questions and fine-tuning the data collection processes.

4.8.4.4 Impact and importance

The last test of validity is in the reading of a study report. This researcher read through the study to highlight the contribution it makes to consumer behaviour.

4.8.5 Social Desirability

Social desirability describes the tendency of a person to deny traits that are socially undesirable and to claim socially desirable traits. It also includes the bias to say things that shed a good light on the person making the statement (Atteslander & Kneubühler, 1975). The conceivable existence of social desirability in participant responses is a concern with any research. Participants may not be honest in their response to questions but may instead give an answer that they perceived to be correct (Bryman & Bell, 2003).

Given the findings from previous studies (Shaw & Riach, 2011), ethical consumption is thought to be an expression of one's ethical beliefs and values, which stems from feelings of ethical obligation and a sense of self-identity (Shaw & Shiu, 2002, Rise et al., 2010). Given the personal relevance of ethical consumption practices and family influence, it was plausible that the participants may have exaggerated or contrived certain behaviours to protect their ethical identity/or egos. Although it is not possible to avoid social desirability bias completely, this researcher aimed to minimise this by offering anonymity to all participants with the hope that this would reassure them that their responses would not be known to others. Besides, participants were reassured that the study is not meant to judge them but to understand their experience of influence, and the wording of questions was designed to help minimise the effect of social desirability bias (Bryman & Bell, 2003).

4.8.6 Trustworthiness and limitations of the research methods

All research paradigms have their preferred methods of judging research quality, and the criteria used to signify knowledge within each of these parameters will vary between them (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). For example, the constructs most commonly associated with positivist research include reliability, generalisability and validity (Healy & Perry, 2000), whilst those researchers operating within an interpretivist and constructionist paradigm look to criteria such as transferability, dependability, credibility and confirmability (Decrop, 2004). The latter four criteria originally developed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and referred to as indicators of trustworthiness, tend to mirror the quantitative terminology (Decrop, 1999, p. 158), and are set out in Table below.

Table 4.3: Indicators of trustworthiness

Qualitative terminology	Quantitative terminology	Explanation
Credibility	Internal validity	How truthful are particular findings?
Transferability	External validity	How applicable are the findings to another setting or group?
Dependability	Reliability	Are the results consistent or reproducible?
Confirmability	Objectivity	How objective are the findings, that is how much has the researchers' biases influence them?

Source: Decrop (1999, p. 158)

Significantly, however, much time has been spent by academics considering whether terms such as reliability and validity should have any meaning or use within qualitative research (Decrop, 2004; Rolfe, 2006). Indeed, Rolfe believes that;

...qualitative researchers should devote their energy to challenging the notion of a universal set of quality criteria (whether qualitative or quantitative) rather than acquiescing to them (Rolfe, 2006, p. 309, emphasis in original).

Others, such as Sandelowski and Barosso (2002) point out that it may be impossible to nominate a finite set of criteria because of the disparate and varied nature of qualitative research methods, whose researchers often disagree wildly with each other's methods. Despite much debate, the concept of trustworthiness has been widely adopted and appears frequently about the credibility and quality of qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 290) explain the rationale behind trustworthiness thus;

The basic issue in relation to trustworthiness is simple: How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of? (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290).

Regarding how researchers can achieve this, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest several activities arranged under each of the four criteria and which reflect their highly structured approach to this topic. For improved credibility, they suggest that prolonged engagement, persistent observation and triangulation are appropriate. In their opinion, prolonged engagement is necessary to understand the phenomenon, to detect any potential distortions and to build trust, while persistent observation can provide depth to the data as opposed to scope. Triangulation can be achieved in several ways, by data, method, investigator or theoretical triangulation (Decrop, 1999). Data triangulation involves employing a variety of data sources, method triangulation is achieved through

using multiple methods and investigator triangulation is concerned with using several different researchers to interpret the data. Theoretical triangulation can be achieved by adopting multiple perspectives to interpret a single data set (Decrop, 1999). However, it is important to note that the adoption of triangulation does not ensure that appropriate answers are found, and nor does it guarantee interesting findings (Decrop, 1999). In response to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) suggestions, this thesis used series of direct observation and interviews for prolonged engagement and data triangulation and used different researchers to interpret the data. "a deeper, more personal, individualised analysis" (Brocki & Wearden, 2006, p. 99). This researcher focuses on the richness of data which are important than the sample size in qualitative research (Charmaz, 2005, Morrow, 2005). The adequacy of data was taken into consideration, quality, length, richness and a variety of sources (Flick, 2002; Morrow, 2005). This will not simply apply to the data collection; but also consider the outcomes of the data analysis. Secondly, method triangulation – interactive experiment and interviews, and investigator triangulation were being used.

Additional methods for ensuring credibility are peer debriefing, this researcher discussed the research with two academics to guard against bias or misinterpretation, and participants were allowed to comment on the researchers' interpretation of the data during the research process. Lincoln and Guba (1985: p. 314) call this a "most crucial technique for establishing credibility" but is not always as straightforward as it may appear - not only will participants have different agendas or priorities to the researcher but also each person's role in the research process may differ. For example, whilst the researcher's goal is to discuss multiple realities, the participant's concern is to

see their reality (Sandelowski, 1993). In addition to which is the temptation for them to clarify or justify what was said thus altering the transcripts (a record of what was said) sent to them for verification (Poland, 2002).

Participants in this research were contacted to comment on the researcher's interpretation of the data to ensure the data accurately represents transpired during the interviews. The researcher was attentive to the participants during data collection periods and cleared up any preconceptions and kept the findings as close as possible to the participants' experience, as described by the participants. Rigour is apparent in the appropriateness of the chosen participant group to the research questions that have been outlined (McCracken, 1988).

Regarding the transferability of the research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest this can be achieved through providing 'thick description' or detailed information about respondents' experiences for a judgement to be made about the research applying to other contexts. This corresponds to Sandelowski's (1993) 'decision trail' and Rolfe's (2006) "'super' audit trail" whereby the researcher takes great care to explain in detail the underpinning rationale for the research, the decisions taken in the process of collecting data and the findings of the research. Besides, Rolfe (2006) cites Koch and Harrington (1998) who advise researchers to present research using a continuously self-appraising narrative, a point also supported by de Ruyter and Scholl (1998). These latter authors suggest that systematic operation of the research process, for example, by linking participant responses to theoretical models or asking the questions systematically can reveal reliability and confirmability. They also believe that reliability

can be gained by the researcher offering a detailed description of the process of data collection and analysis to enable future researchers to “trace back” to the original research design. Stake (1995) highlights that rather than generalisation, qualitative researchers aim for particularisation, where they aim to learn as much as they can about the human experience. Such an aim can mean the researcher examines a big sample, or a sample of only one, because learning intensively about the influence in family ethical decision-makers’ lived experience is more important for a phenomenological study than the predictive utility and validity criteria demanded by a positivist approach to data.

For both Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Rolfe (2006), it is the reader of the thick description who will decide whether the research process is transferable, whereas Morse et al. (2002, in Rolfe, 2006) believe that responsibility for verification lies with the researcher and not the reader of the research. Morse et al. (2002 as cited by Rolfe, 2006, p. 305), believe issues of reliability and validity can be achieved by the researcher adopting several verification activities in the research process, because;

Together, all these verification strategies incrementally and interactively contribute to and build reliability and validity, thus ensuring rigor. Thus, the rigor of qualitative inquiry should be beyond question, beyond challenge and provide pragmatic scientific evidence that must be integrated into our developing knowledge base (Morse et al., 2002 as cited by Rolfe, 2006, p. 305).

This thorough and detailed approach to research is also highlighted by Janesick (1998) and she cites Patton (1990), who suggests that a credible qualitative study should

explain the techniques and methods used to ensure the integrity, validity and accuracy of the findings, what the researcher brought to the study in terms of experience and qualifications, and what assumptions underpinned the study (Janesick, 1998, p. 49).

Following Janesick's three questions, and in consideration of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) instruction that their trustworthiness criteria not be developed into prescriptions that must be followed exactly, this study seeks to address such recommendations by providing a detailed description, not only of the methods chosen but also the rationale underpinning the actions and decisions of the researcher.

4.9 Reflections on Methodological Changes

The three first family members recruited were required to initially complete consumption logs and to take photographs with their phones about their family life and ethical consumption. Unfortunately, the tasks were not broadly completed by the parents and children alike. The importance of reflexivity in conducting research, specifically with children, is raised. Atkinson et al. (2001) suggested that reflexivity is essential to the process of conducting qualitative research. The families feedback indicated that they would rather prefer an informal conversation and that the research tasks were too demanding. Seeking research preference from participants is a technique also used by Barker and Weller (2003b) in their child study. The field experimental interaction and interview was later adopted, and the use of consumption logs and the photography exercise were both abandoned.

I am conceivably a bit surprised by the reaction of the children to the learning log and photography methods. It had been considered that these consumption logs and the photographs which required the children to write or draw about consumption matters over fifteen days would be creative and enjoyable for the children to perform. In retrospect, the children of the three first families commented that such a task was "school-like" and "boring", and they afterwards chose not to complete the tasks.

While I do not consider the method of consumption diaries or photograph taking to be flawed, the families in this study did not wish to undertake such activities. This could also be somewhat due to the timing of such tasks over the Christmas period when the children were on a break from school. Nevertheless, the need to be reflexive about the techniques employed when researching with children is paramount, and children should be encouraged to participate in discussions which relate to the choice of research methods which they will participate in (Barker & Weller, 2003b).

Researchers should engage with children about the research methods to use in a move towards negotiation rather than imposition (Hill et al., 2006). It should equally be recognised that 'what adults perceive as child friendly and empowering for children may be seen by participants as adult centred and an imposition' (Barker & Weller, 2003b, p. 36).

4.10 Conclusions

This chapter has highlighted the existential phenomenological focus to data collection adopted in this thesis. A pure phenomenology was rejected based on the criticisms directed at the transcendental level in favour of existential phenomenology which accepts the researcher's situatedness in-the-world, using the researcher as a tool of the interpretation. Data were collected from twenty families recruited in the South East area involving direct observation of family interactions and a series of interviews or conversations. The family interviews were interpreted following interpretive phenomenological guidelines, allowing global themes to emerge from the data.

A discussion of the global themes is offered in chapter 6. The next chapter, however, presents the stories of these families. Each story sheds further light on the influence processes of adolescents on family ethical food consumption and decision-making. Chapter five, therefore, introduces the families and their stories, from which the global themes emerge (presented in chapter 6).

Findings and Discussions

The following three chapters illustrate the context of family influence in ethical food decision making. Chapter 5 presents the family stories and the general processes of how family members interact during ethical food decision-making. Chapter 6 discusses the stories of the families and how influence is exercised. Chapter 7 discusses the global themes that emerge from the data and chapter 8 discusses the general findings of this thesis.

Chapter 5: Family Ethical Consumption

This section begins by discussing the findings of families' ethical lifestyle and food consumption and what it means to become an ethical consumer, the challenges and the reasons and influences. Four main themes are developed throughout the chapter. Firstly, rather than simply taking ethical concerns as an additional set of variables for determining consumer decisions, for the participants an ethical consumer was something to 'become'. This 'becoming' has meaning for the ethical consumer's sense of self and is rarely achieved without wider identity implications. This researcher, therefore, uses this chapter to demonstrate the difficulties attached to become an ethical consumer and the positive gains to the self. Secondly, the findings reveal a problematisation of self and other-directed concerns. The third theme of this chapter is the relationship between ethical consumerism and social and cultural contexts. The data suggests that rather than consumer ethics being ingrained in the participants through their social and cultural backgrounds, mediated knowledge and social networks provide the individual with shared values which offer the freedom to become an ethical consumer. Finally, it will become clear throughout the chapter that there is a diversity of motivations which have influenced the ethical consumer. The participants' paths into and through ethical consumerism are highly individual, and the researcher suggests that no one theoretical position is enough for explaining the motivations of the ethical consumer. The researcher, therefore, does not define ethical consumption as a

lifestyle choice, or identity position that can be adopted or rejected. The family participants for this study are presented in table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Respondent details

Family Pseudonym & Age	Family details	Family members participated	Employment	Number of visits	Length of visit
Onyajeli Family:	Nigerian,	Mr Onyejeli	IT Engineer	2 visits	2 hours
Dad (39), Mum (36), Ade (M, 16), Olu (M, 12) and 1 sibling (9)	Live in London, 3 Children (1 under age 11)	Mrs Onyejeli Ade Olu	Supply Teacher		
Thakkar Family:	Indian,	Mr Thakkar	Unemployed	1 visit	2 hours
Dad (48), Mum (43), Amandeep (F, 15), Gagan (F, 12) & 2 siblings (10 & 7)	Live in Aylesbury, 4 Children (2 under age 11)	Mrs Thakkar Amandeep Gagan	Civil Servant		
Jones Family:	Welsh,	Mr Jones	Teacher	1 visit	1.5 hours
Dad (59), Mum (49), Kim, (F, 14) & Tim (M, 11) & 1 sibling (18)	Live in Slough, 3 Children (1 over age 16)	Mrs Jones Kim Tim	Housewife		
Arshad Family:	Pakistani,	Mr Arshad	Academic	1 visit	2 hours
Dad (44), Mum (39), Mo (M, 13) & Osman (M, 11) & 3 siblings (17, 9, 7)	Live in London, 5 children (2 under age 11 & 1 over age 16)	Mrs Arshad Mo Osman	School Secretary		
Selwyn Family:	Jamaican,	Mr Selwyn	Office Manager	2 visits	2 hours
Dad (47), Mum (47), Toni (F, 15), Damien (M, 12), & 1 sibling (12)	Live in Harlow, 3 children (1 sibling opted out of the study)	Mrs Selwyn Toni Damien	Secretary		
Brown Family:	Scottish,	Mr Brown	Charity Manager	2 visits	2 hours
Dad (61), Mum (47) Sue (F, 13) & Alfie	Live in Woking,	Mrs Brown	Charity worker		

(M, 16), & 1 sibling (19)	3 children (1 over age 16)	Sue Alfie			
Lehmann Family:	German,	Mr Lehmann	Environmentalist	1 visit	2 hours
Dad (55), Mum (46) Jens (M, 14) & Claudia (F, 11) 2 siblings (20 & 17)	Lives in London, 4 children (2 over age 16)	Mrs Lehmann Jens Claudia	Insurance manager		
Cohen Family:	Jewish,	Mr Cohen	Development Consultant	2 visits	2.5 hours
Dad (40), Mum (41) Abbi (F, 12), Illana (F, 15) & 1 sibling (10)	Live in Sevenoaks, 3 children (1 under age 11)	Mrs Cohen Abbi Illana	Housewife		
Tavares Family:	Spanish/English,	Mr Tavares	Council Officer	1 visit	1.5 hours
Dad (37), Mum (33), Laura (F, 12) & 3 siblings (16, 9 & 8)	Live in London, 4 children (1 aged 16 opted out & 2 under age 11)	Mrs Tavares Laura	Interior Designer		
Elphick Family:	English,	Mr Elphick	Estate Agent	2 visits	2 hours
Dad (47), Mum (46), Sarah (F, 16) & Jane (F, 12) 1 sibling (18)	Live in Epsom 3 children (1 aged over 16)	Mrs Elphick Sarah Jane	Local Councillor		
Jannetta Family:	Scottish/Italian,	Mr Jannetta	Chef	2 visits	2 hours
Dad (40), Mum (43), Alice (F, 15), Mim (F, 12) & 1 sibling (11)	Live in St. Albans, 3 children (1 opted out)	Mrs Jannetta Alice Mim	Unemployed		
Greenway Family:	English,	Mr Greenway	Court Bailiff	2 visits	2 hours
Dad (34) Mum (34), Henry (M, 13) & 2 siblings (9 & 6)	Live in Basildon, 3 children (2 under age 11)	Mrs Greenway Henry	Back-up Singer		
O'Brien Family:	Irish,	Mr O'Brien	Head Teacher	3 visits	2 hours
Dad (60), Mum (51), Jim (M, 15), Peter (M, 12) & 3 siblings (19, 17, 17)	Live in London 5 children (3 aged over 16)	Mrs O'Brien Jim Peter	Teacher		
Powell Family:	English,	Mr Powel	Police Officer	2 visits	2 hours

Dad (32), Mum (35), Charlene (F, 14) & 1 sibling (10)	Live in Dunstable, 2 children (1 aged under 11)	Mrs Powell Charlene	Customer Service Assistant		
Stuleblak Family:	Polish,	Mr Stuleblak	Security Officer	1 visit	2 hours
Dad (40), Mum (39), Aleksandra (F, 14) & 2 siblings (10 & 7)	Live in Watford 3 children (2 aged under 11)	Mrs Stuleblak Aleksandra	Beautician		
Mantikas Family:	Greek/American,	Mr Mantikas	Charity Worker	1 visit	2 hours
Dad (46), Mum (47), Maria (F, 14), Eustathios (M, 11) & 2 siblings (17 & 8)	Live in Horley, 4 Children (1 under age 11 & 1 over age 16)	Mrs Mantikas Maria Eustathios	Accounts Manager		
Evans Family:	Welsh,	Mr Evans	Council Worker	2 visits	2 hours
Dad (31), Mum (29), Ike (M, 15) & 1 sibling (10)	Live in Watford, 2 Children (1 under age 11)	Mrs Evans Ike	Sales Personal		
Moreau Family:	French,	Mr Moreau	Mechanic	2 visits	2.5 hours
Dad (38), Mum (37), Aurélie (F, 15), Thierry (M, 12) & 1 sibling (8)	Live in Dartford, 3 Children (1 under age 11)	Mrs Moreau Aurélie Thierry	Interpreter		
Alcock Family:	English,	Mr Alcock	Carpenter	3 visits	3.5 hours
Dad (45), Mum (43), Oliver (M, 16), Archie (M, 14), Luke (M, 11) & 1 sibling (8)	Live in Watford, 4 Children (1 under age 11)	Mrs Alcock Oliver Archie Luke	Estate Agent		
Dodson Family:	English,	Mr Dodson	Campaign Manager	2 visits	2 hours
Dad (33), Mum (31), Craig (M, 14) & Pete (M, 14)	Live in Basildon, 3 children (1 under age of 11)	Mrs Dodson Craig	Shop Manager		

Footnotes: F - female; M - male

5.1 'Becoming' an ethical food consumer

This study begins by suggesting that rather than simply taking ethical concerns as an additional set of variables for determining consumer decisions, for these participants an ethical consumer was something to 'become'. This 'becoming' has meaning for the ethical consumer's sense of self and is rarely achieved without wider identity implications.

"The utility of beliefs regarding the motivational role played by three classes of outcomes in predicting environmentally concerned behaviour was examined with survey data collected from two samples - undergraduate students and community residents. ... Multiple regression analyses indicated that desires regarding principled and social outcomes explained a significant amount of variance in behavioural reports for the student sample, whereas desires related to tangible outcomes did so with the community sample. In support of a multivariate approach to the study of environmentally concerned behaviour, threat perception, issue importance, and efficacy constructs also accounted for a significant proportion of variance in behavioural reports" (Axelrod & Lehman, 1993: 149).

This researcher began by understanding why respondents buy ethical foods and the following sections present respondents' responses and the findings thereof.

I grew up shopping and buying organic and Fairtrade stuff with mum all the time. We shopped them at the local farmers market, the Cooperative but now I do a lot of shopping online for delivery [Craig Dodson]

... one became more sensitive to the environment later after I got married, I became aware of what Friends of the Earth were doing through my husband and I think the first impact came from reading, urn, that book Silent Spring by Rachel Carson [Mrs Jones]

I started when I was a child. I grew up eating ethical foodstuffs at home every day as my mum was involved in ethical consumerism.... [Pete Dodson].

My parents were both staunch socialist Marxists so I was always very stubborn, conflict was always a massive part of my life. My mum used to be a local councillor. My dad was always shop stewarding and involved in trade unions and going to meetings so it's funny actually because my dad was always very involved in the work side of things, my mum has always been very involved in the health side of things, and I just got into the environmental side of things. I think it was probably down to, down to, the fact that I wanted to get involved in something quite revolutionary and the timing just happened to be that, you know, a lot of people were interested at university and that was what struck me as being urgent [Mr Lehmann].

When asked participants about their stories of starting to consume ethical foods, although these stories may be mediated through reflexivity, the participants have clear ideas as to why they are ethical food consumers. The connection between consumption and ethics has been advanced along two positions. Firstly, by occupying a critical position in the extended network of contemporary commodification processes, consumption represents a privileged outlet for thinking about political and ethical responsibility (e.g. Hartwick, 2000). Secondly, it asserts the active and creative dimensions of consumption, consumption is also constructed as so many practices of identity formation in which ordinary capacities for autonomous action and choice are routinely exercised (e.g. Jackson, 1999; Gregson & Crewe, 2002). Research in sociology and others has shown that everyday commodity consumption is a realm for the actualisation of capacities for independent action, reflexive monitoring of conduct, and the self-fashioning of relationships between selves and others (Miller, 1995; 1998).

The ability to describe an original motivation for becoming an ethical consumer suggests that the stories participants tell are important to them. Rather than the cold calculations of behavioural outcomes and issue importance demonstrated by Axelrod & Lehman (1993), the stories told by the participants are full of personal sentiment and complex notions of what it is good to be: they give the impression that the individuality of the narratives will consistently defy any classification determined by multiple regression analysis. It can be deduced from the clarity of the participants' narratives that the decision to introduce certain ethics to their consumption practices is an important life choice and they are prepared to go to great lengths to preserve it. It was evident that becoming an ethical consumer is important to the participants.

5.1.1 Challenges of 'becoming' ethical food consumer

Participants' stories suggest that such moments reflect a history of "becoming" an ethical consumer. This assumption is reinforced by the consumers' explanations of the changes to the self and the difficulties involved in becoming an ethical consumer. The following are the description of the difficulties the participants faced:

But ethical consuming came on relatively gradually, um, it's not something that you can suddenly decide you are going to get into, it is a matter of what choices are available ... The biggest thing is the convenience factor. It is far more difficult to put yourself out than it is to talk about what is available [Mr Powell].

..... Well, I liked the arguments behind being vegan, I just thought I was too weak to be vegan, I didn't think I could pull it off. I thought it would be too hard. I had to do that gradually. Urn, I said right the only way I'm going to pull off this vegetarian thing is if I still allow myself to eat chicken when I go

to Chinese restaurants. So once or twice in the first couple of months when I went to Chinese restaurants, I ate chicken and then I was able to give that up. I never had any cravings whatsoever, not for burgers. The only cravings I ever had were when I became a vegan and I would desperately want ice-cream or chocolate bars. So that was a bit difficult. I went vegan very gradually as well. I was only a vegan at home, but when I went out I might buy a chocolate bar, so yeah I did it all very gradually [Mrs Evans].

My friends call me weird because I don't eat all those junk foods they eat when we go to school or go out to play this makes it difficult for me as I want to feel belonged [Alfie Brown].

Although there are specific difficulties attached to each issue addressed by ethical consumerism, none of it is done without some cost to the individual - (these costs are offset by the less recognisable gains necessary for rational action, i.e. feelings of empowerment, positive self-image). Luke said;

... I tell my mates that I'm so proud my actions are helping save our planet [Luke Alcock]

It's so expensive buying these organic foods, yet they're scarce to get on the market [Ike Evans]

Such costs were more time and price orientated to the environment and Fairtrade ethics. Ethical consumers can often feel side-lined (Adams & Raisborough, 2010). All the participants were aware of this possibility which was generally thwarted by the presence of the image of conformity in their language:

You are going down the aisles and you are looking at people who are actually reading labels these days . . . you read things in newspapers now or magazines or trailers on Youtube . . . it's everywhere, a big boost toward making people think about ethical lifestyles [Mr Moreau]

The participants also countered the marginalization, which they felt was present under the surface, by putting forward examples where they had noticed their lifestyle being approved of by others within their family, friends or society at large:

I believe that a lot of the things we have done, and other people do are in the minority and it's actually nice to have a pat on the back when you see adverts or hear people talking about it. [Oliver Alcock]

The consumer environment is still structurally deficient in terms of providing any form of equality of choice. In the cases of vegetarianism and veganism, and as shown by Mrs Evans and Mrs Elphick above, these costs become more personal, being both hard to achieve physically, through the overcoming of desires and nutritional culture shock, and by disrupting normal consumption behaviours. As a change in diet is an extremely visible process requiring the family to structure mealtimes differently for children and hostesses to accommodate different ways of eating, it involves effort from more than just the self, especially if the conversion happens as a child. In the case of Mrs Onyajeli, she describes herself as quite a timid child growing up, and so becoming vegetarian would have meant stepping outside of the social norm, reluctantly affecting her chosen patterns of conformity both within society and the family. As Warde and Hetherington note, becoming and staying a vegetarian in an omnivorous family context is very difficult (1994: 772). It would appear from the participants that, whether you want to or

not, choosing to add certain ethics to your consumption equation requires "becoming" an ethical consumer.

It took me about six months to say; my sister had gone vegetarian and stopped after four months and I think [my parents] just thought "Oh God, it's another fad", but actually they were really good and they just agreed to disagree about things. Later, they joined in with us and it's been an enjoyable experience since then [Mr Tavares]

In keeping with the argument that you "become" an ethical consumer, rather than simply adding on ethics to the list of concerns in consumer choices, is the fact that the consumers could tell stories about the reactions of others. Ethical consumerism incites open, often verbally aggressive reaction from friends and relatives. Consider the following quotes:

Um, oh I was really, it just sort, well my mum just thought I was stupid and it was a phase and my granny on my mum's side ... she thought it was a phase I was going through and I would just grow out of it, just like my left-wing tendencies: "oh it's just a phase, she'll grow out of it [Mrs Jones].

My friends often call me a jerk. They used to bully me until my Dad had a go at them [Damien Selwyn]

Though the participants were keen to share their feelings for ethical consumerism, and thus to ignore the negative aspects, even those who denied that there had been any negative reactions to their becoming an ethical consumer could unintentionally tell stories about the comments of friends, colleagues and relatives. Just as Mead saw the concept of the self as having meaning through how others react (cited in Campbell, 1995, p. 115), so too has its meaning for others. The reasons for this are several: the

denial of shared values; the ethical consumers' claims to being right; and the conventional consumer probably does not believe in ethical consumerism. Usually, new social movements have always been regarded as an affront to the established morality (Campbell, 1995, p. 56). Whilst this may be unfortunate from the position of the "established" morality, it remains somewhat removed from the self. While the participants usually tried to assure me that they did not preach about their ethical consumption, it became apparent that for many of them this decision was based upon negative experiences of doing just that.

The participants spoke about ethical consumerism as being something "all-consuming" at the start and being "very intense" when they had just become ethical consumers. Such feelings would certainly lead to behaviour likely to cause tensions between conventional and ethical consumers:

I learned quite quickly not to speak as much about it to people who obviously weren't interested, especially as I was still finding my own feet anyway and you can't be too dogmatic" [Alfie Brown].

... I don't know, I am going to carry on doing my bit, making people feel guilty [Maria Mantikas].

Humanity has continually held numerous moral discourses, and consumer society is no exception. Therefore, to sketch out some contradictory discourses, environmental protection is imperative and yet so too is consumerism as a tool for economic and cultural good; the UK is a nation of animal lovers and yet intensive farming became a necessary evil in the wake of rationing after the Second World War; religions have

always been based upon some sense of justice and equality, but equality of trading relations is opposed to capitalism. Whilst the former parts of these dualisms may reflect the sentiments of society (through hegemonic discussion from politics, religion and the media), the latter parts have become the standardised context for consumer behaviour. This divide becomes apparent as the difference between attitude surveys showing many people believing that ethics are important considerations in consumption choices, and the reality of very few ethical purchases in practice i.e. the attitude – behaviour gap (Carrington, et al., 2016; Hassan, Shiu & Shaw, 2016).

Resentment towards the ethical consumer concurs with the ethical consumer's own beliefs about those consumers who appear more "ethical" than themselves. In short, ethical consumerism is seen as irrational behaviour by the norms of society. Certainly, the irrationality of ethical consumerism is manifested by the whole *raison d'etre* of consumer society, both through that consumption literature which theorises the ideal consumer as a pleasure-seeking hedonist (Bourdieu, 1994; Maffesoli, 1997; Pohjanheimo, et al., 2009) and in its interface with free-market capitalism:

When I worked at the Commonwealth Secretariat it was like, urn, being concerned about the environment, it was like a swearword, you know because you were anti-growth and I was anti-trade [Mrs Thakkar]

Moral discourses in society have traditionally been about rejection and prevention, and vegetarianism and environmentalism have become part of a new pattern of rejection (Schulze, 1997, p. 39-40). In a consumer society where hedonism and an ethic of self-interest are frequently regarded as the consumer's right and duty, the ethical

consumer's perceived rejection runs counter to leading ideologies and the perceived possibilities for self-love and happiness:

. . .and there were things at Christmas time, they'd say "oh go on treat yourself" and you would get reactions like that. And it's like "look that is not actually the point" [we both laugh]. I'm not denying myself something, I actually don't want to eat meat. So, you have got things like "Oh go on, don't be so hard-hearted on yourself, treat yourself" [Toni Selwyn].

[My nan] will get me something and I'll say, "oh Nana it's got that in it" and sometimes I'll just take it because it's easy and she really feels like you miss out because you don't have chocolate, but there are so many products which you can have. This is the thing. I think people think that it is a sacrifice and denial and really hard work, and it is not at all [Claudia Lehmann]

5.2 Ethical consumption as a lifestyle

The responses of participants were full of examples about the change that ethical consumerism had shaped in their lives. For these participants, ethical consumerism was not just regarded as a matter of changing their consumption practices, but as a broader process of self-development and conscious raising:

I used to believe the old saying that "ignorance is bliss", but once you know you can't turn back, there is no way you can turn back [*yeah*], just there is this conscience inside, this soul that knows that the only way is forward, so yeah. Yeah, I have been doing it for a long time in many ways and each little addition is just something else, and most of it is just a way of life [Mr Arshad].

For me this is me and who I am, it's my lifestyle. A lifestyle choice, which is a force for good for the environment [Mr Cohen]

Moreover, the participants were persuaded of the permanent lifestyle: when questioned they were sure that they would never stop consuming ethically, although they knew that other people did. Participants generally felt that they are empowered than conventional consumers, certainly even an amount of sympathy for those still unable to enjoy the control held by the consumer to determine the shape of the world. Several participants expressed a sense that they had achieved a release from coercion and manipulation which the conventional consumer had failed to achieve. Mr Dodson, as an environmental activist over-and-above being an ethical consumer, is an extreme example of this:

..... I think that if I could change the way that people think and make them more aware of their lives and if they questioned what was going on really, I would be doing them a really big favour actually 'cos the oblivion that those people live in, the ignorance those people live in is quite depressing and sad really [Mr Dodson]

These people have been brain-washed by the big corporations who spend a fortune on glossy ad campaigns to sell them junk foods. I just hope they realise the damage they're doing to themselves [Aleksandra Stuleblak]

Mr Dodson and Aleksandra's views and all participants feel like a minority group and wish to project their views on others which may support a radical viewpoint more so than a democratic one. To the participants, ethical consumption is about doing something different from conventional consumption. It remains an economically and hedonistically rational activity. The reactions of conventional consumers only further endorsed ethical consumers' feeling that their consumption practices constitute an

alternative way of living, if not thinking. Alternative consumption practices critically address contemporary consumer culture from within:

.... [My mum] doesn't really understand it. When I was having Aurélie she thought I wouldn't breastfeed and she said "I'm really worried you are not going to breastfeed" and I said "Why not?", and she said "Because you don't believe in milk" [*yeah*] and I said "Mum, you've got it completely wrong [*I laugh*], there is nothing wrong with me feeding a baby or a cow feeding a cow, but I don't want my baby to drink a cow's milk." and she had just got into this state of complete panic that I wasn't going to breastfeed this baby because I was against milk. She must have thought that I'd just woken up one morning and turned against milk. She doesn't understand at all [Mrs Moreau]

5.3 Self-interest or morality?

Consumers purchase ethically for a range of reasons including perceptions about their positive impact on one's self-identify and health, and the lives of others (Carrigan et al., 2004; Griskevicius, Tybur & Van den Bergh, 2010; Sudbury-Riley & Kohlbacher, 2016). However, even among the most ethically orientated consumers, the ability to buy ethically on all occasions may be impossible (Devinney et al., 2010). There are two predominant arguments regarding ethical consumerism. First, some argue that all consumption is ethical; this research has tried to show that there are differences between ethical consumption and conventional consumption, without however denying that all consumption can be ethical, for example through notions of love and care (see de Vault, 1991; Miller, 1998). Second, some argue that there is no such thing as ethical consumption. If this comment refers to the impossibility of purchasing any product devoid of negative impacts, then there may be some validity to the claim. However, if

this argument is supposed to suggest that there is no such thing as altruism and that without altruism there is no such thing as ethicality, then the issue has intriguing implications for the motivations to become an ethical consumer.

This next section, therefore, examines the relationship between the consumers' stories of their original inspirations to consume ethical foods and notions of morality and self-interest. The data begin to show the striking differences between the consumers' motivations, which defy easy portrayal.

Sociological studies have related environmental and animal welfare behaviour to sociality, identity and lifestyle concerns, underpinned by a variety of psychological processes. Participants combined several of these factors in complex ways. However, the stories of the original factors encouraging the introduction of ethics often show surprising motivations: for some societal-centred, for others self-interest, but mostly existing between these two polarities.

For me personally, it's about making sure that what I put in my body is healthy and doesn't give me health issues years to come [Jim O'Brien]

I want to do my bit to help the planet and protect the environment at all cost [Kim Jones]

This researcher shall examine two main areas where ethical consumption can be theorised as self-interest: health, and identity and lifestyle construction.

5.3.1 The role of health

Health has become a vigorous discourse across food issues in recent years, and whilst it is not so explicit in other consumer arena, health issues are similarly relevant to areas such as household cleaners and personal hygiene products. Since the marked increase in the links between health and diet, food has become inextricably caught up with images of risk and good! bad things to eat (e.g. Rich & Evans, 2005; Evans et al., 2008). Concern for health has been identified as one of the major reasons behind the move towards purchasing ethical foods within the literature (Lockie et al. 2002; Magnusson et al. 2003). Much of what can be classified as ethical food choices can also be seen as health choices: for example, organic produce can be seen to reflect concern for the environment or animal welfare, and at the same time viewed as far healthier given intensive pesticide use; vegetarianism has passed through the days of being associated with vitamin deficiencies and anaemia and is now viewed as a health-conscious diet (Sassatelli, 2004).

Some of my friends who used to shun me for being vegetarian are now saying I have a very good body shape. Two of them have become vegetarians recently, and others are considering it seriously [Aur lie Moreau]

Children, for instance, develop responsibility for health-related behaviours and attitudes that affect their future (Milligan et al., 1997; Neumark-Sztainer, et al., 1999). Food-related attitudes and behaviours are particularly important during these childhood years (Neumark-Sztainer, & French, 2002) as eating habits developed during this stage in life continue into adulthood (Videon & Manning, 2003).

Choosing to become an ethical consumer out of health concerns offers an arena where self-interest could prove to be a more likely motivation for certain consumers than moral responsibility;

I became interested in, er, wholefoods and vegetarianism when Mim was a baby, because I lost the use of my back neck muscles and I had to go to an osteopath, and he changed my diet completely. I met a couple who were interested in wholefoods and we were vegetarian, and I have become interested in pesticides and all we're doing to ourselves. At the same time, not before that Alice had to go to the hospital when she was tiny and there was one day when she had to go down to the children's day centre because she couldn't have any food that day. So, while they were eating, I took her away 'cos she was going down to the theatre afterwards. And this children's day centre was packed, absolutely packed with children. And I said to this guy "which clinic is this?" and it was the leukaemia clinic [right]. All these children had leukaemia and there had been a terrific upsurge in children's leukaemia and the doctors thought it was to do with frozen vegetables (really?). And it was several years ago and that shocked me and that made me start to look at what I was giving them. So that was the beginning of my starting to look at Bird's Eye trifles and Angel's Delight and all those things came off the shopping list and frozen things, we started to grow ourselves, and prepacked foods, pre-prepared foods and I went over the top after that really [Mrs Jannetta].

I buy organic food because they are healthy and makes me feel good my eating habit is not destroying the environment [Craig Dodson]

.....I would rather spend my money on buying food that keeps me fit and healthy [Aleksandra Stuleblak]

.....my mum and dad are diabetic. When they were growing up, they ate anything they laid their hands on, but I want to eat healthy just, so I don't end up like them in the future [Amandeep Thakkar]

Over half of the participants admitted that their foremost reasons for consuming ethically were health-related. Nearly all of them, however, mentioned health as though to reinforce the fact that their choices were the right ones. Health (a leading discourse

in modern society, and particularly when related to food) is highly interwoven with notions of "good" and "ethical" in the interview transcripts.

The participants justify their ethical and their conventional consumer choices through their beliefs in what constitutes "healthy". At the same time, an ethical choice which is strongly believed to be unhealthy is less likely to be consumed than other ethical choices. Moreover, Beardsworth and Keil (1997, p. 234) found in their work on vegetarians that the motivations to consume ethically changed over time, as the continuing exposure to relevant information allowed the self-interested to become more aware of the ethical side of their food avoidances, and vice versa and Mrs O'Brien certainly followed this pattern:

I saw a programme on Channel Four TV about chicks, and how these beautiful chicks are on a production line and were just thrown in plastic bags alive and just discarded, and I've never eaten chicken since then: so that wasn't a health issue with chickens, because I couldn't stand to see them and I didn't want to be a part of that [Mrs O'Brien]

The reinforcement of one motivation with another allows the participants to feel more rational in her choices, reducing the pessimism surrounding ethical consumerism: much of the information acquired by the participants is used as evidence of the rationality of their lifestyle. Remarkably, all of the participants who were vegetarian for health purposes had an on-off commitment to vegetarianism, suggesting that health is not as strong a motivator for ethical consistency as is moral responsibility - unsurprising given the twin discourses of health and indulgence related to food (Warde, 1997; Honkanen et al., 2006).

I'm vegetarian by choice for health reasons and struggled on a few occasions as I would find myself eating chicken and convince myself that they are after all good source of protein (Mr Onyajeli).

I have been vegetarian by birth as a Sikh and I have never eaten meat and I'm happy this way [Amandeep Thakkar]

5.3.2 Challenges as an ethical consumer

Naturally given the negative reactions received by the ethical consumers sometimes, the public perceptions of what type of people ethical consumers are, is not exactly the most flattering. The reactions reported by the participants are believable that the image of an ethical consumer is not exactly filled with glamour:

In the United States when I was growing up Vegetarianism was like saying you believed in a flat earth or something [Mrs Mantikas].

Most people, especially friends think I'm a bit batty [Sarah Elphick].

I think my friends thought that that was the choice I made because I was soft and sweet, that is the kind of feedback I would get from it [Maria Mantikas].

If one of the principal functions of modern consumption is to use the signs conveyed by objects to create an identity for one's self, where lies the relationship between ethical consumption and the construction of social identity? participants were called names such as "Gullible", "weird", "idealistic", "embarrassing" "batty", "jerk". Given the negative perceptions that some conventional consumers hold about ethical consumers,

it would seem likely that the participants were holding a moral position in the face of an undesirable social identity.

I choose to buy ethical products because I believe their production, consumption and disposal minimises harm to humans, animals the environment [Oliver Alcock]

If everybody plays their part and change their lifestyle and consume responsibly, we can make the world a beautiful place for all [Laura Tavares]

Almost all adult participants and some adolescents were either primarily involved in some form of campaigning which occupies a substantial amount of their life. Some participants freely admit to their ethical consumption being linked to their health problems, which in turn dictate their lifestyles.

With the clear moments of motivation expressed by the ethical consumers, it becomes possible to probe deeper as to whether the decision to become an ethical consumer was an expression of what the individual felt it was right to be or what they wanted to be. I shall interviewees' stories about becoming an ethical consumer, to see how they relate to lifestyle choice and sense of self. Firstly, Mrs Mantikas says that she has always been a natural non-conformist, never hung around with mainstream kids, and says that school mates disliked her as much as she disliked them. She got into punk music through a dislike of pop music and because it was the only place where people were criticising President Ronald Reagan.

It was through punk rock that I got into vegetarianism [right]. Since sort of the mid to late 80s it has been, urn, the hard-core punk scene it has been on the rise, vegetarianism, veganism [right]. And, urn, I used to get

lots of magazines, lots of fanzines and one of the most popular ones one year was a vegan cookbook [oh right] which had loads of recipes and essays in it, so I got that and then I became vegetarian I suppose most of the people I correspond with are, urn I have got these penpals who are punks all around the world who are vegan and don't drink and don't smoke, like me. It's called straight edge, have you heard of it? [no]. Straight edge right. It's something that started in Washington D.C. in the early 1980s and it was basically punks who didn't want to take drugs or smoke [oh right] or fornicate [laugh] and it became immensely popular in the scene, sort of as personal politics rather than direct action, and it has sort of grown ever since. In the late 80s, urn it also came to mean vegetarian or vegan as well. This band [points to her shirt] is one of the first vegetarian straight edge bands and they sing about animal rights, and so on. And so now there are scenes all over the world and I get newsletters which have scene reports from Latvia, Singapore and so most of my friends are penpals in Belgium and France and Austria and I do my own Zine [right], my own straight edge Zine. At the moment vegetarianism and veganism is really high profile in the hard-core scene. I suppose it makes it easier when I know all those people that I have things in common with [Mrs Mantikas].

These 'personal politics' (which are about applying your politics to yourself) then help to determine Mrs Mantikas consumer stance. The whole Think Global, Act Local scenario of conscientious consumption fits in with the rest of her lifestyle commitments. Mrs Mantikas identifies implicitly with the cultural scene surrounding her music, to the extent that she says she has no specific ideas when to stop as a mum and a wife, claiming she is "typical generation X". She fits easily into a profile of a consumer buying to construct the desired identity, far more so than any idea of following through a personal moral standpoint. She sees herself as being part of the group, to whom she relates in the sense of an imagined community or member of a sub-culture. Any negative aspects of social identity associated with her vegetarianism are minimised by the sense of group belonging, and the desire for non-conformity, although she finds the 'more open-minded attitudes of the English' towards both vegetarianism and sub-cultures a relief following the continuous stares of her countrymen.

5.3.3 Identity and ethics

This was an extreme example of an identity-led explanation of the motivations to ethically consume. For ethical consumers like Mrs Mantikas, ethical consumption can be viewed using consumption-identity theories which suggest a more social proposition for identity. This is a lifestyle constructed largely for social display and close identification with other punks sharing a similar set of lifestyle practices. Whilst it is based upon Mrs Mantikas values, it says little about an ethical relationship to the producer/produced.

Most of the participants mentioned concepts of what they believed it was good to be, often telling stories of role models who had influenced their decisions to be ethical consumers. This means that ethics and identity are intricately linked, but in a more intricate relationship than purchasing an ethical social identity. Mr Lehmann has no easy identity links to ethical consumerism. This is not to say that there are no links, but these cannot be classified as primarily about identity construction. Mr Lehmann says that he has always been very critical of consumption activities, having grown up in a family crippled by consumer debt. At the age of 14, he was writing essays at school highlighting the "evils of consumer debt". At university, he became politicised by the many issues, but his consumption activities were limited to taking his time to purchase the loss leaders across a range of supermarkets. He was following a pretty conventional lifestyle until:

I had this vision of myself as successful. I met Pam and wanted to marry her, I was a high-flier in the German Civil Service, I had my whole life stretched out ahead of me; family, friends, good job, a nice house and it appalled me, so I picked up the phone and called [German Service Overseas] and asked

them if they needed people with my background, and six weeks later I was on the training course and off to Zambia [Mr Lehmann].

After marrying, and spending a few years working in both Germany and Zambia, Mr Lehmann, returned to University. It was on his course that the original motivation to consume ethically came.

I had a marketing course and we had a case study on pet food and I decided I wasn't going to buy, wasn't going to have pets, because I didn't think it was right that, at that time lifeboat theory was very popular and people were saying that there wasn't enough food for people in the Third World and they needed to be jettisoned and read that Kissinger was talking about Bangladesh as a basket case and saying that there were certain countries that couldn't be developed and so they shouldn't be helped. And at this time American pets were consuming an enormous amount of high-quality protein and it was because they had effective demand, the owners could afford to buy the food and therefore they were going to get the food where people in the Third World weren't. And my conscience wouldn't let me purchase for my pets in that context, and I still won't have a pet, my daughter has a tarantula, but I won't have pets that I have to purchase pet food for. I think there's something almost sick about a society that invests as much of its disposable income in pets and animals. So that was my first consumer conscious, where I had an ethical decision and I refused to consume a product because of it [Mr Lehmann]

Mr Lehmann had rejected a successful and conventional lifestyle, for one that he felt happier with, several years before his first decision to ethically consume. Even as a schoolchild he had been reading literature on consumption issues and expresses his decision to not have pets as political. His decision to work for CSO, and remain in a relatively unmaterialistic lifestyle, would now be viewed as "down-shifting" or "voluntary simplicity" (Pravet & Holmlund, 2017), and as such linked to an ethical

consumer lifestyle, but these considerations were not brought together at that time. The start of his consumer ethics is difficult to redefine as an identity statement, or as strict self-interest: deciding not to have a pet out of concern for Third World justice is hardly a conveyer of commodity signs. However, in common with all the other participants who came to ethical consumerism through Third World concern, Mr Lehmann family claims that he was very religious, although he had lost his original faith and become a Humanist, and later went on to join the Quakers because they shared his views on development strategies - suggesting a deeper notion of the links between identity and consumption.

Mr Lehmann's decision to introduce consumer ethics was a moral decision. However, the former rejection of materiality allowed him the freedom to introduce ethical consumerism into his purchasing practices without compromising any other area of his life. Mr Lehmann eventually became highly influential across the ethical consumer movement and was involved in early environmental and developmental networks. This unity of lifestyle, consumer practices and ethical beliefs be providing a consistent sense of self over the long term. Indeed, Mr Lehmann himself mentions certain consumer choices as allowing him to feel constancy of self (and not a creation of a desirable social identity).

The closeness of consumption to other areas of life was emphasised by several other participants, who gave their work with environmental and developmental organisations as the motivation for certain areas of ethical consumption.

I suppose one of the things is that ethical consumption is not an isolated part of life, it is related to things we do on a campaigning level, and the money that you spend relates to the other things that you are concerned about, so some of the other campaigns I am involved in touch particularly on ethical consumption ... those are all again very much about linking the theory of what ought to happen with what you do in practice [Mr Cohen].

In this cases where ethics, lifestyle and self-identity have a certain unity, the interface between ethics and identity can be informed by Taylor's (1989) notion of the self, where all choices are based upon a moral framework which limits our agency by positioning us towards our sense of the "good". This suggests that these consumers do not find ethical consumerism a barrier to desirable self-identity, and certainly, the participants seemed to get a positive sense of self through looking themselves as intimately entwined with their personal beliefs.

This is quite an obvious point, for some people identity construction and lifestyle choice have little to do with ethical consumerism – as shown by the interviewees who described their original incentives for ethical consumerism as health-related in the previous section. Focusing on Aurélie Moreau's ethical consumption biography, which poses challenges to the previous consumption identity theories. Take Aurélie's explanation of the moment when she decided to become a vegetarian.

Aurélie	I had this pork chop when I was 11, I think it was a pork chop, yeah if it was a pig it was pork. And it was about that size [shows me with her hands], this big bit of gristle, and I cut into what I thought was just flesh, I cut into this bit and tasted it and it was sort of just offal, and it was like "Oh God, that's disgusting", and urn, on the bits of gristle
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sticking out it was like strands of hair *[right]* and I just like, it was like pigs hair sticking out or pigs bristle, and across the bits of gristle were the skin and bone sticking, and there was a number stamped on the back, and it was just sort of like, er, I'll never do that again.

Interviewer You said you made a connection there, can you explain what you meant?

Aurélie Well, I mean just that the hair being there first of all, and like the actual taste and feel of it that was like "Oh My God". I just didn't really pay attention before *[tight]*, it was just meat and two veg, but that was just sort of like this is *[lost in background noise]*, especially when I saw the number stamped on the back as well.

Interviewer So that was when you realised this was an animal?

Aurélie Yeah.

Interviewer So, did you not want to eat it because it had been alive or what?

Aurélie Well, just that it had been alive, and it had been killed on my behalf. It tasted disgusting anyway. It's not that I found meat disgusting, it's just that I could take or leave it. I just used to eat what was put in front of me, but once I found that out, that I just thought "Well, I don't really like it that much anyway, it's not going to kill me to give it up"

So, Aurélie's decision to become an ethical consumer is based upon a moment of gustatory revulsion, which led to an ethical connection, rather than having anything to do with identity constructs or lifestyle choices. The love for food has collapsed: meat no

longer means tasty food, healthy food, good food (Fiddes, 1991), it means dead animal. The dissociation of meat from animal (Kunst & Hohle, 2016) has been overcome, the intermediaries in the commodity chain which separate us from our consequences (Lachs, 1981, p. 12) have been removed, and Aurélie, an adolescent, has accepted responsibility for the death of an animal. Aurélie removes for herself the barriers between action and inconvenience by stressing the unimportance of meat in her life. This represents a moral relationship, which has increased over time, with Aurélie eventually becoming vegan, rather than a lifestyle choice.

However, even in cases where social identity plays no role in becoming an ethical consumer, there are impacts upon a consumer's social identity. Throughout the interviews, participants resented the idea that their lifestyle was in any way alternative. Aurélie saw herself as ordinary, down-to-earth and independent to any other ethical consumers. Unlike several of the ethical consumers, the Moreau Family displayed none of the "badges" of ethical consumerism. For them being an ethical consumer was about what you buy and not about identity statement. And yet, even if the Moreau Family is not making any direct statement about their identity by becoming vegetarian, this is not to say that other people do not see it as symbolising something more than an ethical judgement. For most of the participant families, identity-value had not completely replaced exchange-and-use-value, but at the same time Beck and Giddens (cited in Warde, 1994: 881) are correct in believing that "actors are deemed to have chosen their self-images and can thus be held accountable for the end-results". Ethical consumers who are unwilling to accept an imposed (and usually highly unwanted) social identity work resist it:

.... People say to me "you don't look like a vegetarian" and I think "what are vegetarians supposed to look like ... I think that is just because [people] are sticking to a stereotype. If you break away from it people Notice [Charlene Powell].

However, as Dad (Arshad Family) points out, breaking away from the stereotype is not so easy:

I think probably the more you do, the more you are forced into a certain lifestyle. Because I suppose you are likely to meet like-minded people and then probably the things that you wear would be slightly different and maybe the work that you do or the food you buy or eat [Mr Arshad].

So, for those consumers like Aurélie and her family, lifestyle choices and identity constructs have a degree of separation from their ethical consumption practices. Instead of using consumption practices to establish an "ethical consumer lifestyle", the combination of a lifestyle choice and consumer ethics has a more complex development. Meaningful practices, social networks, even employment become affected by ethical concerns. The strength of these concerns allows the individual to continue consuming ethically even if they have lost some of their capacity to express what they would feel to be a more appropriate social identity or lifestyle. So, to summarise the argument about the links between identity and ethical consumerism, this researcher believes that no one identity theory can offer a realistic explanation of the processes involved in becoming an ethical consumer.

5.4 The freedom to be ethical

The data further suggest however that many ethical consumers construct themselves as acting upon their own beliefs in isolation from everyone else in society, there are certain factors which offer the ethical consumer a social norm more likely to allow the consumer the freedom to be ethical. These freedoms can be an extension of the underlying contingencies of ethical behaviour, such as time, money and the quality of life that allows the possibility for concern for issues beyond the immediate. This section is focused upon the role of socialised ethics from a family perspective and particularly influences of the family which is the focus of this research.

5.4.1 Family influence

Many of the participants saw their actions as being influenced by their families whom they admired, especially friends of their parents if the individual became an ethical consumer in childhood, which supports the referent power base of the socialisation theory (French & Raven, 1959; Flurry & Burns, 2005). Alfie Brown is the strongest case of parental influence. His parents brought him up consuming not only ethical foods and other ethical products whilst his school friends resisted him becoming an ethical consumer. Alfie describes the influences of becoming an ethical consumer thus:

Alfie	Basically, my mum and dad, they used to buy me food and presents, Fairtrade presents and organic foods when I was younger [hmm], but it didn't really occur to me what they were, it was just beautiful African stuff. ... [Vegetarian] the thing that really repelled me was reading an article, I think it was in The Guardian, that my
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dad brought home, about battery chickens and that was what started me.

Researcher Why did your father have the article lying around?

Alfie ... I think they showed it to me, they probably showed it to me because my dad was a vegetarian by this point, my auntie, this is where it all emanated basically because my auntie was always into social issues and she's a very strong Christian.

Alfie's story raises a difficult question about whether he became an ethical consumer through a desire to please, some form of socialised ethics or a choice between the two sets of social norms created by her parents. Mo Arshad, like Alfie, says that he had ethical consumption bred into him;

"... organic and Fairtrade food I suppose was kinda like absorbed into me in a way growing up [Mo Arshad]

Almost as a subconscious disposition, and there is some element of socialised norm involved in a child following through their parents' ethics. However, the participants only demonstrate one side of the story: after all, they did decide to continue to consume ethically. These findings seem to suggest eventual ethical food consumption behaviour are co-constructed and informed by other family members and through family interactions and negotiations. Narratives which involve the ethical consumers' children show that the process of socialising norms is not as clear cut, with children often rejecting their parents' consumption choices.

The participants who had become ethical consumers before their children were born found it a natural decision to extend their ethics to incorporate their children's consumption. Parents, particularly mothers tend to fulfil normative expectations (socialisation) about mothering through the provision of fresh, locally sourced and chemical-free foods with the view to keep children safe from the harmful impurities of an industrialised food system. This ideal is also visible throughout the spaces where mothers are likely to shop for 'pure', healthy and organic food – spaces that carry product brands such as 'Babyganics' or 'OrganicKidz' and sell books like *The Organic Baby and Toddler Cookbook* (Vann & Razazan, 2011). The participants argued that, in feeding the family with ethical foods, mothers are deemed individually responsible for producing a healthy child and a healthy planet. When the child is young this is easily achieved but, as the child starts to form outside networks, consumer ethics which are at odds with the values of their parents begin to enter the domain of the household. As Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley (1992, p. 19) point out, the moral economy of the household is always more or less influenced by the interferences of the outside culture. Mrs Onyejeli was acutely aware of the impact that the external intervention of advertising could have on her children's consumer demands. As a consumer determined to minimise her purchasing, she attempted to pre-empt the unavoidable targeting of her children's "pester power".

What I decided right from the beginning when I had the boys, that urn, I wasn't going to let them eat any junk foods and let them watch commercial television. I mean stopping them watching television altogether I think is a bit drastic, because you know, I think it makes them a little bit left out when they go to school. But one Christmas I happened to be watching TV and it was a children's programme and I think 5 out of the 7 adverts were for

either junk food, overpriced Christmas toys or sweets. You know it was just crazy and I thought "I don't want them to watch that" (Mrs Onyejeli).

And according to Mrs Onyejeli, this strategy is paying off, with her child seemingly following her lifestyle. Direct advertising is only one method of creating kids' desires which conflict with parents' consumer ethics. Fear of being different from their peer group has a considerable impact on children. Just as the participants encountered difficulties by being seen to consume "differently", so too do the children who have never known any other way of consuming. Mrs Arshad was keenly aware that the unusual consumer ethics she has instilled in her child can inflict social stigma, at the very least in her child's mind, and she acts to minimise the impact:

Mrs Arshad My daughter likes this thing called Cheatin' Ham because it looks like she has meat sandwiches at school. That's recently come in because she's at a school, at my school where I work mostly, where there's no other vegans and very few other vegetarians. And I noticed she was eating her lunch like this (mimes out opening her sandwiches surreptitiously to see what is inside). So, I found this Cheatin' Ham in Bumblebees. I don't mind, that's fair enough, she must feel pretty outcast about that.

Interviewer So, do the other kids tease her...?

Mrs Arshad No, it is her. I doubt they even notice what she has in her sandwiches, but I think she must be one step ahead. She sees what they have, which is meat.

The participants described similar patterns of behaviour which were highly age-dependent. They admitted that when their children were younger, they were

perfectly happy with their parents' values, as this represented the norm to them. But as the children start school and socialise outside the home the two sets of norms begin to become difficult to negotiate. Peer-group conscious children start to be embarrassed by their parents' consumer ethics. Some participants admitted having tension and sometimes conflicts in their households in helping to keep their children consuming ethical foods while they were growing up into adolescents. With support and encouragement their children began to find space to work out their values, and continued to ethical consumerism:

And as the kids were growing up, in the beginning, my son, in particular, took a kind of pride in thinking the way we [mum and dad] did, and because he was going to Sunday School and Quaker meetings and that's how people thought and stuff. And then it became embarrassing for them and all their friends had trainers with strong brand names, but unethical business practices, on them and I would buy them stuff that wasn't ... But as they got older and my daughters more than my son, they started to find it embarrassing, you know, these weird parents of theirs that didn't believe in such and such. But, while they were eating ethical foods at home, then they grew out of other ethical products and developed their styles and things and had the confidence to make their own decisions. And I think their upbringing enabled them to be more critical of peer pressure and what they were being asked to do. [Mrs Cohen]

We can see that having a personal attachment to the socialised ethics from their parent's ethical consumerism appears to form part of the equation. Alice Jannetta talks about becoming more attracted to her parents. In that, she wanted to situate herself closer to her parent's lifestyle than her friends. Mo Arshad too claims that even though he had ethical consumption socialised into him, he very much admired a friend of the family who was an ethical consumer and had therefore been influenced by him. However, this researcher does not wish to imply that the processes involved in

motivating ethical consumption are reducible to a straightforward choice between two ways of consuming. A further dimension is added to the influence of family when, as in the cases of Alcock and Brown families, it is the children who introduce ethical consumerism to their parents, a contextualised example of reverse socialisation (e.g. Grønhøj & Thøgersen, 2012; Kim, Lee & Han 2018) (see sections 2.5.2.2 and 2.7.1 for reverse socialisation). The participants realised that their children were right in their beliefs, which left them with no legitimate ground for continuing with conventional consumption, as they were perfectly aware of the alternatives. French and Raven (1959) describe this influence as referent power, a parent wishing to emulate their children's anticipated preferences to feel closer to them (Flurry & Burns, 2005). This influence of children on the rest of the family was described by Mrs Moreau and Mr Stuleblak, who said that after they became vegetarian other members of the family did the same. The separation of awareness from action has been overcome by others already acting on their beliefs. In these families, the social norm that would have held the consumer inactive is no longer a rational or acceptable barrier.

5.5 Issues affecting ethical consumption

In the case of one participant, the issue of vegetarianism has been important for so long that it, "just isn't a decision anymore" (Gagan Amandeep); indeed, for many, their vegetarian stance only became apparent within the discussion of other concerns. Vegetarianism for these consumers, therefore, had become part of their self-identity. All the participants expressed their motive and a strong preference for ethical food consumption. They described ethical food consumption an alternative set of

consumption behaviours where they consume with sensitivity through selecting ethical alternatives and practices and they were emphatic in their attitudes, beliefs and interest. Participants used different terminologies to describe ethical consumption including ethical consumption, environmentally friendly consumption, ethical shopping, political consumption, political consumerism, and conscious consumption.

Participants make their food purchasing decisions based on values and attitudes concerning human rights violations; poor labour practices; unethical economic policy; environmental pollution and sustainability; food shortages and biosafety concerns, fairness, social justice, social and environmental sustainability and non-economic issues relating to personal and family well-being and ethical or political assessment of a favourable and unfavourable business, government practice, animal welfare and human rights but also the developing economies and how producers get fair prices/wages (Fairtrade) and improved working conditions. Furthermore, participants also considered issues such as energy efficiency and reduced consumption behaviours, purchase of environmentally friendly or Fairly traded products and the avoidance and boycott of certain goods and companies. Their consumption of ethical foods has social change motivations as they do so intending to change unpleasant institutional or market practices.

It was apparent that participants consumption behaviours and practices are affected by issues beyond the ordinary utility of the product but include social, political, environmental and health concerns. Participants' desire to pay a fair price or sometimes

premium price for their ethical foods (rather than choosing conventional alternatives with the cheapest price) appears to indicate a sense of ethical obligation, Freedom, choice and flexibility echoing Shaw et al.'s (2005) contention that ethical consumers are guided less by self-interest than by ethical obligation to others. Indeed, these participants seem to have attained the post-conventional level of Kohlberg's (1969) theory of cognitive moral development (CMD), where human needs are characterised by a moral sense that extends beyond his or her immediate and personal needs.

They achieved this by avoiding foodstuff shipped from afar, shopping in local stores, buying local produce, Organic foods, Fairtrade foods but also engage in other activities that they perceive to protect the environment, promote social justice and protect human rights locally and around.

I care about the world generally so I try very hard to avoid cruelty to animals and human beings and it is a conscious purchasing decision... buying certain things...because I am vegan as well so I don't have any animal products in my diet and I avoid products that have been tested on animals as well...and as far as possible I try to buy fair trade...if they are available I try organic things as well...so I'm increasing my level of effort... [Mrs Dodson]

5.5.1 Welfare for others

The emphasis participants placed on such values indicated a concern for the welfare of others and is associated with the universalism value type, whose motivational goals are understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and the protection of all people and nature (Schwartz, 1992). Regarding the origin of their concern for *equity, social justice,*

fairness, the environment, several respondents related personal experiences which affected their attitudes, recalling Kohlberg's (1969) suggestion that people move through different stages of moral development according to their education and personal experience. One pertinent example comes from Mr Thakkar, whose comments revealed that his business career in Africa had heightened his understanding of equity and justice;

...the businesses that I've been involved in building, which have been very large, and have been in healthcare, cancer care, you know, things like that. So, you know you are trundling around the hospitals, you see people sometimes close to death, you know, you build up a value structure.... you become very sensitive to situations which are unjust [Mr Thakkar].

It could be argued that Mr Thakkar's close contact with poverty in Africa had triggered an awareness of life's potential inequity and prompted a sense of cognitive imbalance (Kohlberg, 1969) compelling him to actively redress this. He did this by sharing business information with traders and purchasing local goods and he revealed this attitude whilst describing his most recent holiday to Tunisia;

...I saw a level of poverty, which was quite disturbing, and I've seen a lot of things in my life – but it was really quite disturbing. So, you know, I try, with my wife, and do things – we buy local products we found in the souk in Tunis, a women's co-operative which was making products and now we've got one of these products in our bathroom which was a handmade loom carpet and when people ask us we say 'we bought this in Tunisia' [Mr Thakkar]

The universalism value type associated with equity, social justice and fairness is also evident in other participants. Mrs Onyjeli, for example, mentioned her initial

understanding of the potential inequity of human life came from earlier travels in less developed countries when she first became aware of the discrepancy between what local people could afford and what she could afford as a tourist. She then linked this experience with her current concern over whether the price big retailers pay farmers for their produce is enough for farmers to survive;

I don't know enough about it, but I am a bit sceptical because I think probably the big supermarkets and other multinationals from our country and other western countries buy food products from these poor farmers cheaply, so they can sell them on to us and make billions to the detriment of these poor farmers and their communities [Mrs Onyejeli]

5.5.2 Value of sharing

Closely related to the values of equity, social justice and fairness is the value of sharing. The participants revealed an attitude of sharing - including knowledge, personal beliefs, experiences, resources (both economic and environmental), or the financial benefits accrued from ethical foods i.e. Fairtrade. This value was also related to sustainable lifestyle and stewardship, because of participants' emphasis on sharing the world's environmental resources with future generations. Significantly, sharing resources (by supporting local farmers as just one example) was not just a food consumption activity but also a lifestyle priority for all participants. Regarding value types, sharing denotes not only universalism because it concerns equity and fairness, but also in this context it contains elements of benevolence, mainly due to participants' keenness to ensure their food consumption did not work against the welfare of others, most notably the farmers, child labourers within the supply chain.

..... I buy from the local farmers market to support local organic farming which helps in reducing carbon footprint [Craig Dodson]

We boycott any company that uses child labour or don't pay taxes... [Henry Greenway]

Furthermore, there is an important personal characteristic that affects the consumption of ethical foods: personal values. Findings in previous research (e.g. Pepper, Jackson & Uzzell, 2009; Maaya, et al., 2018) show that consumers with a preference for altruistic values are more likely to engage in ethical consumption choices. It is, therefore, reasonable to expect that they might experience stronger feelings of guilt or pride. This type of experience is especially common among consumers who are strongly engaged in sustainability and try to be consistent in their consumption behaviour across categories. Participants in this study displayed such altruistic tendencies;

whenever I'm making a choice which is perhaps moral I suppose I will think about the person who I am and the person whom I was brought up to be, and while these two images are related...this one is more about my family, this one is more about my own sense of conscience, what kind of person do I want to be... what type of consumer do I want to be in this situation [...] It's just my own sense of the person I am and the person I want to be and me practising my words...Adhering to the person that I am and the person that I want to be. [...] I think that responsible people have to think globally, think of the impacts of their actions not in a narrow, blinkered way [Mr Selwyn].

The importance of personal values is also demonstrated by the foodstuffs collected by participants. When the experience of consuming ethical products stems from this personal examination of one's conduct about deeply held values, consumers choose products that focus on the self and communicate the sense of personal responsibility attached to the decision. Participants portrayed the process of self-examination and the

emotional reaction that might emerge from it. Consumption represents looking in the mirror and examining one's behaviour which could lead to pride or happiness or in other cases the feeling of guilt they experience.

This finding is not surprising. It is reasonable to expect that people with ethical or sustainability-related goals, will experience stronger emotions. This does not mean, however, that emotions are experienced only by those with altruistic values. The interviews show that, in most cases, contextual factors subjectively experienced by the participants affected their emotional reactions. One important variable is the perception of whether the ethical feature embedded in the product presented involves a clear moral evaluation. If the issue is perceived as raising moral implications, the process of self-control will be enhanced, and it might lead to stronger emotional reactions.

I could understand perhaps if you pay the employees less...if they are in another country and you pay them less...but it has to be adults. Children are not supposed to work, this is just something that I could not accept [...] I think now in our society this could not be accepted, it is just wrong [Mrs Greenway]

Participants with lower involvement in ethical consumption feel more uncertain about sustainability. However, when they accept the moral relevance of a certain issue, then they scrutinise their personal choices and judge their decisions based on moral standards.

... it is never such a simplistic issue. I think this could be a contradiction because this farming is creating jobs and is giving benefits to the community on the ground but at the same time, it is endangering the forest and the orangutans, elephants and all those beautiful animals so I think there is a

contradiction there. However, if you are aware that you are contributing to unfairness somewhere along the line then this should affect your choices. Because if something happens to somebody next door to you, you would probably take action but just because it happens to somebody thousands of miles away why shouldn't you take action? It doesn't mind where this is happening basically, it is hypocritical not acting while if it will happen to your local community you will probably take action. If you knew that a product is more ethical than you should buy it because otherwise, you would feel immoral... [Mr Moreau]

5.5.3 Availability of information

Some participants experience this tension as a problem of information availability. They feel confused about the practices used by corporations and feel that they do not have enough information to make sound decisions. Consumers can also engage in wilful ignorance to avoid negative feelings (Ehrich & Irwin, 2005). The main factors influencing ethical decision-making related to a combination of the effect of information sources and normative factors.

I thought about it the other day when I went to H&M and I bought three dresses and they were nine pounds...so, on one hand, I was very happy because I managed to get three dresses for nine pounds but then I did think about it...when I've paid...how can they possibly be so cheap? So, this worries me that somewhere there is some three-year-old working on the night to make these things for me to wear...but, yeah I do feel guilty. In terms of things like coffee and tea no, but for things like meat and clothes I would feel guilty and I mean the only thing that helps me is not having 100% perfect information about the facts. I do feel guilty, but I say let's just pretend that everything is okay [Laura Tavares]

The effect of information related in the first instance to the quantity received by participants. For instance, in terms of her subscription to the Ethical Consumer magazine, one participant noted:

I got to hear about the magazine through the animal rights movement... I was led in, like you... I was unaware of what companies are up to in other areas. I was totally unaware of the 'Nestle issue', for example, until I got the magazine. I think you just kind of lead into different areas, from the information that you gather. [Mr Stuleblak]

This response emphasises the importance of information in helping to form ethical beliefs and serves to support findings from earlier research by others (Burgess, Harrison & Filius, 1995; Strong, 1997). Contrary to suggestions by Sorell and Henry (1994) that consumers may not be holistic in their ecological behaviour in ethical consumption and this response highlights awareness of aggregate corporate activity. Indeed, the acquisition of information led to some individuals feeling "involved" and "empowered", although in some cases it led to tensions within the individual when making choices.

One participant summed up such feelings:

I've been subscribing to the magazine since issue one. When I first got it, I went at it all fire and gusto. At the end of the day every shopping trip was just an absolute nightmare because there is just no way that you can completely avoid multinational companies, there is no way you can completely avoid companies that aren't doing something to somebody or something out there in the world [Mr Mantikas]

This quote underlines the constraints placed on respondents and reinforces Burgess, Harrison and Filius' (1995) conclusion of the need to target information 'locally', making

it more manageable to address important concerns. Indeed, the issue of information overload has been highlighted elsewhere (Andorfer & Liebe, 2015). Information, which does not recognise these limitations on the individual, can result in negative feelings; one respondent summed up such feelings in saying that "you can't cope with it".

Despite these negative feelings, the acquisition of information on ethical issues was still regarded as imperative, as it was viewed as essential to balancing complex ethical concerns. This suggests that information plays a more direct role in decision-making. Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) recognise the effects of 'external' variables only as an indirect influence on existing model measures. The above quote suggests that the role of information is important beyond such an indirect influence, but rather continues to influence decision-making after beliefs, attitudes and subjective norms have been established. Similarly, this implies that when consumers do not recognise the issue as morally salient, they do not experience any emotional reaction.

"Basically, I would completely ignore that information; I would just go for the product that suits me. I would say that if there are two identical products then I may be swayed. But you never get two identical products, do you?" [Mrs Powell]

The process of attribution of moral relevance to certain product features is expressed by the packaging of the products. They encapsulate the dilemma of defining whether the issue is morally relevant and overcoming the confusion often experienced by consumers.

5.5.4 Credibility of ethical alternatives

Another important theme is the credibility of the ethical alternative. Participants feel more emotionally connected to the decision when they consider the ethical alternative as a credible solution to the sustainability challenge. If, on the other hand, there are perceived doubts on the credibility of the company that is suggesting an ethical alternative, participants will not get involved at a personal and emotional level in the choice. Fairtrade is often mentioned as a source of reassurance. Consumers feel that buying fair trade represents a credible ethical option and therefore attribute to this type of purchase relevant implications for the self that are potentially able to generate emotional reactions.

I think that's one of the better-promoted labels, Fairtrade...It gives us something to choose from, I think it is very difficult for us to research every item...In a supermarket so if you see a logo that you trust it makes choosing and shopping easier [Mr O'Brien]

Among participants, there is a wide range of views on the credibility of ethical claims made by corporations. The self-control process is affected by the perceived credibility of the source of information. So, consumers who do not tend to engage in a process of self-control can either consider any ethical label as intrinsically questionable or protect themselves by assuming that the leading brands in the market employ ethical practices. In both cases the process of personal self-control is limited.

"I'd trust the top brands that I buy, if I buy Lindt or Marks & Spencer's brands, without actually checking...I trust the brands that they don't use palm oil

produced with...I don't know...child labour or bad circumstances where they hardly pay their employees...I wouldn't go into researching about it myself" [Mrs Elphick].

What also affects the emotional reaction is the perception of a trade-off between consumers' selfish interest and the support for ethical products such as food. Participants tend to experience pride when they perceive that they are giving up something to support an environmental or social issue. In the same way, consumers tend to experience guilt when they feel they have gained something, disadvantaging in the process other people or the environment. This process is associated with a sense of existential guilt when consumers are forced to compare their privileged condition with the misfortunes of others (Izard, 1977).

in my case this would make me feel some guilt; first of all, comparing my lifestyle with one of the others and then on top of that for the fact that I have not been looking for brands that make sure that workers are paid at least a living wage...if I can afford foodstuff like these, which is a luxury, I should perhaps pay attention to that rather than to what a friend has suggested you should buy and this would make me feel guilty [Mrs Tavares].

Despite the restrictions on their lifestyles, the comments of others, the increased cost and the inconvenience, all the participants were genuinely pleased to be ethical consumers. In an overall "cost-benefit analysis" these participants saw themselves as having gained from their increased awareness and control. They have found a way to deal with global imperatives which have not left them impotent, forced to unthinkingly participate in practices they view as unethical or harmful to the self. It is this positivity which compels the ethical consumer to tackle every new issue which they feel to be of

importance, thereby ensuring that ethical consumerism does not become a fossilised set of practices, but an on-going process of becoming.

5.6 Summary

The findings indicate that rather than the consumer adding a further factor to their consumer choices, for these participants, ethical beliefs have constituted becoming an ethical consumer. This is not in any way the same process for all the consumers, differences appearing across ages, influences and even moral imperatives. At the same time, it is not an easy process, constrained by negative reactions from other consumers, and inconvenience to the self. This negativity is reduced by some measure of social norms which mean that the consumer does not act in complete isolation, and by feelings of empowerment which allow the consumers to feel good about themselves. Once the consumer has accepted responsibility for one set of issues, they are far more likely to act upon others which they become aware of, if they believe in that issue. Hence, ethical consumerism for these participants is a continual process of becoming, rather than a temporary reflection of media concerns.

It implies that different issues have different motivations link to a different time and social norms. The reasons for becoming an ethical consumer are a complex web of influences, values, social norms and lifestyle choice, which merge with the individual's understanding of what it would be good to be. This renders the decision to become an ethical consumer less determinable than the factors portrayed by social-psychological action theories. The complexity of the process of becoming an ethical consumer, and

the negative social identities linked with ethical consumerism, begin to explain the gulf between attitude and behaviour so frequently noted by social surveys. The next chapter introduces the key dimensions of the family stories which are common across the families. This next discussion revolves around the global themes of gatekeeping, influence strategies and family microenvironments and these themes shed further light on the processes involved in children's attempts to influence family consumption decisions.

Chapter 6: Family interactions

The family stories are presented as in Fournier (1998), Holt and Thompson (2004), and Thompson (2005). The parent-adolescent interaction and sibling to sibling interactions were captured and presented. The interviews guided the literature reviewed, and a final family storyline (Fournier and Mick, 1999) emerged through the iterative process of moving back and forth between the interview text and relevant literature. This chapter begins by briefly introducing the families and discuss the key aspects of their family stories. The common themes across the family and the global themes will be discussed in chapter 7.

6.1 Introduction

This research aims to examine influence in family ethical food decision making, with a focus on adolescents. As in Palan & Wilkes, 1997; Thomson & Laing, 2003; Lawlor & Prothero, 2011; Kerrane, Hogg & Bettany, 2012), this researcher went "*back to the things themselves*" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 12), and obtain "*a deeper, more personal, individualised analysis*" (Brocki & Wearden, 2006, p. 99) of the family stories presented in this chapter. The interviews guided the literature reviewed, and a final family storyline (Fournier & Mick, 1999) emerged through the iterative process of moving back and forth between the interview text and relevant literature.

6.2 Family interactions

Family purchase decisions are often not the result of an individual family member, but that they influence each other to reach an outcome (Hamilton & Catterall, 2006, Haghghian, et al. 2017). This section discusses the finding of processes of how family members interact and influence each other during ethical food decision-making. During this process, a child's interaction with members of their family works to inform and shape the subsequent use of an influence strategy type. The adolescents learnt through interaction with other family members how to best frame their purchase requests to their parents, using this understanding to help co-construct and guide their later use of influence strategies. This section focuses on the influence of the family decision-making process. It refocuses research attention and captured the voices of adolescents and their parents within this study which seeks to explore how they influence each other during decision-making.

Most of the parent participants adopt a 'relay' approach to parenting (Dienhart, 2001) to accommodate their employment commitments; both parents share parenting duties as and when it is suitable. Harris and Morgan (1991) highlight the importance of work to women and recognise that such work commitments have necessitated the increased participation of fathers in family life. Whilst LaRossa (1988) stresses the traditional disparities in men and women's participation in child-rearing, Pleck (1997) and Levine and Pittinsky (1997) suggest that we may be closer to gender equity in parenting than the literature suggests.

Although wives enjoy working, they are clear that husbands are the main breadwinners of the family, with some wives choosing to work to get a break from looking after the children. This family arrangement, in which the husband is mainly responsible for paid employment and wife the unpaid family work, has been termed 'specialised' by Patterson, Sutfin and Fulcher (2004). The benefit employment brings mothers has been documented, with Hart and Kelley (2006) suggesting that mothers benefit from increased self-esteem and less depression if they work outside the family home. Such was some of the wives' desire to work that they even brought their children to work with them;

I needed my sanity. With Eustathios [little son] I worked part-time, but I took him with me. I used to run an office. Well, I say an office, it was me in a cabin running an office for somebody, doing their accounts ... and then when he got a bit bigger, and he was a little more vocal, he stayed with my Mum, and later I stopped working. There came a time when I needed some 'me time' because I never got away from the kids. That sounds awful, but I needed to get away to have some time [Mrs Mantikas].

Lee and Beatty (2002) also claim that mothers who work outside the family home have increased power in family decision-making. Indeed, although Mrs Mantikas only works part-time, and only contributes a small amount to the family's income, she holds much power in the family. This seems to contradict Davis's (1976) claim that women submit to their husbands based on their husbands' superior income capacity and Burns' (1992) suggestion that women are powerless in the home. Almost all women are far from powerless. Some attended parenting classes to help them deal with their children and

to increase their confidence as parents, create a weekly rota detailing various chores the family members are responsible for and deal with the family's finances adopting a 'female whole wage system' (Pahl, 1995) in which they are responsible for managing the financial affairs of the household.

The children are often confused with regards to the parental transition at weekends, and (even though some mothers are off duty and have their employment commitments at weekdays, weekends, and some evenings) will still ask their mothers for things despite the presence of their father. Mothers feel that the children have a closer bond with them, believing that this is the reason as to why they ask them for more things as opposed to fathers, with Thierry Moreau similarly suggesting that:

we know her [mum] more, she stays at home like all the time. Like with my Dad, he doesn't come home until like six or seven [Thierry Moreau]

Parents considered their older adolescent children to be the more demanding of the other siblings, consistent with Schachter and Stone's (1985) difficult sibling/easy sibling comparison theory, with Mrs Cohen claiming that Abbi doesn't ask for many things, much to her sister's annoyance and disagreement.

Mrs Cohen	For the past two Christmases, she's had a mobile phone
Illana	No, I haven't!

- Mrs Cohen She said that she's not having one this year. He said that she can have anything else bar a mobile phone
- Illana No, I haven't! I got one last year because mine was deked, I couldn't even hear people talking, and I got that one free off Emma. And Dad broke my phone
- Mrs Cohen It's just been what do you want for a present? 'Mobile phone, mobile phone'. So, he said 'no, she's not having one'. He said that she can have something else. This one [Abbi] doesn't ask
- Illana: Yes, she has, she's asked for, she's about circled all the Argos catalogue
- Mrs Cohen: She's ticked things, she's ticked things. She's not asked

6.2.1 Children's influence attempts

During a series of decision episodes over time (Flurry & Burns, 2005), the children appeared to be highly attuned to their family setting, and they had learnt which influence strategies proved to be effective through their previous interactions with their parents (Götze et al., 2009). Whilst traditionally children have been found to simply ask for things (Isler, Popper & Ward, 1987), in the Cohen family, for example, both Illana and Abbi displayed other influence strategies. Frequently this involved having temper tantrums to attempt to change their parents' decisions (Waksler, 1996), crying (e.g. Cowan & Avants, 1988), threatening to revoke their love if they did not get their way (Bonn, 1995), and making promises of good behaviour (Palan & Wilkes, 1997); such strategies have been labelled 'emotion laden' by Spiro (1983). Mum also feels that she was more susceptible to the children's influence attempts. In a way Abbi's personal

history acted as a basis for the success of her influence strategies as did her sweet and cheery disposition (Palan & Wilkes, 1997);

I think in the early days I used to overcompensate, particularly for Abbi, I think if you were to speak to Illana particularly she will say that Abbi gets away with blue murder. But I think I did, and still do, overcompensate because she has a particularly miserable time very early on, and because she was sweet, and because she could smile and she looks lovely and peachy [Mrs Cohen]

The above behaviour confirms that children learn which influence strategies prove to be effective for them to employ in influencing decisions (Thomson et al., 2007; Götze et al., 2009). Children's purchase influence is embedded in a series of decision episodes over time, and children are believed to recount decision history and successes when selecting appropriate influence strategies to utilise (Flurry & Burns, 2005). Ultimately, children tend to stick with a specific strategy if it has worked before (Palan & Wilkes, 1997; Götze et al., 2009). When this trial-and-error process leads to the discovery of strategies that work, the child's confidence also grows with his/her self-perceived relative influence (Bao et al., 2007), and children are believed to repeat rewarding behaviours until they are no longer successful (Flurry & Burns, 2005). Children are also suggested to gauge expected levels of parental resistance during purchase requests, with child influence strategies closely matched to parental response strategies and levels of parental resistance (Götze et al., 2009). Recognising that influence attempts do not necessarily have to be utilised and that threats of action and coercion (Schwartzwald & Koslowsky, 1999) are enough to change the target's behaviour and

beliefs (Raven, 1993; Moore, Wilkie & Adler, 2001), The children have perceived influence without necessarily having to actively deploy it.

The strategies the children deploy also differ. Abi Cohen is often compared to her sister, with sibling comparison common by parents (Schachter & Stone, 1985; Hoffman, 1991; Harris, 1995), and with her mum commenting that "*one's the studious do-gooder and one's a little devil*". Toni Selwyn, often wanting to be the centre of attention, also has volatile relations with her siblings, which frequently results in them ganging up against her. Violence is also often used by the siblings to get their way (McHale et al., 2002).

Due to the coalition that forms between siblings, the children adopt a range of unilateral influence strategies (Bonn, 1995), involving direct asking (Williams & Burns, 2000; Su et al., 2019), the use of negative affect (Falbo & Peplau, 1980) through crying (Bonn, 1995; Palan & Wilkes, 1997) and showing disapproval, begging (Palan & Wilkes, 1997), pestering, showing persistence (Cowan & Avants, 1988), making appeals of entitlement which utilises the legitimate power base (Carli, 1999) and approaching the other parent (Cowan, Drinkard & MacGavin, 1984), sometimes without the parent's awareness, offering to help in the hope of gaining something in return (Cowan & Avants, 1988); nagging, identified as a persistence strategy by Cowan and Avants (1988), deceiving his parents (Bonn, 1995), acting sugar coated and 'cute' (Palan & Wilkes, 1997) and by making deals with his parents (Palan & Wilkes, 1997), identified as a bargaining strategy by Johnson, McPhail and Yau (1994) and Spiro (1983). Sarah Elphick uses a variety of other strategies to get the things she wants on an individual basis.

Sarah I've still got to pay Mum back

Interviewer What have you got to pay Mum back for?

Sarah For this Vegan starter pack that she bought me from PETA and I have to pay her a tenner back

Interviewer Well that's fair enough

Mum It is when you had one the week before and then you weren't allowed one the following week

Interviewer So what did you do?

Sarah The pack was thirty pounds, and I was ten less. I'm paying her back with pennies

For instance, Jens Lehmann, Sarah Elphick and Henry Greenway also use the threat of violence, if they do not get their way, to influence their parents. Indeed, on one occasion Ade (Onyjeli family) followed through with his threat and broke a window. Ade attempts to influence his parents more than his brothers, and he is aware of this; *"the first thing that I said when I was a baby was can I have? Can I have? That's what Mum says"*. Her mum also feels that she gives in more to Ade, primarily because of the trouble and upset he could cause in the family should he not get his way;

Tayo [Mr Onyjeli] would say that I give in to Ade more, that's only because he's a handful. It's easier to nip it in the bud. Tayo sees it as giving in, I see it as nipping it in the bud, you know, going partway there [Mrs Onyjeli]

Kim Jones and Mo Arshad, on the other hand, prefer to use sweet talk (Palan & Wilkes, 1997) and to perform good deeds (Cowan & Avants, 1988) to influence his

parents. In doing so their parents feel as though they are also diverting (possibly negative) attention away from themselves and the things they have done;

Kim will try and please, she's very much a pleaser so if I'm annoyed, say like she's not done her homework and I'm annoyed with her and she's been on a report from school for not doing it, erm, Kim would be like 'would you like a cup of coffee?' And I'd be like, 'Kim, stop it! Please stop it'. I understand that you know I'm crossed, but don't try, smooth-talking is not going to work because it just, it's like, shall I take the dog for a walk? ... I think she does it because she thinks she's going to get something back, she does try to please but it's kind of if I make you a coffee then you're not going to shout at me, are you? It's kind of a get-out clause, so just in case you go upstairs and see my bedroom's a mess I'll make you a cup of coffee first. It's kind of damage limitation. [Mrs Jones]

Maria Mantikas' actions have not necessarily been received favourably by her brothers despite the coalition that forms between them. Her brother (aged 11) himself prefers to simply ask for things (Bonn, 1995). However, Maria uses violence towards her brothers (to influence their behaviour) she does display a great deal of violence (McHale et al., 2002) using her physical size to dominate her siblings. Although the actual use of violence is common, Maria also threatens to hurt her brothers, issuing warnings to make them change their actions; "*you're going to get a beating in a minute*". The threat of violence is an effective influence strategy used by Maria on his brothers, with Howard, Blumstein & Schwartz (1986) categorising the use of threats as a compliance gaining strategy. Some of the children procrastinate to avoid doing things when asked, make deals to get what they want (Cowan & Avants, 1988; Palan & Wilkes, 1997; Spiro, 1983) and makes appeals for equality when one of her siblings gets something (identified as a bargaining strategy by Palan & Wilkes, 1997).

Most of the influence strategies the children deploy are directed towards one of the parents at a time, with Cowan and Avants (1988) claiming that most child influence strategies are directed towards mothers rather than fathers. However, some mums attempt to resist the child influence strategies by threatening to involve their father, grounding the children (or threatening to), making compromises and deals with the children, issuing warnings, revoking privileges (such as access to television and computer games) and even threatening to get rid of the family pet should their behaviour not change, all identified by Palan and Wilkes (1997) as parental response strategies to their child's influence attempts.

6.2.2 Parenting styles

Within the families, parenting differs. In the Cohen family, for example, parenting differs, highlighting that parenting can differ for each child within the same family (Harris, 1995). Ultimately this affects how the two girls attempt to influence their parents' behaviour and decisions. Whereas Thiery largely does not need to try hard to get the things she wants, Illana does. Illana adopts a range of influence strategies identified in the extant literature, including refusing to eat until she gets her way (Kim et al., 1991), crying to act on her parent's emotions (Palan & Wilkes, 1997; Spiro, 1983) itself a form of negative affect (Cowan, Drinkard & MacGavin, 1984), telling her parents (as opposed to asking them) to get her the things she wants (Atkin, 1978), displaying aggression (a common influence strategy of rejected children; Bonn, 1995) and making deals (a form of bargaining strategy as identified by Palan and Wilkes (1997) and Spiro (1983)).

Illana also deploys a range of other influence strategies which are much more sophisticated. For instance, with her parents adamant that she should not have a particular ethical food they suggested she offer an alternative food choice, in effect a form of parental response to the initial influence strategy (Palan & Wilkes, 1997). Illana proposed another Vegan foodstuff, knowing full well that this was a costly alternative, and her parents subsequently decided the cheaper vegan food was a better choice; "*so, we're looking at the prices of those foods and looking at the prices of vegan foods ... and this vegan food's appealing to me an awful lot more than the last one*"

Moreover, in the Alcock family Oliver's main influence strategies used are making deals and recruiting others to get his way, are key examples of bilateral power strategies (Falbo & Peplau, 1980) in which the influencer interacts with the target of influence. In such situations in which the target's power is greater than the influencing agent's, as is the case of this parent-child interaction with parents said to hold more power over their children (Cowan & Avants, 1988; Raven, 1993), direct strategies may be inappropriate for fear of immediate resistance and dismissal (Bonn, 1995); Her mum comments that she tends to "*lose it*" with Oliver and block his influence attempts.

With Oliver holding a relatively poor standing in his family, the use of direct strategies, which are associated with powerful individuals (Ohbuchi & Yamamoto, 1990), do not prove fruitful. That is not to say that Oliver does not use direct strategies at all, he does ask for things frequently, with his mum likening him to a '*dripping tap*', but it does

appear to be that when Oliver uses direct influence strategies his influence attempts are not productive;

What Oliver tends to do, he's like a dripping tap. And he drips, drip, drip, drip, drips until you get that fed up of it he ends up with nothing. And he's not yet sussed this out. If he doesn't mither, and he just, all he's got to do is mention it [Mrs Brown]

Mr and Mrs Brown hold the power to block and resist the children's influence attempts, with mum also restricting dad's access to certain activities. She assumes that she (as a mother) should be considered the oracle of family life (Thompson & Walker, 1989). Although she states that she does "everything", she does not enjoy other family members contributing to family life. For instance, she discourages her husband, a keen cook, from making meals due to the amount of mess he creates in the process;

I would rather he stayed away ... then I wouldn't have to spend an hour in the kitchen cleaning up after him ... when it comes to the kitchen and what goes on there, I'm the queen, I call the shots, I'm very much in charge.

Mrs Brown admits that she is "*quite territorial*" and that she undertakes certain duties characteristically associated with mothers (for instance, drawing up the shopping list, cooking and cleaning) because she feels that gender ideology ties in with these tasks (Allen & Hawkins, 1999);

"So, I suppose foods are my domain too. Although we sometimes discuss what foodstuff to buy, I need to agree with what we buy in this house" [Mrs Brown]

Where she does allow others to undertake some of her tasks she feels compelled to check that they have been done to an acceptable standard and supervise those performing her duties (Stacey & Biblarz, 2001); with women often feeling a sense of obligation to perform motherly tasks (Douchet, 2001). While she (Mum) thinks she is influential when it comes to what the family eats, Sue and Alfie do oftentimes influence the family's food choice by forming a coalition. As in most nuclear families, the women as wives and mothers, are responsible for keeping the house and children in an orderly fashion and the men, as fathers and husbands, are responsible for the family's income (Holdert & Antonides, 1997). The home is very much the wives' domain; they choose to carry out most household chores, often restricting the contribution of other family members.

Most of the mothers in the study seem to have this gender ideology of being the perfect housewife and mother contributes to their unwillingness to allow their husbands to participate in activities that they feel are their sole responsibility. Thagaard (1997) also suggests that a woman's ability to give birth brings her greater power in child-rearing, granting the mother privileged status and involvement in matters concerning children, with childcare suggested to be highly gendered (Douchet, 2001). Ultimately this can result in restricting paternal involvement to safeguard their motherhood (Allen & Hawkins, 1999), with mothers being possessive of family duties, and this attitude is not only confined to Mrs Brown. Whilst Mrs Jannetta would appreciate a little help from their children with the housework, they feel that through Mum's constant supervision

(Gentry & McGinnis, 2003) and rectifying tasks that she feels have not been performed well it is often easier not to help at all;

- Interviewer So what do they [the children] do around the house?
- Mrs Jannetta I've filled the dishwasher; I've emptied it, that's it, and that's their spend at the end of the week then. No, it doesn't work like that anymore, so, basically, yeah, they need to do more, they do nothing. They don't do a lot, do you, Alice?
- Alice What?
- Mrs Jannetta You don't do much around the house
- Alice We do, you just don't notice when we do it
- Mrs Jannetta I don't notice?
- Alice You don't! Even if we did do things for you, you wouldn't even notice, like last week when I mopped the kitchen floor because we had our new one in, you didn't even say anything
- Mrs Jannetta That's because you'd not done it properly
- Alice I had, it was fine
- Mrs Jannetta It wasn't, you'd missed bits. Anyway, they could do more around the house, a lot more. Things are a bit mad here because of the new kitchen, so we're in a right mess, and it would be nice if they did more to help
- Alice Even if we did do more it wouldn't be good enough for you

There appears to be a contradiction between wives' wishes, on the one hand, to restrict access to household chores, with research suggesting that wives and mothers are reluctant to relinquish control over the family home and family life (see, for instance, Gentry and McGinnis, 2003), and on the other, to admit that they have a heavy workload and that they need extra help. Gentry, Joag and Ekstrom (1999) discuss this issue and highlight the perceived 'role overload' of women.

Some of the families rely on their children a lot for the support in making decisions and to ensure the successful running of the family home. Some children took on responsibility from an early age, being actively involved in family matters and decisions, and being more independent. For instance, Mrs Alcock feels that she involves the boys in every possible aspect of family life and that decisions are made as a collective involving interaction between the family members (Commuri & Gentry, 2000). The family members evaluate things jointly (Holdert & Antonides, 1997) and Mrs Alcock stresses that without their help and input she would not be able to cope on her own, feeling the need to involve the boys in every aspect of family life;

Just about everything, everything now. I feel, since I've been ill, I've felt the need to share. And because they've stepped up to let's look after Mum, sort of thing, I've given them the opportunity to comment on what's happening and what happens. I couldn't cope without involving the boys in things; the boys are very much involved in everything that I do. All the decision making, down to the food we eat daily, the colour of decorating the room, you know, the furniture, everything [Mrs Alcock]

While such responsibilities can be helpful to the parents and the children, there equally exists literature which implies that such conditions can be stifling for children. Giele (2003, p. 59), for instance, claims that children of working and divorced parents alike are expected to care for themselves, '*robbing them of their childhood*'. The Alcock children feel that in some ways their high involvement in family life has had a detrimental effect on their childhood;

We've always had to do things like that [being involved in family matters]; I've not known anything different. When I was Luke's (little brother) age I just thought everyone else was doing the same to me, so I didn't mind it. If anything I quite liked it because I felt like I was helping my Mum, and I was grown up, and involved in more things than my mates were. It's just something we've had to do [Oliver Alcock]

I have minded it at times, like with Luke and stuff. I've wanted to go out with my mates, but she's made me stay and look after him at home, that pissed me off. But like with Mum, we've had to help out with her being not too well [Archie Alcock]

Investigations of children's influence strategies began with studies of cereal choices, which identify that both the child's assertiveness and the mother's child-centeredness were central to a mother's susceptibility to her child's requests (Berey & Pollay, 1968). Further, they posit that children are more successful if they tell their mothers to buy their preferred cereal or if they demand their choice, rather than if they simply ask their mother for it or request the item (Atkin, 1978). In the Alcock family, Oliver and Archie too attempt to influence their mother's actions, although to a much lesser extent than Luke (due to the nature of their already high involvement in family life). Whereas Oliver

simply asks nicely for things (Williams & Burns, 2000), Archie deploys the emotionally laden techniques of using 'sweet talk' and displays of affection (Palan & Wilkes, 1997);

he'll soften me up if it's a big thing, giving me hugs ...you just know, it's his tone. If I hear 'Mumsie' then I know something's on its way [Mrs Alcock]

Just as Archie and most of the children direct their influence strategies towards their mothers, the children have learnt, as discussed earlier, which parent is most likely to yield to their purchase requests. Furthermore, the children also discussed utilising a range of parent-specific influence strategies during their purchase requests, as Ike comments;

With Mum, it's your 'everyone else has it' or 'it's not fair'. You've got to work hard on Mum to get things, Dad's a bit easier. With Dad, it's hugs or promises, like to do well in school . . . the things that don't work is shouting or crying . . . it's just not effective on them [Ike Evans]

The family stories, supported by Oliver, Archie and Ike's comment above, and Jannetta family below also highlight how parents react in different ways to their children's purchase requests, with differential levels of parental resistance to the child influence process evident across the families. Within the families, certain children appeared to be able to weaken parental resolve easily, whereas other children seemingly faced much higher levels of parental resistance to their influence attempts requiring a process of multi-strategy iterations. The relationship between parent and child, this researcher suggests, thus affects specific child influence processes within any one family, not only in terms of the

length of the process but also its character. Within the Jannetta family, for example, Mr and Mrs Jannetta described how Alice must work much harder at influencing their decisions:

I suppose Alice does get the raw end of the deal, I don't know why that is. She does have to work harder on us to get things. Just one look from Mim (Alice's younger sister) and her Mum's putty, she'd get her anything. Alice's not so lucky [Mr Jannetta]

6.2.3 Preferential treatment

Harris (1995) has explored birth order and its effects on parenting style, concluding that siblings (within the same family) are likely to be treated in different ways. In the Alcock's family Mum's reaction to Archie's influence attempts, which involve direct asking (Su et al., 2019), deal-making (Bonn, 1995), displaying negative emotions (Bonn, 1995; Cowan & Avants, 1988) involving temper tantrums, talking back (which Cowan, Drinkard & MacGavin (1984), arguing and procrastination (Belch, Belch & Sciglimpaglia, 1980), is largely to give him what he wants to avoid adding stress in her own life, much to Oliver's annoyance;

Archie gets whatever he asks for all the time, but I don't, and it does my head in [Oliver Alcock]

[Gagan] gets whatever she needs all the time, but I don't. when it comes to me, I get treated differently [Amandeep Thakkar]

I don't know why I always find it difficult getting my parents to buy me things. Meanwhile, Jane gets away with everything and gets what she wants all the time [Sarah Elphick]

In the Brown family, frequently Sue and [Joe] will side together against Alfie, who they feel gets preferential treatment from their parents. This experience also existed at the Alcock family where Oliver's relationship with Archie is incredibly volatile, with Oliver feeling that Archie gets preferential treatment in the family. Indeed, Mum does treat Archie differently because he holds most potential to "*stress me out ... and I think, well, he's the baby*" [Mrs Alcock]. This is consistent with sibling research which suggests that older siblings feel that the youngest sibling is favoured by parents (Furnham & Buhrmester, 1985; Gilligan, Sutor, Kim & Pillemer, 2013). In the Thakkar Family, Amandeep is heavily influenced by her little sister [Gagan], claiming that Gagan "*gets more things than me*" and with Mum stating that "*she [Amandeep] usually wants what Gagan's got*". Indeed, Amandeep asked her parents for a Horizon Reduced-Fat Milk with DHA Omega-3 because Gagan had one, which supports Cotte and Wood's (2004) claim that siblings are important reference groups, and thus have the potential for intragenerational influence. Whilst Mrs Thakkar denies that Gagan does get more things than Amandeep, rewarding both children when one excels at school or through sport, attempting to create an environment of equality, Amandeep states that Gagan "*doesn't ask for things, she just gets them*".

The family stories have highlighted several differences between families. These differences rest on aspects such as the parental willingness to include their children in family decisions and the decision-making process. However, differences also emerge within each family, particularly concerning the treatment the children receive by their parent(s) or guardian(s). Children experience family life in different ways, often with

multiple parenting styles and practices evident within the same family. Certain children are favoured over others, and it appears that this affects their influence potential and therefore the effectiveness of their influence strategies.

6.2.4 Sibling to sibling influence

Children and their siblings also influence one another, showing evidence of intragenerational influence (Cotte & Wood, 2004; McHale, Updegraff & Whiteman, 2012). In the Thakkar family, Gagan's influence strategy of simply not asking for things appears to be very effective and affects Amandeep's behaviour and how she asks for things, which again fuels support for intragenerational influence (Cotte & Wood, 2004). Ike Evans, Aleksandra Stuleblak, Jane Elphick, Claudia Lehman, Osman Arshad and Abbi Cohen used not asking strategy to influence family food decisions. In the extract below the family discusses the decision to purchase groceries, with Amandeep following her little sister's lead and guidance in terms of how to best go about getting what they want;

Amandeep I wouldn't stop annoying you [Mum], but I would if she [Gagan] told me to

Interviewer You'd stop if your sister told you to?

Amandeep Well, she gets more things than me, and she knows how to get more. I think she'd look out for me, so I guess if she [Gagan] told me to stop, I would

Interviewer Does she [Gagan] do the same things as you to get what she wants?

Amandeep No, she doesn't ask for things, she just gets them

Interviewer Right, so do you think her ways are better than yours?

- Amandeep I guess so, she does get more
- Interviewer In that case, if you really, really, wanted something that you both could share, which way would you go about getting it? Your way or hers [Gagan]?
- Amandeep she's [Gagan], definitely. I think I'd do what she told me to do, I've done that in the past
- Interviewer And did it work?
- Amandeep Yes
- Interviewer Do you look up to Gagan?
- Amandeep No, well I mean I do in some ways. I don't like playing with her all the time, but I do sometimes. If she told me to stop mithering Mum and Dad for something I would do
- Interviewer Why's that?
- Amandeep Because she probably knows that it might make my chances bad.

Amandeep allows her sister to make decisions on her behalf, trusting her to make the appropriate decisions in her favour. While children and their siblings influence one another, frequently this involves the use of violence, as is common amongst sibling interactions (McHale et al., 2002; McHale et al., 2012). In the Alcock family, Oliver bribes Archie with money to make him do things, or Oliver uses his elder position in the family as a legitimate power base (French & Raven, 1959) over his younger sibling. However, the effectiveness of the base is not always seen as Luke does not view his older brother with respect, which is reciprocated; "*I wish he [Archie] would just fuck off somewhere, I was on about that the other week, wasn't I? Just piss off to your mate's for a week!*". Due to their volatile and often violent relationship, it is common for Luke to

side with Oliver in family decisions, forming a powerful coalition against Archie (Bruins, 1999; Lee & Collins, 2000). The Alcocks are not "traditional" parents in that their relationship with the children is not based on that of legitimate position (French & Raven, 1959) in which children submit to their parents. Instead, they treat their children like friends and equals, often socialising. With Mrs Alcock's health issues, the parents feel the need to involve their children in every aspect of family life. Whilst the parents feel that without the children's input in family life, they would not have been able to cope, Oliver and Archie feel that at times this responsibility affected their childhood. Because of the high involvement of Oliver and Archie in their family life, they feel that they do not have to try and influence their parents as they are already involved in determining family decisions but does not seem to be the case often.

However, few parents said that they do not include their children in decision-making. In the Arshad family, Mr and Mrs Arshad feel that they deliberately do not involve the children in family matters to preserve them from the pains of modern day living and maturity (Bruckner, 2000), with Ekstrom (2006) similarly suggesting that parents can shield their children from purchase and finance worries, as Mrs Arshad highlights;

We live in a society which isn't trouble-free and you want to kind of cushion them from all the potential problems and so you, we kind of create the monsters that we've got in that we protect them from it so they don't have any sense whatsoever.

Mrs Arshad's superior power base may be attributed to her superior income in comparison to her husband, following the principles of the relative resource hypothesis (Beatty & Talpade, 1994; Patterson, Sutfin & Fulcher, 2004). Mrs Arshad does take on

a more powerful role in this family which has historically been attributed to the role of the man, partly determined by his superior earning power (with men said to control the concrete resource of money (Johnson, 1976).

6.2.5 Children as an information gateway

Adolescents use information as a basis of their influence strategies. For instance, they use information collected from the Internet to support their requests (Thomson & Laing, 2003; Chaudhury & Hyman, 2019), displaying active social power through the deployment of expert knowledge (Flurry & Burns, 2005), also tend to meet with reduced parental resistance (Belch et al., 2005). The children in this thesis work to strengthen their influence strategies by researching and collecting information about ethical products they need or want on the internet. This behaviour confirms earlier findings that adolescents develop a deeper understanding of the Internet than their parents (Curtis, 2000), and prefer the Internet over other media for data collection for transactions ("Forty Percent," CyberAtlas, 2000). Belch et al. (2005), refers to teens who relied upon the Internet more for providing information from the virtual marketplace as "Internet mavens". They further argued that these "Internet mavens" have greater relative influence in the family decision-making process than their "non-maven" counterparts. For instance, in the Tavares family, Laura constantly uses the Internet to gather information on ethical products including food and she would present her information fully to her parents especially her Mum, and on numerous occasions, Laura used price comparison websites to show how much effort and thought has gone into requesting this product, where it can be purchased, and for the lowest cost.

Laura: I always use the internet to find organic foods

Interviewer: Why do you do so?

Laura: It saves me the time of having to go from shop to shop looking. It helps me to find out what organic food is out there, where they're sourced, the ingredients, and also to compare the prices and where exactly I can buy them.

The ability of children to consider the beliefs of their parents and to recognise parental perspectives on consumption issues were evident across the families studied. Indeed, parents appeared to be more responsive to purchase requests which were well thought through and considered their point of view:

.....I'm constantly looking out for information on healthy foods such as low sugar foods, free-range and organic brands of foodstuffs and their prices, as dad and mum won't have it if I don't prove to them what I'm buying is actually organic and at the best price [Ade Onyajeli]

Sometimes you just know there's just no point in going near Mum or asking her for things . . . she'd just say no. The timing might be wrong, she might have had a bad day at work, or whatever. But you got to approach with facts proving to her you know what you're about. [Toni Selwyn]

Craig wanted this vegan organic food, which was really expensive at the Wholefood store. He knew I wouldn't get it for him, but he went online and found the cheapest one . . . I was quite impressed by that. He told me where I could buy it, where it was cheapest. [Mrs Dodson]

I'm just not going to buy them junk, the first thing they ask for once they've seen it on the telly or the internet. They need to think about it, why do they want it? What will it do? How much will it cost me? They need to 'sell it' to me. [Mr Arshad]

In the Jones family, Tim particularly works to strengthen his influence strategies by researching and collecting information about the products on the internet.

There are tons of sites online and on social media where people and bloggers share useful information about ethical foods and any other information you care to know [Tim Jones]

In doing this Tim presents his case fully to his parent, and on numerous occasions, he even used price comparison websites to show how much effort and thought has gone into requesting this product, where it can be purchased, and for the lowest cost. The children pre-empted parental responses and used this understanding to tailor their arguments to the beliefs of their parents (Bartsch et al., 2011). This frequently resulted in children trying to justify the purchase request to parents in a persuasive manner.

6.2.6 Approaching the other parent

The children use a variety of influence strategies to help them influence decisions and get what they want. Laura Tavares, like many other adolescents in the study, approach her father for things if her initial influence strategies directed at her mother failed. Approaching the other parent is another influence strategy the children utilise (Palan & Wilkes, 1997; Robertson, 2014). Kim, Lee and Hall (1991) identified approaching the other parent as a powerful influence strategy utilised by adolescents, which was particularly effective for children in this study, particularly Laura Tavares and Henry Greenway. Before deploying their techniques, children choose which parent to approach first. The chosen parent rests on what it is the children want, and Henry observed as follows;

It depends on what kind of thing you want, I mean if you want sports, sports equipment, then I'd rather go to my Dad. But if you wanted something a bit different like food, school stuff, then I'd go to my Mum [Henry Greenway]

[Pete] and [Craig] would come to me for something and when I refuse, they would go over to their mother when I'm not around to ask her, play me against her [Mr Dodson]

These behaviours confirm the claim that children can identify the 'weaker' parent (Thomson et al., 2007), but the children also assessed each other's capabilities (Flurry & Burns, 2005) and decided which sibling stood the greatest chance of influence success. Henry directly asks for things (Cowan & Avants, 1988), threatens to approach the other parent (Palan & Wilkes, 1997), tells lies to deceive his parents (Bonn, 1995) and instils fear in his parents to get the things he wants, playing on their emotions (Cowan, Drinkard & MacGavin, 1984).

Indeed, Amandeep Thakkar and her siblings consider their father to give in to their requests more so than their mother, so they will ask him for things when he is at home, particularly if their mother dismisses their influence attempts in the absence of their father. With their father making up for his lack of time spent at home through yielding to their demands (Jenkins, 1979). However, again it should be stressed that most of their influence strategies are directed towards their mother, primarily due to the time their father spends away from home at work.

Whilst parents largely give in to Henry Greenway, Archie Alcock, Thierry Moreau, Gagan Thakkar and other children in this study, with parental yielding suggested to most likely

to occur with female rather than male children (Williams & Burns, 2000), the parents adopt a range of response strategies to the influence strategies of the children. These include explaining or justifying outcomes and ignoring the children, identified by Palan and Wilkes (1997) as parental responses, and counting to stress parental anger and "blowing up" which involves shouting and punishing the children in response to their influence strategies.

6.2.7 Sibling interactions

If children recognise that they stand little chance of swaying parental decisions, they may try to find ways to increase their relative influence. Coalition formation, for example, has been identified as one way in which children can boost their chances of influence success by forming unions with other family members to effectively sell or justify a purchase request (Lee & Collins, 2000; Thomson et al., 2007; Gbadamosi, 2012). Parents are suggested to be more responsive to the influence of children when multiple children argue for a purchase (Tinson & Nancarrow, 2007; Kerrane et al., 2012), and children can also purposely choose to target the parent who is perceived to be most likely to yield to their purchase requests (Thomson et al., 2007). Whilst the potential for sibling coalitions has been documented (Lee & Collins, 2000; Ekstrom, 2006) the use of influence strategies by more than one sibling is largely ignored in existing family research which focuses predominantly on the influence strategies of a lone child. The children fuel support for claims that children can collaboratively ask for things (Tinson & Nancarrow, 2005). Such collaboration may be necessary for sibling-parent influence attempts with parents said to hold high legitimate power over children

(French & Raven, 1959; Flurry & Burns, 2005). Such a high-power base would necessitate the siblings pooling their influence bases in response to a powerful target (Mallalieu & Faure, 1998).

Most of the children – Jens and Claudia Lehmann, Sue and Alfie Brown, Aurélie and Thierry Moreau, Oliver and Archie etc. all joined up with siblings to influence decisions. Jens and his little sister for instance, jointly asked their mother if they could go to the local farmers market in the village to buy fresh poultry products, pre-empting their mother's refusal on safety grounds, and jointly asked for computer games;

Mrs Lehman	There are several times during the weekend that they [Jens and little sister] have both asked together for money and permission go to the local farmers market for fresh milk, meat or eggs.
Jens	yeah, but if I came alone you wouldn't let me. But with me and Claudia, I know you won't stop us.
Mrs Lehman	I let you go because it's safer with the two of you than going on your own
Mr Lehman	I guess they [Jens and sibling] do so because we wouldn't let them go there on their own so they had to ask for it together.

The role of Jens' mother in shaping family decision-making was apparent when his sister discussed how both she and Jens asked for particular vegan food, recognising the collaborative nature of the siblings' request, by telling his grandmother all about the

virtues of veganism and vegan food and how much she and her brother wanted to eat them every day. Such behaviour, stating why a purchase might also be useful to a parent, has been described as high-level perspective (Bartsch & London, 2000) and has proven to be an effective strategy that the children studied employed. In this manner, Jens recruits another person to act on his (and Claudia's) behalf to influence his parents, identified by Cowan, Drinkard and MacGavin (1984) and Bonn (1995) as influence strategy children utilise.

I just gave in. I knew they wanted it, and some of their friends bought some, and I thought they'd help them grow healthy. When Jack went round to his Nan's he told her all about it, and then she told me he wanted some, and I felt terrible for not getting him some.They just gang up, little ten and twelve-year-olds ganging up on you [laughing]. It's easier though to give them what they want when they're like that, and I mean the food wasn't just for fun, but their health. So, I didn't mind getting them that. [Mrs Lehmann]

It is obvious that Jens recruited his sister and Nan to best sell or justify a purchase request (Thomson et al., 2007). The children used their siblings or either of the parents to bolster their power base. Sue Brown bolster her power base making Alfie Brown want the things Sue does in the hope that her parents will give in to Alfie, thereby indirectly giving in to Sue. The Brown family discussed two main occasions in which Sue utilised this influence strategy, the first occurred shortly after Christmas. Sue wanted to purchase an organic Manuka honey costing £47.99 from the Wholefoods. However, she did not have enough funds to buy it. Recognising this she persuaded Alfie to part with some of his money that Alfie had received as a Christmas present to help contribute to the cost. Claiming that she would consume it with Alfie (a form of reciprocity, utilising

the legitimate power base (Raven, 1993), Sue influenced Alfie's behaviour, and subsequently their parents' approval of the purchase although they disapproved it since they think it is too expensive;

Sue got Alfie on the side because she wanted an organic Manuka honey costing £47.99. Sue's quite crafty, she didn't want to spend all her money on it, so, even though we knew that she was going to be the one that would get the most out of it ... so she influenced Alfie's decision as to what Alfie was going to spend some of her money on [Mr Brown]

In the Moreau Family, Thierry tries to dominate his siblings' decisions and in turn influence their behaviour. He does this by using persuasion (Johnson, McPhail & Yau, 1994), or even by deceiving them (Bonn, 1995) and insisting to his parents that the decisions reached by the siblings are unanimous, which is often far from true;

Thierry does most of the talking; I'll talk for you lot. I'll let them know what we want. And it's like that at home, we want this, and the other two haven't said anything, he's speaking on their behalf without them knowing, or tries to. [Mrs Moreau]

Thierry has, however, instigated sibling group influence strategies to get an ethical breakfast cereal and various fruits and vegetables. On one, rare, occasion before Christmas Thierry persuaded his siblings to contribute financially to purchase an ethical personal computer called VeryPC (of his choice, of course), which he read about on the Ethical Consumer website as the most ethical computer, although Aurélie scuppered his

plans by claiming when he and mum went to buy the computer that Thierry had bullied them into it choosing it;

- Aurélie Thierry was being good so he went to the shop with my Mum and we all wanted VeryPC to watch our computer games and Thierry came back, and he came back with Dell desktop, out of his money, and he didn't come back with VeryPC and Mum had to explain it to us. We wouldn't share it, Thierry said that we wouldn't share it, but we would, so we didn't get it
- Interviewer And what happened at Christmas?
- Aurélie And then he got it for Christmas
- Interviewer So what would happen if two of you wanted something, but the other didn't?
- Thierry I'm the talking guy, me and Aurélie pair up and then I talk
- Aurélie No, you don't, you start an argument, it's me and Robért who pair up against you to stop you getting your way. You start an argument, we detest you
- Interviewer Well if you're the talker, how do you try to get what you want?
- Thierry at times I lie, I'd say the other two wanted it.

The siblings take turns to collaboratively ask for things; when the first sibling fails to have success, or if they get tired of their pursuit, the other takes over. Collaborative turn-taking emerges, in which the siblings deploy the strategies in which they believe they are most effective. Although the siblings do not ask for things collaboratively regularly, there are certain decisions in which both siblings show an interest. In the Arshad family, Mo and Osman were desperate to buy a cereal they have read about on the internet, the pair came together to ask. Mrs Arshad remarks;

Just as one finishes the other starts up, and they go on and on at you. One's bad enough, but when they're both working together sometimes it's impossible to try and ignore them. The Alara Organic & Gluten-Free Scottish Oats Muesli was quite tiring for me, they kept nagging and asking, Mo started, and when he gave up Osman kept going on and on and on [Mrs Arshad]

We kept going and on about it until she finally gave up and got it for us. Mum doesn't like being pestered so when you keep asking, again and again, she often gives in. But dad doesn't no matter what you do [Osman Arshad]

The above situation also emphasises how the majority of Mo's and Osman's influence strategies are directed at their mum, with Cowan and Avants (1988) suggesting that most child influence strategies are directed towards mothers, with Mrs Arshad usually left to deal with the children and difficult to give in. As a married couple, Mrs Arshad is largely left to meet the demands and pacify her children alone.

6.2.8 Summary

The family environment, consequently, emerges as a key moderator of both the strategies the children implement to influence family consumption choices and the success of such strategies (and ultimately the level of parental resistance to them). As the individual family stories suggest, the children have worked in coalitions and partnerships with other family members in collaborative influence attempts. The ability (and need) to form such coalitions, it is suggested, also relates heavily to the child's family environment, recognising that even within the same family multiple family

environments are apparent (in terms of different communication styles, different parental treatment, and so on). The next chapter explicitly focuses on such issues and explores how influence is conveyed and operationalised within families. Such issues specifically relate to the research aim which is to examine the processes involved in exerting influence in family decision-making, with a focus on understanding how children attempt to influence consumer decision-making and consumption choices in their families.

Chapter 7: Findings

7:1 Introduction

The preceding chapter has introduced and discussed the stories of the participating families. However, from the distinct stories, comparisons across the families can be made (Fournier, 1988; Mick & Buhl, 1992), and global themes (Thompson et al., 1989; Kvale, 1983) emerged which are common across each family. These common themes (Thompson et al., 1990) help structure an understanding of the influence processes apparent in families.

The global themes include a discussion of family microenvironments (section 7.2), the influence strategies of children (section 7.3), both alone and with sibling collaborators which necessitates the use of intragenerational influence and gatekeeping (section 7.4). Each theme indicates how influence is used and maintained within families and decision-making in families and focus on the process of influence itself. The themes also offer an understanding of the dynamism that impacts decision-making in families, which moves away from neat, sequential models of how such decisions are believed to be made. Family microenvironments emerge as a key moderator of decision-making in families and control the success of the influence strategies the children deploy. Family microenvironments suggest that children within the same family will inhabit different niches within that family and will eventually be treated differently by their parents to their siblings. Within the twenty families involved in this thesis certain children received

"*special treatment*" whereas others did not; accordingly, the extent of the child's involvement in family matters and decision-making was moderated by the nature of their family microenvironment. Two forms of microenvironments are identified, depending on whether the environment fostered is created by parents (maternal microenvironments) or siblings (familial microenvironments).

Microenvironments also impact on the influence strategies that the children used and the gatekeeping reactions to them (in terms of whether the influence strategy was successful, and the degree of compliance gained from the gatekeeper). The children and adolescents deployed a range of influence strategies, some of which involved collaboration with fellow siblings. The ability to influence other siblings was also highly dependent on the child or adolescent's microenvironment, which recognises that within a family two distinct family environments were developed and maintained. Although parents were found to treat their children in different ways, the children themselves also treated fellow siblings differently, often because of the maternal microenvironment fostered for him or her. The familial microenvironment shaped the nature of a child's influence strategy; if a child did not inhabit a supportive familial microenvironment then he or she had to deploy strategies that could be deployed on an individual basis which did not rely on obtaining the support of other siblings.

Gatekeeping is also evident, in which the wives and mothers are highly protective of the family tasks they perform, despite not enjoying undertaking them. Gatekeeping emerges as a strategy through which the mothers gain a sense of control over family

life. In a decision-making context, the mothers are also the primary gatekeepers of the adolescents' influence strategies, with the mothers being the audience for these strategies and ultimately dictating the success of their children's influence strategies.

Each theme (family microenvironments, influence strategies and gatekeeping) is addressed in turn, and this chapter will end by presenting a framework which depicts an updated view of ethical food decision making in families that are firmly rooted in the family stories. Whilst this model is not intended to exclusively depict how decisions are made within families in a wider context, it is hoped that a greater understanding of families will emerge which recognises that family decisions are influenced by many factors which as yet may not have been considered, such as family microenvironments. Accordingly, this conceptual framework sheds further light on the process of influence itself and stresses how significant family microenvironments are in guiding the influence processes, and strategies, of children.

Similarly, the notion of family microenvironments offers an opportunity to better understand consumer socialisation, with microenvironments serving to differentiate siblings. Ultimately the widely held view of a homogenous family life experienced by each sibling in the same family needs to be problematized and critiqued with the findings from the family stories, and family consumer microenvironments are introduced. Such findings may well shed greater light on what occurs within families in a wider context.

This chapter begins by introducing family microenvironments (section 7.2) and makes a distinction between two forms of family microenvironments - microenvironments developed by parents (section 7.2.1), termed maternal micro-environments, and those developed by siblings (section 7.2.2), termed fraternal microenvironments. The positive and negative characteristics of such microenvironments are discussed (section 7.2.3) and concluding remarks to this section, describing the impact microenvironments have on decision making in families and the processes by which children attempt to influence family consumption, are then presented (section 7.2.4).

7.2 Family Microenvironments

The family environment has been extensively studied within consumer research, with research attention focussing predominantly on issues relating to consumer socialisation, with the family unit firmly identified and located as the socialisation agent (e.g. Bao et al., 2007; Kim et al., 2015). (See sections 2.7 and 2.8)

'Each child in a family inhabits his or her unique niche in the ecology of the family, and it is within these niches, or microenvironments, that the formative aspects of development are presumed to occur' (Harris, 1995, p. 459).

Given that the family serves as the primary consumption and socialising unit (Commuri & Gentry, 2000) this attention has not been unfounded, although the family stories which emerge from this study suggest that what we may currently know little about family environments.

Whilst a variety of 'general' typologies (John, 1999) have been presented which aim to describe family environments with family communication patterns (see, for instance, Moschis (1985) and his discussion of laissez-faire, protective, pluralistic and consensual families) and parental socialisation styles (for example, see Carlson & Grossbart (1988) for a comprehensive review and their discussion of authoritarian, neglectful, democratic, permissive and authoritative parental styles), such typologies imply universality. The overarching environment, in which a given family is thought to have a communication style with parents having a universal socialisation style, locates family members in a universal environment wherein members, especially children, are believed to be treated in a similar, homogenous, and undifferentiated way. Literature in the fields of psychology and behavioural genetics has suggested this is simply not the case, and that children within the same family will inhabit their own, unique microenvironment (Harris, 1995). Ultimately children within the same family will receive different parental treatment based on factors several factors (see section 2.7 and 2.8). With the notable exception of Cotte and Wood (2004, p. 80), who asserted that *'parents may create differences between their children not only because they pass on different genes but also because they create different environments for each child in the family'*, marketing and consumer researchers have not acknowledged the phenomena of family microenvironments, or the possible implications microenvironments have, particularly with socialisation.

In these extracts, pockets of differences emerge within families, and that children do experience their family differently from their siblings. Certain children are favoured

over others in the same family; the style of parenting and parental communication each child receives is not universal across every sibling within the same family, and ultimately pockets of preferential treatment, and difference emerge and consequently, siblings often get treated differently within their family.

This preferential treatment was exhibited not solely by the parents. The children themselves, within their families, favoured certain siblings (and to lesser extent parents) over others, choosing to side with siblings in family arguments, with certain siblings considered to be "cool" whereas others were deemed to be "dull". Therefore, not only are different environments within the same family cultivated, by both parents and siblings alike, but the positive aspects of such subfamily environments also differ. Just as a child can favour one sibling and reject another, parents can dote on one child and equally dismiss the next and treat them in very different and contrasting ways. The family stories thus shed greater light on the family environment itself and suggest that this environment is in turn composed of several distinct environments, or microenvironments, and thus consumer microenvironments, recognising that children within the same family can inhabit different niches in their particular family ecology.

As figure 7.1 shows, the overarching family environment is composed of two distinct microenvironments: one environment or family world which is maintained, fostered and ruled by parents (the maternal microenvironment), and the other which is maintained,

fostered and ruled by the children in families (the fraternal microenvironment)¹. Similarly, the positive aspects of each microenvironment have also been described, and positive (supportive microenvironments) and negative (unsupported microenvironments) are identified.

What the description of family microenvironments suggests is that the children of the six families involved in this thesis experience family life in radically different ways from one another. More than this, the differences in how they experience family life are shaped and determined by the microenvironment he or she finds himself or herself in, with this environment being governed and shaped by parents (maternal microenvironments) and siblings (fraternal microenvironments) alike. Ultimately the family microenvironments which emerge from the family stories can be described according to who governs and maintains a given microenvironment (either parent who govern the parentally constructed microenvironment, or siblings who govern the fraternally constructed microenvironment) and the extent of the positive or negative aspect of the microenvironment created (identified as either supportive or unsupportive). Each characteristic of the family microenvironments will be discussed in turn.

¹ It should be emphasised, as chapter one states, that fraternal does not exclusively relate to male children alone; rather, in the case of fraternal microenvironments, fraternal relates to the environment which is created and maintained by both male and female siblings. Such a definition borrows meaning from 'fraternal twins', with fraternal describing the sibling relationship and not the male gender of the twins (as fraternal twins can be both male or female, or a combination of both)

7.2.1 The family microenvironments: Maternal Microenvironments

Mothers particularly appear to play a fundamental role in the creation of maternal microenvironments. Although the fathers of the families were involved, to an extent, in the research process it was the mothers who responded to the participant appeals and granted access to their families. This is telling, especially coupled with the unanimous view of the children who felt that their mothers were the core founders and directors of their family life.

The usually longer hours worked by the fathers of the families necessitated and was counterbalanced by, the higher availability of mothers to the children. However even in the Mantikas family, with the parents sharing childcare duties according to their work commitments, the children felt a greater affinity with their mother;

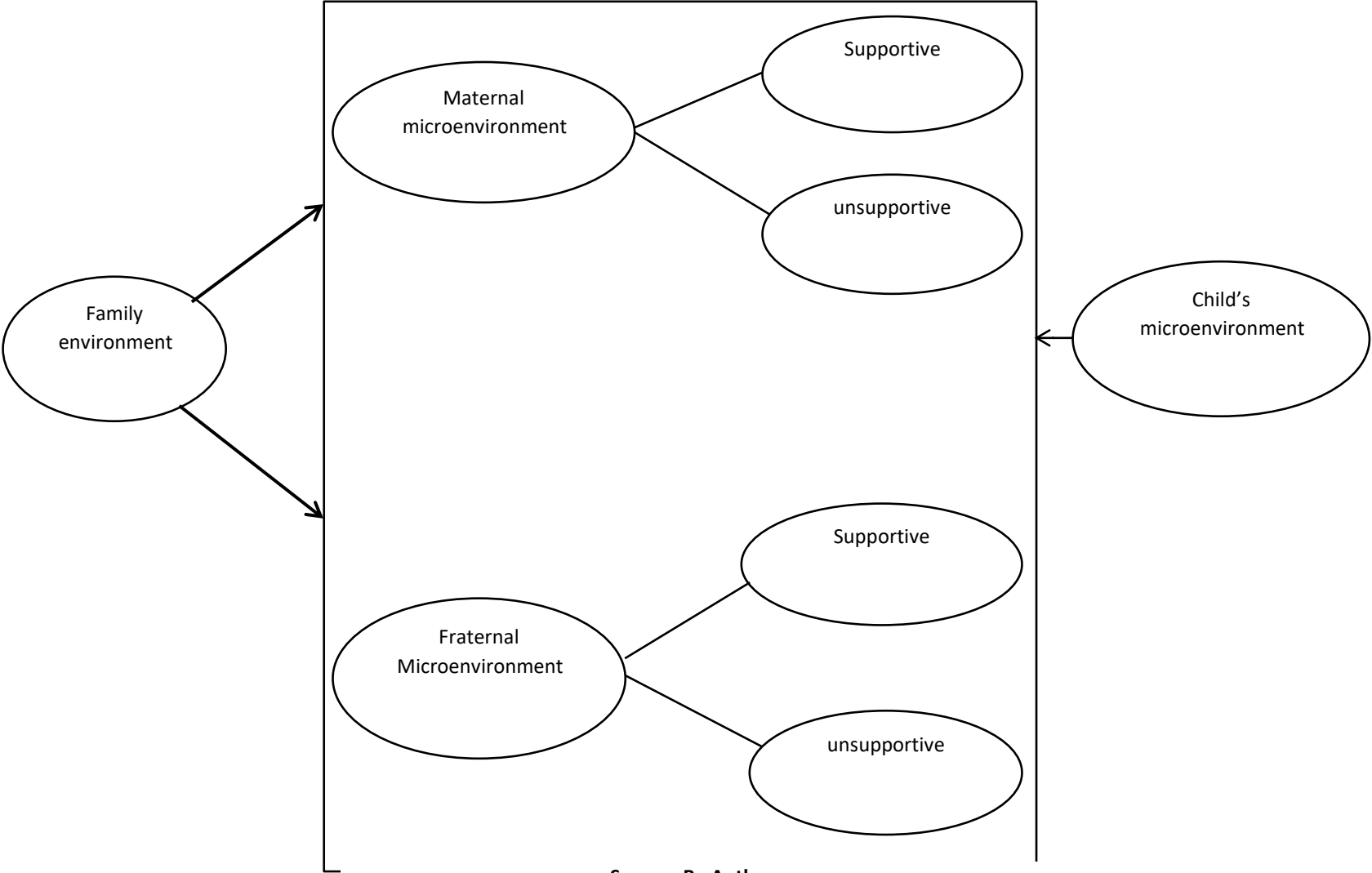
We know Mum better, she stays at home like all the time, unlike dad. Mum does everything with us, shopping, walk in the park, and all domestic activities. But [dad] he is always out at work and comes home late [Maria Mantikas].

This supports the notion that mothering is central to many women's identities with mothers being the central pillars of family life (Hogg, Curasi & Maclaran, 2004), and suggests that just as motherhood is central to a woman's life, children too equally view motherhood and its associated duties as being central to their own. Children in Mantikas and Arshad families, for instance, still approached their mother for things even when their father was in charge.

The mothers in the families discussed their children at great length and were not ashamed, as Dunn and Plomin (1990) reported, to imply or explicitly state that they favoured certain children over others (and in effect maintained either supportive or unsupported maternal microenvironments for each). This is also consistent with the notion that parents frequently compare siblings (Schachter & Stone, 1985;1987), and this comparison is important in initiating or reinforcing the formation of the microenvironments for the children within the same family: [Mrs Cohen] describes Abbi as "*the studious do-gooder*" with Illana "*a little devil*", Mrs Moreau considers herself to have a "*good child*[Thierry] *and a bad child*[Aurélie]"; Mrs Alcock has her "*golden boy*", Archie; Mr Evans defines Ike as "*a rock*" and Mrs Thakkar considering Gagan to be the "*easiest*" of her children to live with.

Such comparisons carve out a niche for the above children in their families, with parental treatment serving to fuel differentiation contributing to the development of maternal microenvironments. Figure 7.1 highlights the various aspects of the family microenvironments, with maternal microenvironments highlighted in the left-hand quadrants of the figure and suggests where each child is located according to the features of the microenvironments they inhabit (i.e. who maintains or rules this environment, and how positive it is). As can be seen in figure 7.1 most children inhabit

Figure 7.1: The Constituents of the family environment



Source: By Author

a supportive maternal microenvironment, although others (for instance, Illana, Aurélie and Oliver) do not. (The positive and negative characteristics of the maternal microenvironment are further discussed in section 7.3.2).

What emerges from the maternal microenvironments, with children within the same families treated in differing ways, are multiple parenting and communication styles, and this does not support the assumptions underlying the universal typologies advocated by, for example, Moschis (1985) and Carlson and Grossbart (1988).

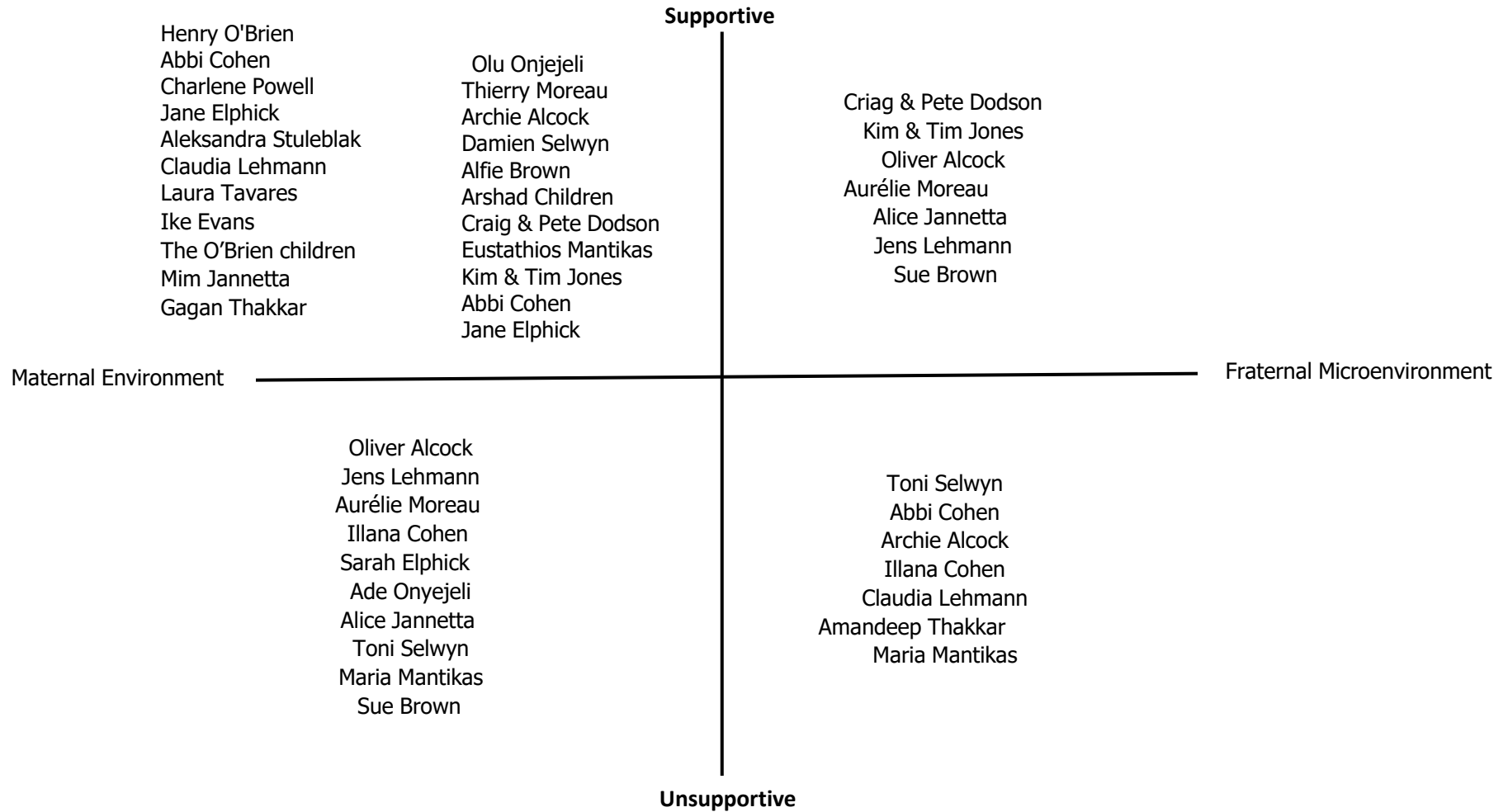
Amandeep Thakkar also complained that "*Gagan gets more things than me*" while Aurélie Moreau said "*Thierry is the darling boy in this house if you need anything you got to get it past him first*" The Moreau Family is a very useful exemplar of this argument, with Thierry treated favourably by her parents. The Moreau parents advocate a style of parenting similar to that labelled '*permissive*' by Carlson and Grossbart (1988) towards Thierry, which develops a warm and protective environment for him in which he can learn and explore without many parental constraints. In contrast, they adopt an 'authoritarian' style (Carlson & Grossbart, 1988), with Aurélie, seeking high levels of control over her behaviour which discourages communication between parent and child. Similarly, The Moreau parents adopt a 'pluralistic' communication style (Moschis, 1985) towards Thierry, fostering open communication, but a 'laissez-faire' or 'protective' (Moschis, 1985) communication style towards Aurélie which fosters obedience, and which discourages and avoids parent-child discussion. What emerges from the maternal microenvironments, with children within the same families treated in

differing ways, are multiple parenting and communication styles, and this does not support the assumptions underlying the universal typologies advocated by, for example, Moschis (1985) and Carlson and Grossbart (1988). Mr and Mrs Brown also adopt very different parenting and communication styles towards their children, although both parents are largely supportive of their children. Mum values her authority and parental sovereignty, whereas Dad does not like being a disciplinarian and chooses instead to adopt a much softer style of parenting.

As a father, my responsibility is to make my family, including the children, feel safe, loved and belonged at all the time. I had to protect them but not to make them feel alienated. I guess that is what discipline ultimately does, it makes children feel disaffected [Mr Brown]

Whereas the specific and detailed descriptions of parental and communication styles offered by Moschis (1985) and Carlson and Grossbart (1988) respectively are valuable, highlighting the many different approaches parents adopt when dealing with children, what does not hold so well is the attempt at a universal application of these descriptions to anyone family, or the notion that parents advocate the same style towards all children in their families. This consistency of approach in applying either parental or communication styles was not found within the families studied.

Figure 7.2: Microenvironment dimensions



Source: By author

7.2.2 The family microenvironments; Fraternal Microenvironments

However, it is not simply parents who contribute towards the development of different family microenvironments; children in families can also help to shape their family environment and can foster fraternal microenvironments. Just as parents can compare siblings, siblings too can compare themselves to each other and can act to differentiate themselves from one another. Sibling deidentification (Schachter, 1982, Milevsky, 2011), the tendency of families to define siblings as different or contrasting, is one way in which siblings can actively distance themselves from each other, accentuating their differences (Cotte & Wood, 2004), which has implications for how their parents and siblings respond to them. Ultimately this can create an entirely different environment for siblings within the same family, achievable through, for example, the child's consumption of different food, pursuits and interests. Different consumption styles and tastes, coupled with differing parental treatment due to the child's personality or contrasts to other siblings, further accentuates the different niches children can inhabit within the same family. The siblings in the families actively worked to create differences between one another (be that through consumption preferences, activities or friendship groups) and worked to de-identify themselves from one another. Through such action, they created their fraternal microenvironments. As figure 7.2 shows, the fraternal microenvironments are highlighted in the right-hand quadrants of the figure. In the Thakkar family, for instance, Mrs Thakkar's view that Amandeep is the more responsible and mature sibling, which is reflected in her maternal microenvironment, is shared by all her children which reinforces the parental view and maternal

microenvironment, which also affects the formation of the fraternal help microenvironment.

It is interesting to note, however, that parental views (and thus the maternal microenvironment) are not always shared or accepted by the children in the families. Although Archie Alcock is complimented by his parents, as figure 7.2 shows, particularly his mother, receiving favourable attention from her (particularly given their involvement in running the family), his siblings foster their fraternal microenvironment in which Archie is not treated as favourably by Oliver often. They resist the transfer of their mother's construction of a positive maternal microenvironment into the fraternal microenvironment they construct for their brother (Archie). While Mr Alcock, states that Archie is "a good boy, dead reliable and dependable", his brother Oliver comments:

It's always Archie does this, Archie can do that, why don't you be more like Archie? Archie's the one who's doing the best, he can act, he can sing, he's clever at school he's all my parents ever talks about, the rest of us don't get a look in [Oliver Alcock]

Due to Oliver's feelings, he does not treat Archie as well as his parents treat him, with Luke largely following Oliver, stating that Archie: "*likes doing what Mum and Dad do, he's no fun*". Ultimately Archie's fraternal microenvironment is constructed as a direct result of his supportive maternal microenvironment, which somewhat alienates him from his siblings. Archie's elevated position, ascribed by his parents and evidenced in his maternal microenvironment, holds little clout in the sibling world and fraternal microenvironment. Indeed, Archie's siblings (particularly Oliver) even strive to hasten Archie's demise in the eyes of their parents, with Oliver attempting to take over many of

the tasks which were once Archie's sole responsibility. Therefore, there is an interesting 'cost' to Archie of his parent's support within the context of his fraternal microenvironment.

Oliver Alcock, on the other hand, has a much stronger, more supportive fraternal microenvironment than maternal microenvironment. Oliver and the two little siblings enjoy spending time together, and Oliver includes them in many of his activities, and as a result, they maintain a much stronger fraternal microenvironment for him. Similarly, although Aurélie's maternal microenvironment is very negative, with her parents giving her little support and attention, brother, Thierry, has a much higher opinion of Aurélie, with Aurélie, therefore, holding much higher influence in her fraternal microenvironment. Illana inhabits a fairly unsupported maternal microenvironment, but it should also be noted that her fraternal microenvironment is much more negative and unsupported. Whilst her parents are tired of her pushy ways and over-demanding nature, her siblings are much more annoyed by her actions, and as a result, they view her in a much more negative light.

Maria Mantikas' microenvironment, as figure 7.2 shows, is not exclusively parent or sibling fostered, with both his parents (particularly her mother) and brothers equally contributing to his, largely negative, microenvironment. This further emphasises that Maria's maternal microenvironment greatly affects and influences her fraternal microenvironment, possibly due to the closeness of her mother to the boys. Both parents and Eustathios share a similarly poor view of Maria with Mum claiming that

"*she'll [Maria] probably end up in McDonald's*" with Eustathios being equally derogatory of his sister, whom Eustathios refers to as "*Chav Spastic*". Maria uses violence she does display a great deal of violence (McHale et al., 2002) using her physical size to dominate her siblings. However, Maria's actions have not been received favourably by her brothers despite the coalition that forms between them.

What the above extracts have illustrated is that microenvironments can be created and enforced in two main ways; at the parental level, or the sibling level. Similarly, the examples have highlighted that the microenvironments held at the parental level do not necessarily always hold at the sibling level and that just because one sibling is favoured by a parent (which will have effects on the communication and parenting styles received, and thus the socialisation environment) this does not necessarily equate to a similar type of environment (in terms of the supportive or unsupported nature of the environment developed) being held at the sibling level. Perhaps the most important point to stress, however, is that even within the same family children will inhabit different family microenvironments and will receive different parental, and sibling, treatment as a result.

The second dimension of the family microenvironments to be discussed concerns how supportive or unsupported the microenvironments are. Although the above examples have already demonstrated that the environments created are not always favourable, the next section provides additional materials for discussing the supportive and/or unsupported microenvironments, created by siblings and parents alike.

7.3 Unsupported and Supportive Microenvironments

Family microenvironments can be either supportive or unsupported, with the same parents having the potential to foster unique maternal microenvironments for different children. Similarly, fraternal microenvironments can also be both positive and supportive or negative and unsupported. Mr and Mrs Brown described their family as being comprised of two families (in essence two families within a family) in which both parents are responsible for a subsection of their family, as Mr Brown comments; *"there's me and the boys and her [Mum] and her girl"*. In one section of the family, under Mr Brown's authority, as he suggests, a warm and supportive environment is fostered, *"I'm not exceptionally brilliant at the discipline side of things ... I think I've always felt that I wouldn't want to be the baddy"*; in the other, under Mum's control a regime of discipline and routine rules,

There comes a point where I just can't be bothered to discuss things and you just need to do as I ask. It might make me the baddy for now, but I hope they will grow up to appreciate it in the future when they've become responsible citizens [Mrs Brown].

This has implications for how the children are treated depending upon which parent they interact and deal with; whereas Dad appears to be very soft and loving, Mum is a disciplinarian who holds rules and parental sovereignty in high regard. The multiple parental styles highlighted above raise further doubts about the universal parental style which is thought to dominate children within families, as advocated by Moschis (1985) and Carlson and Grossbart (1988). Using the Brown family as an example two different parenting styles are evident; a soft style advocated by Mr Brown and a much harsher one adopted by Mrs Brown. Accordingly, in the participant families, multiple parenting

styles exist within the families, which adds further fuel to a much-needed critique to the automatic transfer of assumptions about universal family communication/parental typologies into consumer behaviour research on decision making within families, and theories of consumer socialisation.

Whereas earlier in this section we saw how different children created the need for parents to adopt different maternal microenvironments using different parental and communication styles (which in itself is novel; as parental style is usually thought to shape the child, and not the other way around), in this instance, the differences originate from the individual parent and their preferred manner of parenting. The findings of Moschis (1985) and Carlson and Grossbart (1988) do not acknowledge that two parents can have different parental and communication styles within the same family, nor do they acknowledge the notion that the child (and his or her idiosyncrasies) shapes the parenting and communication that he or she receives. The maternal microenvironments fostered by the Brown parents serve as a useful illustrator of the differences which can exist within maternal microenvironments, either in positive (supportive) or negative (unsupported) ways. Although the parents do, however, largely foster and strive for a loving environment, other parents and siblings do not. Aurélie must deal with many derogatory comments made by her parents, particularly by her mother. These comments are often based on the preferential parental opinions and treatment of her younger brother, Thierry, who is used as a benchmark for Aurélie's behaviour. Aurélie's unsupported maternal microenvironment is exacerbated by constant comparisons to her younger sibling who "*doesn't ask for anything*", "*would not*

be disappointed' with the things her parents bought her, "*outsmarts*" Aurélie, is "*tidier than Aurélie*" and is "*a lot brighter than Aurélie is now*". Such favourable opinions of Thierry and constant comparisons with Aurélie, have set a benchmark for Aurélie and accordingly, her achievements and behaviours will never match her younger brother's. This is surprising given that traditionally the elder sibling is believed to be the model of child behaviour (Buhrmester & Furman, 1990; Harris, 1995).

Maria also receives limited emotional support and guidance from his siblings and parents, with her Mum often attempting to delegate responsibility for her to his younger brother, Eustathios. With Mrs Mantikas transferring responsibility for Maria to his brother, she at the same time fosters an environment in which no family member wants to take care of her. In discussing what will happen to Maria over the school holidays, in the light of Mum's new employment status, she states to his brothers, "*well you can take care of her for two weeks ... I'm not bothering*". Mrs Mantikas' comment supports the notion that although she '*cares about*' Maria she has difficulty in '*caring for*' her through undertaking the duties closely associated with motherhood (Hogg, Curasi & Maclaran, 2004) and raising children. The tone of Maria's family microenvironment is therefore firmly set, maintained by her mother and brothers alike as has already been discussed.

Children residing in more positive, supportive, microenvironments are those who are more favoured by their parents, for example, Thierry Moreau, Archie Alcock, Gagan Thakkar and the Arshad children who inhabit a loving family, with the maternal

microenvironment largely dictating the tone of the overall family microenvironment a child inhabits. However, siblings too can develop a supportive fraternal microenvironment, often as a result of the maternal microenvironment. Aurélie Moreau and Oliver Alcock, for example, although viewed with a degree of negativity by their parents are held in higher regard by their sibling(s).

7.4 Conclusions: Microenvironments, Mothers, and Maintenance

The microenvironments of the families suggest that family microenvironments are largely maintained by parents and maternal microenvironments and are frequently fostered through sibling comparison. Siblings themselves can enhance the differences between one another through sibling de-identification, further changing the parenting a child receives with one another. Mothers are usually the key creator of the maternal microenvironment, through their privileged access to their families. Although parents can create primary microenvironments children within the families can also develop their versions, i.e. fraternal microenvironments, often in response to those created by their parents. Children who have a supportive maternal microenvironment do not necessarily have a supportive fraternal microenvironment.

Archie Alcock, for example, receives a great deal of favourable attention from his parents (particularly his mother), inhabiting a supportive maternal microenvironment, but is viewed with a degree of negativity by his siblings as a result of this, who foster an unsupported fraternal microenvironment for Archie. Aurélie Moreau, for example, inhabits an unsupported maternal microenvironment, although her younger brother,

Thierry, develops a much more supportive fraternal microenvironment for Aurélie (with Thierry even participating in the influence strategies that Aurélie directs towards their parents.

The microenvironments have been viewed as either supportive or unsupported, with siblings often creating fraternal microenvironments in reaction to those created by their parents. As a result of the family microenvironments, each child within a family will inhabit his or her unique niche in that family, experiencing different styles of parenting and parental communication, and sibling contact, support and influence. The universal typologies of the family environment are not supported by these findings, and it is suggested that the widely held view that parents and parenting shape children should be updated to acknowledge that children themselves can also shape the parenting they receive. It also appears that the microenvironment a child is located within also affects his or her success in deploying influence strategies and the kinds of influence strategies that can be deployed.

The next section will, therefore, explore the various strategies the children and adolescents used to attempt to get their way. This section includes a discussion of both individual (section 7.3) and collaborative sibling influence strategies (section 7.3.1) and describes how each form of influence is used to change the behaviour of parents (section 7.3.2) or fellow siblings alike (section 7.3.3). This section then concludes (section 7.3.4) by suggesting that the form of influence strategy deployed (either individual or collaborative) is dictated by the level of support that can be gathered from

other siblings, and this is determined in turn by how other siblings view that person and thus how supportive everyone's fraternal microenvironment is.

7.5 Influence strategies

A variety of influence strategies, used by children and adolescents in family interactions, have been documented. Several studies have focused specifically on child or adolescent influence strategies, as section 2.6 and table 2.5 of the literature review chapter suggest. Palan and Wilkes (1997), for instance, focused exclusively on the influence strategies of an adolescent within family decision making, and other studies (see, for instance, Belch et al., 1985; Foxman, Tansuhaj & Ekstrom, 1989a; Hall, Shaw, Johnson & Oppenheim, 1995; Geuens, 2002) have also recorded the role that a child or adolescent plays in shaping the decisions that are made within his or her family.

However, such studies usually focus solely on just one child or adolescent within the family. Given the recognition that children can work in coalitions (Lee & Collins, 2000; Thomson, Laing & McKee, 2007) with one another to influence decisions in their favour, the possibility of siblings working together has been largely overlooked in studies of consumer decision-making within families (with the notable exception of Lee & Collins, 2000). Ultimately, what has emerged is a body of research solely investigating how an individual child or adolescent could influence his or her family's consumption decisions. In addition to the strategies used by the individual child or the single adolescent identified above, stories from the families involved in this thesis describe several strategies which involve some use of collaboration between siblings or other family

members (i.e. parents). By recruiting several children within the same family this thesis has investigated how siblings work together in coalitions and explore the conditions necessary for them to do so. This collaboration occurs at both the intragenerational level (Cotte & Wood, 2004), which involves siblings working together to influence other siblings; and also, at the intergenerational level, which involves siblings working collectively to influence their parents (Moore, Wilkie & Lutz, 2002; Thomson et al., 2007).

Accordingly, the influence strategies employed by the adolescent participants in this research can be described in two different ways: either as individual influence strategies (which each child shows evidence of using) or collaborative influence strategies (which are much rarer). The former involves individual, lone, influence strategies (e.g. asking, showing affection, and crying); the latter involves collaborative or joint initiatives (e.g. making deals or recruiting other family members to participate with them in their influence strategy). Such strategies are deployed to influence parents (intergenerational influence) or other siblings (intragenerational influence).

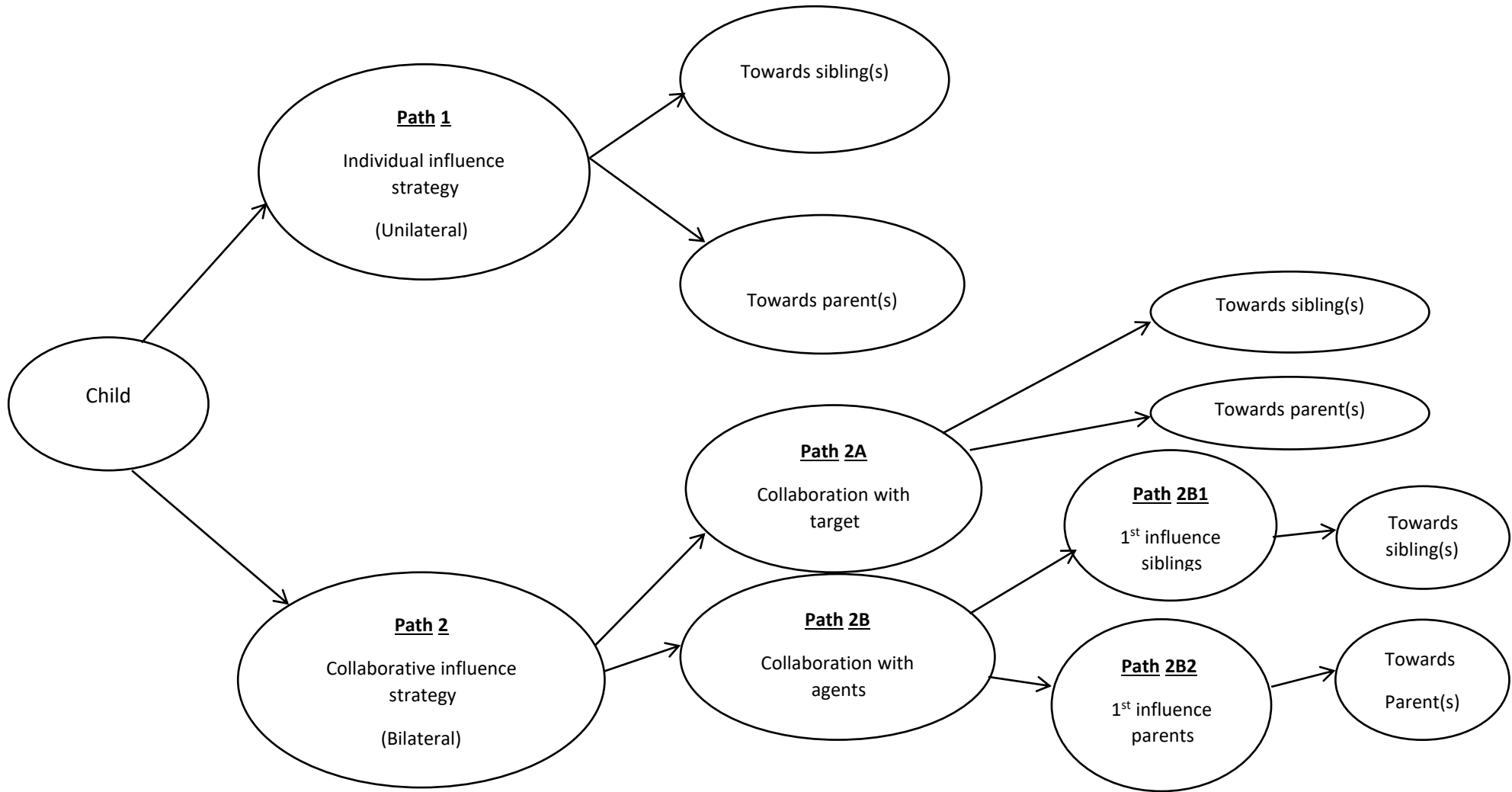
Figure 7.3 represents diagrammatically the various paths an adolescent could follow in his or her influence attempt. This diagram highlights the two main branches of the strategies; strategies which can be performed alone (unilaterally - path 1) and those which require the assistance and compliance of another, or others (bilaterally - path 2). For a child to deploy bilateral strategy assistance needs to be achieved from another, or others. This assistance can be achieved through either a one-step or a two-step process, dependent on the nature of the influence strategy deployed. The first way in

which such assistance can be achieved is by obtaining the support from the target of the influence strategy (path 2A) through a one-step process. In this way, the adolescent seeks the co-operation from the target (either parents or siblings) of his or her influence strategy, largely through obtaining their co-operation in deal-making to influence their behaviour. Mo Arshad, for example, gathers the support of his mother (the target of his influence strategy, and ultimately the gatekeeper of family decisions and consumption) in his influence strategy to obtain the Alara Organic & Gluten-Free Scottish Oats Muesli by suggesting that he will also contribute towards the cost of the food to encourage her to comply with, and gain her acquiescence in, his strategy.

.... [Mum] don't you worry I have some money saved up in my kitty so I will top up what you give me so we can buy it, I hope that is a fair deal [cheekly winks at mum]. [Mo Arshad]

This can be described as a one-step process; directly appealing to the target of the influence strategy to gain their support to influence a consumption decision.

Figure: 7.3: Influence strategy pathways



Source: By Author

It is the interactive, "give and take", nature of this agent-target relationship which distinguishes this influence path from that of path 1 (within path 1, agents simply directing influence strategies at the targets which do not require their co-operation). The second way in which bilateral strategies can be deployed involves seeking the assistance of other family members (siblings or parents alike) to help deploy an influence strategy in a two-step process. The other family member(s) work as *agents* of the influence strategy who will work with the initial adolescent and help him or her to deploy the strategy, as shown by path 2B in figure 7.3. This is described as a two-step process as the initial adolescent first needs to recruit other family members (step one) who will work alongside him or her to deploy the strategy, who then work (as a collective) to influence other siblings (intragenerational influence) or parents (intergenerational influence) (step two).

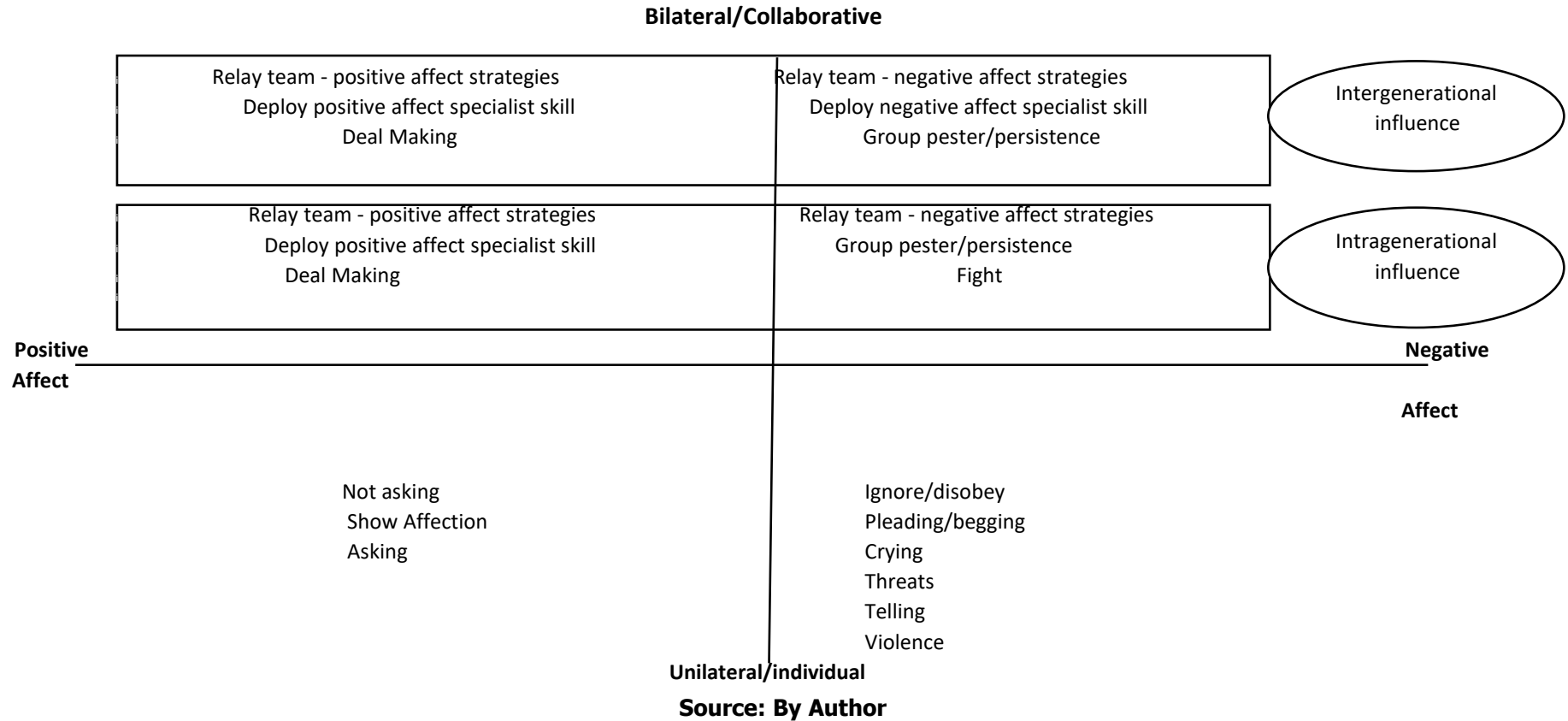
On such occasions the adolescent first needs to gain the co-operation (via influencing their behaviour) of other intermediaries in his or her influence strategy: either from a sibling(s) (path 2B1) or from a parent(s) (path 2B2). Aurélie, for example, faced with her unsupportive unsupported maternal microenvironment, first recruits Thierry (path 2B1) in her influence strategies which are directed at her parents.

Recognising that alone she has little influence over her parents Aurélie recruits Thierry into her influence strategies thereby ensuring that collectively they stand a much higher chance of getting what Aurélie wants. Archie, for example, recruits his mother (path 2B2) to act as an intermediary for him, so that he has her support when approaching his father for things. The collaborative and individualistic characteristics of the influence

strategies are similar to the dimensions described by Bonn (1995) who explores the influence strategies of South African children in terms of bilateral and unilateral characteristics (dimensions earlier used by Falbo and Peplau, 1980). Bilateral strategies *'require the collaboration and responsiveness of the target person ... unilateral strategies do not'* (Cowan, Drinkard & MacGavin, 1984). However, in this research further collaboration emerged which extends Bonn's (1995) typology. Co-operation was achieved not only from the target of the influence strategy, as discussed but also from other people who were involved in the influence strategy (other agents or intermediaries of influence). Such agents collaboratively worked together to influence the target in a unified fashion. The adolescents' strategies have also been characterised as involving positive and negative affect (Cowan et al., 1984). The dimensions of individual and collaborative strategies and the corresponding positive and negative affect are depicted in figure 7.4. Each dimension will be discussed in turn.

Attention will be paid to describing the collaborative influence strategies because these have been largely ignored by the current literature which describes influence strategies. At the same time, the concept of intragenerational influence will be introduced (Cotte & Wood, 2004). Intergenerational influence, alongside family microenvironments, emerges as a means through which children have the potential to garner the support from other family members in deploying their influence strategies (with the ability to garner sibling support relating to a child's fraternal microenvironment, and the ability to garner the support of parents in deploying

Figure 7.4: Dimensions of influence strategies²



²Although collaborative influence strategies have been further broken down into those which are used to modify the behaviour of siblings (intragenerational influence) and parents (intergenerational influence), the unilateral strategies have not. This is because the unilateral strategies are equally used and directed by the children to influence both their siblings and their parents.

influence strategies relating to the positive nature of their maternal microenvironment discussed earlier).

7.5.1: Unilateral Influence Strategies

The majority of child and adolescent influence studies examined (particularly in the literature review) relate to how an individual adolescents' attempts to influence others. The most common influence strategy used individually was simply to ask for something (Williams & Burns, 2000; Su et al., 2019). However, just as potentially effective as asking for something was not asking for something. Abbi Cohen and Oliver Alcock deployed this influence strategy very effectively at Christmas time. When asked by their parents what they wanted, they simply said they didn't want anything, or only wanted one present, Abbi rather ticked things she wants but did not ask to be bought for her. Partly due to their perceived selflessness and the guilt their parents would feel if their children did not receive any presents or a limited number, they received a greater number of presents. The power of not asking was very effective, almost a form of silent request, and for Claudia, it resulted in her parents overcompensating for her non-demands, as Mrs Lehman comments;

Claudia did well out of it, she didn't ask for anything, so we made sure that she got the equivalent in money if anything she got more because me and [Mr. Lehman] thought she needed something [Mrs Lehman]

The strategy of 'not asking' has not been recognised by the existing family decision making literature, which instead chooses largely to document, and fuel support for, the demanding nature of children and adolescents. Although it is perhaps uncommon for adolescents to adopt altruistic tendencies, the adolescents involved in this study (e.g.

Ike Evans, Aleksandra Stuleblak, Jane Elphick, Claudia Lehman, Osman Arshad and Abbi Cohen) appear to do so, although the internalisation of such traits is in question. For example, Abbi, like most of the adolescents, does not ask for things, yet she knows she will receive gifts because of the demands of her siblings and her parents' wish to treat the siblings similarly. Abbi's non-demands may not be as selfless as initially interpreted as she encourages her younger brother to ask for things, so she doesn't have to.

The power of not asking relates to Raven's (1993) extension of the legitimate power base which discusses the 'power of the powerless' (p. 235). By not asking for things, and, it would appear, not deploying any influence strategy, Abbi's parents felt obliged to give her things (reflecting the equality principle many parents feel should exist amongst siblings) compensating for Abbi's perceived lack of power utilisation through non-asking. However, Abbi doesn't ask for things not just because she is content with what she has, but also because she is all too aware that 'not asking' is an effective and productive strategy to use.

The adolescents also used displays of affection as an individual influence strategy; displays of affection also incorporate the use of 'sweet talk' (Palan & Wilkes, 1997) and 'ingratiation' (Bonn, 1995). It is important to stress, however, that both young children and elder adolescents alike use displays of affection; Ike Evans commented that *"with my little cute face she can't resist"*, whilst Jim O'Brien and Peter O'Brien frequently adopts displays of affection to get their way with their parents.

.... [mum] loves affections so whenever she is proving difficult, we would tell her she is the best mum in the world and tells her how much we love her. Sooner than later she gets us what we needed [Jim and Peter O'Brien].

The strategies of asking, not asking, and using affection have each been identified as individual positive affect strategies which do not use force or behaviour deemed to be negative (such strategies, e.g. crying and begging, are termed negative affect strategies). The 'negative affect' strategies were met with significant levels of resistance by the parents. These strategies include 'telling' (Atkin, 1978; Cowan et al., 1984), the use of threats or violence (McHale et al., 2002), crying (Bonn, 1995), begging and pleading (Cowan et al., 1984; Williams & Burns, 2000), and ignoring parental wishes or disobeying them. This last strategy involved adolescent disregarding their parents and following through with whatever threat they had made, or the action they wanted to take, despite the parental resistance and/or expressions of disapproval. This strategy is similar to 'laissez-faire' as identified by Cowan et al. (1984, p. 1395) stating that 'the agent takes independent action; does what he or she wants, regardless'. Craig Dodson, for example, claimed that he would take his younger sister shopping with him despite his parents' refusal to allow him to do so.

7.5.2: Bilateral Influence Strategies

The adolescents, alongside using individual influence strategies, utilised strategies which necessitated some level of collaboration, either collaboration with other intermediaries and agents of the influence strategy (shown as path B2 in figure 7.3) or collaboration with the target of influence itself, usually parent(s) (as shown as path B1

of figure 7.3). Siblings did, however, also direct such attempts at other siblings which required their co-operation. Sue and Alfie Brown and Aurélie and Thierry Moreau for example, frequently made deals to direct their sibling's behaviour. Collaboration also occurred through coalitions with other influencing agents and family intermediaries who assist in the influence strategy deployment. Whilst strategies involving the collaboration of the target of influence exist (and will thus be discussed first) less research attention has been paid towards the possibility of siblings working together to influence other siblings or parents alike.

Bonn (1995) recognises strategies children use which relies on the response of the target of influence. Strategies such as deal-making (Palan & Wilkes, 1997) rely on the co-operation of the target of influence (parents or other siblings alike, as the above example, illustrates). Such strategies emerge as collaborative strategies because they require a level of co-operation from another i.e. the target of the influence strategy, largely parents. Bonn (1995) defined such strategies as bilateral. However, other collaborative strategies emerged which necessitate the co-operation of multiple influence agents. In such strategies an individual recruit another, or others, to help him or her to deploy their influence strategy towards the target.

However, unlike the collaborative strategies which require the co-operation of the target of influence, this newly recruited individual or group works alongside the initial person to assist in their influence strategy deployment. Thus, a clear distinction is made between collaborative strategies which involve co-operation with the target of

influence, and those which require the assistance of other influencing agents who act as intermediaries for the influence strategy to strengthen its success. Such possibilities have been overlooked in existing studies which focus primarily on individual adolescent influence strategies.

Evidence is found in the family stories to support the existence of sibling co-operation and collaboration. This collaboration was used in two ways; (1) to influence parents and (discussed in section 7.3.3), or (2) to exert influence over another sibling or other sibling group (discussed in section 7.3.4). The aim of each collaboration strategy, as shown in figure 7.5, will be discussed in turn.

7.5.3 Collaboration Strategies: Influencing Parents (Intergenerational influence)

Sibling collaboration was evident across all the families. This collaboration occurred across a range of product categories, particularly products which were to be used or had an impact on, each child in the family. Ethical foods, holiday choices, the decision as to whether to get a family pet or home PC, all involved siblings working together to influence their parents. Whilst the strategies deployed do not differ dramatically from those of individual influence strategies, as shown in figure 7.4, the way they are deployed does. The parents discussed how their children collectively ganged up on them, frequently involving the siblings taking turns to individually ask their parents for things in an orchestrated fashion. 'Relay Team' sibling co-operation emerges through which siblings take turns to ask for a united purchase; when one sibling has deployed

his or her strategy of choice, dependent on their success, the next sibling continues the barrage, as Mrs Lehmann comments:

..... they just gang up, little eleven and fourteen-year-olds ganging up on you. Whenever they start, I get completely flustered and eventually give them what they wanted as it's not a good feeling at all to be in that situation
[Mrs Lehman]

The collaboration utilises strategies which, like those identified in individual influence strategies, involve both positive and negative affect. Such collaboration occurs through a two-stage process; initially, one sibling initiates the drive for their parents to purchase a given item and s/he then calls on the co-operation of fellow siblings, as figure 7.3 shows. This is particularly true for adolescents who inhabit a relatively poor standing in their family, inhabiting an unsupported maternal microenvironment. Such adolescents need to bolster their influence potential, and this can be achieved through the recruitment of other siblings (which is often easy for children who inhabit a favourable and supportive fraternal microenvironment).

For example, Sue Brown, Aurélie Moreau and Illana Cohen all recruited siblings, initially to ask their parents for several things that they (Sue, Aurélie and Illana) wanted. Recognising that alone they stood little chance of procuring the items through using lone, individual strategies (in the light of their unsupported maternal microenvironment), they first influenced siblings, which meant that they could also indirectly exert influence on their parents. In the case of Sue and Alfie regarding the organic Manuka honey, Sue claimed that she would consume it with Alfie - a form of reciprocity, utilising the legitimate power base (Raven, 1993). Sue influenced Alfie's

behaviour, and subsequently their parents' approval of the purchase although they disapproved it since they think it is too expensive.

When mummy tells me it's expensive to buy the manuka, I said to her I won't eat it alone. I said I will share, I will eat it with Alfie and she finally got it for me [Sue Brown]

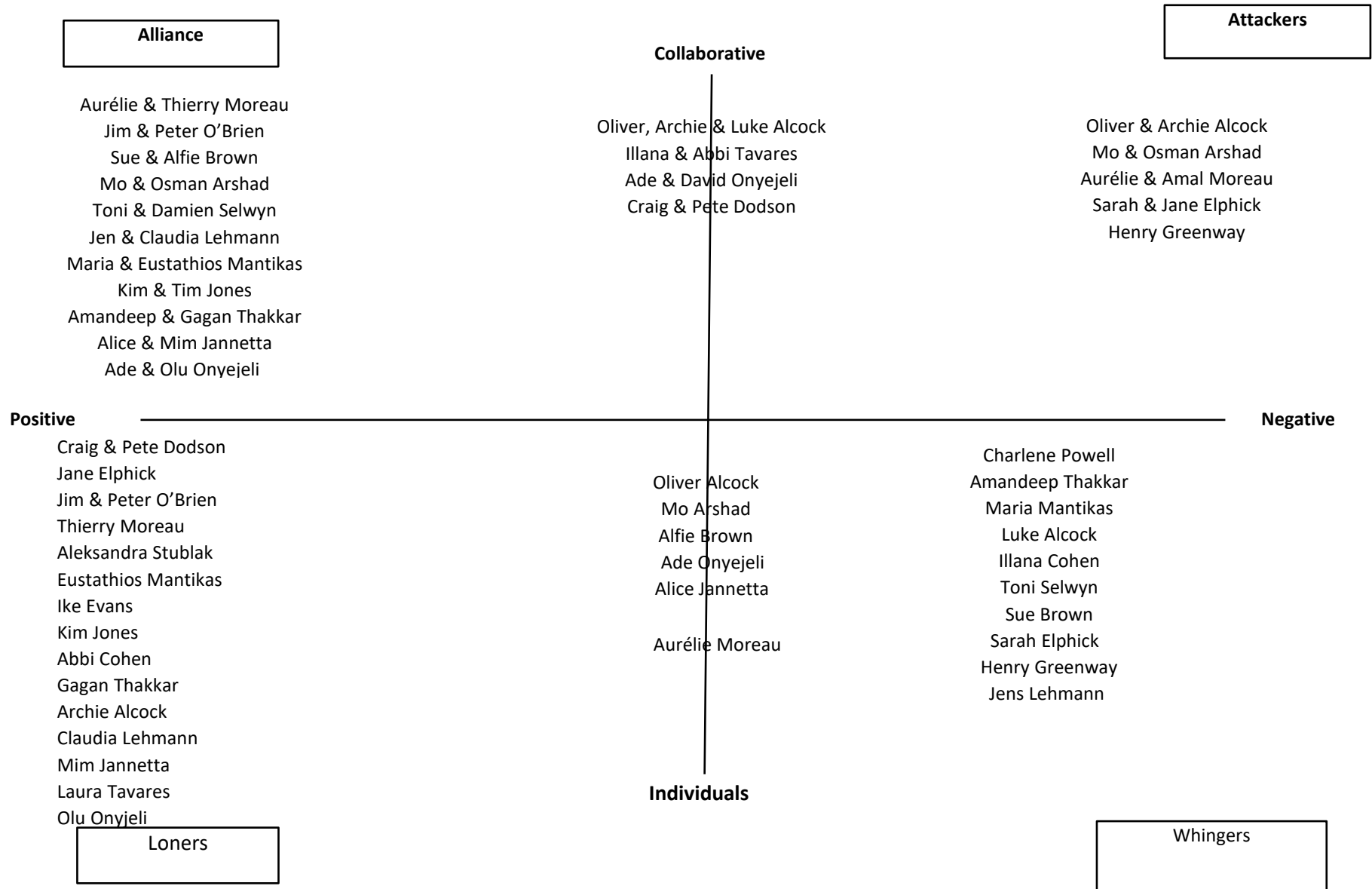
Such behaviour has been termed 'alliance', for instance, as Sue's coalition with Alfie is often temporary and once Sue has the item, she wants she will quickly 'jump off' and end the coalition she had formed with Alfie. Through such behaviour, Sue can exploit Alfie's pocket of difference within this family setting and temporarily 'get in his pocket' and exploit his supportive maternal microenvironment in her favour. Children have a considerable indirect influence on consumption at both the individual and household level (Gunter & Furnham, 1998; Lenka & Vandana, 2016).

Figure 7.5 offers an updated view of figure 7.4 in that the main strategies of each adolescent involved in this research are plotted on the corresponding dimensions identified (those of unilateral or bilateral strategies, involving positive or negative affect). The figure clearly shows that every adolescent uses lone, unilateral strategies, but it also shows the adolescents who use collaboration to influence their parent(s) or other siblings. For instance, collaboration is used between Mo and Osman Arshad as a strategy to influence the actions and beliefs of their elder brother, Ahmed. Archie Alcock and Luke Alcock collaborate against Oliver Alcock to influence him. It is interesting to highlight Aurélie Moreau's collaboration with her brother, Thierry Moreau. Although Aurélie usually uses unilateral strategies which involve 'negative affect' whenever she

collaborates with Thierry their strategies become a 'positive affect' (for instance, joint asking or making promises to share). For Aurélie, collaboration turns her usually negative affect strategies into a much more positive form.

Abbi Cohen, however, largely uses positive affect strategies at the unilateral level, but when she collaborates with her elder sister, Illana Cohen, the strategies they use involve a mixture of positive and negative affect. Abbi's collaborative strategy choice is influenced by those of her sister, and vice versa, just as Aurélie's collaborative choice is influenced by Thierry. Accordingly, when an adolescent does engage in a collaborative, bilateral strategy, the strategy preferences of each adolescent are considered when deciding which strategy to use, with a careful reading of the innate strength and advantages of the intermediary (e.g. Aurélie understands and exploits the 'positive affect' which Thierry can generate). Four strategy groups emerge from the data; the loners and complainers who use individual, lone, strategies, and the alliance and attackers who deploy collaborative strategies. Loners are characterised as using individual strategies which involve positive affect, and whiners similarly use individual strategies but use negative affect in their influence attempts. Similarly, attackers also use negative affect strategies, but in collaboration with others.

Figure 7.5: The Dimensions of Strategy Choices



Source: By Author

Alliances use collaborative strategies involving positive affect, and such alliance tendencies and collaborations are often short-lived and fluid (such as that seen between Amandeep & Gagan Thakkar and Aurélie & Thierry Moreau). Other children, who utilise a mix of both individual and collaborative, and positive and negative affect influence strategies, could not be neatly placed into the categories and straddle several categories, as figure 7.5 shows.

The ability of an adolescent to recruit other family members to gain their support in deploying collaborative influence strategies rests on his or her standing within their family, and ultimately the positive characteristics of their microenvironments. The recruitment of other siblings was easy for the sibling liked by their brother(s) and sister(s), which again recognises the important role microenvironments play in the process of influence success. Similarly, the ability to recruit other siblings also necessitated strong intragenerational influence potential. For a sibling to be able to recruit another sibling, the initiator of the collaborative influence strategy needed some elevated position, usually from within their fraternal microenvironment and the associated intragenerational influence which that favourable position within the fraternal environment gave them. For example, Sue Brown recruits Alfie Brown to work as an intermediary for Sue's influence strategies as Alfie likes her older sister; and Oliver Alcock is viewed as "cool" and "trendy" by Luke and Archie, and they too often help Oliver deploy collaborative influence strategies and finally, Laura Tavares sees her sister as a "whizz kid". It would, therefore, appear that microenvironments and intragenerational influence are closely linked.

7.5.4 Collaborative Strategies: Influencing Siblings (Intragenerational Influence)

To influence a fellow sibling strong intragenerational influence potential was required, which requires the sibling to inhabit a supportive fraternal microenvironment. Intragenerational influence has been defined by Cotte and Wood (2004, p. 78) as 'sibling influences on consumer behaviour'. A sibling's intragenerational influence potential has implications for his or her ability to recruit fellow siblings in collaborative influence strategies should the need arise. For example, in the Selwyn family, the children are too aware of their mother's favourable reaction to their willingness to share. Consequently, the children attempt to present a united front, frequently asking for ethical foods and other items that they have the potential to share. Unfortunately, the situation where a unanimous decision as to which ethical food they would like is reached (with each sibling agreeing on the choice) is rare; rather what tends to happen is that two of the siblings co-operate to exert influence on the third child, to sway his decision and to ensure that they get what they want from their parents. Henry Greenway faces considerable resistance when he attempts to influence his two siblings. Henry inhabits an unsupported fraternal microenvironment, and thus his potential to exert intragenerational influence (in terms of his ability to garner support from his siblings in his influence strategies) is also equally low. Accordingly, Henry uses lone, unilateral, direct (Bonn, 1995; Yang et al., 2014) influence strategies such as direct asking and using threats to attempt to get his way (from both siblings and parents). Sarah Elphick would also have difficulty in recruiting her siblings to assist him in his influence strategies, as she too also inhabits an unsupportive fraternal microenvironment. However, as Sarah's sister Jane Elphick inhabits a very supportive

maternal microenvironment, she usually does not need to garner support from her siblings, because she usually gets this support from her parents. This makes the necessity of obtaining support from their siblings obsolete.

It appears that adolescent's microenvironment (both fraternal and maternal), has ramifications for the types of influence strategy that he or she can deploy. Having high intragenerational influence and a supportive fraternal microenvironment creates opportunities for collaborative, bilateral, influence strategies to be deployed by siblings; low intragenerational influence, and an unfavourable, unsupported, fraternal microenvironment, necessitates unilateral strategies to be used. Similarly, inhabiting a supportive maternal microenvironment may make the necessity of garnering the support of fellow siblings obsolete.

However, intragenerational influence does not solely relate to the ability to win collaborative support from siblings. Intragenerational influence also emerged as a way through which an individual sibling shapes the consumption choices and behaviour of another sibling, regardless of explicit influence strategies. Relatively little is known about intragenerational influence. However, research has suggested that siblings can act as an important reference group for one another (Cotte Wood, 2004; Šramová, 2017). The stories from these families offer supporting evidence for intragenerational influence, with siblings altering the behaviours, consumption choices and beliefs of their sibling counterparts. Such influence is especially obvious in the choice of ethical foods but also clothes and adoption of technology, with a child's choice of MP3 player and

mobile phone frequently being influenced by a brother(s) or sister(s), as evident in the stories of all the families.

However, such intragenerational influence is not always received favourably. For instance, in the Alcock family, Luke attempted to emulate Archie's leisure activities. Luke asked his parents if he too could attend the local farmers market and boycott demonstrations like his older brother, Archie. Such 'emulating' was not received favourably by Archie who attempted to block Luke's plans. Archie was keen to establish with his parents the exclusivity in this area of his activities (i.e. ring-fenced from Luke). However, in contrast, Oliver Alcock was thrilled that his younger brother, Luke, imitate his activities and preferences including ethical foods. Luke had even gone out with Oliver for food shopping, so Oliver could help Luke choose groceries. In this instance the intragenerational influence is retaliated and fulfilled; in Archie's example, it is one-sided and remains unfulfilled. Archie feels that he must strive to maintain his identity largely through his leisure activities and feels very territorial about allowing his siblings into his domain.

7.5.5 Conclusions: Influence Collaboration and Intragenerational Influence

The adolescents in the families deploy a range of influence strategies in attempts to get their way. Frequently this involves using influence strategies which can be utilised by an individual/lone adolescent, unilaterally, directly or indirectly. The adolescents also use influence strategies which necessitate some level of co-operation with others; either co-

operation with the target of influence (as in the case of deal-making with parents, for example) or co-operation with multiple agents who assist in the influence strategy (i.e. other family members). In such instances, a two-step influence strategy is used. The first child must successfully recruit other family members (and therefore influence their behaviour) to, as a collective, influence others: their parents (intergenerational influence) or other siblings (intragenerational influence).

For a sibling to be able to recruit others and garner their support, the sibling must have favourable and supportive microenvironments; an adolescent can easily recruit other siblings to assist in his or her influence strategy deployment if he or she inhabits a supportive fraternal microenvironment, and an adolescent can also recruit a parent as an intermediary of their collaborative influence strategies providing they inhabit a supportive maternal microenvironment. If the adolescent does not possess either attribute then it is likely that lone, unilateral and direct or indirect strategies will need to be deployed, which do not rely on gaining the co-operation of others. Collaboration with other siblings can be one way in which an un-favoured sibling, who inhabits an unsupported maternal microenvironment, can bolster his or her power base (however, such support is suggested to be reliant on the characteristics of their fraternal microenvironment). Siblings who inhabit a supportive fraternal microenvironment are likely to easily recruit other siblings, whereas those who inhabit an unsupported fraternal microenvironment are not.

Not only does intragenerational influence facilitate the ability of an adolescent to recruit other siblings in the deployment of influence strategies, in the goal of collaborative influence attempts, but intragenerational influence can work alongside collaborative strategies. Siblings can be influenced by another sibling in aspects such as ethical food choice, clothes choices, fashion sense and product adoption, but this influence is not exclusively deemed collaborative. This is especially so for the sibling who does not appreciate their style or products being 'copied' by another and unrequited intragenerational influence emerges. However, there are occasions on which siblings are flattered by the imitation, termed requited intragenerational influence. The various strategies, once chosen by the adolescents, are ultimately deployed on their parents or siblings. It is largely their parents, who have the most influence strategies directed towards them (particularly their mothers) and who determine whether the strategies have been successful and whether the adolescent can be granted what they want. Ultimately the parents act as gatekeepers to the consumer world for the adolescents. Gatekeeping emerged as another global theme, although gatekeeping manifested itself in another way with the mothers of the families restricting the participation of other family members in undertaking family tasks and chores.

Gatekeeping will, therefore, be introduced next (section 7.6 below) because it highlights the controlling nature of this type of behaviour (section 7.6.1). Such behaviour on the part of the mothers in the families, it is suggested, stems from their belief that undertaking such family chores and tasks are central to their identity as a woman and mother (as section 7.6.2). Control in family decision making is then

introduced (section 7.6.3) with gatekeeping tendencies dictating the level of involvement family members have, particularly children, in shaping family consumption and decisions.

7.6 Gatekeeping

Within the process of family decision-making it has been proposed that individual family members will perform and undertake a variety of roles; Blood and Wolfe (1960), for instance, reported that husbands fulfil the instrumental role whilst wives fulfil the expressive role within families. Engel, Blackwell and Miniard (1990) also presented a variety of roles family members could assume in decision-making; these include the role of gatekeeper, influencer, decision-maker, buyer and consumer. Further studies have suggested that these roles are far from static (Lackman & Lanasa, 1993; Puhlman & Pasley, 2013) which further supports the notion that family decision making is a dynamic process (Wilk, 1987).

The gatekeeper role has been further defined by Lackman and Lanasa (1993, p. 82) to be an individual who initiates the family decision-making process, who *'recognises the possible need for purchasing activity and is the primary gatherer of information to aid the decision. The gatekeeper is typically the most influential'*. Within the families involved in this research gatekeeping behaviour was evident from each mother in the families, and maternal gatekeeping emerged as a common theme across the families. Allen and Hawkins (1999, p. 200) define maternal gatekeeping as *'a collection of beliefs*

and behaviours that ultimately inhibit a collaborative effort between men and women in family work by limiting men's opportunities for learning and growing through caring for home and children' (Allen & Hawkins, 1999, p. 200). Such a restrictive effort on the part of women in families have, it has been proposed, resulting in the under involvement of men in family matters (Allen & Hawkins, 1999) with fathers, even in two-parent households, considered to be on the periphery of family life (Hobart, 1988; White, 1999).

Within consumer research, however, attention has focussed on addressing the 'double shift' (Hochschild, 1989) or 'triple shift' (Duncombe and Marsden, 1995) of women in families which necessitates their involvement in both paid employment and unpaid family work, often referred to as the 'invisible work' of women (Daniels, 1987). Men are often compared to women, with mothers thought to be the benchmark for norms for fathering (e.g. Doherty, Kouneski & Erickson, 1998); *'it is against mothers that fathers come up short in their participation and contribution'* (Dienhart, 2001, p. 974). Doherty (1991) suggests that a deficit model of fatherhood emerges through which the contributions of men in family life are marginalised. This view confirms the feminist view which calls for a greater appreciation of the work that women do, with all its complexities, within family life; Doherty (1991) calls for the equal appreciation of 'fatherwork' within families. However, such 'fatherwork', it is proposed by Allen and Hawkins (1999), is sometimes difficult for men to undertake due to maternal gatekeeping.

Stories of maternal gatekeeping emerge from the families in which the mothers restricted the involvement of fathers in family life. Traditionally fathers were thought to dominate families, particularly within nuclear family forms, in which women were believed to be passive victims of a patriarchal system (Kohen, 1981; Lee & Beatty, 2002). Whilst maternal gatekeeping removes an element of family control away from fathers, with fathers in turn believed to control the financial aspects of family life through their domination of the employment market (Davis, 1976; Pahl, 1995), mothers are proposed to gain a sense of control over their family life through their significant contribution to family work and through both 'caring about' and 'caring for' family members. Two very distinct worlds emerged; the external world of the workplace occupied predominantly by the fathers, and an internal 'homeworld' occupied by mothers who largely undertook exclusive care of household and childcare tasks. It should be recognised, as Carrigan and Szmigin (2006) highlight, that women are perceived as the primary caregivers of children whether they are 'stay at home' or working mothers alike.

By restricting the involvement of men (maternal gatekeeping) the mothers gained, and retained, a sense of empowerment and control over what is thought to be their domain (Gentry & McGinnis, 2003; Hart & Kelley, 2006). Maternal gatekeeping can, therefore, be viewed as a strategy by which the mothers in the families work to maintain their prime position in family life by excluding all others, husbands and children alike, who attempt to make advances into their territory.

What emerges from these family stories are the two central characteristics of gatekeeping tendencies. The first characteristic focuses on the sense of control women gain by restricting the access of men to their domain (discussed in section 6.4.1), and the second characteristic concerns how central family life is to a woman's sense of identity as a mother (as discussed in section 6.4.2). The two characteristics will be discussed in turn.

7.6.1 Gatekeeping as a form of control

The mothers in the family actively restricted the involvement of others in their family as they wanted to have ultimate control over family issues. The mothers felt a need to perform many tasks themselves, for instance, cooking, cleaning, and duties associated with childcare, rather than allowing others to contribute towards family life. This statement raises two important issues surrounding gatekeeping tendencies; the first relates to a women's ability to allow others to help which assumes a woman's sovereignty over family life, and the second concerns the family members who are excluded from family tasks. Whereas Allan and Hawkins (1999) defined gatekeeping merely in terms of women and mothers limiting the involvement of men and fathers in caring for the home and children, the mothers in this research also restricted such involvement from their children, too.

Mrs Brown and Mrs Jannetta offered an insightful account of their gatekeeping tendencies when they discussed their experiences of becoming a mother. Mrs Brown

admits that she was very possessive and protective of her children, resisting the help that her Husband offered. Like many mothers, Mrs Brown considers women and mothers to be the sole providers of childcare (Douchet, 2001; Hicks, 2006) and as a result refused the husband's help. She said;

I would rather he [Mr Brown] stayed away ... then I wouldn't have to spend an hour in the kitchen cleaning up after him ... when it comes to the kitchen and what goes on there, I'm the queen, I call the shots, I'm very much in charge..... so, I suppose foods are my domain too. Although we sometimes discuss what foodstuff to buy, I need to agree with what we buy in this house [Mrs Brown]

This refusal to accept help, which was apparent amongst the mothers in this research, acted as a vicious circle; although the mothers were not happy with their heavy family workload (particularly those mothers who were engaged in some form of paid employment) they would not accept the help on offer. On the rare occasion where help was offered and taken up, the mothers often felt obliged to re-do the tasks which their husbands or children had undertaken because they felt their standards had not been met, which again added to the already heavy workload of the mothers. It was clear that the mothers did not enjoy undertaking many of the tasks they performed. They aired their displeasure at the constant need of cooking and cleaning and at performing other family maintenance tasks. However, their reluctance to either stop performing such chores, or allow others to assist in their undertaking, raises an important distinction between, on the one hand, a desire to exclusively individually perform such tasks and, on the other, their unhappiness and dislike of physically undertaking such chores. The

mothers did not enjoy the tasks but recognised that in performing them they achieved control over the family and family space; performing the tasks, however predictable, contributed to their power and control over the family and home territory. It is the power that emerges from undertaking the tasks which the women were so protective of, and not the mundane tasks themselves.

Performing such mundane tasks contributed to the mother's sense of 'caring for' their children. It is through performing such tasks that the mothers gained a sense of satisfaction (DeVault, 1999); this connects the tasks associated with 'caring for' their children with their sense of 'caring about' them. Undertaking many of the household chores not only resulted in a clean environment for the children but also developed a supportive environment in which their children could be nurtured.

Mrs Powell, for instance, is all too aware of Charlene Powell's unhappiness at living away from her school friends after the family had moved to a new house. Accordingly, she frequently drives Charlene to see her friends and invites them over to their house for sleepovers where she cooks food for them and lets them stay up late watching films. The tasks of chauffeuring and cooking, although existing as standalone aspects of family work, also provide Charlene with immense comfort and support, with Mrs Powell frequently having to juggle her work and family commitments to meet the needs of her daughter.

... my [mum] is the best in the world. She makes me feel safe and loved and I'm so grateful and appreciative. But on the other hand, it makes me feel

cocooned like a child even though I'm a big girl now. At times I realise it's all too much for her though [Charlene Powell]

Ultimately though the mothers perform the mundane tasks ('caring for'), they also contribute towards 'caring about' their children, which is why they resist the advances of husbands into the domain of their mothering tasks. The mothers are keen to monopolise the 'caring for' tasks due to the interconnectedness with 'caring about' their children, and the mothers' own personal satisfaction which emerges from undertaking family chores.

The gatekeeping behaviour manifested itself in two main ways, either as overt or covert behaviours. On the rare occasions when the mothers did allow either their children or their husbands to help with family chores, the mothers frequently reported secretly having to complete their tasks again. Mrs Dodson, who had recently decided that her youngest son should help around the house, waited until he was at school before she performed his tasks again for fear of upsetting him. Many of the mothers felt that secretly performing chores again was their only option as they realised the potential aggravation that could be caused by publicly showing their disappointment with the standards achieved by other family members. Repeating such chores was also a way in which the mothers could regain a sense of control and satisfaction in their family life; allowing others to perform tasks did not provide the same level of satisfaction as personally fulfilling such chores did (with the resulting feelings of supporting and nurturing the family minimised). Secrecy was mainly directed towards the efforts of their children rather than their husbands.

Other mothers were willing to air their disappointment about the low standards achieved by family members, particularly when their husbands had attempted to help with childcare and family tasks. Such public views served to fuel derision amongst other family members towards their mother's requests for help and these family members subsequently often chose not to offer any further help at all.

7.6.2 Gatekeeping as identity construction

Baruch and Barnett (1986) and Cowan and Cowan (1987) have suggested that many mothers are ambivalent about fathers taking an active role and being involved with their children. Dienhart (2001), in her study of shared parenting, noted that men were aware that their partners would not always relinquish control and allow them to take centre stage as an equal co-parent (see also Douchet, 2001). Whilst Pleck and Pleck (1997) propose that the ideal of fatherhood is to be an equal co-parent, fathers still face considerable barriers imposed by women for them to maintain their superiority in family life (Allen & Hawkins, 1999).

However, such barriers, it has been suggested, are utilised to protect and conserve a woman's sense of identity as a mother and woman (Haas, 1992). Haas (1992) continues to suggest that many mothers are reluctant to allow fathers to take centre stage with them as equal co-parents, as in Douchet's study (2001), as the mothers feared a loss of self-identity and self-respect that being a mother and performing 'motherly' tasks brings them.

Mothers are similarly reported to believe that they have the primary responsibility for the home and childcare (Baber & Monaghan, 1988) and as a result define themselves by their ability to perform the associated tasks and influence this domain. The protective nature of mothers concerning the role of their partner in their family life works to maintain many women's identity and sense of control over this central domain of their lives (Doherty, Kouneski & Erickson, 1998). Rutter and Schartz (2000) continue to suggest that because women have not been able to exert comparable influence on their male counterparts in other social structures (such as the external world of work, discussed earlier) they continue to fight to hold on to their domination within the family structure. Such strong opinions are reinforced by society's views as to who should mother.

Coltrane (1989, p. 473), for instance, states that the traditional tasks of fatherhood are limited to protecting and providing for children and that *'whilst fathers typically derive a gendered sense of self from these activities, their masculinity is even more dependent on not doing the things that mothers do'*. Such a view implies, as Harrison and Gentry (2007b, p. 2) comment, *'that not only are fathers ill-equipped to play the roles that mothers do but also that they actively desist from it'*. Contributing to this view, Risman (1986) proposes that women psychologically desire to mother, men do not. This idea of how household labour should be divided between mothers and fathers (Berk, 1985) reinforces a woman's obligation to enact mothering (Douchet, 2001). The public discourse as to what motherhood and fatherhood involve, and therefore what the

appropriate tasks are for mothers and fathers to perform in families, itself patrols the behaviours within families.

The mothers in this thesis, like those in Mauthner's (1998) study, felt highly observed as mothers. They felt as if their ability to mother was always visible; they discussed their desire to ensure their children were sent to school in clean uniforms, that their houses were clean should uninvited guests arrive, and that they had enough food in the house for any eventuality. Mrs Stuleblak, for example, also made sure that she always had food for Aleksandra's best friend, who has a peanut allergy, could have should she ever need to eat at her house. Mrs Stuleblak prides herself at being a good mother, often referring to her 'role' as a mother requiring the undertaking of many household and family chores. Mrs Onjejeli discussed the time when her children first went to school. In their absence from the family home, she found herself having to fill her time with other tasks which would once have been occupied by childcare. Although Mrs Onjejeli now has a part-time job she still recognises that during the week she is a mother first and foremost. Consequently, she spends much of her time cleaning the house, often top to bottom daily, even vacuuming and steam cleaning beds weekly. She often feels that her standards are visible to her mother and mother-in-law and works hard to be the best mother she can be.

Ultimately women's ideology about their role as a mother, and more importantly their perceptions as to the appropriate role of their partner within family life, dictates the level of involvement the father has in tasks traditionally associated with women and

mothers (Fagan & Barnett, 2003). Through tradition, gender ideology and the desire for the women to be viewed by others as efficient and competent mothers (via the perception that their mothering skills were frequently on display and visible to others) they restricted the involvement of their husbands. Such a monopoly on motherly tasks was, however, at times overwhelming. Exclusively performing, or re-performing, tasks was exhausting and the mothers each reported time when they felt the need to "blow up". Such behaviour could be described as 'gate-opening'. Although such blow-ups were temporary cries for help, the mothers soon returned to be the ultimate caregivers for the family.

7.6.3 Gatekeeping and Family Decision-Making

As in other studies (e.g. Cowan, Drinkard & MacGavin, 1984), the children directed a great deal more influence strategies towards their mothers than fathers (where present). Mrs Selwyn often felt like a punching bag for her children's influence strategies, even at the weekend when she was not the main provider of childcare. As her husband works long hours and is often away from home she is left to deal with the children and their demands. Similarly, Mrs Jones, a stay at home mother, is also exposed to most of her children's influence strategies. Due to the children's level of exposure to their mother they consider her to be the prime target of their influence strategies, even when their father is present. The mothers, in turn, act as the key gatekeepers of their children's influence strategies and consumption choices.

The success of the influence strategies the children deploy is therefore largely determined by their mother; For instance, Mrs Moreau agreed that Thierry should get his ethical PC for Christmas, Mrs Arshad decided that Mo and Osman should get their Alara Organic & Gluten-Free Scottish Oats Muesli, Mrs Brown decided that Sue and Alfie should have their organic Manuka honey, and Mrs Thakkar decided not to assist Amandeep with her financial obligations to continue buying an expensive version of Vegetarian foodstuff and Mrs Evan prevented Ike from attending boycott demonstrations. The reactions of the mothers to the influence strategies often served to protect the wellbeing of their children and to teach lessons as to how to be responsible citizens in the future. For instance, Mrs Thakkar did not help fund Amandeep's expensive demands as she wanted her to learn to manage her finances effectively and to be financially independent, and Mrs Evans did not want Ike to attend boycott demonstration as it often depicted violent scenes that she felt could potentially upset him or affect his behaviour growing up. Such negative reactions to child influence strategies, Berey and Pollay (1968) propose, relates to the mother being highly child-centred. Although the children would not see it this way the mothers refused their strategies and demands as the mothers placed their children's wellbeing first, despite the possible consequences this brought the mothers.

The mothers were also the key negotiators with the children, either in terms of their children's consumption choices or in settling disputes between siblings. Where the influence strategies of the children and adolescents were rejected, the mothers attempted to renegotiate with the children where possible. Amandeep Thakkar, for

instance, was bought expensive vegetarian food by her mother sometimes, and when her Mum could not continue due to the price, Amandeep began to ask for more all the time. Mrs Thakkar refused, and they negotiated and made a deal between them; Amandeep could have those vegetarian foods, but only if she contributed financially to the cost. They decided how often and on a repayment scheme in which Amandeep got the food she wanted, and she contributed towards the cost of the purchase. Amandeep could not afford her contribution initially, so, with the agreement of her Mum, Amandeep paid her back for her share of the cost later.

The children, therefore, faced resistance at times from their mothers to their influence strategies (Palan & Wilkes, 1997), where the level of resistance depended on what it was they asked for, and the characteristics of their maternal microenvironment. Along with acting as negotiators and resisters to the adolescents' influence strategies, the mothers also acted as mediators of the child's influence strategies and product requests between them and their father. If on the rare occasion, the mother could not decide on her own what the response to the influence strategy should be she would consult the father, where available, to gain his opinions; often the mothers would tell the children to "go and ask your father". These situations usually concerned larger, more expensive items that the children asked for.

At times the mothers also acted as moderators or intermediaries of the adolescent's influence strategies, as figure 7.3 suggests. Mrs Jones, for example, acted as the go-between for Kim and Tim Jones and their father. Kim and Tim on several occasions

wanted an expensive Vegan food which their mother was not sure about and consulted their father. Mr Jones refused, claiming that it was too expensive, but Mrs Jones then wanted to ensure that the children got what they asked for (which again highlights the highly supportive nature of the children's maternal microenvironment, strongly influenced and developed by their mother). By Mrs Jones claiming that she could contribute some of her family allowances to the cost, and by stating that she could cut down on other areas of the family's consumption (most notably purchasing cheaper groceries) she managed to persuade Mr Jones on the children's behalf. Acting as a mediator for an adolescent was highly dependent on the adolescent, and his or her maternal microenvironment. Although mothers were more likely to mediate, fathers also serve as mediator or intermediaries sometimes.

7.6.4 Conclusion; Gatekeeping behaviour and Decision-Making in Families

It appears that the mothers were the key targets, and ultimately gatekeepers, of the influence strategies the children deployed. The mothers often decided alone whether to deem the strategies successful or unsuccessful. The mothers also attempted to negotiate with the adolescents and exerted resistance to their influence attempt(s). Where the mothers could not decide, or the item in question was expensive, the mothers would get the child to consult their father or ask the father directly on their behalf. The mothers sometimes acted as boundary spanners between the child and parental world, highly dependent on the child and his or her microenvironment, with the mothers sometimes working for both parties to ensure a successful outcome could be achieved. The ability of a child to first influence his mother to act as an intermediary for

him or her (and thus act as another agent of influence) was highly dependent on the positive nature of the child's maternal microenvironment.

The stories from these participants highlight examples of maternal gatekeeping. Whilst gatekeeping behaviour has been defined by Allen and Hawkins (1999) to involve mothers' exclusion of fathers from childcare and family chores, some empirical evidence was found in these families to support a wider interpretation of gatekeeping. Children, too, were often excluded from undertaking family tasks. Such exclusion was based on the perception that others would not be able to meet the high standards expected by the mother, and because the mothers felt that they would only have to perform the tasks of others again if they allowed other family members to contribute towards family chores. The mothers equally felt it imperative to perform the tasks themselves, even if they had already been performed by others, as these tasks indirectly contributed to their sense of 'caring about' their children via performing the tasks associated with 'caring for' them.

The women also felt that performing childcare and family tasks were central to their identity as mothers and women. They felt that their mothering skills were highly visible and on display to others, and as a result, worked hard to strive for perfection. At times this was very hard for the mothers to maintain and they would have "blow-ups" where they stressed their heavy workload and their indispensability to the running of family life. This acted as gate-opening behaviour in which the mothers would temporarily

allow others to assist them in performing chores, although ultimately the mothers would revert to undertaking chores alone.

7.6.5 Conclusion

The stories from the twenty families offer a rich picture of decision-making in families. The stories highlight the dynamism evident between family members which contribute to and shape their consumption patterns. In support of Wilk (1987) it is suggested that decision-making in families should no longer be viewed in terms of widely established stage models, but instead should be conceptualised as an interactive and dynamic process, with family consumption influenced by a variety of members and factors. Not only do families vary widely from family to family, which accordingly has implications for the application of neat stage models (i.e. what impact do non-resident family members, fictive kin (Cohen & Kaufman, 1992; Stacey, 1990) and cultural variations, for example, have in decision-making and consumption, and on the pre-established stage models which rest on nuclear tendencies), but families also vary a great deal within themselves. Individuals within the same family will experience family life in very different ways, and the notion of a homogenous family life experienced by all, especially children, is in question.

The global themes which emerge from the family stories, microenvironments, influence strategies and gatekeeping, shed further light on the dynamics at play which affects decision-making in families. What emerges are complex and messy accounts of how decisions are influenced, primarily by adolescents and parents, within family life. The

global themes offer an insight into the decision-making processes of the families, with each theme also having a relationship with another. A conceptual model is therefore presented (figure 7.6) which highlights the dynamism evident amongst the global themes, and how this set of dynamic interactions relate to the family decision-making process and family consumption choices.

The global theme of the family microenvironment facilitates and directs all the other elements of the conceptualisation diagram, and its influence upon family ethical food decision-making was firmly located at the centre stage of the family stories. Family microenvironments recognise that each child within a family inhabits a unique niche within that family (Harris, 1995) and that their experiences of family life will differ from those of their sibling(s). Although consumer research has suggested that families have a universal communication style (Moschis, 1985), with children also suggested to receive a common parenting style (Carlson & Grossbart, 1988), the stories from the families suggest that children of the same family do not experience family life in a homogenous way. Moreover, the different experiences and treatment of the children and adolescents (which are fostered by parents and siblings alike) shape how they deploy their influence strategies and, more importantly, impacts upon their influence success, shedding greater light on the process of influence itself, and points to the heterogeneity of intra and inter-family environments.

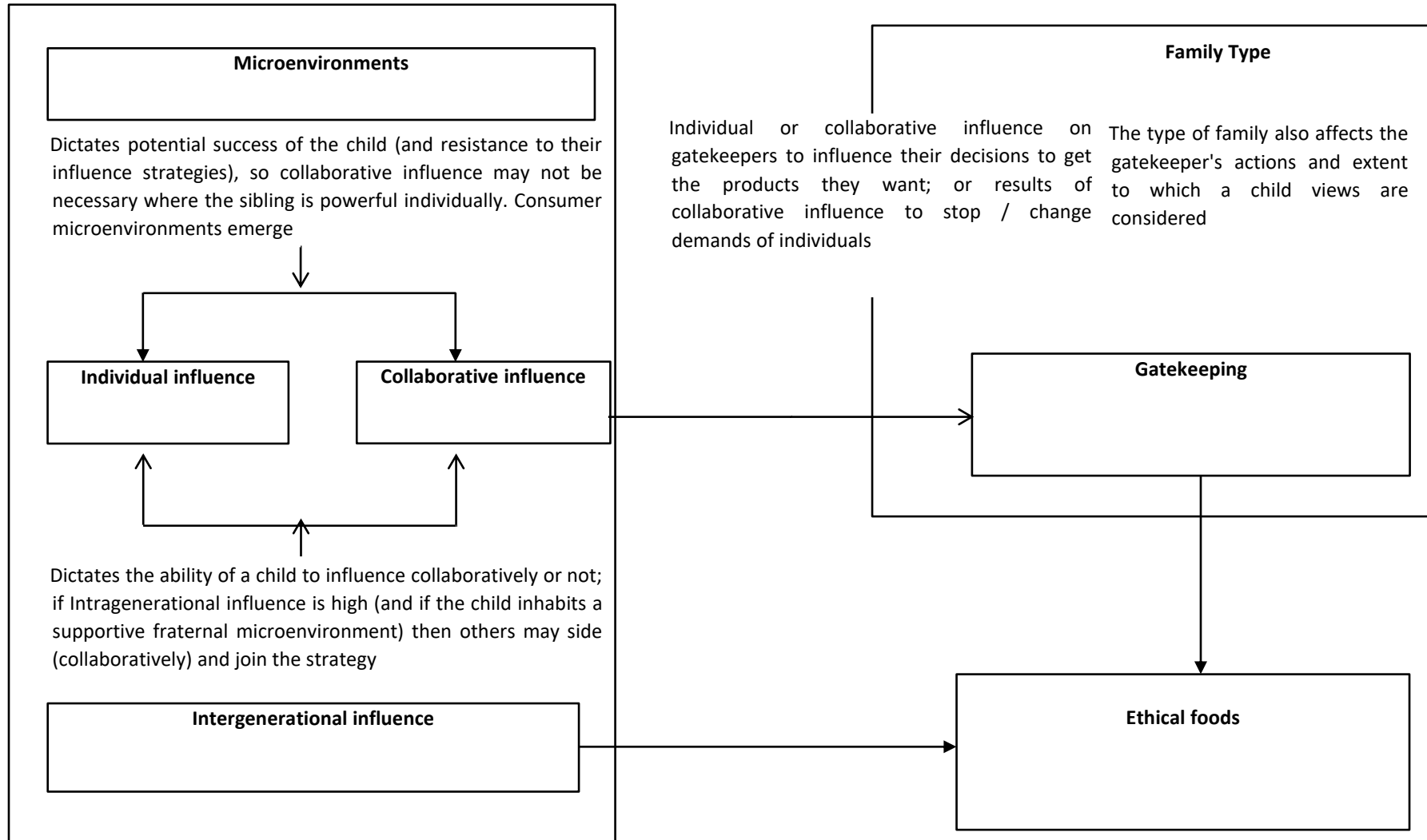
7.7 Microenvironments - Gatekeeping and Resistance

Olu Onyejeli is another obvious example to illustrate the family microenvironment and therefore the heterogeneity of family environments. As has been discussed, microenvironments can be both maternally and sibling (fraternally) maintained and be either supportive or unsupported of the adolescent. Olu inhabits a very supportive maternal microenvironment, and because of this, he does not have to try very hard to influence the decisions reached by his parents, as largely they (particularly his mother) are more willing to give him what he wants than his elder brother, Ade. Where Olu does experience resistance to his influence strategies, this is largely on the part of his father, and his mother often works as an intermediary between the pair to ensure that Olu gets what he wants. The same situation exists in the Alcock family.

The resistance of the gatekeepers to Olu's demands is usually, therefore, very low, with the primary gatekeeper of family consumption largely the mother in the family. Accordingly, where Olu does deploy an influence strategy he uses lone, unilateral strategies which are highly successful. In contrast, Illana Cohen inhabits a microenvironment which is in stark contrast to Olu's. Illana's maternal microenvironment is characterised as being unsupported, fostered by her parent's actions. Consequently, Illana faces significant resistance to her influence strategies, and as a result, she recognises the need to bolster her power base and the futility of deploying lone, unilateral strategies. She does this by obtaining the support of her younger sister, Abbi, and exploiting Abbi's supportive maternal microenvironment.

Similar to Mrs Alcock who acts as an intermediary between Archie and his father in Archie's influence strategies, Thierry Moreau becomes an intermediary for Aurélie's influence strategies on their parents. Thierry has a very favourable microenvironment; he is the apple of her mother and father's eye, and they dote on him. Like Archie, Thierry simply asks (or does not have to ask) to get the things he wants. Aurélie recognises the power Thierry holds over their parents and attempts to recruit Thierry to gain his support in a collaborative initiative; alone Aurélie stands little chance of getting the things she wants due to her unsupported maternal microenvironment so Aurélie needs the help of an ally. Aurélie achieves this by forming 'alliance' with Thierry and gaining Thierry's support through a temporary coalition. Often, the help that is gathered from the ally is collected unwittingly, with Aurélie making deals with Thierry (a bilateral strategy) that largely do not materialise. However, fortunately for Aurélie, she can influence and direct the actions of her younger brother, adding support for intragenerational influence (Cotte & Wood, 2004). Once this support is achieved Aurélie stands a much better chance of obtaining what she wants through this coalition with her brother.

Figure 7.6: Family Conceptualisation



Source: By Author

7.7.1 Microenvironments – Collaborative interactions

A sibling's fraternal microenvironment, therefore, dictates the ability to recruit another or other siblings and dictates the corresponding ability to deploy bilateral strategies which require the co-operation of another influencing agent. If a sibling has a supportive fraternal microenvironment, the adolescent can usually easily recruit another sibling and deploy collaborative, bilateral strategies. However, if their fraternal microenvironment is unsupported then the adolescent is forced to utilise unilateral strategies, as support is unlikely to be gained.

Toni Selwyn, for example, attempts to recruit her twin siblings (especially Damien) in her influence strategies as she faces considerable resistance from her mother to her lone influence attempts; Mrs Selwyn feels that Toni is too demanding and constantly demand things from her. Unfortunately for Toni, her siblings tend to agree with their mother and often refuse to assist her. Toni, often wanting to be the centre of attention, also has volatile relations with her siblings, which frequently results in them ganging up against her. This is a problem for Toni who ultimately uses lone, unilateral strategies, many of which involve the use of negative affect such as the threat of violence. This supports Bonn's (1995) suggestion that rejected children often have no option but to use unilateral strategies which frequently involve aggression in their interactions; this aggression may be attributable to the expected resistance from the target of influence (Cowan & Avants, 1988).

However, although inhabiting an unsupported fraternal microenvironment may prove problematic for joint influence interaction between siblings, such a situation does not necessarily tarnish an adolescent's ability to get what they want. If they have a strong, supportive maternal microenvironment in which resistance to their requests from parents is low as with Gagan Thakkar, the need to recruit others to help in influence strategies is made obsolete. Gagan alone is very powerful and does not need the help of her siblings as her parents believe that Gagan is sensible, and as a result, she usually gets what she asks for - even if this means the self-sacrifice of her mother and (unknowingly) other members of her family. It, therefore, appears that microenvironments affect a child or adolescent's input in family decision-making in several ways; (1) a child or adolescent's microenvironment dictates the level of expected resistance achieved from the family gatekeepers (more often than not mothers in families); and thus (2), dictates the need to deploy bilateral strategies which gather the support of other influence agents in a collaborative initiative; and (3) an adolescent's fraternal microenvironment also dictates his or her ability to recruit other siblings in that collaborative initiative.

7.7.2 Microenvironments and Intragenerational Influence

The ability to recruit other siblings in a collaborative effort also rests on a sibling's intragenerational influence (Cotte & Wood, 2004) potential. As we have discussed intragenerational influence concerns a sibling's ability to influence the consumer behaviour of other siblings (Cotte & Wood, 2004). Regarding a collaborative sibling

influence strategy, this intragenerational influence facilitates the ability to recruit others to assist in the influence strategy. Although intragenerational influence does facilitate a sibling's ability to recruit fellow siblings (as does the positive nature of their fraternal microenvironment), the intragenerational influence was also apparent in which one sibling's consumer behaviour affected another (alongside assisting collaborative efforts). For example, Luke Alcock idolises Oliver. Luke considers Oliver to be "cool" and "trendy" and wants to emulate many of the products he buys and, to a large extent, wants to be like him. Such is Luke's desire to be like his older, trendy, brother that Oliver considers Luke to be a "mini Oliver, a mini-me". Luke's wish to emulate Oliver's preferences to feel closer to him or be like him is referred to as referent power (Flurry & Burns, 2005). It seems Oliver has referent power over Luke.

Although Luke will take Oliver's side in many collaborative strategies, Luke will also be influenced by Oliver's Ethical lifestyle and fashion style. Oliver not only influences Luke but also the consumption of Archie. When Oliver won a box of Hilltop Honey Cut Comb Acacia through a promotional campaign, both Archie and Luke instantly wanted one because Oliver had one; the characteristics of Oliver (as being "cool" and "trendy") were transferred to the ethical food.

However, Archie has limited intragenerational influence; his supportive maternal microenvironment has tarnished and undermined his image with his siblings. As a result, they were not interested in his Hippeas Organic Sweet & Smokin Chickpea Puffs even though he had one before Oliver. Whereas Archie was the innovator of the product

in the family, his siblings ignored this, confirming research that although innovators are the earliest buyers of a product they are not particularly well tied into social networks in contrast to early adopters (such as Oliver), who often operate as an important opinion leader. Therefore, the microenvironment which the siblings foster for Oliver (the fraternal microenvironment) is in reaction to the favourable maternal microenvironment Oliver enjoys with parents.

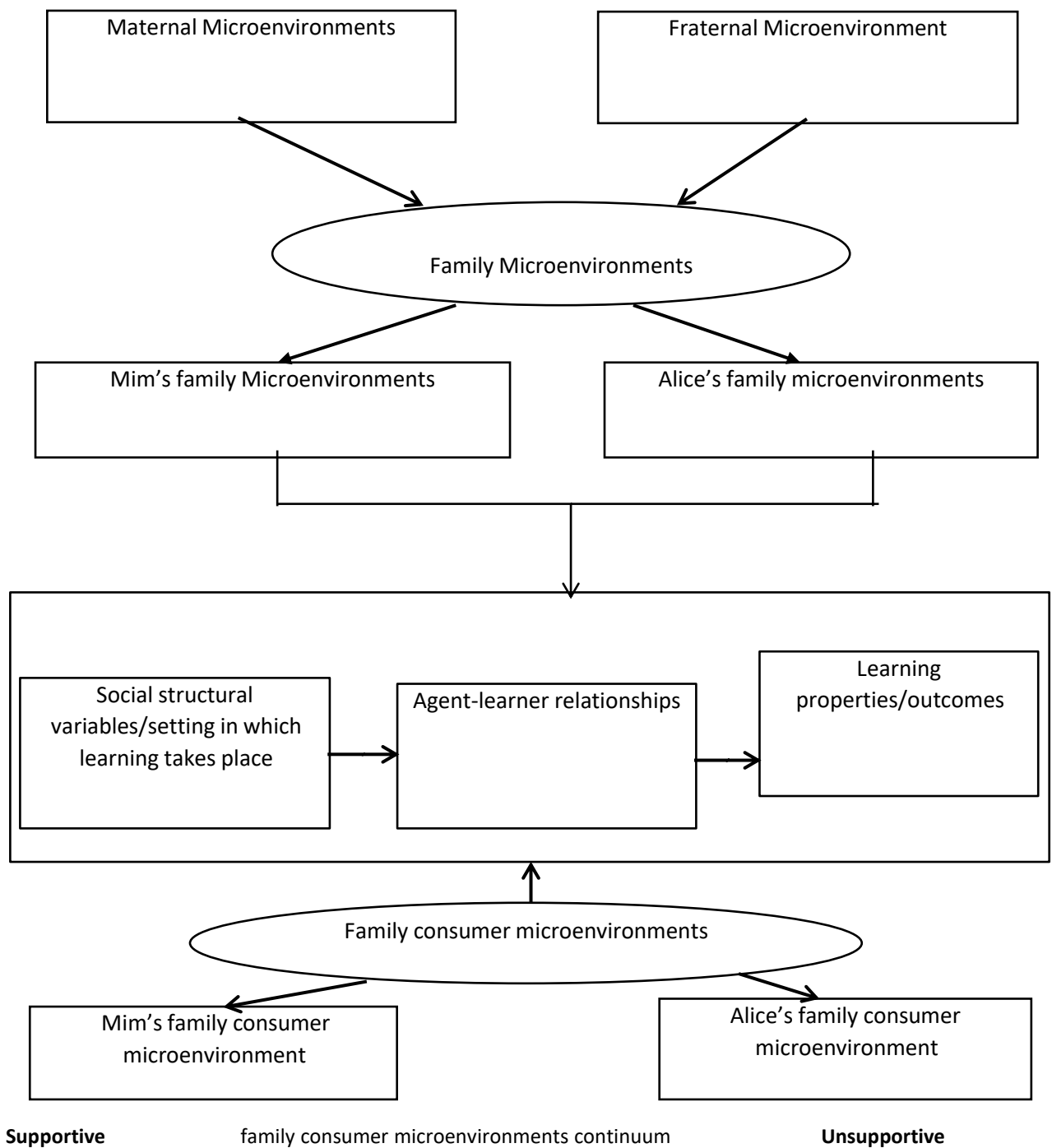
The type of family an adolescent lived in also influenced their influence strategy success, and on the extent to which they were allowed, by the family gatekeepers (i.e. their parents, usually the mother of the family), to have an input in family decision-making. Within the Jannetta family, the children were highly involved in family decision-making and consumption choices and experienced limited resistance from their mother; the only resistance they faced was the family's lack of funds to purchase the items and not the gatekeeper's straight refusal of their requests. Such greater involvement in decision-making and family life blurs the boundaries between parent and child (Flurry, 2007). This was the case within the Jannetta family with Alice, in her mother's role, acting in stark comparison to accepted notions of a 'traditional' parent, choosing instead to delegate a lot of the traditional parent responsibilities (such as cooking and cleaning) and as a result, the siblings faced little or no resistance to their requests from their mother. However, while the children in the Alcock family are highly involved in their family chores and decision-making, Oliver faced a lot of resistance.

7.8 Family microenvironments and consumer socialisation

Family microenvironments shed greater light on the heterogeneous nature of family life, replacing the widely held assumption in the current consumer behaviour literature which views family life as a homogenous experience for all family members. However, in addition to this, microenvironments also contribute towards a more nuanced understanding of the process of consumer socialisation. Family microenvironments lead to consumer microenvironments as illustrated by figure 7.7. Consumer microenvironments have potentially important implications in any re-evaluation of the literature on consumer socialisation.

Consumer microenvironments impact the processes of consumer socialisation within families. Consumer microenvironments emerge within families with the extent of a family member's involvement (particularly children) in the consumption process; the strength of their relationships with other family members; the extent to which a dialogue exists between family members to discuss consumption matters and decisions and accordingly, the ability of family members to attain a higher level of consumer skill just as empirical support is offered in this thesis to support the concept of family microenvironments, different consumer microenvironments also exist in the

Figure 7.7: Family microenvironments, socialisation process, and development of consumer microenvironments



Source: Adapted from Moschis and Churchill (1978, p. 600)

families studied in which individuals (most notably adolescents) have varying involvement in consumption issues; have varying abilities to discuss consumption matters with other family members; and have varying opportunities to seek the advice and support from other family members to learn about consumption, and acquire the skills, knowledge, and attitudes relevant for consumer socialisation.

Mim Jannetta, for example, inhabits a very supportive maternal microenvironment which has implications for Mim's consumption and socialisation process. Mim is encouraged to save and evaluate her consumption options by her parents; Mim is frequently taken shopping by her parents and Mim's parents discuss her consumption options and choices with her. Such actions develop a strong and supportive consumer microenvironment for Mim within her family, in which her consumption voice is heard and listened to. Alice Jannetta, on the other hand, does not inhabit such a supportive maternal microenvironment. The extent of Alice's involvement in her family's consumption decisions is much lower than Mim's involvement, with Alice choosing instead to discuss matters which relate to her consumption with her friends (who ultimately will listen to issues which relate to Alice's consumption, unlike her parents). Whereas Mim is encouraged to discuss her consumption choices within her family and is provided with the opportunities to acquire consumption competency (through accompanied shopping trips with her parents, for example, and through Mim's participation with Alice's influence strategies), Alice does not experience a similar range of supportive actions with her consumption choices.

Figure 7.7. is a revised and updated model of the classic consumer socialisation diagram offered by Moschis and Churchill (1978). Moschis and Churchill (1978) offered their conceptual model of consumer socialisation which highlights several factors which affect the consumer socialisation process of children and adolescents: *antecedent variables* (i.e. social structural variables, which includes the social setting in which the learning takes place); *socialisation processes* (the agent-learner relationship); and *learning outcomes*. The categories identified by Moschis and Churchill (1978) (antecedent variables, socialisation processes, and learning outcomes) are all affected by the characteristics of a family member's unique family microenvironment which they alone inhabit. With Mim Jannetta, she inhabits a very supportive family microenvironment, and the relationship that she has with her parents is strong and conducive to the acquisition of a range of consumption skills (e.g. searching for and finding information on ethical foods, evaluating products, making choices).

The characteristics of Mim's maternal and family microenvironments thus affect her family consumer microenvironment, as figure 7.7 highlights, and ultimately the setting in which the agent-child learning occurs; the quality of the relationship between the socialisation agent(s) and learner; and the learning outcomes (the transfer of consumption skills from the socialisation agents) - factors which Moschis and Churchill (1978) suggest contribute to the quality of the socialisation process, and ultimately to the outcomes of consumer socialisation (i.e. the attainment of consumer skill sets). Alice Jannetta, in contrast, does not inhabit a very supportive family microenvironment and does not receive the same level of support and guidance from her parents as Mim

receives. Alice must look elsewhere, most noticeably outside her family, to her peers and friends, for help in learning and acquiring a consumer skill set (e.g. ability to evaluate alternatives).

Accordingly, the positive or negative nature of Mim's and Alice's family microenvironment guides their socialisation process, and ultimately two very distinct family consumer microenvironments emerge for Mim and Alice in the Jannetta family. Consequently, whereas the family plays a dominant role in Mim's consumer socialisation, it plays a much less dominant role in Alice's consumer socialisation. This partly reflects the difference in ages as Mim would always be more in her parents' sphere of influence because she is still relatively young; whereas Alice being the eldest would expect to be more independent and/or drawn more into the sphere of influence of her friends. That said, however, it is not just age alone, but also experiences of family life and interactions, which affect both Alice's and Mim's consumer socialisation.

What the illustrations in figures 7.7 and 7.8 suggest is that the multiple microenvironments within families, constructed by both parents and siblings, affect the variables identified by Moschis and Churchill (1978) as facilitating the outcomes of the socialisation process i.e. the setting in which the learning takes place (and ultimately how supportive or unsupportive this unique environment is that the developing child experiences); the agent-learner relationship (with microenvironments having implications for the quality of the relationships that exist between socialisation agents (either parents, siblings, peers or friends) and the learner); and the outcomes of the

learning which takes place (which contribute to the development of a unique family consumer microenvironment for a child within his or her family).

The findings highlight that a child's fraternal microenvironment can also affect his or her consumer microenvironment. The quality of an adolescent's fraternal microenvironment can also contribute towards the defining characteristics of his or her consumer microenvironment as well, and the family members who act as important socialisation agents for the adolescent. For instance, Jens Lehman acts as an important socialisation agent for his siblings. Jens discusses consumption issues together with his brothers, whereas Claudia Lehman (who inhabits an unsupported fraternal microenvironment) is rarely invited to participate in such discussions, and consequently does not have a strong relationship with her siblings in terms of her ability to discuss consumption issues with them. Furthermore, Jens and his brothers also have a special, consumer-related bond; Jens is an important opinion leader for his brothers' consumption, and Mark (17 yo) often wants Oliver to join him for shopping (seeking his advice about the appropriate shops to buy Vegan and organic foods or the latest fashions he must wear). As a result, Jens acts as an important socialisation agent within the family for his brothers (alongside his parents), a relationship which Claudia does not have. Claudia does not have access to Jen's consumer advice or opinions, missing out on the input Jens could provide. Accordingly, Claudia seeks such support and guidance from other socialisation agents (parents and friends), in a similar way to Alice Jannetta who turns to her friends, and the internet, for such information, in the light of her unsupportive family consumer microenvironment.

The family consumer microenvironments provide different opportunities for children to learn about consumption in the same family. Ultimately a continuum of the consumer microenvironments which are maintained by families can be offered. The conceptualization, an illustration of the impact of family microenvironments on the socialisation process and in the development of consumer microenvironments (figure 7.7) also illustrates and provides an example of, the family consumer microenvironments continuum. This framework (figure 7.7) suggests that whilst, for example, Mim Jannetta inhabits a supportive family consumer microenvironment, which is guided by the supportive nature of her family microenvironment and the effects this has on her socialisation process, Alice Jannetta does not (with Alice, in turn, inhabiting an unsupportive family consumer microenvironment which impedes the acquisition of consumption skill). The conceptualization in figure 7.8, presents the family consumer microenvironments continuum and suggests how the different adolescents included in this study might be located.

In figure 7.8, there are only three levels but with two extremes of the consumer microenvironments continuum: one in which supportive consumer microenvironments develop (which facilitate the acquisition of consumer skills); and one in which unsupported consumer microenvironments develop (which potentially impede the acquisition of consumer skills). This continuum helps to confirm that multiple environments (in this case consumer microenvironments) exist within the same family. Even within the adolescent groupings (as presented in figure 7.8) considerable differences are likely to exist. For instance, although Oliver Alcock, Luke Alcock and

Adam Jones are located within the same grouping (with individual members of this group inhabiting fairly supportive consumer microenvironments), considerable differences still exist with each child's unique consumer microenvironment. Oliver Alcock, for instance, is not included in many family decisions, and he (like Aurélie Moreau) spends a lot of her time with her friends and away from her family. However, Luke regards Oliver as an important opinion leader, and Luke not only has input from her parents in her consumption choices but also from Oliver as well (which is why Luke's consumer microenvironment is much more towards the supportive end of the continuum).

Participants such as Aleksandra Stuleblak and Charlene Powell's consumer microenvironment are also towards the supportive end of the continuum, but it is important to emphasise that these adolescents maternal and fraternal microenvironment are different. For instance, Jens Lehman's family consumer microenvironment is offset by Claudia's exclusion by her siblings from their consumption discussions, even though her mother creates a highly supportive maternal microenvironment for her. Mim Jannetta has the most supportive family consumer microenvironment. Mim is always involved in family decisions by his parents, and Mim also participates in Alice's influence strategies and consumption (which in turn develops Mim's consumption skills and knowledge). Jim and Peter O'Brien also inhabit highly supportive family consumer microenvironments, which is largely due to their parent's inability to make consumption choices alone, and Jim and Peter must develop their consumption skills. It is again important to stress that even though certain children

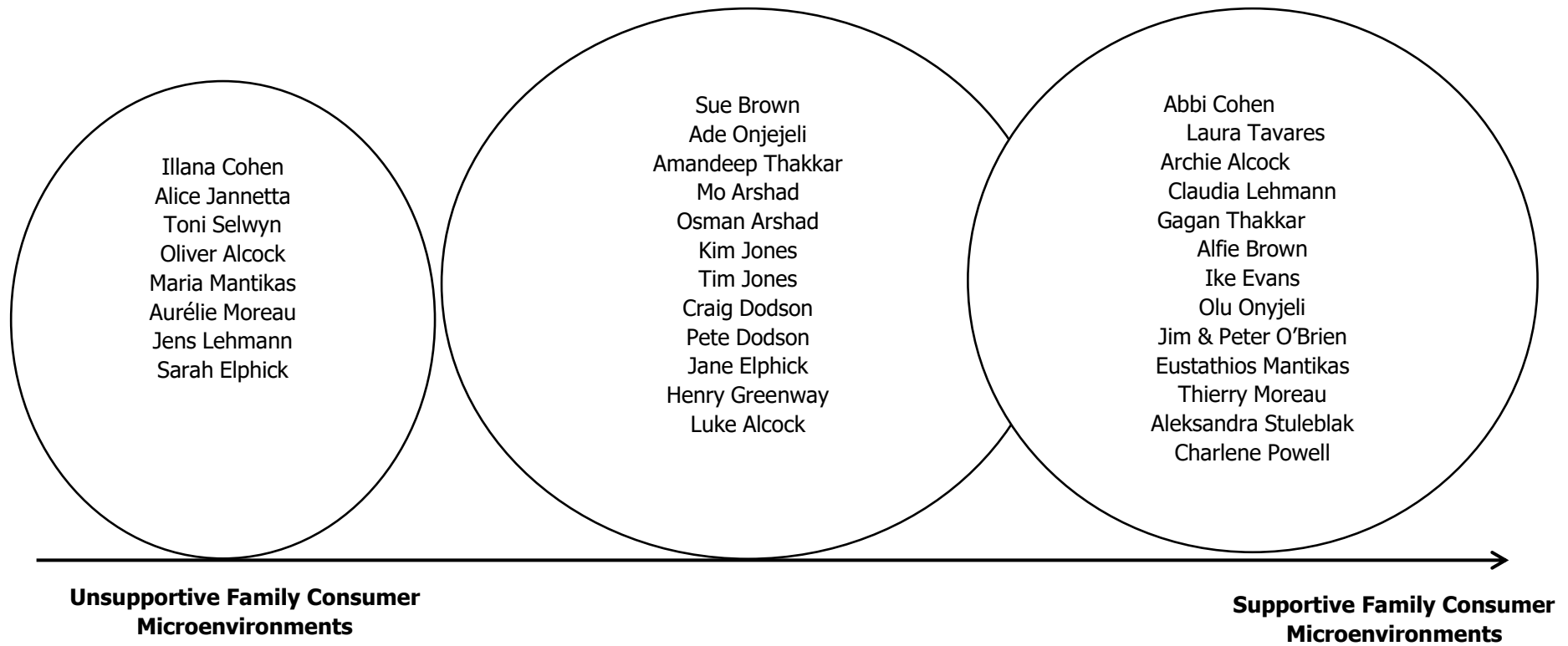
within the same family are grouped at a similar point on the continuum (for instance, the Brown children and the Moreau children), different microenvironments are still created for them within their family. Although they may inhabit a similar consumer microenvironment, it is not the same. The family consumer microenvironments also share some similarities with existing theories of socialisation concerning the dimensions of family communication (McLeod & Chaffee, 1972); family communication patterns (Carlson et al., 1994); and socialisation style (Carlson & Grossbart, 1988) (as discussed in section 2.7 in the literature review).

Unsupportive family consumer microenvironments could be described as environments where socio-orientated communications dominate, or in which a protective communication pattern is evident. It is suggested that a socio-orientated family communication environment would deter a child's participation in family decision making (Ekstrom, Tansuhaj & Foxman, 1987), whilst a protective family communication environment would inevitably lead to the controlling of a child's consumption activities (Carlson et al. 1994). Unsupportive family consumer microenvironments could also be described as an authoritarian, neglecting, or rigid controlling parental socialisation style being adopted (Carlson & Grossbart, 1988), which maintain distant relationships between parents and children.

Similarly, supportive family consumer microenvironments could be described in as those which have a concept-orientated dimension of communication, pluralistic communication pattern, or permissive socialisation style. Concept orientated

communication patterns 'foster development of children's consumer skills and competencies' (Carlson et al., 1994, p. 29), a pluralistic communication environment would encourage children to develop their views about consumption (Carlson et al., 1994), and parents who adopt a permissive socialisation style would interact with their children, with warmth, and give them the freedom to explore their consumption preferences (Carlson & Grossbart, 1988). Such existing theories could be applied to either end of the consumer microenvironments continuum, but it is because each child's consumer microenvironment is so different and unique that such homogenous application cannot be adopted. It is because of the differences that exist within microenvironments which make it difficult to describe, exactly, the characteristics of the family consumer microenvironments that exist, or to accurately group various children within the same consumer microenvironment type.

Figure 7.8: The family Consumer Microenvironments Continuum



Sources: By Author

Such concepts (dimension of communication; family communication pattern; and socialisation style) cannot, therefore, be applied absolutely to the description of microenvironments, primarily because of the many differences that exist within the microenvironments (and that are evident within the same family i.e. multiple communication patterns, socialisation styles, and communication dimensions, and thus different and unique microenvironments).

The consumer microenvironments continuum sheds greater light on the process of socialisation in recognising the many different microenvironments that exist within the one family. Homogenous family environments do not receive empirical support. Adolescents involved in this research inhabit both their unique family microenvironment and their unique consumer microenvironment in which they have different opportunities to acquire consumer skills.

This chapter presents the main common findings, or global themes, from the twenty families involved in this research. Specifically, the chapter has discussed the family microenvironment and the rather narrow interpretation of the family experience as homogenous, as currently conceptualised in current consumer behaviour research. Even within the same family children and adolescents were found in this study to be treated in different ways. This has important implications for the theory of child socialisation, as consumer microenvironments suggest. From these findings, a much-needed critique of socialisation emerges. Given that majority of family and socialisation research was conducted in the 1960s and 1970s our accumulated knowledge of child

and adolescent influence strategies, and how children are socialised within families, is based on research conducted over three decades ago (Flurry, 2007). The major contribution of this thesis, i.e. how the theory of family microenvironments problematizes extant knowledge in the field of socialisation and contributes towards a greater understanding of the process of influence itself, will be addressed again in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 8: Discussions

While the above chapters have presented the findings and fully discussed the key findings of the thesis, this chapter further discusses the major issues that came out of the empirical data presented in the above chapters. This research seeks to investigate the processes involved in applying influence in family decision-making, with a particular focus on how adolescents attempt to influence ethical food decision-making and consumption choices in their families as identified by the participants in the study. To achieve this aim, the study focused on the following objectives:

1. To explore extant literature on family decision-making and to identify adolescents' influence in ethical food consumption and decision-making;
2. To understand the family environment and how they affect adolescents' ability to influence family ethical food consumption decisions;
3. To explore factors that affect an adolescent's choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions;
4. To identify the ethical decisions adolescents and parents make of their daily consumption choices and to obtain an understanding of the range of factors influencing 'ethical' food purchase and consumption.

To understand the family environment and its effect on adolescents' ability to influence; and factors that affect an adolescent's choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions as set out in the research objectives, this study met all the

objectives and makes important findings as discussed below. This research rejects the current perspective on family life to be a similar experience for all and sheds greater light on the process of influence and socialisation. Microenvironments of the participant families suggest that children within the same family, experience family life in markedly different ways operationalised through varying parental socialisation (Carlson & Grossbart, 1988) and communication styles (Carlson et al., 1994). Therefore, pockets of difference and preferential treatment are evident in each family story. Microenvironments also emerge as a key moderator of the influence strategies children and adolescents use and the forms that they take, with the ability to form a coalition with other siblings determined by the positive nature of a child's fraternal family microenvironment. Family microenvironments shed greater light on the heterogeneous nature of family life and family consumer microenvironments are introduced. The family consumer microenvironments provide different opportunities for children to learn about consumption in the same family, and a more nuanced understanding of the socialisation process is presented at the theoretical contribution level.

8.1: Family environment and adolescent influence

The objective of this research is to examine the factors that affect adolescent's ability to influence, choice of influence strategy, level of success or failure and how coalitions are formed in family food ethical decision making (See research objectives 1, 2 & 3) and conceptual framework (see above). These objectives were met, and the following sections discuss how the findings help us understand the family environment better, as outline in the research objectives.

As John (1999) highlights, significant gaps exist in the current understanding of the family and of the environmental influences which shape consumer socialisation and in turn the influence processes of children. This research has made some progress in examining the family environment, and more importantly family microenvironments, which extends what we currently know about family life and how adolescents are socialised within families. The family microenvironment emerges as a moderator of the influence strategies that adolescents can use to influence decisions and the extent to which they can participate in, and shape decision making in their families. Consequently, the key findings of this research are a move away from the widely held view which considers family life to be a similar experience for all, recognising that within families there exist pockets of preferential treatment experienced by children and used through different parental communication and parenting styles. Eventually, family microenvironments help us understand how influence strategies can be used (both individually and collaboratively) and the extent of resistance to them (by gatekeepers) and indicate the importance of understanding consumer microenvironments within families.

While several factors shape the socialisation of young children (see Ekstrom, 2006), this thesis confirms existing literature that parents (and the whole family) are the primary socialisation agents of children (Bao et al., 2007; Kim et al., 2015). The socialisation literature creates a sense that children within the same family have a largely similar experience of family life. The stories of these participant families in this research

challenges this assumption. What becomes clear is that these adolescents experience family life in markedly different ways from their siblings, get treated by their parents differently, and are involved in family decisions to different degrees. Such differences also have implications for the types of influence strategies that they can deploy. This means that current models of consumer socialisation, which assume the family represents a similar environment in the consumer socialisation process, need to be revised to consider the diverse nature of family environments and the associated parental influences on children as consumers.

Consumer microenvironments recognise that children, within the same family, are likely to be provided with different opportunities to learn about consumption. Unique family consumer microenvironments are developed for children, with their family microenvironment affecting the characteristics of their consumer microenvironment and having implications for them to be involved in decision-making and their ability to influence decision-making. The arguments for the homogenous nature of the family environment were reinforced by Carlson and Grossbart's (1988) classification of parental socialisation style. The socialisation styles (see section 2.7 literature review), adopts a universal socialisation style to all their children. Similarly, the communication style that parents are believed to use in communicating with their children also implies a general communication environment in which siblings are thought to be treated similarly. Such assumptions are undermined by parents admitting to having favourite children who receive preferential treatment than others (Dunn & Plomin, 1990; Peter et al. 2018), and comparing siblings to one another (Schachter & Stone, 1985) and

consequently, creating different family environments for children within the same family (Harris, 1995) due to several reasons explored in the above chapters.

Participant parents adapt their socialisation style depending on the child. Multiple parental socialisation and communication styles were evident within the same family confirming Harris's (1995) studies. Whilst family microenvironments, which argues that *'each child inhabits his or her unique niche in the ecology of the family'* (Harris, 1995, p. 459), have been widely studied in other fields of study, very little studies have been done in this important area in marketing and consumer behaviour to understand the implications of microenvironments in families; and how these microenvironments might impact on how influence is exerted in family consumption, particularly in ethical consumption.

Microenvironments were evident within each family involved in this research, indeed Harris (1995) argues that microenvironments will be evident within every family and that the question as to whether microenvironments exist 'is unquestionable' (Harris, 1995, p. 459). Microenvironments have been characterised in two main ways, firstly, dependent on how the microenvironments are fostered and maintained, and secondly regarding the nature of the microenvironment itself, i.e. whether the microenvironment fostered is either positive or negative. Microenvironments are primarily shaped by parents. For instance, Mrs Mantikas considers Eustathios Mantikas, to be her favourite child. She talks about Eustathios in positive ways, frequently using him as a benchmark of excellence against which his other siblings are compared. Because of this how

Eustathios attempts to influence his parents are radically different from his siblings. It would, therefore, appear that the family microenvironment dictates the need and form of the influence strategy to be deployed by adolescents. Consequently, this highlights the process of influence itself, recognising that an adolescent's family microenvironment has implications for the deployment of influence strategies, the parental resistance experienced, and ultimately the extent of this child's success (research objectives 2 & 3).

The family microenvironments of the Jannetta family are also equally revealing. Mim Jannetta can do no wrong in their eyes. Like Archie Alcock, Abbi Cohen, Alfie Brown, Thierry Moreau, Gagan Thakkar and many more in this study, Mim too does not need to deploy sophisticated influence strategies and largely gets what he wants through asking his parents for things or through them anticipating his needs and wants. Alice Jannetta, on the other hand, is viewed in a very negative light by her parents. Therefore, Alice recruits Mim into her influence strategies, recognising that alone she stands very little chance of getting what she wants. With Mim on her side, Alice deploys collaborative influence strategies in which she claims the product that she wants is also desired by her little sister. In effect Alice, like Aurélie, exploits her sister's (Mim) favourable family microenvironment for her interests. Finally, microenvironments affect the process of influence itself and the choice of adolescent's influence strategy. Although most family microenvironments are fostered and developed by parents, siblings can also develop their microenvironments. Two very distinct microenvironments emerge, one at the parental and one at the sibling level. The

microenvironment fostered and maintained at the parental level (maternal microenvironments) does not necessarily have to transfer into the sibling world (fraternal microenvironments). Indeed, microenvironments at the sibling level have often been constructed in response to negative feelings about the microenvironment at the parental level. To illustrate, within the Alcock family Archie receives preferential treatment from his parents who dote on him. However, his siblings are aware of this and view his preferential treatment as unfair: accordingly, the microenvironment at the sibling level is constructed in stark comparison to the maternal's. Eventually, while Archie is favoured by his parents, this works to his disadvantage within his fraternal microenvironment with his siblings treating him very badly, considering him to be dull and boring.

As has been briefly discussed, this has implications for Archie's influence strategies. Influence strategies themselves have also been documented in the existing family literature, but the influence strategies which have been identified have merely focussed on how an individual child attempts to get his or her way. Even in the light of coalitions forming within families, collaborative influence strategies have not been sufficiently explored. Within the family stories in this research collaborative influence strategies were evident. However, the extent to which a sibling can gain support from another sibling to assist him or her in an influence strategy depends on his or her fraternal microenvironment. In short, if a sibling wants to recruit another sibling to assist in the deployment of the influence strategy then he or she needs to be viewed in a positive light by their brother(s) or sister(s). Archie, for instance, would have a problem initiating

a collaborative effort as his siblings are not willing to lend their support, as his favourable positioning in his maternal microenvironment, which works to his advantage when influencing his parents, works to his disadvantage in the fraternal microenvironment. His siblings seek to establish some equilibrium which offsets Archie's advantage in the maternal microenvironment against his lack of popularity in his fraternal microenvironment. It would, however, appear that the need for such support is made redundant due to his preferential treatment by his parents in any case.

Jens Lehmann, however, in the light of his negative and unsupportive maternal microenvironment, faces considerable resistance from his parents to his influence strategies. To bolster his power base, he needs to recruit his sister Claudia Lehmann (who is viewed in positive terms by her parents, having a positive, maternal microenvironment) to work as an intermediary for her influence strategy to get the things Jens wants from their parents. Exploiting another sibling's positive microenvironment, therefore, emerges as a strategy through which an unsupported adolescent, in the eyes of his or her parents at least, can become much more powerful and successful in getting what it is they want through collaboration with another sibling or siblings (itself dictated by the positive nature of a child's fraternal microenvironment).

8.2: Collaborative sibling influence strategies

This thesis explores factors that affect an adolescent's choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions (objectives 3). Consequently, it explores the factors that determine the level of success or failure of adolescents in influencing family ethical food decisions (RQ3) and whether adolescents work in group i.e. coalition with other family members, and if so, what factors determine adolescent's ability to form coalitions with others, and what issues determine the success or failure of those coalitions to influence family ethical food decisions (RQ4). These objectives were met, and research questions were appropriately answered as discussed below:

This thesis findings suggest that decision-making is a social process which entails a set of activities, confirming Wilk's (1987) observation that is viewed as a social process rather than as a sequence of events or stages. More than this, decision-making should be a dynamic process with multiple family members shaping the consumption choices of individuals (Hamilton & Catterall, 2006; Haghigian et al., 2017). Similarly, it is naive to consider family decision making as a stable process, and as such 'decision making in families' is a much more appropriate description of the process implying, as it does, that decisions are made in multiple ways. Similarly, although the family stories have shown how alliances and coalitions form, showing evidence of collaborative influence strategies, and the collaborations that form are fluid. There appears to be uncertainty amongst sibling relationships within families, often resulting in brief coalitions forming. The coalitions themselves should be viewed as momentary, formed as and when adolescents need to gain support from others.

The fluidity of the coalitions was evident across each family, although it is particularly acute in the stories of the Moreau and Cohen families. "Alliance", a term used to describe the behaviour through which a child temporarily sides with another (as detailed in section 7.3), is used extensively by Aurélie Moreau. Recognising that her lone influence strategies hold little clout in the eyes of her parents she exploits her brother's (Thierry) stronger position within the family. Aurélie recruits Thierry by promising to use the product with him in return for Thierry's compliance, and assistance, in Aurélie's influence strategies. She temporarily forms 'alliance' with Thierry in a collaborative influence strategy, only to ditch Thierry (and the many promises that she has made him) once she has obtained the product that she wanted from her parents. While such a coalition is temporary, highlighting the uncertainty that is evident within the sibling coalitions that form, it proves effective for the adolescents to influence decision outcome.

Likewise, Illana and Abbi Cohen formed 'alliance' in collaborative influence strategies, although their coalitions are much longer lived than Aurélie and Thierry's. Illana side with Abbi as and when they realised, they have common preferences, particularly apparent in the choice of food. With Illana's input the strategies that the girl's use as a collective are much more negative, contaminated by Illana's input, with Illana predominantly using negative influence strategies through lone influence attempts (Illana usually lacks the support needed from others to deploy collaborative strategies), showing how adolescents who are unable to achieve the support from others often having little choice but to use lone, negative influence strategies (Bonn, 1995); in the

Cohen family Illana's siblings view her as over-demanding and dominating, and thus would not react favourably to a collaborative influence strategy request from her). Alongside the 'mini' coalitions that form amongst siblings, full sibling group influence strategies were also evident. The Cohen children, for example, have shown instances in which they have all worked together to influence their parents. However, such occasions are rare, as evident across other family stories.

The behaviour of the children has shown that although sibling coalitions do form, often they are relatively short-lived, product or situation-specific, and often include subgroups of siblings and not necessarily every sibling within a family. The sibling coalitions are not stable and will form and reform (often with different members) as situations present themselves. Again, it should be emphasised, however, that the ability to gain the support from fellow siblings depends on how that child is regarded by his or her siblings, i.e. members of his or her fraternal microenvironment. Although situations do exist in which every child within a family forms a coalition, such instances are rare (and relate to joint purchases and shared or common preferences); it is far more common to see the formation of mini coalitions (mini in the sense that every child within the family may not join in the collaborative effort, either due to a lack of interest in the venture or because they have been excluded from the attempt) and such coalitions are regularly delicate, with coalition group membership continuously shifting.

The types of mini and fully collaborative influence strategies used by the siblings are not different from the strategies they used in their lone influence strategies. As a collective the children used similar strategies (as outlined in section 7.3), such as asking, making deals, as they did in their lone influence attempts. However, how the strategies were deployed was different. The collaborative strategies were used through a succession of 'relay team' activities. The siblings would take it in turns to deploy the strategy that they felt they were most experienced at using (e.g. crying, asking nicely, telling) and, they considered the perceived effectiveness of the strategy in the eyes of their parents (i.e. which strategy they felt their parents would respond most favourably to). If the first sibling's strategy did not work, then the next sibling would take up the influence of baton and utilise his or her influence strategy of choice. In this way, the siblings could use the strategy which they felt they were most skilled at using, concentrate their efforts upon the target and if unsuccessful, ask the next sibling to continue the influence attempt.

There were instances in which the siblings would 'attack' (see section 7.3) their parents as a collective, usually using negative influence strategies such as group mithering and pestering. These attempts happened at two main instances: (1) at the beginning of the collaborative influence strategy at which time an unorganised (almost chaotic) group influence attempt was used (the unsuccessful nature of this behaviour leading to a much more organised and planned collaborative, 'relay team' strategy to be used), or (2) following the unsuccessful 'relay team' effort (at which point the children would blitz their parents in any way possible as a desperate attempt to get the required outcome).

Although collaborative strategies used by siblings have been documented elsewhere (e.g. Lee & Collins, 2000) this research findings demonstrate how these coalitions are formed and how the influence is used. The formation of the coalitions depends on the ability to gain the support from others, in turn relating to how this child is viewed by his or her sibling(s). Again, microenvironments emerge as a moderator of possible adolescent influence strategies and the forms that they can take. These findings help to understand the family microenvironment and how they affect adolescents' ability to influence family ethical food consumption decisions and met Objective 2 & 3 of this thesis. These findings indicate that the ability of adolescents to form coalitions is vital to their level of success in influencing family ethical food decisions particularly if the adolescent inhabits an unfavourable microenvironment in the family. In summary, this thesis suggests that adolescent's family microenvironment has implications for the deployment of influence strategies (see conceptual framework), the parental resistance experienced and ultimately the extent of the child's success in changing decision outcomes. The formation of the coalitions depends on the adolescent's ability to gain support from others and how the adolescent is viewed by his or her sibling(s) or parent(s). Moreover, the extent to which a sibling can gain support from another sibling or parent to assist them in an influence strategy depends on their fraternal microenvironment. Exploiting another sibling's positive microenvironment, therefore, emerges as a strategy through which an unsupported adolescent in the eyes of his or her parents at least can become much more powerful and successful in getting what they want through collaboration with another sibling or siblings (itself dictated by the positive nature of a child's fraternal microenvironment).

8.3 Family and Consumer Microenvironments

One of the objectives of this thesis is to explore family environments and how they affect adolescents' ability to influence family ethical food consumption decisions. This thesis met this objective and confirms that family microenvironments also affect the socialisation process and that the family microenvironment a child inhabits will have implications for their socialisation process within his or her family. Just as family microenvironments point towards the heterogeneous nature of family environments, consumer microenvironments developed by families also suggest that unique environments are created within families in which children have varying opportunities to learn about consumption and acquire consumption skill sets. The homogeneous characteristic of the family as a socialisation agent and environment (in which a universal communication, parental and socialisation style exist) does not receive empirical support. Rather, multiple environments exist within the same family, in which children are involved in the family consumption process and family decision making to varying degrees, have different opportunities to learn about consumption and have varying access to (and different relationships with) socialisation agents. A consumer microenvironments continuum (as presented in figure 7.7) is offered, which recognises that differences do exist within the same family about how children learn about consumption. Ultimately the nature of a child's consumer microenvironment which is developed by his or her family creates different opportunities for that child to learn about consumption, and the family stories provide a much more nuanced understanding of the process of consumer socialisation as a result.

8.4 Ethical consumption

The final objective (research objective 4) of this study is to identify the ethical decisions adolescents and parents make of their daily consumption choices and to obtain an understanding of the range of factors influencing 'ethical' food purchase and consumption. This objective was met, and this section discusses the findings and makes sense of the participants' ethical experience and motivations.

8.4.1 Becoming an ethical consumer

The findings of this thesis suggest that rather than the consumer adding another factor to their consumer choices, for these respondents, ethical beliefs have constituted becoming an ethical consumer. This is not representative for all the consumers, differences appearing across moral imperatives, influences and ages. This study shows that different issues have different motivations, link to different periods and social norms. The reasons for becoming an ethical consumer are a multifaceted web of values, lifestyle choice, influences and social norms which combine with the individual's understanding of what it would be good to be. These reasons make the decision to become an ethical consumer less determinable than the factors portrayed by social psychology action theories. Participants purchase ethical foods for a range of reasons including moral, political, religious motives, concern for health, quality or safety of conventional food produces, environmental consideration, animal welfare, personal values, social issues, religious and political. These reasons confirm extant literature (e.g. Leary et al., 2019) broadly categorising them as egoistic and altruistic. Egoistic reasons are religious, moral, health and personal safety and altruistic reasons are

environmental, animal welfare, social welfare and political (Maaya et al., 2018). Discourses of ethical economies, such as 'alternative consumption networks' are often expressed in mainstream policy. These highlights a growing spectrum of interpretations of ethical concerns and ethical economies that stretch from ecological modernisation to more radical degrowth change (Gibbs & O'Neill, 2017). Participants perceive ethical foods as a healthier alternative to conventional foods and promote personal wellbeing, confirming existing studies (Yazdanpanah, et al., 2015; Loebnitz & Aschemann-Witzel, 2016); safer (Willer & Lernoud, 2017), and better in taste than conventional products (Aschemann-Witzel & Grunert, 2015). Finally, they perceive ethical foods consumption's as having a positive impact on one's self-identity and the lives of others (Griskevicius et al., 2010; Willer & Lernoud, 2017). Health has been suggested as one of the major reasons for purchasing ethical foods (Magnusson et al., 2003). Much of what could be classified as ethical food choices could also be healthy choices: for example, organic food is perceived to reflect concern for the environment or animal welfare, and at the same time viewed as far healthier. For example, Veganism and vegetarianism are perceived as a health-conscious lifestyle (Sassatelli, 2004). Participants in this thesis justify their ethical and their conventional consumer choices through their beliefs in what constitutes "healthy". At the same time, an ethical choice which is strongly believed to be unhealthy is less likely to be consumed than other ethical choices. Furthermore, vegetarians' motivations to consume ethically changed over time, as relevant information allowed the self-interested to become more aware of the ethical side of their food avoidances (Beardsworth & Keil, 1997, p. 234). Moreover, the reinforcement of one motivation with another allows the participants to feel more rational in their choices, reducing the cynicism surrounding ethical consumerism,

demonstrating the rationality of the participant's lifestyle. Unusually, the participants who were vegetarian for health purposes had an on-off commitment to vegetarianism, suggesting that health is not as strong a motivator for ethical consistency as is moral responsibility - unsurprising given the twin discourses of health and indulgence related to food (Honkanen et al., 2006). We now know that multiple factors influence consumer perceptions of social responsibility (Eckhardt et al., 2010), and the jostling of emotions that takes place within the consumer decision-making process (Gregory-Smith et al., 2013). Notwithstanding these continuing challenges, this thesis has contributed to understanding how complex ethical consumption decisions are.

This study reveals that the link between consumption and ethics has been developed along two lines. Firstly, by inhabiting an essential position in the extended system of contemporary commodification processes, consumption has become a privileged entry-point for thinking about ethical and political responsibility (Barnett et al., 2011). Secondly, it emphasises the dynamic and ingenious dimensions of consumption. Consumption is also constructed as several practices of identity formation in which ordinary abilities for autonomous action and choice are routinely exercised (Epp & Price, 2008). Studies in sociology and has shown that everyday commodity consumption is a realm for the actualisation of capacities for independent action, reflexive monitoring of conduct, and the self-fashioning of relationships between selves and others (Miller, 1995; 1998). However, this researcher does not wish to imply that the processes involved in motivating ethical consumption are reducible to a straightforward choice between two ways of consuming.

All the participants expressed their motive and a strong preference for ethical food consumption. They described ethical food consumption an alternative set of consumption behaviours where they consume with sensitivity through selecting ethical alternatives and practices and they were emphatic in their attitudes, beliefs and interest. Participants used different terminologies to describe ethical consumption including ethical consumption, environmentally friendly consumption, ethical shopping, political consumption, political consumerism, and conscious consumption. This has become one of the criticisms of ethical consumption where there are so many issues and terminologies making it difficult for some people to understand what ethical consumption is about.

Closely related to the values of equity, social justice and fairness is the value of sharing. Significantly, sharing resources (by supporting local farmers as just one example) was not just a food consumption activity but also a lifestyle priority for all participants. Regarding value types, sharing denotes not only universalism because it concerns equity and fairness, but also in this context it contains elements of benevolence, mainly due to participants' keenness to ensure their food consumption did not work against the welfare of others. Furthermore, there is an important personal characteristic that affects the consumption of ethical foods: personal values. Findings in previous research (e.g. Pepper et al., 2009; Maaya et al., 2018) show that consumers with a preference for altruistic values are more likely to engage in ethical consumption choices. It is, therefore, reasonable to expect that they might experience stronger feelings of guilt or pride. This type of experience is especially common among consumers who are strongly

engaged in ethical obligation and try to be consistent in their consumption behaviour across categories.

Finally, notwithstanding income levels price and money were discussed by all the participants as ethical consumption is characterised by the strategic deployment of money. Rather than the forgotten commodity in chains of consumption (Desforges, 1998), ethical consumers show an awareness that money is not just something which purchases goods, but it is also something which provides producers and retailers with their *raison d'être*. Because of this price does not necessarily affect choice adversely. Certain more expensive unnecessary products are bought to support "worthy" causes, whereas some companies and countries are boycotted wholesale, the implicit understanding is that profit is the bottom line in determining production practices. The first and most obvious point to make about ethical consumerism is that, with the exception maybe of vegetarian and vegan products, internalising the externalities and offering a fair price to producers necessitates paying a higher price for goods.

8.4.2: Self Identity and Ethical obligation

Participants identified ethical obligation and self-identity as appropriate predictors of their ethical consumption behaviour which confirms extant studies on ethical consumption (e.g. Shin, Ma & Koh, 2017). Their sense of obligation which comes from their adopted ethical values, beliefs and rules regarding what is right and wrong informs their attitude and then translates into an intention to purchase (Ajzen, 2011) or to consume ethically. For these participants, ethical obligation plays a fundamental role in

explaining behavioural intention to consume ethical foods (Shaw et al., 2000; Shin et al., 2017) since individuals who hold strong feelings of obligation for the environment and society affects their purchasing choices (Shaw & Clarke, 1999).

Ethical self-identity predicted intentions to purchase ethical foods alongside the moral norm and attitude confirming extant studies (Ozcaglar-Toulouse et al., 2006; Dowd & Burke, 2013), and that the role of self-identity in a wider social setting is an important contribution to understand how the broader community makes decisions about ethical products. Moreover, ethical obligation has been found to help explain the predictive power of the TPB (Ozcaglar-Toulouse et al., 2006). Participants' desire to pay a fair price or sometimes premium price for their ethical foods (rather than choosing conventional alternatives with the cheapest price) appears to indicate a sense of ethical obligation, freedom, choice and flexibility echoing Shaw et al.'s (2005) contention that ethical consumers are guided less by self-interest than by ethical obligation to others. Indeed, these participants seem to have attained the post-conventional level of cognitive moral development, where their needs are considered by a moral sense that extends beyond their immediate and personal needs (Kohlberg, 1969). Ethical consumers' values indicate a concern for the welfare of others and are associated with the universalism value type - focusing on protection, tolerance, appreciation and understanding of all people and nature (Schwartz, 1992).

The concept of 'self' has meaning through the reaction of others and for others (cited in Campbell, 1995, p. 115). Reasons for this include the ethical consumers' claims to being right, the denunciation of shared values and conventional consumer possibly not

believing in ethical consumerism. Typically, new social movements have always been an exasperation to traditional morality (Campbell, 1995, p. 56). Whilst this may be unfortunate from the position of the "traditional" morality, it remains somewhat removed from the self. While the participants usually tried to assure me that they did not "preach" about their ethical consumption, it became apparent that for many of them this decision was based on adverse experiences of doing just that. Some participants believed that not everybody had the ability, and therefore the duty, to consume ethically. Those presumed to have understandable reasons not to consume ethically, such as poverty or lack of time and knowledge, are not positioned with a contingent repertoire as described by Burningham (1995). It is those who could do differently but have simply chosen not to consume ethically who attract this asymmetrical evaluation. In other words, it is those who make the consumer feel like they must defend their position in opposition to another that produces the harsher positioning. Indeed, it is those who hold a higher ethical position than the consumer draws real criticism.

Ethical consumers shared a sense of responsibility towards society and the environment regarding consumption choice and purchase behaviour becomes an obligation (Shiu & Clarke 2002; Shin et al., 2017). Consequently, the results of this thesis suggest that family ethical decision-making begins when the family unit or individual members recognise an ethical problem and are influenced by ethical obligations to consume ethically, believing that by exercising their purchasing power to consume ethically, they may help to bring about social, environmental or political change. Participants mentioned what they believed in often narrated stories of people who influenced their decisions to consume ethically. This suggests that ethics and identity are complicatedly

linked but in a more complex relationship than acquiring an ethical identity. In such circumstances where ethics, lifestyle and self-identity are combined, the relationship between ethics and identity are the moral basis which strengthens individual's choices and limits our agency by moving us towards our sense of the "good" (Taylor, 1989). This suggests that these participants do not find ethical consumerism a barrier to desirable self-identity and they seemed to get a favourable sense of self by looking themselves as intimately entwined with their personal beliefs.

The participants interrelated their identities and their ethical consumer practices in different ways. Although Mr Selwyn could be viewed as using ethical consumerism as a set of practices affiliated to his lifestyle choice, or subculture group, mostly ethical consumption represented a deeper sense of self and identity than simply consuming for display. Indeed, it could be argued that all the ethical consumers had chosen their consumer practices through notions of what it is good to be, and related notions of what it is good for society and the environment to be. For the ethical consumer then, consumption practices are viewed as instrumental in achieving a better world. There were connections to other ethical and political practices that could be taken as a set of actions involved in an ethical consumer movement. There was a general feeling amongst the participants that they had a greater degree of empowerment than conventional consumers, certainly even an amount of sympathy for those still unable to enjoy the power held by the consumer to determine the shape of the world. Participants expressed a sense that they had achieved a release from oppression and manipulation which the conventional consumer had failed to achieve. However, even among the most ethically orientated consumers, the ability to buy all things ethically on all

occasions can be challenging (Devinney et al., 2010). The participants had to negotiate their ideal of appropriate ethical behaviour across different ethical issues. It was clear that not all the ethical issues had the same level of commitment or emotional attachment to the participants. In the few areas where two consumer ethics clashed, the consumer usually knew which ethic would sway their greater commitment. This is demonstrated by Mrs Dodson who is a vegan, closely involved in Fairtrade and environmental groups saying;

If it was organic but it had animal stuff in it then I would go for the animal-free stuff... I'd be more likely to buy organic [than fair trade] just because of pesticides and stuff. Not for health reasons, but just for more environmental reasons.

Mrs Dodson chose which ethic held precedence. While she chooses one ethic over the other, it is hardly an easy decision. Participants recognise the problems in deciding on appropriate behaviour across a variety of issues. They frequently wrote down a set of preferences when trying to choose what they buy such as buying local produce and buying products as far down the food chain as possible – those they consider to be a least important aspect of ethical consumption. This shows ethical consumers holding a very individual set of consumer priorities and an individual set of idealised consumer practices. Participants indicated that it is always difficult to follow one's priorities and it is therefore impractical to have any definitive behavioural rules. Other families agree with this opinion as the products they were unable to purchase were quite a few and the ones they did not buy were even scarce. Completely intolerable behaviours are usually those engaged with animal welfare: the vegans would never touch any animal product;

the vegetarians would never eat meat. For animal welfare concerns the relationship between consumer and ethical "other" is once again structured as a clear mutual relationship. However, the relationship developed into a multiplicity of ethical actions which did not necessarily correspond with the consumers' ethical expressions. The two culturally constructed patterns of action which produced the greatest consistency of practice were vegetarianism and veganism. These two patterns of action could be viewed as identity ethics and are subject to high levels of scrutiny. This along with the ease of connection between a consumer and consumed rendered the animal welfare ethic the most consistently practised ethic. The difficulties of global environmental problems, however, ensure that environmental concern is subject to high levels of mediation.

There are two implications of these ethical formulations for consumer actions. Firstly, what becomes clear is that for ethical consumption, the history of the ethic affects the consistency of the performance. The culturally specific history of the ethic gives the ethic meaning for the ethical consumer self and thereby suggests forms of action are the most appropriate. Consequently, although Taylor's (1989) framework of ethics and orientation to the good is perceived as useful for understanding the original practice of the ethic, in the performance far more is at stake. How an ethic is symbolised is of real relevance. The self-identity ethic of vegetarianism is thus more likely to be productive of consistent behaviour than the complex system ethic-activities of environmentalism. Moreover, when we consider ethical values and moral codes outside of these narrowly defined consumer ethics, further understanding of the role of ethical genealogy in

determining consistency becomes clear. The genealogy of ethic creates a deeper understanding of contextual behaviour than Rorty's belief in a plurality of ethical selves (Rorty, 1997). Hence, it becomes possible to comprehend the inconsistencies of consumer actions, without denying the existence of a more permanent set of ethical priorities. Moreover, we can begin to account for the predictability of the ethical consumer, of the limitations of their practices, and the unequal performances of their ethical consumptions.

There are two predominant arguments regarding ethical consumerism. Firstly, some argue that all consumption is ethical; this thesis argues that there are differences between ethical consumption and conventional consumption, without however denying that all consumption can be ethical, for example through notions of love and care (see de Vault, 1991; Miller, 1998). Secondly, some argue that there is no such thing as ethical consumption. If this argument refers to the impossibility of purchasing any product devoid of negative impacts, then there may be some validity to the claim. However, if this argument is supposed to suggest that there is no such thing as altruism and that without altruism there is no such thing as ethicality, then the issue has intriguing implications for the motivations to become an ethical consumer.

8.4.3: Challenges of becoming an ethical consumer

Ethical consumerism is caught up with negative identity connotations, and discourses of denial, expense and inconvenience, it was clear from the consumers' explanations of "becoming" that the choice to act is rarely a question of holding information about the

impacts of their actions. Instead, they were related to notions of what it is good to be, linked to the influence of admired role models, religion, family and cultural communities. These ethics and actions are chosen from different ethical positions because they have meaning for the self. So, whereas Bauman (1993) uses Levinas' theory of asymmetrical I-thou, self for other, to suggest that face-to-face responsibility is a pre-social morality, this researcher argues that responsibility for a distant other has its roots very much in the social. Consumer responsibility is neither an ethical imposition nor a pre-social morality. It requires an understanding that concepts of the good are hardly achieved outside of a cultural context. It is not enough, therefore, to produce an ethical philosophy and provide the knowledge of the other, without creating the social conditions, which would allow the freedom to undertake ethical actions.

The complexity of the process of becoming an ethical consumer and the negative social identities linked with ethical consumerism, begin to explain the gulf between attitude and behaviour so frequently noted by social surveys (e.g. Carrington, Zwick & Neville, 2016). Moreover, the process of 'becoming' comes with negative reactions from other consumers, and inconvenience to the self. This negativity is reduced by some measure of social norms which mean that the consumer does not act in complete isolation, and by feelings of empowerment which allow the consumers to feel good about themselves. Once the consumer has accepted responsibility for one set of issues, they are far more likely to act upon others which they become aware of, if they believe in that issue. Hence, ethical consumerism for these ethical consumers is a continual process of becoming, rather than a temporary reflection of social and media concerns.

Given the negative perceptions that some conventional consumers hold about ethical consumers, it would seem likely the participants were holding a moral position in the face of an undesirable social identity. While this study suggests that many ethical consumers construct themselves as acting upon their own beliefs in isolation from everyone else in society, there are certain factors which offer the ethical consumer a social norm more likely to allow the consumer the freedom to be ethical. These freedoms can be an extension of the underlying possibilities of ethical behaviour, such as time, money and the quality of life that allows the possibility for concern for issues beyond the immediate. Society has constantly held many moral discourses, and consumer society is no exception. Therefore, to sketch out some contradictory discourses, environmental protection is imperative and yet so too is consumerism as a tool for economic and cultural good. This divide becomes apparent as the difference between attitude surveys showing many people believing that ethics are important considerations in consumption choices, and the reality of very few ethical purchases in practice i.e. the attitude – behaviour gap (Carrington et al., 2016; Hassan et al., 2016).

8.5 Concluding remarks

Ultimately family microenvironments recognise that families contain unique pockets of treatment and difference and that such treatment has implications for an adolescent's influence strategies and socialisation. A child favoured by his or her parents (e.g. Thierry Moreau) may not need to deploy sophisticated influence strategies, whereas a child who is not favoured by his or her parents would (e.g. Aurélie Moreau). In such a situation the less favoured adolescents would need to bolster his or her power base and

one way in which this can be achieved is to utilise a favoured child's pocket of difference. In effect, this means that the less favoured child, in the eyes of his or her parent at least, needs to 'get in the pocket' of the child who receives preferential parental treatment and inhabits a supportive maternal microenvironment. However, for a less favoured child (in the eyes of his or her parents) to "get in the pocket" of a favoured child a positive relationship must exist between the two children, relating to the strength and positive nature of their fraternal microenvironment.

In such a situation sibling collaboration is evident, achieved through "alliance" with a favoured child. However, such a coalition may be brief, and the less favoured child can stop the alliance once they have what they wanted (such as the behaviour seen between Aurélie and Thierry Moreau). Sibling coalition itself was evident across each of the families, although full coalition amongst every sibling within a family was rare. Such situations were found to be product and situation-specific and usually depends on common food preferences and other products. What was much more common, however, was the formation of 'mini' coalitions in which a limited number of siblings joined forces to influence another person/group. Sibling collaboration was usually found to be short-lived, with the membership of sibling coalitions often in motion.

The strategies deployed by the siblings in a collaborative influence strategy were not radically different from those that they deploy on an individual basis. However, the way they were deployed did differ. 'Relay team' sibling collaboration emerged through which one sibling deployed the strategy that they were most effective at using, and the one

which they felt their parent(s) were most susceptible to, and then they passed on the influence baton to another sibling if their influence strategy proved unsuccessful.

Microenvironments have shed greater light on the process of influence itself, dictating which influence strategy (and indeed whether deploying such strategies is even necessary) can be successfully utilised. The family microenvironments were mostly maintained by parents, although the siblings themselves also maintained their fraternal microenvironments, often constructed in stark contrast to those fostered and maintained by their parents through maternal microenvironments. The family socialisation environment, it is proposed, is also likely to be heterogeneous for children, and that even within the same family different children will receive different attention and communication from their parents, recognising that family microenvironments (and consumer microenvironments) exist within families. Siblings within the same family are therefore likely to be treated differently from one another, which has implications for the types of consumer learning they are exposed to. The child who inhabits a favourable maternal microenvironment is likely to be involved in making decisions, with the parents listening to his or her views, and therefore is much more likely to become consumer savvy than the excluded child whose views are ignored and dismissed. Family microenvironments, therefore, develop unique consumer microenvironments for children within families, in which, within the same family, different environments are created for children to learn about consumption, and varying opportunities exist for children to acquire consumer skills through the socialisation process.

To summarise, the reasons and implications of ethical consumption - both in terms of the clarity of the relationship between self and other and the genealogy of the ethic - have an impact on the consistency of consumer action. The one through highlighting the links between action and outcome, the other through establishing appropriate actions. I concur with Smith (1998) that caring for a distant other requires both empathy and reason. An ability to empathise with a distant other or an emotive response to environmental destruction is far more likely to result in action than a simple acceptance that, if viewed from a standpoint of an ethic of justice, these participants are obligated to purchase ethical products. At the same time, without a more reasoned explanation of the need to care for the environment and empathy with another has little force. However, before we begin the rush to provide consumers with ethic and empathy, let us return to the behaviour attitude gap - the disparity between reported concern and consumer behaviour.

Finally, this thesis attempted to identify the ethical decisions adolescents and parents make of their daily consumption choices and to obtain an understanding of the range of factors influencing 'ethical' food purchase and consumption (see research objective 4). I do not suggest that all consumers can be categorically stated to fit in with any of the conclusions, but most of the participants do. For example, as Mrs Evans is an ethical consumer because of health concerns, she cannot be said to be undertaking any responsibility for a distant other. However, all the other ethical consumers demonstrated "other related concern" in their ethical formulations. Most of the participants perceived consuming ethically as an aggregate set of political actions, with

certain participants having a greater identification with a collective group for one of the issues involved - for example, Toni and her notions of a collective "we" for veganism. Mr O'Brien, who incorporates ethical consumerism into his lifestyle as an environmental activist, practices ethical consumerism to introduce consistency of personal actions into a more radical group of practices. For the rest of the ethical consumers however, ethical consumerism can be viewed as a polite revolution, empowerment of what are otherwise very ordinary people to whom personal consumption practices have political meaning. This fulfils the 4th objective of this study by helping to identify the ethical decisions adolescents and parents make of their daily consumption choices and to obtain an understanding of the range of factors influencing ethical food purchase and consumption.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1: Research aim and questions

The overall aim of this research is to investigate the processes involved in applying influence in family decision-making, with a focus on how adolescents attempt to influence ethical food decision-making and consumption choices in their families, as identified by the participants in the study. This thesis seeks to explore new ground but not to prove a model since little is known about adolescent influence in ethical food decision making. This research sought to achieve the following objectives and explore the corresponding questions. All the objectives have been fulfilled:

Research Objectives	Research Questions supporting the Objectives	Objectives met
<p>5. To explore extant literature on family decision-making and to identify adolescents' influence in ethical food consumption and decision-making.</p>	<p>RQ1. What factors within the family environment affect adolescents' ability to influence family ethical food consumption decisions?</p> <p>RQ2. What factors within the family environment affect an adolescents' choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions?</p> <p>RQ3. What factors determine the level of success or failure of adolescents' strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions?</p> <p>RQ4. Do adolescents work in group i.e. coalition with other family members, and if</p>	<p>Objective 1 was met</p>

	<p>so, what factors determine adolescents' ability to form coalitions with others, and what issues determine the success or failure of those coalitions to influence family ethical food decisions?</p> <p>RQ5. Why do families consume ethical foods?</p>	
<p>6. To understand the family environments and how they affect adolescents' ability to influence family ethical food consumption decisions.</p>	<p>RQ1. What factors within the family environment affect adolescents' ability to influence family ethical food consumption decisions?</p>	<p>Objective 2 was met</p>
<p>7. To explore factors that affect an adolescents' choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions.</p>	<p>RQ2. What factors within the family environment affect an adolescents' choice of influence strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions?</p> <p>RQ3. What factors determine the level of success or failure of adolescents' strategy in family ethical food consumption decisions?</p> <p>RQ4. Do adolescents work in group i.e. coalition with other family members, and if so, what factors determine adolescents' ability to form coalitions with others, and what issues determine the success or failure of those coalitions to influence family ethical food decisions?</p>	<p>Objective 3 was met</p>
<p>8. To identify the ethical decisions adolescents and parents make of their daily consumption choices</p>	<p>RQ5. Why do families consume ethical foods?</p>	<p>Objective 4 was met</p>

<p>and to obtain an understanding of the range of factors influencing 'ethical' food purchase and consumption.</p>		
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As discussed in chapter 2, the way family consumer research has been conducted has shortcomings. Collecting data from the husband-wife dyad, or a limited family respondent base merely presents individual opinions (Ferber, 1955) and should not be considered as an effective way through which the family can be conceptualised. Similarly, it should be recognised that family decision making is an interactive process (Commuri & Gentry, 2000; Wu, Holmes & Tribe, 2010) involving many different family members. Accordingly, the exclusion of children from family research (Johnson, McPhail & Yau, 1994) presents a limited view as to what happens within families and family decision making. While advances are being made towards a more inclusive research approach (e.g. Cotte & Wood, 2004) in families' further work is needed to gain a wider account of consumption in family life by capturing voices of children. As Commuri and Gentry (2000) highlight, research attention should shift from measuring influence, which has a focus on decision outcomes, towards better understanding the processes involving in influence itself. Consequently, an extension beyond the assessment of who has influence is the study of understanding the processes by which individuals increase their influence, understanding how such influence is obtained, and how it is deployed (Commuri & Gentry, 2000).

The conceptual model was developed to illustrate what is being explored in this study. Like Thompson (1996), the data drove subsequent literature reviews hence the conceptual model generated from the literature review and the data. Consequently, the conceptual model sheds further light on the process of influence itself and stresses how significant family microenvironments are in guiding the influence processes, and strategies, of adolescents. Family conceptualisation was developed from the global themes, illustrating a set of dynamic interactions relating to the family decision-making process and family ethical food consumption choices. In summary, the conceptual model helped confirm the findings of the thesis that adolescent's family microenvironment has implications for their deployment of influence strategies (see the conceptual framework), the parental resistance experienced and ultimately the extent of the child's success in changing decision outcomes.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature on ethical consumption. There have been two major theoretical approaches of research on individual ethical decision-making, i.e. Hunt and Vitell's General Theory of Marketing Ethics (Hunt & Vitell, 1986) and the behavioural theories of Ajzen and Fishbein (Chatzidakis et al., 2006). The ethical decision-making models mentioned focused on an organisational perspective. To date, few consumer decision-making models have emerged. To address this gap Marks and Mayo (1991) adapted Hunt-Vitell's 'General Theory of Marketing Ethics' for application to a consumer context. This model highlights the role of teleological evaluations in identifying ethical dilemmas as independent factors in the decision-making process with the ability to change behaviour (Shaw & Shiu, 2002). Ethical obligation and self-identity are

identified as suitable predictors of ethical consumption behaviour (Shaw & Shiu, 2002; Zollo et al., 2018). These studies suggest that ethical obligation is antecedent to an attitude which translates into an intention to consume ethically. Individuals shared a sense of responsibility towards society and the environment regarding consumption choice and purchase behaviour becomes an obligation (Rivis et al., 2009). Ethical consumers make deontological and teleological evaluations of all conceivable alternative behaviours to come to a general ethical decision which directs their intention and subsequent purchase of ethical foods (Hunt & Vittel, 1986; Gregory-Smith et al., 2013). However, these ethical models so far focus on individual decision-making, with very limited research in family decision making and particularly family ethical food decision-making.

A rationale for the methodological underpinning of this thesis is offered in Chapter 4. Considering the aims of this study, a more interpretative approach to data collection and analysis was required. Observations and interviews were used as Thompson, Locander and Pollio (1989) suggested that interviews are an important way by which the existential phenomenologist may attempt to understand the lived experiences of consumers. The interviews used in this thesis helped the researcher to gain "a deeper, more personal, individualised analysis" (Brocki & Wearden, 2006, p. 99). IPA was used for the data analysis as it offers a means of providing new insights into the process of influence in family ethical food decision-making from the first-person description of experience (Cope, 2005). IPA places a strong emphasis on the interpretation of the phenomenon (by the participants), and the double hermeneutic (by the researcher) between the phenomenon and the participants' experience of it. The use of this

technique resulted in a greater understanding of the participants' narratives, allowing the researcher to make sense of the participants as they were making sense of their experiences (Smith et al., 2009). Consequently, this approach to data analysis enabled the interpretation of the factors within the household affecting an adolescent's ability to influence, choice of influence strategy, determine the level of success or failure and ability to form coalitions with others and understand why these families consume ethical foods (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3, RQ4 & RQ5). The main contributions of this research, from theoretical and practical perspectives, are highlighted in the next section.

9.2: Contribution to knowledge

This study makes important theoretical contributions to family decision making research. The family consumer decision-making, including the influence of children and ethical consumerism, are areas of consumer behaviour in which extensive academic research has already been done. However, the combination of these two areas is under-researched. While many studies have examined adolescents' food consumption (e.g. Gram, 2014) few studies have explored children's influence in family food decisions (e.g. Marquis, 2004, Tor Kadioğlu et al., 2017) and none that this researcher knows of has examined children's influence in ethical food decision-making within the family unit.

John (1999; 2008) suggests that the family and the environmental influences which shape consumer socialisation and the influence processes of children is under-researched. This thesis has made some progress in exploring the family environment,

and more importantly family microenvironments, which extends what we currently know about family life and how adolescents are socialised within families. In an attempt to understand adolescents influence strategies in ethical food consumption, this thesis findings indicate that family microenvironment is a moderator of the influence strategies that adolescents can use to influence decisions and the extent to which they can participate in, and shape decision making in their families (see research objectives, 1, 2 & 3, and questions 1, 2 & 3). Consequently, this key theoretical contribution of this research is an aberration from the general view which considers family life to be a standardised experience for all, recognising that within families there are pouches of preferential treatment experienced by children and used through variable parental communication and parenting styles. Eventually, family microenvironments increase our understanding of how influence strategies can be deployed (both individually and collaboratively in coalitions) and the extent of resistance to them (by gatekeepers) and indicate the importance of understanding consumer microenvironments within families.

This thesis acknowledges that while many factors shape the socialisation of young children (Ekstrom, 2006), it is widely believed that parents are the primary socialisation agents for their children (Hunter-Jones, 2014). The socialisation literature tends to suggest that children within the same family have essentially homogenous experience of family life. The findings of this thesis do not support this assumption. The adolescent participants experience family life in completely different ways from their siblings as they were treated differently by their parents and the extent to which they are involved in family decisions. Such differences also have implications for the types of influence

strategies that they can deploy. This means that current models of consumer socialisation which assume that the family offers a similar environment in the consumer socialisation process need to be revised to consider the diverse nature of family environments and the associated parental influences on children as consumers. Consumer microenvironments recognise that children within the same family are likely to be provided with different opportunities to learn about consumption. Unique family consumer microenvironments are developed for children with their family microenvironment affecting the characteristics of their consumer microenvironment. The socialisation styles (see section 2.7 literature review), adopts a general socialisation style to all their children. Similarly, the communication style that parents use in communicating with their children also implies a universal communication environment in which siblings are thought to be treated similarly. The findings of this thesis do not support such assumptions as parents admitted that they often compare siblings to one another and they prefer certain children over others (Peter et al., 2018) and that parents can create different family environments for children within the same family (Harris, 1995; Gilligan et al., 2013).

The findings in this thesis suggest that differences do exist within the same family about how children learn about consumption. Eventually, the nature of a child's consumer microenvironment which is developed by his or her family creates different opportunities for that child to learn about consumption and the family stories provide a much more nuanced understanding of the process of consumer socialisation as a result. The findings offer evidence that although most family microenvironments are fostered

by parents, siblings can also develop their microenvironments. Two different microenvironments emerged from the findings, one at the parental level and one at the sibling level. The microenvironment fostered at the parental level does not necessarily have to transfer into the sibling world. Certainly, microenvironments at the sibling level were constructed in response to negative feelings about the microenvironment at the parental level. Microenvironment dictates the need and form of the influence strategy to be deployed by adolescents. Consequently, this highlights the process of influence itself, recognising that an adolescent's family microenvironment has implications for the deployment of influence strategies, the parental resistance experienced and ultimately the extent of the child's success.

While collaborative strategies used by siblings have been identified by the available body of literature, this thesis' findings demonstrate how such coalitions are formed by adolescents and how influence is used. The formation of the coalitions depends on the adolescent's ability to gain the support from others, in turn relating to how this adolescent is viewed by his or her sibling(s). Moreover, the extent to which a sibling can gain support from another sibling to assist them in an influence strategy depends on their fraternal microenvironment. Exploiting another sibling's positive microenvironment, therefore, emerges as a strategy through which an unsupported adolescent, in the eyes of his or her parents at least can become much more powerful and successful in getting what they want through collaboration with another sibling or siblings (itself dictated by the positive nature of a child's fraternal microenvironment). The findings also indicate sibling relationships within families are transient, often

resulting in short-lived coalitions forming. The coalitions were formed as and when adolescents need to gain support from others.

Regarding ethical food consumption, the findings indicate that ethical beliefs constitute 'becoming' an ethical consumer. Hence, ethical consumerism for these participants is a continual process of 'becoming' rather than a temporary fad. This renders the decision to become an ethical consumer less determinable. At the same time, it is not an easy process but one constrained by negative reactions from other consumers and inconvenience to the self. This negativity is reduced by some measure of social norms which mean that the consumer does not act in complete isolation but by feelings of empowerment which allow the consumers to feel good about themselves. This thesis found that numerous factors influence consumer perceptions of social and environmental responsibility and the jostling of emotions that occur during the consumer decision-making process. Moreover, it highlights and confirms the multi-level and multi-agent conceptualization of consumer responsibility and identify micro levels of influence families, consumption and personal motivations (Caruana & Chatzidakis, 2013). It suggested that ethical obligation is antecedent to an attitude which translates into an intention to consume ethically. Participants' shared sense of responsibility towards society and the environment regarding consumption choice and purchase behaviour becomes an obligation (Shaw et al., 2000; Shin et al., 2017). This sense of obligation stems from people's internalised ethical values, beliefs and rules about what is right and wrong in their worldview. This thesis confirms the above studies but also goes beyond to suggest that different issues have different motivations that link to

different periods and social norms. The reasons for becoming an ethical consumer are a complex web of lifestyle choices, influences, social norms and values which combine with the individual's understanding of what it would be good to be.

One major argument in the ethical consumption literature is the attitude behaviour gap where attitude surveys showing huge numbers of people believing that ethics are important considerations in consumption choices but very few of them buy ethical products (Carrington et al., 2016). This thesis highlights the complexity of the process of becoming an ethical consumer and the negative social identities linked with ethical consumerism and these begin to explain the gap between attitude and behaviour so frequently noted by social surveys. This was evidenced in how participants found it sometimes difficult to follow their priorities and how impossible it is to have any definitive behavioural rules and could not always purchase what they wanted to. In summary, if we are to grasp why consumer actions persistently contradict their values, we need to advance and improve research approaches to better identify, understand and predict the needs of the ethical consumer. This thesis acknowledges that consumer responsibility manifests itself flexibly, establishes ethical concerns that are product and situation-specific, are subject to attitude behaviour gaps and impacted by multifaceted contextual influences. Motivating the ethical consumer necessitates appealing to ethical concerns that are already rooted in ethical consumers daily practices.

Ethical consumption studies are full of social acceptance bias; more imaginative research techniques and tools could reduce this problem through research that is

embedded in real-world observations of phenomenology used in this thesis (Thrift, 2007). For instance, Askegaard & Linnet (2011) use phenomenology to connect the gap between the broad nature of anthropological work and social theories where the research is grounded in the research. This method, increasingly used to study the complex interactions of everyday consumption that encourage or disincentivise ethical behaviour, highlights consumers' actual lived experience as a source of knowledge. Although survey methods offer vital macro-level understanding, qualitative methods offer micro-level insight of the everyday replications and practise of social behaviours in peoples' lives, where interference can occur and why they endure (Evans, 2011). Future research could add value by using techniques such as participant observation, used in this thesis to capture meanings and the compilation of audio-visual materials. There is still consumer scepticism and selective ethics and the need for more ethical consumer research across several product categories. Better choice editing at source and policy interventions, greater ethical retail perspective management (e.g. using track and trace or 'blockchain' technologies to ethical food) and policy interventions to improve ethical consumption. Consumers want to believe their choices make a difference. Although cooperation of ethical research, practitioner, policy and regulatory arrangements have made significant changes in recent years, there is still more to do. Whereas it is perceived occasionally that we are no nearer to understanding the ethical consumer, studies done in the last decade indicate that the ethical consumer is complicated, fluid and indefinable and they are subject to emotional, individual, cultural and contextual notions. Exasperating, but they form a solid foundation to build on future research.

In summary, for us to understand why consumers' behaviour persistently contradict their values, we need to refine and develop research methodologies to better identify, understand and forecast the needs of the ethical consumer. Consumer responsibility manifests itself flexibly, demonstrates ethical considerations that are product and situation-specific, are subject to attitude behaviour gaps and impacted by complex contextual influences. Motivating the ethical consumer requires appealing to ethical concerns that are already rooted in their daily practices.

All research objectives were met as set out throughout the thesis. This study throws more light on family microenvironments, adolescents' influence and ethical consumption. This study's key findings are that differences do exist within the same family about how adolescents learn about consumption. An adolescent's consumer microenvironment which is developed by his or her family creates different opportunities for that child to learn about consumption and the family stories provide a much more nuanced understanding of the process of consumer socialisation as a result. Lastly, this thesis highlights the complexity of the process of ethical consumption and the negative social identities linked with ethical consumerism and these begin to explain the gap between attitude and behaviour so frequently noted by previous studies.

9.3 Managerial contributions

The data clearly shows that children play a significant role in family ethical food decision-making. These adolescents are skilled in sophisticated behaviours which they

deploy to influence others. The level of sophistication in influence strategies was reinforced by their access to wide-ranging information which they used to support their influence strategies. This information was primarily gathered through the internet and social media sites with each child involved in the data collection process having access to mobile phones, tablets and personal computers and belonging to at least one social media site. The existing image of children-as-innocent, advertiser-as-seducer (Young, 1998), is challenged slightly by the findings which recognise that adolescents are skilled in quite sophisticated behaviours which they deploy to influence others. In this study, children were found to form coalitions with other siblings determined by the positive nature of a child's fraternal family microenvironment and Children in unfavourable family microenvironment exploits their siblings' favourable family microenvironment for their interests.

Understanding how decisions are made, and equally importantly who is involved in the decision-making process, is of crucial concern to marketers. Given that 'the family serves as a consuming, producing, distributing and socializing unit and its interaction with other elements of society is intimate, immediate and thus telling' (Commuri & Gentry, 2000, p. 1) the significance of the family should not be neglected. Marketers have long been interested in who makes decisions (Kim, Lee & Han, 2018) and whom to target and the most effective media to do so (Kim, Yang & Lee, 2015). Lee and Collins (2000, p. 1195) suggested that 'effective marketing requires knowledge of how products are purchased, and what sources of influence individual family members apply to the decision process'. Most of the ethical food found and bought by the families,

especially by the adolescents were done through the internet. In such instances, their choice of product was heavily influenced by the opinions of family members. The family food decision-making is influenced by the dynamic interaction among family members' individual decision-making systems and the balance of power among them (Gillespie & Johnson-Askew, 2009). Particularly, the effect of intragenerational influence (Cotte & Wood, 2004) on the consumption of siblings is evident and should be of paramount concern to marketers.

Adolescent's ability to shape family consumption patterns should also be of crucial concern to marketers since they have enormous spending power to spend their own money and to influence family decisions on consumption (Batat, 2010) and their potential as a future market. It is therefore very important that ethical food companies and marketing practitioners make sure their companies offer information and products that will attract adolescents. Moreover, the design of promotions needs to be considered from an adolescent's perspective and to ensure that the displays and the interpretations of communications can attract and hold their attention.

On ethical consumption, consumers still seldomly examine the ethical credentials of many products, but they are now willing to pay a premium for ethical foods, and there is a growing sector of producers, retailers and consumers who are trying to make, sell and buy more ethical products (Humphrey, 2016). Practitioners and researchers need to work closely and develop a better connection between ethical consumers and their purchases to increase awareness about the benefits (Lang, 2016). This thesis makes a

very real contribution to the field of consumer behaviour and ethics. The complexity of consumer ethics shows that contributions to "context-sensitive ethics" (Smith, 1999) have to further supplement theoretical understandings of the role of context with more ethnographic research to begin to understand how people both construct their ethical relationships to distant others and mediate those constructions through their situated norms of ethical practice. Without attention to "everyday practices" of morality, consumption theories of ethics will continue to remain "out-of-touch" despite the best intentions of the theorists. This thesis makes a valuable contribution to identifying Adolescent influence strategies in ethical food consumption and suggests that practitioners attempting to increase ethical consumption purchasing could incorporate these influential constructs in their communications to promote 'thoughtful shopping'. Understanding and encouraging consumers' ethical consumption purchases may help in the important ambitions of enabling a cleaner environment, safer working conditions and fairer pay for workers globally.

9.4 Limitations and future research

This thesis has made progress in investigating the adolescent influence in ethical food decision-making, with a focus on not only adolescent and parent interaction but also sibling to sibling interactions in the family home. However, it is recognised that only a limited number and variety of families have been included. There are several "other" family forms which need research attention, stressing that families have indeed changed in structural terms in a move away from nuclear concepts. Stacey (1996) considers gay and lesbian families to be the pioneers of the postmodern family

condition, and Palan and Wilkes (1997) also made a call for future family research to include a range of family structures. Though steps are currently being taken to research emerging family types (e.g. Harrison & Gentry, 2007a) and their single father study, future studies should focus on investigating a wide range of family structures and members.

This thesis is therefore limited to the 20 nuclear families and potential exists to explore whether similarities (or indeed differences) exist amongst other family structures and members. Whilst it could be argued that greater breadth could have been achieved in this thesis by recruiting a greater number of families, depth has been achieved by collecting data, phenomenological focus and the length of the interviews thereby offer detailed, in-depth accounts (Smith et al., 2009). To achieve this level of depth required a trade-off in terms of the number of families which could be included in this thesis in the light of the constraints (particularly in terms of time) of doctoral research. Nonetheless, there are several drawbacks when using a limited number of participants. This study does not make claims of generalisability or claim to have reached a point of saturation, however, it is concerned with the 'particulars'.

The intention of the thesis was also to obtain the views from every parent and adolescent family member to present a wider account of decision making in families from multiple family members, however, certain adolescents chose not to participate. Future research needs to consider how to obtain the views from every family member, particularly, other family members who do not live within the main family home,

children below and above the age range of 11 – 16 recruited in this thesis and the potential role that they might play in shaping decisions in families and the family environment.

Future research should consider the potential for ethical considerations in people's food choices such as choosing organic or locally/nationally/sustainably sourced products and how consumers weigh up these considerations with other more general determinants such as taste and price influences. Recent findings that moral satisfaction mediates the effect of ethical characteristics of food (Bratanova et al., 2015) on taste expectations should also be considered, particularly as the taste expectations and subsequent experience of foods can be expected to inform future purchasing behaviour.

Finally, future research should focus on other family members who have the potential to socialise children and direct family decisions, and that other family sites can also exist. Non-resident family members should, therefore, be considered as part of the family. Non-kin relationships, such as with friends, neighbours, or care providers, as part of the family (Jordan-Marsh & Harden, 2005) could also be a potentially fruitful research area to explore. There have also been calls to explore decision making using observational methods (Carrigan, 2017). Whilst the families were observed in their home it may have been beneficial to gain longer periods of immersion with the families to observe decisions being made.

9.5 Reflections

9.5.1 Barriers to Access

I had difficulty in recruiting participants at the initial stage of my data collection. While many people showed interest in my research both online and in-person at the shops and collected my flyers, many failed to respond and while others contacted me later to decline their participation. On reflection and speaking to other academics, I decided to recruit two female academic colleagues who kindly joined me to recruit in the ethical shops and the response changed immediately. More people showed interest, including two participants who had earlier declined to participate. During the data collection, they told me they did so out of 'suspicion'. Hicks (2006, p. 102) discusses the 'discourse of suspicion' associated with men who take an interest in the activities of children and child research, citing one participant who opined that 'men are seen as more predatory and not the natural carers of children' (Hicks, 1998, p. 293). As such their interest with children and research with children may be seen to be suspicious in the eyes of others. Wallendorf and Belk (1989) to acknowledge that male and female researchers are likely to face different degrees of problems in overcoming barriers to access to children, particularly relevant in today's world in which the concern for child safety is heightened, with parents and guardians right to be protective of their children and in controlling whom they talk to. I feel that the formality necessary in gaining the consent of the parents to be involved with the research process, requiring the parents to formally accept and allow my conversations with their children (providing the children agreed to talk to me), helped gain their trust and stressed that the research was to be conducted professionally.

9.5.2 Researcher vulnerability and Ethical issues

Throughout the interview process, I was keen to develop an informal research style, which was particularly apparent when I talked with the children. The phenomenological approach employed facilitated this, with the interviews intended to yield a conversation-like quality (Thompson, Locander & Pollio, 1989), whereby rich data is believed to emerge from informal researcher-participant conversations (Elliott & Janke I-Elliott, 2003).

I was so interested in the families recruited that I often revealed a great deal about my own life to them, and details and experiences relating to my upbringing in a nuclear family and telling them about my Mum's battle with cancer. On reflection, I feel that this disclosure helped to make me look 'normal' person like them and build a bond between myself and the participants. Moreover, I may have got "too close" to some of the families recruited. Whilst I enjoyed such a close bond with the families, and particularly with the adolescents, I did not fully consider how I would end this relationship. Similarly, I did not consider how harmful ending this relationship could be for the participants (especially the adolescents) or myself.

Regarding ending the 'relationship' between myself and the adolescents, I feel that it was clear from the outset that the relationship was different from that of a friend. Whilst I did indeed take an interest in their lives, and whilst I was affected by what happened to them, this was not a "traditional" friendship. While others have questioned whether

such a friend-like and equal relationship can exist between researcher and participant. Jamieson (1998), for example, suggests that friendship can only ever exist between individuals equal in status, and Harden et al. (2000) argued that such conditions can never be applied to the research setting with its power disparities.

However, it was made clear to the adolescents that after the conversations had ended no further contact with them. This was to ensure that the ethical conditions listed when recruiting the families were met. With the benefit of retrospection, perhaps I could have paid more attention toward managing the cessation of such relationships with the children. Likewise, although I do feel that a bond was developed with several of the adolescents, I also feel that they were fully aware that my relationship with them would be temporary and in many cases, I am confident that the children soon enjoyed reclaiming the time that they had earmarked for talking with me.

Perhaps what is most interesting is the effect that the time spent with the families has had on me. Some of the family circumstances were very distressing to hear, or witness, particularly with the Jannetta family (with the murder of a family member, and the family's dire financial situation) and the parental treatment of Aurélie in the Moreau family. I equally felt helpless and ill-equipped on an emotional and practical level to offer any help or advice to Aurélie (and others), and I struggled with the uncertainty as to whether it was my place, as a researcher, to offer such support or advice in the first instance. The line as to where the role of the research ends is quite vague, and although the issue of researcher vulnerability has been raised in other academic disciplines (most

notably in the field of health research) such issues are rarely sufficiently addressed in consumer research.

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Appendix 1: Family briefing sheet



BRIEFING SHEET

Participant ID Code: 001

1. Study title

Influence in Decision-Making: Perspectives of adolescent ethical food consumption.

2. Invitation paragraph

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

3. What is the purpose of the study?

The overall aim of this study is to investigate everyday ethical food decision-making process and shopping of families to help develop an understanding of the decision-making process of family ethical food consumption and to capture those factors affecting their decisions.

4. Why were you chosen?

We must assess as many participants as possible, and you have indicated that you are interested in taking part in this study. This study is looking for families who consume ethical foods and had at least one resident child (11–16) in the family home and it was on these bases that your family was selected and invited to participate.

5. Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. If you do decide to withdraw from the study then please inform the researcher as soon as possible, and they will facilitate your withdrawal. If, for any reason, you wish to withdraw your data please contact the researcher within a month of your participation. After this time, it may not be possible to withdraw your data as the results may have already been published. However, as all data are anonymised, your data will not be identifiable in any way. You and your family members have the

right to withdraw from this study at any time or a decision not to take part, will not affect you in any way.

6. What will I have to do?

- The entire research should last for at least 3 hours in a single visit and you and your family members will be actively involved throughout this time.
- The research will be carried out at your home during a single visit. We will come round to your home at a mutually convenient time to meet you, your wife/husband and your adolescent child/children for the study.
- Preferably, three visits will be made lasting at least 2 hours. During this time, you and your family members will be observed and interviewed. As part of the observation you will be given a £50 voucher to spend on food shopping and this is expected to last for 50 minutes. A final part of the research, the family will be interviewed together which will be audio-recorded and expected to last for about 60 minutes each time.

Please note that to ensure quality assurance and equity this project may be selected for audit by a designated member of the Ethics Committee. This means that the designated member can request to see signed consent forms. However, if this is the case your signed consent form will only be accessed by the designated auditor or member of the audit team.

7. Will I have to provide any bodily samples (i.e. blood/saliva/urine)?

No

8. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There is no known risk in participating in this project. Appropriate risk assessments for all procedures have been conducted and will be followed throughout the duration of the study.

9. What are the possible benefits of taking part?

We hope that participating in the study will help you. However, this cannot be guaranteed. While there may not be a direct intended benefit to you and your family for taking part in the study, your family's participation will shed light on ethical food decision-making within family units.

9. Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

The research team has put several procedures in place to protect the confidentiality of participants. You will be allocated a participant code that will always be used to identify any data you provide. Your name or other personal details will not be associated with your data, for example, the consent form that you sign will be kept separate from your data. All paper records will be stored in a locked filing cabinet, accessible only to the research team, and all electronic data will be stored on a password-protected computer. All information you provide will be treated following the UK Data Protection Act.

10. What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the research study will be used as part of a Postgraduate thesis. The results may also be presented at conferences or in journal articles. However, the data will only be used by

members of the research team and at no point will your personal information or data be revealed.

11. Who has reviewed the study?

The study has received full ethical clearance from the Research ethics committee who reviewed the study. The committee is the Business School REC.

12. Contact for further information

If you require further information, have any questions or would like to withdraw your data then please contact:

Daniel Hagan
d.e.hagan@mdx.ac.uk

Dr Jyoti Navare
Middlesex University London
Hendon Campus
NW4 4BT
Tel: +44 (0)20 8411 6568
j.navare@mdx.ac.uk

Thank you for wanting to take part in this study. You should keep this participant information sheet as it contains your participant code, important information and the research teams contact details.

Appendix 2: Family recruitment pack



Department of Economics
Middlesex University Business School
Hendon campus. The Burroughs
London, NW4 4BT
d.e.hagan@mdx.ac.uk

Dear Family,

Thank you for showing an interest in my research and for agreeing to participate. My research aims to explore family ethical food decision-making. This is a much under-researched area in Consumer Behaviour terms, and what little we do know about such issues rests on past studies conducted in the 1960s and 1970s. These early studies mostly focussed on husband and wife pairs. Accordingly, research is needed to update this body of knowledge which collects data from a variety of family members, particularly children.

Through discussions with your family members, a picture of your family decision-making process will emerge. I would like to talk to both parents and one of your children within the age group of 11 – 16 years to gain insight into your family consumption practices. I will talk to your child with your (and their) consent on their role in family consumption practices. However, I appreciate that every family member may not want to participate and I will respect the wishes of any individual who asks to opt-out of my research.

As involving your family in my research has the potential to include children in the data collection process, a strict ethical code of conduct will be adhered to. This research has

been approved by the Ethics Committee of the Middlesex University and the university's code of conduct will be followed at all time and your family will only be involved after consent has been given.

The meeting with your family will be incredibly informal and will not be too complex to ensure that your child can participate if they so wish. I can come round to your home at a mutually convenient time to observe, have an interactive experiment and to talk about family life and consumption practices to gain your opinions. As they are your opinions, there are no right or wrong answers - I am simply interested in better understanding your family and how consumption decisions are made. Nothing too onerous and the level of your involvement can be determined by you and other family members. You and your family members have the right to withdraw from this study at any time, for whatever reason. For agreeing to participate in the study you will receive a food gift voucher (approximately £50) as a token to compensate for your time.

If you still are interested in this study, please sign the consent form attached and send it back to me and I shall send other consent forms for your family if they are interested in this research. Should you have any further queries, or if you would like to contact me for further information or clarification, then please feel free to do so. My contact details are given at the top of this form. Finally, should you require an appeal against this please contact my Director of Studies, Dr Jyoti Navare on j.navare@mdx.ac.uk.

Best wishes,

Daniel Hagan

Appendix 3: Parent consent form



Department of Economics
Middlesex University Business School
Hendon campus
The Burroughs
London, NW4 4BT
d.e.hagan@mdx.ac.uk

Dear participant

Thank you for showing an interest in my research and for agreeing to participate. For you to fully consent to be involved, and agree to participate, I would be grateful if you could read the statements in the consent form below and sign this form. These statements briefly detail what your involvement will entail, and what you can expect as a result of taking part.

This consent form only outlines your consent to take part in the research process. Other family members will be issued with similar forms, and they will each be asked in turn if they would like to participate. In signing this form, however, you agree that I can approach your family particularly, your children to ask them directly if they would like to also take part in this research. This contact will take the form of a letter or by you introducing me to them at our first meeting, where possible.

Should you have any further queries, or if you would like to contact me in any way for further information or clarification, then please feel free to do so. My contact details are given at the top of this form. Should you require an appeal against this please contact my Director of Studies, Dr Jyoti Navare on j.navare@mdx.ac.uk.

Best wishes

Daniel Hagan

I agree to take part in Daniel Hagan's study, and I understand that:

- I will need to meet with Daniel, at a convenient time, and on agreed dates;

- I will talk with research about my family ethical food decisions;
- The meetings will be audio recorded to help Daniel transcribe our discussions;
- Different names (Pseudonyms) will be used to conceal my identity and those of other family members;
- I am free to withdraw my consent at any time, and withdraw from the data collection process;
- The results of this study may be published in academic journals and elsewhere, although pseudonyms will again be used;
- I can ask Daniel about the study, and for clarification, if needed;
- I give my permission for Daniel to approach other family members to seek their consent to also take part in this study;
- Daniel may talk to my children (where relevant), but only when I am present or nearby;
- Daniel will have no further contact with family members after the research has finished.

I consent to take part in this study. I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any time, for whatever reason, and that if I do I shall inform Daniel as quickly as possible.

Signature:

Name and Address:

Date:

Appendix 4: Adolescent consent form



Name: _____

Before you sign this form, you need to know that:

- ✚ Everything that you say to me will be kept private and will be just between you and me;
- ✚ No one else will be able to listen to anything you say;
- ✚ Your name will be changed so no one will know what you said to me;
- ✚ Nothing bad will happen to you if you say 'no' you don't want to talk to me any longer;
- ✚ If you say 'yes' now, you can decide later on that you do not want to talk to me if you change your mind;
- ✚ An adult (parents) will always be with you when we meet, and all meetings will take place at your house;
- ✚ I would like to talk with you to better understand your family food decision-making and if there's anything you don't understand just ask;
- ✚ If there is ever anything that you don't want to talk about, just say it.

Signed/Name:

Name of a person watching:

Date:

I agree to take part in Daniel Hagan's study, and I understand that:

- I will need to meet with Daniel, at a convenient time, and on agreed dates;
- I will talk with Daniel about my family and family matters;
- The meetings will be audio recorded to help Daniel transcribe our discussions;
- Pseudonyms will be used to conceal my identity, and those of other family members;
- I am free to withdraw my consent at any time, and withdraw from the data collection process;
- The results of this study may be published in academic journals and elsewhere, although pseudonyms will again be used;
- I can ask Daniel about the study, and for clarification, if needed;
- Daniel will have no further contact with family members after the research has finished;
- The meetings will take place at the family home when an adult is present.

I consent to take part in this study. I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any time, for whatever reason and that if I do, I shall inform Daniel as quickly as possible.

Signature:

Name and Address:

Date:

Appendix 5: Recruitment advert



Participants needed

I am recruiting ethical food consumers - individuals who buy organic, Fairtrade, forest alliance, free-range eggs, free-range poultry, farmers' markets/local foods, vegetarian products, freedom foods and sustainable fish, vegan products etc. in the UK for a study on family decision-making on ethical foods

The study involves about 4 appointments of interactive observation and interviews lasting 2 hours at a time. Visits will take place on weekends at the participant's home

This study has been approved by the Middlesex University's Business School Research Ethics Committee

To compensate for your time you will receive £50 ethical food voucher

If you're interested or require further information please contact Daniel Hagan (d.e.hagan@mdx.ac.uk)



Appendix 6: Interview guide

Hello,

Welcome to the study and thank you for participating. The purpose of this study is to understand how families make consumption decisions. Your participation will contribute to this important research in family decision-making. Before we start the interview, I just want to remind you that the information you provide will be treated according to the guidelines determined by the Middlesex University's Research ethics committee, the Data Protection Act 1998 and the Market Research Society's code of conduct. You are guaranteed anonymity and absolute confidentiality. This means that you will not be identifiable in any way when this data is presented or reported and that your information will not be shared with other third parties but exclusively used in the context of this research project. Moreover, your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you can withdraw from the interview at any stage.

I also want to stress two things about this research project. First, this is not some sort of experiment where I want to discover hidden aspects of your personality. Second, there is no right or wrong answer – I am interested in what you honestly think, and I am here to understand and not to judge your thoughts or lifestyles as individuals or as a family.

Before we start, can I just check if you are happy for this interview to be tape-recorded?

Section 1: Ethical food consumption (20 minutes)

1. What do you think are ethical foods?
2. Do you as a family buy ethical foods every day?

3. What types of ethical foods do you normally buy? (Organic, Fairtrade, free-range, poultry products, farmers' market, Freedom foods, Vegetarian, Sustainable fish)
4. Why do you buy ethical foods?
5. Who normally decides to buy ethical foods in your family?
6. Tell me your normal routine for food consumption decision-making at home
7. How often are you involved in food decision-making?

Section 2: family influence (20 minutes)

1. How do you decide on which product to buy?
2. Do you normally get what you want during decision-making?
3. What do you normally do to get what you want during decision-making? Or
4. Why do you think you don't normally get what you want during decision-making?
5. Are you able to change the outcome of a decision?
6. What do you do to change the outcome of family decisions?
7. What do you think influence is?
8. Do you think you have influence in the family?
9. If yes, why do you think so? Or
10. If no, why do you think you don't have any influence
11. If yes, what makes you think you have influence?

12. How do you go about making food decisions in the family?
13. Who in your family do you think has more/less influence during decision-making?
14. Do your parents allow you to make decisions on your own? [child only]

Section 3: Parental styles (10 minutes)

1. Do you normally involve your child in decision-making?
2. If you do or do not involve your child in family decisions, could you tell me why?
3. Do you allow your child to express his/her opinion about the food products you buy?
4. Do your parents discuss food shopping with you before buying them?
5. Do you think your parents respect your opinion during family decision-making and consumption?
6. Do you discuss food choice with your siblings? If so, how does that affect your food consumption?

Section 4: Issues arising from the observations (5 minutes)

Appendix 7: Transcript of interviews of the Cohen Family

Notes		Interview texts	Themes
<p><i>Children using social media first thing in the morning</i></p> <p><i>Heavy users of social media to catch up on friends</i></p>	Interviewer	<p>Anything that you say to me now will not be shared with anyone, and it's just a way of me collecting some information for my PhD. What you tell me might be used in the PhD which will be seen by my supervisors and examiners. It is going to be available in the University library as well. It might also be that little snippets get used in other publications if that's ok, but I just want you to know that no one will be able to tell whom the information came from. If bits of the interviews with your family are used then I'll give you a different name so no one will know who you are, all they'll know is that these interviews come from a family in the South East. Is that ok or do you want me to tell you about anything else?</p>	<p><i>Active internet & social media users</i></p> <p><i>Internet Mavens</i></p>
	Mrs Cohen	No, that's fine. We are ok with it, aren't we?	
	Illana	[Nodded] yeah, we're.	
	Mr Cohen	Yeah, I'm pretty much ok with it.	
	Abbi	I'm fine too.	
	Interviewer	Kids, have you had time to catch up with your friends today?	
	Illana	Yes, I did as soon as I got up this morning.	
	Abbi	Me too. I saw lots of message notifications on my phone, so I quickly checked them out to see and read them.	
	Interviewer	So, what social media are you on?	
	Illana	Facebook, Snapchat and Instagram.	
Abbi			

<p><i>Friends influencing the type of social media to use</i> <i>Found Facebook boring</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Abbi</p>	<p>I only use Snapchat these days as most of my friends have left Facebook and are now using Snapchat. Why did you and your friends leave Facebook? They find Facebook boring. Snapchat is fun so me and my friends we all decided to stay there.</p>	<p><i>Peer influence of social media usage</i></p>
<p><i>Spend lots of time Online with friends</i></p>	<p>Illana Interviewer Illana</p>	<p>Well, I guess you lot don't know what is fun. Facebook is more fun place to be [Illana], so what is fun about Facebook? We hang out a lot more there than anywhere else. I get to share photos and chat with friends and do a lot of things up there. Like you get to join other interesting groups and communities there too.</p>	<p><i>Disagreement</i></p>
<p><i>Joining ethical consumption groups online</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Illana</p>	<p>Which group do you belong to? My favourite group is called the Ethical Omnivore consumer alliance. It's made up of many people from around the world who care about ethical food and share useful information about food. That is where I get my information about ethical stuff. I recently introduced my mum and dad to the group and shops.</p>	<p><i>Internet tool to gather information and inform decision-making</i> <i>Reverse socialisation</i></p>
<p><i>Kids introducing parents to online groups & shops</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>So, do you [Mr. & Mrs Cohen] use the internet and social media? I didn't use it as much as they [children] do. I particularly use it to ensure my children are safe online, check up on family and meet old school friends. I find the ethical consumer group insightful as they share much vital information about ethical foods, vegan, vegetarian and all sorts. I go to the group's platform often these days to catch up on information.</p>	<p><i>Maternal gatekeeping</i></p>
<p><i>Mum monitoring children's online behaviour</i></p>	<p>Mr Cohen</p>	<p>Yes, I'm but not as active as [Mrs. Cohen] and the children. We use Facebook and WhatsApp to connect with friends and family. I'm more of a WhatsApp fun as I have got few WhatsApp groups; for work colleagues, family and friends.</p>	<p><i>Internet as a useful source of information</i></p>
<p><i>Using internet to catch up on news</i> <i>Mum & Dad use internet to connect with family & friends</i></p>	<p>Interviewer</p>	<p>Ok, well I think we need to start talking about your family, shall we? I mean talk about what took place today – food consumption and family decision-making and everyday food decision-making at your home. Could you tell me what was your experience doing grocery shopping online today with the coupon?</p>	

<i>Dad's limited involvement in food decisions</i>	Mr Cohen	One again thanks for the coupon, we're grateful. I don't always get involved in food decision-making but whenever I do, I don't say much, but the whole experience was interesting for me	<i>Limited involvement in food decision-making</i>
	Interviewer	I saw you sitting quietly most of the time, is it because you were not interested in grocery shopping?	
<i>Dad's interested in food bought but not always involved in decision-making process due to cultural role</i>	Mr Cohen	I'm interested in the sort of food we buy but I have always thought that [Mrs. Cohen] and the children will make the right food decisions. Culturally, my role is to provide financially and hope she [Mrs. Cohen] takes care of the home. So, some of the times I just go by what they buy when it comes to food.	<i>Trust family decision-making on food</i>
	Mrs Cohen	Yes, but you sometimes tell me what you would like for breakfast or dinner, don't you?	<i>Culture restricts involvement of men in some home decision making</i>
<i>Dad does not think telling is part of decision making</i>	Mr Cohen	But I only tell you what food I prefer and leave it up to you what you buy, don't I?	
	Interviewer	[Illana and Abbi] what's your experience of the grocery shopping you just made?	
<i>Mum played deaf to Avoid Abbi's request Abbi got angry, made faces & walked away because she thinks mum was playing deaf</i>	Abbi	It was ok. I saw a granola cereal I liked, and which looks so good but when I pointed it out to mum, she pretended she didn't hear me, and I got crossed.	<i>Resistance strategy: play deaf</i>
	Interviewer	I saw you making faces and later got up to the kitchen and joined later. Could you tell me what was going on?	
	Abbi	Yeah, I was upset mum was playing deaf. Later when I saw it in the shopping basket, I was happy. It made me feel a bit better then.	
	Interviewer	Who selected Abbi's granola into the shopping basket?	
<i>Mum didn't buy Illana's because it was expensive and she got angry for asking constantly</i>	Mrs Cohen	I did. I knew she was upset when she pulled faces, kept quiet and walked off so I look up for the product and bought it just to keep peace at home.	<i>Influence attempt: anger, making faces, keep quite & walking away</i>
	Illana	So, why didn't you buy what I selected too?	
	Mrs Cohen	Because yours was expensive than [Abbi's] and besides you got on my nerves by constantly asking me to just buy everything you saw out there for you. [Abbi] doesn't ask for things as you do.	<i>Different sibling treatment</i>
	Interviewer	What did you mean when you said [Abbi] doesn't ask for things?	<i>Influence attempt: persistent asking</i>

<p><i>Abbi's positive not-asking attempt proves effective influence strategy while Illana's constant asking is not</i></p> <p><i>Illana constantly asks while Abbi doesn't</i></p> <p><i>Abbi ticks to request what she wants but do not ask</i></p> <p><i>Mum is more susceptible to Abbi's influence attempts due to her vulnerability earlier on. She says she has no favourite, but her behaviour indicates she has a favourite.</i></p>	Mrs Cohen	What I meant was that [Abbi] doesn't ask us to buy things for her. She hardly does that. But Illana just can't stop herself. She asks all day long. She asks for things she doesn't even need them. For instance, she keeps asking for phone although for the past two Christmases she's had a mobile phone.	<p><i>Positive Influence attempt: not asking</i></p> <p><i>Negative Influence attempt: constant asking</i></p> <p><i>Illana: difficult sibling</i></p> <p><i>Abbi: Easy sibling</i></p> <p><i>Influence attempt: ticking products</i></p> <p><i>Positive affect: miserable, sweet, looks lovely and peachy</i></p> <p><i>Different sibling treatment</i></p>
	Illana	No, I haven't!	
	Mrs Cohen	She said that she's not having one this year. She said that she can have anything else bar a mobile phone.	
	Illana	No, I haven't! I got one last year because mine was decked, I couldn't even hear people talking, and I got that one free off Emma. And Dad broke my phone.	
	Mrs Cohen	It's just been what do you want for a present? 'Mobile phone, mobile phone'. So, she said 'no, she's not having one'. She said that she can have something else. This one [Abbi] doesn't ask.	
	Illana	Yes, she has, she's asked for, and she's about circled all the Argos catalogue.	
	Mrs Cohen	She's ticked things, she's ticked things. She's not actually asked. Ticking those makes us know what she wants and if we can we go ahead and buy for her.	
	Interviewer	When it comes to your children, who is your favourite child?	
	Mr Cohen	I love and treat all of them equally.	
	Mrs Cohen	I don't have one particular favourite, they all my favourites. I think in the early days I used to overcompensate, particularly for Abbi, I think if you were to speak to Illana particularly she will say that Abbi gets away with blue murder. But I think I did, and still do, overcompensate because she has a particularly miserable time very early on, and because she was sweet, and because she could smile, and she looks lovely and peachy.	
Interviewer	Well, you just said you don't have a favourite but admitted you overcompensate Abbi, so it means she is your favourite, isn't she?		
Mrs Cohen	I think I treat them all equally.		
Illana	I don't think so, mum. Not me. You're always mean to me and good to Abbi.		
Interviewer	[Illana] what happens if your parents refuse to buy you what you want?		

<p><i>Mum gives in to have her peace</i></p> <p><i>Illana's negative attempt is generally not effective but mum gives in sometimes anyway.</i></p>	<p>Illana</p> <p>Interviewer</p> <p>Mr Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer</p> <p>Mr Cohen</p> <p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer</p>	<p>I refuse to eat, I cry, I keep telling and asking, if it goes on for long it makes me aggressive, and at times I ask Abbi to help me put pressure on them.</p> <p>Is she right?</p> <p>Yes, she does all these things all the time.</p> <p>Do you find them effective and give in to her demands?</p> <p>I'm not sure if they are effective.</p> <p>They drive me mad and sometimes I just give her what she wants so I can have my peace. But most of the time I ignore her. But it depends on what she is asking though.</p> <p>Shall we talk about the foodstuffs you purchased? Why did you select those foodstuffs with such labels?</p>	<p><i>Influence attempt: refuse to eat, crying, telling, asking, aggression, deal making</i></p> <p><i>Negative affect strategies: not effective</i></p> <p><i>Coping strategy: give in to make peace</i></p>
<p><i>The family buys ethical foods to help make the world a better place</i></p> <p><i>Ethical foods have little impact on social, environmental and animal welfare</i></p> <p><i>Selfish greed, and reckless politicians exploiting the world's limited resources</i></p>	<p>Illana</p> <p>Abbi</p> <p>Illana</p> <p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer</p> <p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Mr Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer</p> <p>Mr Cohen</p>	<p>Those are food brands we always buy. We don't but the normal foods.</p> <p>What? Are they normal than what we buy?</p> <p>But that is what many people buy, and they think it is the normal thing to buy.</p> <p>We buy these sort of ethical labels as we do out bit to make the world a better place for all at our personal costs.</p> <p>How does buying these "ethical labels" make the world a better place?</p> <p>Because these foods are grown with little impact on social, environmental and animal welfare. The world is gone mad with big corporate companies exploiting the limited resources of this world to satisfy their selfish greed. Leaving irreparable environmental and social damage in its wake. We are now living in a climate emergency, something brought upon ourselves, particularly by corporate greed and reckless politicians in rich developed countries.</p> <p>We are just a normal family taking steps to right the wrongs of humanity's mistakes which is causing environmental catastrophes - earthquakes, flooding, hunger, poverty and social injustice and the list goes on and on and on.</p> <p>Since when did you start buying these ethical foods?</p> <p>I grew up in the '90s when my mum began to shop green as we call it then. My mum became an activist through a friend so they would go out there</p>	<p><i>Reasons for ethical consumption: self-denial, morality, sense of ethical obligation</i></p> <p><i>Big companies, human activity and politicians in developed countries caused climate emergency</i></p> <p><i>Reasons for ethical consumption: altruism, self-denial, sense of ethical obligation</i></p>

<p><i>Ethical consumerism was formally called green issues</i> <i>Dad became an ethical consumer via his activist mother</i></p> <p><i>Consuming ethically before and after marriage</i></p> <p><i>Mum's ethical lifestyle was gradual since it was difficult to become ethical consumer</i></p> <p><i>Mum thought family and friends won't let her become vegan</i> <i>Dad helped mum pulling off ethical lifestyle</i> <i>Mum struggled staying away from eating meat</i></p> <p><i>Mum struggled to eat meat initially until later</i></p>	<p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer</p>	<p>campaigning and demonstrating on environmental and social injustice issues. Back then, the Cooperative was the only company we knew who stock green products. My dad didn't care about all these and rowed with my mum more often as he thought these products were too expensive and my mum was being brain-washed by the green leftie brigade. I became more sympathetic to the social and environmental issues. Later, after I got married, I joined Friends of the Earth. So, we have been buying ethical products as a family since we got married. I was just amazed that they could go out and do it, I am not the sort of person to go out and do that sort of thing. I felt I just wanted to support them, and it is from their literature and the things that they send you that urn, I got more interested: I am a terrible one for merchandise.</p> <p>For me ethical consuming came on somewhat gradually, um, it's not something that you can suddenly decide you are going to get into, it's a matter of what choices are available. It's more difficult to put yourself out there than it is to talk about what is available ethical food choices. I liked the reasons behind veganism, I just thought my family and friends won't let me. I thought it would be too hard and I didn't think I could pull it off. I had to do that gradually with [Mr. Cohen's] help while we were in uni. I said right the only way I'm going to pull off this vegetarian thing as if I still allow myself to eat chicken when I go home or went out with friends. So that was a bit difficult. I went vegan very gradually as well. I was only a vegan at uni, but when I went out I might buy a vegan product, so yeah I did it all very gradually. Well, I'd say I didn't touch any more meat for many years really, but before that, I didn't eat very much meat. But kind of like if I was served something that had sausage in or something that wasn't like really obvious meat I could sort of like make myself struggle and eat it, you know, to try and, well I don't know, to try and be polite or whatever. Whereas maybe by the time I got to about the age of my late teens, early twenties I had the confidence to go vegan.</p> <p>With all that you just told me, what does ethical consumption mean to you?</p>	<p><i>Intergenerational influence of ethical consumption</i></p> <p><i>Ethical consumption is too expensive</i></p> <p><i>Reasons for ethical lifestyle: liked the reason behind veganism</i></p> <p><i>Challenges of becoming ethical consumer</i> <i>Coping strategy: hide it from family and friends</i> <i>Challenges of becoming ethical consumer: private struggle</i></p> <p><i>Coping strategy: try and be polite</i></p>
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<p><i>Ethical consumerism is a lifestyle choice good for humanity and the environment</i></p> <p><i>Ethical consumption is not an isolated part of life</i></p> <p><i>Selfless ethics developed over time Mum likes cruelty to animal.</i></p> <p><i>Brought up to eat chicken but thought it was wrong to eat animals she loved</i></p> <p><i>Mum likes Fairtrade to support third world</i></p> <p><i>Mum was influence by parents, close friends and people she respected</i></p> <p><i>Dad want to be a responsible father and</i></p>	<p>Mr Cohen</p> <p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Mr Cohen</p>	<p>For me this is me and who I am, it's my lifestyle. A lifestyle choice, which is a force for good for humanity and the environment. I suppose one of the things is that ethical consumption is not an isolated part of life, it is related to things we do on a campaigning level, and the money that you spend relates to the other things that you are concerned about, so some of the other campaigns I am involved in touch particularly on ethical consumption. Those are all again very much about linking the theory of what ought to happen with what you do in practice.</p> <p>Well, it makes me feel selfless. it's kinda a thing that has gradually developed since childhood really because, urn, I used to kinda like the urn, cruelty to animal issue and issues like that and ever since I was age three and I was kinda told by my dad and friends that you have to eat chicken and lamb and it is kinda like quite an infantile dislike then of eating meat (right). I was thinking oh I don't want to eat these animals that I see about and really love and I don't want to eat them and it kinda developed from there and then as far as Fairtrade goes we were always quite involved with, um, well my parents were involved with Third World, urn, World Development Movement, and I used to go along to the meetings with them as a girl and so sort of like the idea of buying, urn, Fairtrade I suppose was kinda like absorbed into me in a way [urn) and., and I suppose some of the people that I respected as I got older have had a similar sort of interests in a way, and perhaps, perhaps that has influenced me as well, cos like for example a, well now I am a fair trader for Traidcraft and I think partly the reason I got interested in doing that was that a very close friend of the family did that and sort of maybe that is part of it.</p> <p>Once I had my children, I really felt, with this climate emergency here with us I said to myself: you know when they have grown up I wouldn't like them to say to me "what did you do to help save the world?" you know, I will say "I was there, I stood my ground and did my bit. You have got to do something,</p>	<p><i>Ethical consumption: a selfless lifestyle choice</i></p> <p><i>Ethical consumption: self-identity & socialised ethics</i></p> <p><i>Ethical consumption: socialised ethics, lifestyle and self-identity</i></p> <p><i>Referent power Parents and close friends influenced ethical lifestyle</i></p> <p><i>Reasons for ethical lifestyle: to be</i></p>
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<p><i>do his part to save the world</i></p> <p><i>Illana developed ethical lifestyle by what she saw and ate at home</i></p> <p><i>Illana always look out for ethical brands</i></p> <p><i>Friends find Illana's ethical lifestyle annoying and weird</i></p> <p><i>Conventional products destroy the environment and create poor people poorer</i></p> <p><i>Abbi's parents don't force her to consume ethically</i></p> <p><i>Socialised norm makes Illana follow through her parents' ethics</i></p>	<p>Interviewer</p> <p>Illana</p> <p>Abbi</p> <p>Interviewer</p> <p>Abbi</p> <p>Illana</p>	<p>even if it is one little thing otherwise how can you live with yourself knowing that that is what is going on and you are not doing anything to help.</p> <p>Girls, would you like to tell me when you started buying and eating ethical foods?</p> <p>So, I grew up seeing and eating ethical foods in our home all the time. Any time we went out for grocery shopping, I saw my parents selecting ethical labels and brands. Mum would say it's ethical and buy it or it's not ethical and drop it. So, I find myself doing the same. Anytime time I went out to buy something, I would look for the label to make sure it's one of the ethical brands before I buy them. Even at school and with my friends, I look out for ethical brands often to the annoyance of my friends. They think I'm weird for doing so. It can be upsetting that sometimes.</p> <p>Me too. Growing up mum would tell me not to buy anything that is not vegan, vegetarian, organic and fairtrade because they destroy the environment and make poor people even poorer and make people grow fat and ill. So, I always made sure I bought ethical products whenever I need to buy something. I don't buy a lot of stuff myself, my parents buy them for me.</p> <p>Do you like shopping ethical food and enjoy this ethical lifestyle or do you think you're being forced by your parents?</p> <p>I don't think my parents force me to buy them. No, they have never forced me. I enjoy ethical foods because they're organic and therefore sweeter and healthier, and for me, that is something that I prefer.</p> <p>No, I can't think of a time my parents forced me to buy ethically. They told me to buy ethical when I was a kid but since I grew up they don't tell me any longer since they know I will buy ethically. Although, on a few occasions Abbi and I followed our friends and bought unethical products. Even as a kid I didn't feel forced. They [parents] told me ethical products were healthier and better for the environment and for me that is what makes me buy them so I can play my part in making the world a better place. Through the internet, I have come</p>	<p><i>responsible selfless adult, ethical obligation</i></p> <p><i>Parents as socialisation Agents</i></p> <p><i>Socialised norms</i></p> <p><i>Ethical lifestyle co-constructed and influenced by parents</i></p> <p><i>Challenges of consuming ethically</i></p> <p><i>Reasons for ethical food consumption: environment social justice, ethical obligation</i></p> <p><i>Reasons for ethical food consumption: organic, sweeter & healthier</i></p> <p><i>Normative expectations (socialisation)</i></p> <p><i>Challenges of becoming ethical: Peer pressure</i></p>
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<p><i>Illana & Abbi followed friends and bought conventional products</i></p> <p><i>Illana buys ethically to make the world a better place</i></p> <p><i>It feels good to be part of a global family</i></p> <p><i>Son thought as parents</i></p> <p><i>Kids were embarrassed by their parents' consumer ethics</i></p> <p><i>Kids grew out of non-ethical products and made their own decision</i></p> <p><i>Kids lead double life</i></p> <p><i>Difficult to be ethical consumer</i></p> <p><i>Abbi was called names by friends</i></p>	<p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Abbi</p> <p>Illana</p>	<p>to realise how many people around the world and in the country are buying ethical food. So, yeah it feels good to be part of this global family. There are lots of organisations out there online supporting ethical consumption. But due to lack of information and convenience, I and Abbi would buy what we could on a few occasions.</p> <p>And as the kids were growing up, in the beginning, my son, in particular, took a kind of pride in thinking the way we [mum and dad] did, and because he was going to Sunday School and Quaker meetings and that's how people thought and stuff. And then it became embarrassing for them and all their friends had trainers with strong brand names, but unethical business practices, on them and I would buy them stuff that wasn't "cool" on them. But as they got older and my daughters more than my son, they started to find it embarrassing, you know, these weird parents of theirs that didn't believe in such and such. But, while they were eating ethical foods at home, they grew out of other non-ethical products and developed their own styles and things and had the confidence to make their own decisions. And I think their upbringing enabled them to be more critical of peer pressure and what they were being asked to do.</p> <p>So, did they stop consuming ethical products?</p> <p>Sort of. They began to lead double lives. They lead an ethical lifestyle home and a completely different one when with friends. They buy whatever they saw their friends buy. I guess it was their way of coping with peer pressure.</p> <p>I didn't stop but it felt difficult sometimes to be ethical when I'm with my friends as they think I'm weird and they call me all sorts of names.</p> <p>For me, I don't do it anymore. It was a time I was young and wanted to feel belonged, so I went along with them [friends], but not anymore. Now, they respect me for my values and most of them are coming around to my lifestyle since they realise that our favourite celebrities such as Ariana Grande, J-Lo</p>	<p><i>Reasons for ethical food consumption: making the world a better place</i></p> <p><i>Self-identity and sense of belonging</i></p> <p><i>Barriers to ethical consumption: lack of information & convenience</i></p> <p><i>Challenges of ethical consumption: peer pressure, embarrassment</i></p> <p><i>Resistance to peer pressure: socialisation, intergenerational influence</i></p> <p><i>Coping strategy: double life</i></p> <p><i>Challenges of ethical lifestyle</i></p>
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<i>Illana sacrificed values for friendship but no more.</i>	Interviewer	were vegans. It makes me feel cool as they all come to me for advice on ethical foods.	<i>Respected for ethical values</i>
	Mr Cohen	In the previous discussions, you mentioned the ethical product and ethical brands. What do you think are ethical product?	<i>Referent power</i>
	Mrs Cohen	So, I think they are products and services produced in a way that minimises social and environmental damage.	
<i>Ethical products have less impact on society and the environment</i>	Interviewer	I will add to that and say they [ethical products] are products and services deemed not to have a negative impact on society, environment, animals, social justice. I guess the list goes on and on and on.	
	Illana	So, girls, what sort of ethical brands do you normally buy?	<i>Environmental protection and social justice</i>
<i>Cohen family buys different types of ethical foods</i>	Abbi	At home, we normally buy Vegan, Organic & Free Range, Fairtrade brands.	
	Mrs Cohen	Yeah, we buy Palm-Oil Free, Ethical Consumer Best Buy Labels, soil association.	
<i>Mum consumes ethically to help sustain the environment</i>	Abbi	We buy other labels like RSPCA Assured, Sustainable fish, MSC Fish	
	Illana	[Nodding in affirmation] oh yes, I forgot those labels.	
	Interviewer	Me too.	
	Illana	[Illana] you answered my question by saying "at home we buy ..." do you buy something different when you're outside your home?	
	Interviewer	No. It depends. When I'm outside I buy ethical foods unless I couldn't find one that's when I buy whatever I could find. But at home, we stick to these labels.	
	Mrs Cohen	I know of RSPCA, but what is MSC fish?	<i>Challenges of ethical consumption: availability</i>
	Illana	They are marine stewardship council certified fish. They promote sustainable fishing just so fishing can be done in a sustainable way before we clean up all the fish in the sea in no time. We need to help sustain the environment.	
	Interviewer	There aren't that many ethical brands out there compared to conventional foods.	<i>Reasons for an ethical lifestyle: sustainability</i>
	Illana	Why do you think that is the case?	
	Interviewer	I don't know [shrugs shoulders]	
Illana			

<p><i>Green issues have long way to go to catch up with conventional foods</i></p> <p><i>Big businesses don't find the ethical industry profitable enough</i></p>	Mr Cohen	While I appreciate green issues have come a long way since the '80s and '90s, we still have a long way to go. In those days we only had few companies such as the fairtrade, ethical consumer, tradecraft and cooperative store but now many companies are coming into this industry. I think governments need to take leadership in this sector and support and incentivise companies to move into ethical businesses.	<i>Challenges of ethical consumption: availability</i>
	Mrs Cohen	Well, it might sound cynical, but I think the big organisations out there don't find the ethical industry as lucrative as other industries since making those obscene profits may be seen as unethical and may attract unfavourable press and ethical campaigner's attention. Avoiding bad brand image really.	<i>Industry challenges: lack of investment and government support</i>
	Interviewer	Are these ethical food brands easily available in the shops?	<i>Industry challenges: low profit, bad press</i>
	Mr Cohen	Some are niche you can only buy them from a particular shop or online while others too can easily be found in selected stores and some supermarkets. Most companies I have come across are small start-ups. The supermarkets are doing their best but that is not good enough with the exception of the cooperative shops. They [the cooperative] are way ahead of the pack.	
<p><i>Some ethical food brands are niche</i></p>	Mrs Cohen	It can be difficult sometimes to get the right product you're looking for.	<i>Industry challenges: niche market</i>
	Interviewer Illana	Yeah, it is. How do you determine that a particular product or brand is ethical? The labels help a lot more in finding the right ethical foods. If you saw the fairtrade or the soil association labels on a package, you know it's from an ethical source. These organisations certify them to ensure confidence in the brands and to help promote ethical consumption.	<i>Challenges of ethical consumption: availability</i>
<p><i>Labels are a credible source of identifying an ethical product</i></p>	Mr Cohen	Yeah, food certifications, labels, and marketing claims could be confusing. A simple stroll through those grocery stores aisle or online shopping means deciphering dozens of different labels environmental, nutrition, and agricultural food labels. It's no wonder we're confused by sustainable and ethical food packaging labels. Trustworthy food certification organisations ensure that animals are provided organic feed and have access to the outdoors and that	<i>Promotion of ethical consumption: reputable food certification and labels</i>

<i>Food certification could be confusing</i>	Mrs Cohen	plants foods are grown without genetically modified organisms, as well as most synthetic fertilizers, herbicides, insecticides.	<i>Promotion of ethical consumption:</i>
<i>Trustworthy food certification is useful source of information to ethical consumers</i>		Yeah, you're right. You need to read up a lot too so if the labelling doesn't state the source or don't have the recognised logos you have to read up and use your common sense really. Adopting ethical lifestyle means knowing where your food comes from, but it can be challenging to know which stamps and seals are backed by government agencies and reputable third-party certifiers, and which are simple food manufacturer marketing claims.	<i>trustworthy source of information</i>
<i>Ethical lifestyle means knowing where your food comes from</i>	Abbi	I get a lot of information on ethical products online from reputable sources like the Food Ethics Council, the ethical consumer. The website and communities tend to share the right information about food products.	<i>Knowledgeable of food sources</i>
<i>Knowing the right information can be challenging</i>	Illana	Yeah, some of the companies also spread their information through these social media platforms and people start talking about them. Last week I saw a lot of new vegan products on the market on the Omnivore consumer website.	<i>Challenges of ethical consumption: reputable certifiers</i>
<i>Abbi collects information online</i>	Mr Cohen	I think the internet has made a huge impact in creating awareness. Growing up you can only read up from a handful of sources and most information came by word of mouth but today the internet makes such information easily available. The ethical consumer website reviews companies, brands, products and recommends them to us. They [the ethical consumer] do a great job in supporting green consumers.	<i>Sources of information: reputable websites and online communities</i>
<i>The internet has helped in creating awareness</i>	Mrs Cohen	There are many more of such websites popping up online so it's not as bad as it used to be in the '80s and '90s when I was growing up.	<i>Sources of information: social media</i>
	Interviewer Mrs Cohen	Are these ethical foods not too expensive? Well that is the elephant in the room, isn't it? They are expensive than conventional ones. Maybe it's because they are not mass-produced with chemicals and that may account for the higher prices. In my uni days, my economics teacher told us that mass production reduces unit price as the cost of production could be spread across large numbers and that means the unit price falls. I guess that is what is happening here.	<i>Internet helps to create awareness, promotion and easy information</i>

<p><i>Price is the elephant in the room</i></p>	<p>Mr Cohen</p>	<p>If you consider the damage our lifestyle is causing to the environment for example, with all the floods and earthquakes, bushfires, famine, it might be a price worth paying for to save the world from climate change. As a father I worry about the kind of world, if there is even one left, my children will live in in the future. So, if we can pay these higher prices today to make the world a better place for the future generation then I guess it's a good thing and it's worth it.</p>	<p><i>Challenges of ethical consumption: high price</i></p>
<p><i>Higher prices are worth paying to save the environment</i></p>	<p>Illana</p>	<p>I think the older generation has been careless with the environment and done a lot of damage to it. So, maybe it's good they are paying for the climate change they've caused.</p>	<p><i>High prices are not deterrent but worth it</i></p>
<p><i>Older generation deserve to pay for the damage they've done to the environment.</i></p>	<p>Abbi</p>	<p>But it's not every adult out there who is paying for the damage, is it? It's only those who care enough to consume ethically who are paying the price.</p>	<p><i>Reasons for ethical consumption: Parental & ethical obligation</i></p>
<p><i>Poorer nations are paying the price of climate change</i></p>	<p>Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Well, I think we are all paying in some way or the other for the damage we're causing to the environment. Utility prices have been going up due to global warming and we're all having to pay for it in many other ways. I guess some are paying more than others.</p>	<p><i>Ethical consumers are paying high prices for climate change</i></p>
<p><i>Younger generation paying for older generation's damage to the environment</i></p>	<p>Illana</p>	<p>Yeah, especially the poorer countries who produce little co2 emissions but suffer famine and earthquakes and all the terrible conditions they have to endure as a result of our carelessness. The world is not fair at all.</p>	<p><i>Sense of ethical obligation to right wrongs</i></p>
<p><i>Younger generation paying for older generation's damage to the environment</i></p>	<p>Abbi Interviewer Mr Cohen</p>	<p>Yeah, it's so unfair. Just as we're also paying for the previous generation's greed and damage to the environment. As a family, is the price a challenge to consuming ethically? I guess the price has always and will forever be a challenge until ethical foods become mainstream. As economic beings, we always buy value for money. But as ethical consumers, we don't sacrifice our values for value. Of course, we buy cheaper ethical foods, but we won't buy conventional foods because they are cheaper. We hope one day ethical food production will become conventional.</p>	<p><i>Won't sacrifice values for value Promotion of ethical food consumption: ethical</i></p>

<i>Largescale production of ethical foods could reduce prices</i>	Mrs Cohen	Yeah, we know ethical foods are relatively expensive, but some are cheaper than others. This is what the kids don't know and so often they mistook the expensive products to be more quality and wanted to buy them at all cost.	<i>foods become largescale & conventional</i>
<i>Ethical foods are expensive than conventional foods</i>	Abbi Illana	Mum, we know some brands or labels can be expensive than others. Yeah, from the online price comparison, I realised that vegan foods tend to be more expensive than like say vegetarian foods. I like buying vegan foods as they appeal to me more. So, we're looking at the prices of those foods and looking at the prices of vegan foods and comparing them to others and this vegan food's appealing to me an awful lot more than the last one.	<i>Challenges of ethical consumption: higher price</i>
<i>Vegan foods are expensive than vegetarian foods</i>	Abbi	I'm not particularly vegetarian or vegan as others describe themselves. I just buy ethical, so I'm not too bothered about it.	<i>Using internet to compare prices</i>
<i>Abbi not bothered about her foods being vegan or vegetarian</i>	Interviewer Mrs Cohen	Do you find the kids' knowledge about prices online useful? Yes and no. Their knowledge about what ethical food is available, where to buy them and their prices are immensely useful for us as a family but as parents, more often than not it becomes our undoing. You will assume that knowing prices of these products will help them compare and go for the cheaper once but not in their case. They often want to go for the expensive once.	<i>Expert power</i>
<i>The kids have better product knowledge and cognition via the internet</i>	Illana Interviewer Illana	No mum, that's not fair. I only go for the expensive ones if they're certified by reputable labels or sold by known brands. Are cheaper foods often from not well-known brands? Yes. Most often.	<i>Expert & informational power</i>
<i>Informational (Virtual knowledge used to contribute towards family decision-making)</i>	Abbi Mrs Cohen	Yeah, they are. I don't think that is right. Many factors account for the pricing of these food products, like distance, transportation, costs or just the brand name. So, one must be rational when shopping. Good quality foods may be cheaper in price and poor quality could be high priced. This is what the kids don't understand. Just because we buy ethical foods doesn't mean we don't care about the prices of these products. I guess even the millionaires just don't buy anything because they can afford it, they consider the prices.	<i>Ethical consumers care about price and quality besides ethical issues</i>
<i>Mum cares about price and quality as much as</i>			

<p><i>ethical issues when buying</i></p>	<p>Mr Cohen Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>We're happy to pay fair prices for food products we buy like fairtrade labelled products just so farmers in developing countries can receive good returns for their produce. That is not to say that we don't consider prices before we buy. I think that is where the confusion comes from. Some of my mates think that we don't care about the price of ethical products, but we definitely do.</p> <p>Yeah, my friends do too. They think we are rich for buying these expensive foods when we could get cheaper ordinary foods in the supermarkets and around the place. We're also rational consumers who buy quality goods or services at the best price when we go shopping</p>	<p><i>Ethical consumption: Fair price for a fairer world Sense of ethical obligation</i></p> <p><i>Ethical consumers are rational consumers</i></p>
<p><i>Children close outside, but not at home</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mr Cohen Interviewer Janet Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>For the record, can I know how old are your children? They are 18, 15, 12 and 10</p> <p>How do they get on? Not particularly well in the house, but they stick up for each other when they go outside.</p> <p>Do they help out with the house chores? Not necessarily. When it comes to Illana and Abbi, one's the studious do-gooder and one's a little devil.</p>	<p><i>Conflict among children and explosive relationship</i></p>

<p><i>Illana cannot be bothered</i></p> <p><i>Side with older sibling if they want something</i></p> <p><i>No pocket money</i> <i>Will do chores if asked</i> <i>Eldest good at chores</i> <i>Doing chores since little</i> <i>Not left the children; fit work in around them at weekends</i> <i>Must be asked to do things</i> <i>Would do more if asked</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Why did you say one's the studious do-gooder and one's a little devil? Surely, the devil one can't be bothered and she's the cheekiest and winds me up all the time.</p>	<p><i>Children working together</i> <i>Intragenerational influence</i></p> <p><i>Parental rules imposed</i> <i>Access to chores restricted</i> <i>Gatekeeping (if I ask)</i></p> <p><i>Mother's role central</i> <i>Gatekeeping</i></p>
	<p>Interviewer Mr Cohen</p>	<p>Do they get on with their older siblings? Well, it depends, if they want something, and it's always one with Illana. They don't go together, but only if it is in their interest to do so, even between them.</p>	
	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Do you involve your children in deciding what food to buy in the house? Yes, I do sometimes. I used to when they were smaller. Illana used to like custard, chips, and beans, and that's all she'd eat. But no, generally now they get what they are given and like it or lump it. They do ask for their favourite foods and products, but no most of the time it's what they are given. When they were smaller it was their meals and our meals because they ate at different times to us, but now, no, they get what they are given and like it or lump it.</p>	
	<p>Interviewer Janet</p>	<p>Do they do anything around the house for pocket money? They don't get pocket money. The eldest is quite good, he'll get up in the mornings and make his bed and tidy round. They will vac their bedrooms if I ask them, they're very good at doing the washing, but they've got to be asked to do it. But since being little they used to dust around and vac around, they were so young, weren't they? Because I had them in the house, I've stayed with them since they were babies. I've not left them and gone to work, and only work weekends or in the evening, so yeah, they can do things if I ask them, and they are very good at doing washing and putting it into the machine and drier. And I suppose they would do a lot more if I made them do it, but I don't</p>	
	<p>Interviewer</p>	<p>But you think they would?</p>	

<p><i>Mrs Cohen does Mum things</i> <i>Mr Cohen the worker; does man things</i> <i>Mrs Cohen works to get out of the house/away from children</i> <i>Mum work seems ongoing Job as housewife</i> <i>Kids don't need to do anything around house; Mum's job</i> <i>Mum enjoys chores</i> <i>Children don't always help even though they intend to</i> <i>Checks on chores</i> <i>Easier for her to do it</i> <i>Doesn't have to redo it</i> <i>Brian does little</i></p> <p><i>Mrs Cohen likely to give in to the kid's demand</i></p>	<p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Given the chance, yes, I think they would. They're good kids, the youngest is a bit of a handful, but on the whole, they are good, it's just I do the Mum things. Like [Mr. Cohen], he goes out to work and he does the man thing, and I look after the house and stuff. He's the main earner, I just work to get out of the house and away from the kids, but because I'm here what seems like twenty-four-seven I do the house things. I think that's only fair in terms of that's my job, I'm a housewife most of the time and a part-time worker, you know. I don't have to work as a Jew, I choose to. So, the kids don't need to do anything major around the house. It's nice when they do, don't get me wrong, but they don't have to, they don't have to do the cooking and cleaning and that. I enjoy doing it, so I do, it's part of my job.</p> <p>So how do you feel when they do work around the house to help?</p> <p>I like it, you know, but I suppose deep down I don't like it, do you see what I mean? It's nice to think that they're helping me, but sometimes they might not be. Like [Illana] will vac and make beds, but I have to go around checking they've all been done, I can't leave her to do it on her own, I need to check on her. Sometimes it's just easier for me to do everything, at least then I don't have to check and redo things. Mr Cohen doesn't do a lot either, not during the week, he's at work.</p> <p>It's a week to Christmas, with Christmas presents who are they more likely to ask for things, you or Mr Cohen?</p> <p>Me!</p> <p>Why do you think so?</p> <p>I'm more likely to give in, but I wouldn't give in to anything. It's like they had a set limit and they can write a list, they've got to write a list. This year the little one got to know that there is no Father Christmas, I think they've known that for the last couple of years. Last year it was kind of: if you don't believe, you might not get anything. This year they definitely knew it, but it was a case of well, you can put what you want, but I'm not going to say that you're</p>	<p><i>Traditional gender roles</i> <i>No conflict at leaving house</i> <i>Relentless mother work</i></p> <p><i>Restricted access to housework</i></p> <p><i>Conflict of help vs hinder</i></p> <p><i>Mother's reluctance to relinquish control</i></p> <p><i>Parental submission to child requests</i></p>
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<p><i>Panics at Christmas Won't buy the same game for each</i></p>		<p>going to get it. But I always panic, it's so hard with having four children and I won't buy the same game, they can't understand that I won't buy them the same game each. But yet they won't share, they're sods. We had an argument last night, Illana and Abbi both wanted the same games at Christmas and we're not buying two or three of the same games at two hundred and nine odd pounds every time. And Illana was at it, "no it's my game, and I'm not letting you play on it". But she wasn't even playing on it! She's sat on the shelf but she won't let Abbi play on it. Illana is very devious.</p>	<p><i>Desire for ideal self (Good mum) Parental rules imposed Little sharing Volatile sibling relations</i></p>
<p><i>Girl's don't share Illana Fight Illana is devious</i></p>	<p>Illana Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>No, I'm not. I'm just fighting my corner else I don't get anything. Has she got any ways of trying to change your ways or decisions? Yes, all the time.</p>	
<p><i>Whinges, stomps Violence towards Abbi Attention seeking</i></p>	<p>Interviewer</p>	<p>What does she do? Whinge. Whinge and stomp around and she'll hit Abbi. She likes getting her own way, she's an attention seeker and she always has been. She's fulfilling her own prophecy really, she's been told she's an attention seeker and she goes for it.</p>	<p><i>Influence attempts; whinge violence, seek attention</i></p>
<p><i>Abbi & Robert pull faces</i></p>	<p>Interviewer</p>	<p>What do the others do? Do they have anything they do to try and get their own way?</p>	
<p><i>Abbi does good deeds Goodie-two shoes to get things</i></p>	<p>Mrs Cohen Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>[Abbi] and Robert [youngest] have learnt to kind of pull stupid faces at me And do they work? No! Sometimes they can do. Abbi kind of says well ok then, all right, and then he'd say would you like a cup of coffee, Mum? Would you like me to do the washing, Mum? So being a goodie-two-shoes and then he thinks he's going to get what he wants.</p>	<p><i>Influence attempt; pull funny faces Influence attempt; acts of kindness</i></p>
<p><i>Mum likely to give in over Dad Mum the control person</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen Interviewer</p>	<p>Would their Dad not give into them at all? Sometimes he does, but mainly it's me. I'm the control freak, I'm the money person. Do you think the kids work together to get the things they want?</p>	<p><i>Parental submission to child requests Mother likes control</i></p>

<i>Kids don't team work often; did for vegan cereal</i>	Mrs Cohen	No, the kids don't do teamwork often, they sometimes do teamwork when Illana persuades them to so. Like recently when they needed a new vegan cereal on the market, they call it Ella-Bircher Muesli. But the other things they want it for themselves, they don't want it for sharing.	<i>Collaborative influence; teamwork Intragenerational influence</i>
<i>Promised not to waste it Mithering</i>	Interviewer Mrs Cohen	How long ago did you get the cereal? Oh God, they were going on about it for along time. I want the Ella-Bircher Muesli, we want the Ella-Bircher Muesli! We'll take care we don't waste it. None of them does it, it's all me. But yeah it was kind of mithering mither, mither, mither, mither, mither, but I've always come from an ethical family anyway, so I've had loads of vegan food, so it was something that I would have got anyway. But I think the price was too much as we could get equally good vegan cereal for a far cheaper price.	<i>Influence attempt; persistence & promise of good behaviour</i>
<i>Kids don't ask for a lot Persistent asking to get things</i>	Interviewer Mrs Cohen	And what did they do, just all go on at you? They're actually quite good, they don't ask for anything except Illana. They don't ask for an awful lot. At the moment I've got Illana asking for one of these shot Fairtrade jackets, you know a black hoodie. And she'll ask and she'll ask, but she's not getting it.	<i>Influence attempt; not asking and persistence</i>
<i>Illana shows everyone else has one</i>	Interviewer Mrs Cohen	Is that what she does, just ask? Yes. And if she really wants something, or if she thinks it's really unfair and that everyone else has got one - because that's hers, it's everyone else has got one, she's got one and she's got one and she's got two. And she'll start stomping, and when she gets really annoyed, she'll start picking up ornaments and she'll say, you like this, don't you? Shall I smash it? And I'm just like yeah, smash it, do it. You know, do it if you think that's going to get you anything. They've learnt that they can't push me that way if anything it pushes me the opposite.	<i>Influence attempt; appeals that others have Entitlement</i>
<i>Illana smashes ornaments/displays anger Learnt not to push mum</i>	Interviewer Mrs Cohen	Is there anything that they do that you think might get you to change your mind? Not really.	<i>Influence attempt; displays anger & aggression Clear parental authority (?)</i>

<p><i>Mum lets them fight unless really physical</i></p> <p><i>Kids don't ask for much</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>What happens when they start fighting with each other? I generally let them I let them, although there have been occasions where it's been like, time out, you're getting a bit and then it's like round two when I walk away. If they want to fight, I'm not one to stop them unless it's really, really physical. But no, generally they've been good. They don't ask for things a lot of the times, and when they do it's for Birthdays or Christmas or foods.</p>	<p><i>Resistance strategy; let them fight</i></p>
<p><i>Pocket money stopped as they were buying junk</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Do they get anything that you buy them weekly, any ethical foods or similar? No, I'm tight! They used to, and they used to get spends every week but then they were just buying sweets and I'm not a sweet person. It's not like they were saving up. When they were into magazines, they started to save a little, but then the magazines went out of the window. And its sweets, and you can imagine five pounds each on chocolate. Not good.</p>	<p><i>Influence attempt; not Asking</i></p> <p><i>Parental rules imposed</i></p>
<p><i>Family gym membership</i></p> <p><i>The kids enjoy football</i></p> <p><i>Illana enjoys meeting friends and PlayStation</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mr Cohen</p>	<p>Do they do anything outside the house that costs things, any clubs? Yeah, they go to the gym. We're members of the gym so we go swimming, they did use to go to a gym class but unfortunately because my kids were the only ones going to this gym class they decided to close it, which I wasn't very happy about. They go to football, these are the younger ones, they go to football and they go to cubs. Illana and the eldest used to do the cubs but decided that they didn't want to go into scouts or anything like that. And Illana generally does nothing apart from hanging around the library with her mates after school and go on the social media. And then she'll come home and play on her PlayStation or disappear for three hours at a time.</p>	
<p><i>Illana gets into trouble</i></p>	<p>Interviews Mr Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer Mr Cohen</p>	<p>So, she's at Secondary School now? Yeah, she is. Does she like it? Loves it, she even loves detention. She gets it a couple of times. She goes through weeks where she has detention and then she'll go through weeks where she doesn't have anything. But I think she likes the independence like</p>	<p><i>Differences between Children</i></p>

<p><i>at school; enjoys independence</i></p> <p><i>Illana attempts to save bus money to buy himself things instead</i></p> <p><i>Young siblings are separated</i></p> <p><i>Mrs Cohen's nephew very close to her own children</i></p> <p><i>Mum didn't want Abbi and little sibling in the same school</i></p> <p><i>Parents are strict, yet</i></p>	<p>Interviewer</p> <p>Mr Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer</p> <p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer</p> <p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer</p> <p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer</p> <p>Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>she says she'll walk home from school now. But I've sussed that out, it's because she saves the five-pound bus fare and gets some sweets on the way home!</p> <p>Will Abbi and the little one attend the same Secondary School? If they want to.</p> <p>From a sibling point of view that was the best thing that happened to us, because it was only really at High School that we got split up.</p> <p>My two young kids have always been very separate. At home, they're together, obviously, but they've kind of had a little independence from each other. I always looked after my nephew who's six months younger than Abbi, so there was always four of them in the house, so the two kinds of went together and so did the other two. But at school, because they're in different classes they have different friends, and they're totally different friends. And when they play out, they play out with different friends. So, they'll play together, out on the front or in the back garden with the dog, but if their friends come calling it's always whoever's at the door for you, if the phone rings it's for you, they're not the same friends. That's good. I started out straight away that I didn't want them in the same class and even from playgroup they didn't sit in the same groups.</p> <p>Do they argue between themselves, the kids?</p> <p>All the time!</p> <p>Is there anyone main argument?</p> <p>Games and food. She's got certain flavoured crisps and I wanted them, that was this morning. She's sat on my bed, yes anything, they can even argue about what channels on the TV. Anything.</p> <p>Do the kids ever gang up on you?</p> <p>Not at all, no because I think [Mr. Cohen] is a lot firmer than me. I'm very strict and always have been since they were little, but they tend to come to me rather than their Dad.</p>	<p><i>Strategies to get own way; different use of funds</i></p> <p><i>Children treated differently</i></p> <p><i>Children treated differently</i></p> <p><i>Clear parental authority to enable independence of twins</i></p> <p><i>Volatile sibling relations</i></p> <p><i>Clear parental authority</i></p>
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<i>kids still go to mum for things</i> <i>Illana recruits Abbi to help influence outcome</i>	Abbi	Sometimes when she [Illana] needs something, she will show me the product online and when she realises that I'm also interested then she will ask me to ask my parents to buy so we can share it.	<i>Intragenerational influence</i> <i>making deals & indirect influence [asking through siblings]</i>
	Mr Cohen Interviewer	She does that for her own selfish end. Not because she cares for her [Abbi] Is there anyone that will come to you more often to try and get their own way?	
<i>Illana asks for things more than the others</i>	Mrs Cohen Interviewer	Illana. Rather than her Dad?	<i>Requests of children differs</i>
	Mrs Cohen Interviewer	Yes. And what do you do in the family, do you control the spending? I look after the money and the bills, but I wouldn't say that I keep track of what I'm spending.	<i>Role specialisation of parents</i>
Mum is in charge of Money	Mrs Cohen Interviewer	Who does the food shopping?	
	Mrs Cohen Illana	Me, and most of the time with Abbi as Illana fancy spending time with friends Well, you shop most of the time with Abbi even when I'm home or around.	<i>Illana & Abbi have different consumer skills</i>
Illana not good at shopping	Mr Cohen Illana	From my perspective, Abbi is far more shopping savvy than Illana I could be as savvy as Abbi if I were often involved in shopping. I'm always ignored and on my own. I have to try so hard to get what I need, unlike Abbi.	<i>Different sibling treatment: ignored</i>
<i>Illana feels ignored</i>	Interviewer Mrs Cohen	Why don't you involve all the children when shopping? I try to do most of the time. At times I do so on my own and when Abbi and Illana do come they help me, they hinder, but they help as well. Illana just can't stop nagging, throwing tantrums and making the whole shopping experience a nightmare.	<i>Conflict of help vs. hinder</i> <i>Influence attempt: Lone and unilateral - over-demanding & pushy</i>
<i>Mum does household shopping on her own; kids help and hinder</i>	Mr Cohen	She [Illana] can be very over-demanding oftentimes. And pushy all the time. She pisses us off.	
<i>Illana is perceived as over-demanding and pushy</i>	Abbi Interviewer Mrs Cohen	What do they do, try and make you buy things? They try, but because they've done it for so long and they know that half the time it's not successful. But they'll sneak in the odd, you know, we'll have this	

<p><i>Children sneak items into the supermarket trolley</i></p>		<p>breakfast cereal. We go through stages with the cereal of eating healthily so we have Weetabix and porridge and this, this, this and this, and then other times I'll just choose one. And at the moment we're on they will choose a cereal each and then in the morning, it's like you've got my cereal! But at the moment I'm quite happy for them to have their cereal, at the moment they have their Vegan cereal and they have their Weetabix, but they're not fixed on one cereal every morning. This morning they all had organic fruit.</p>	<p><i>Influence attempt; deceit</i></p>
<p><i>Mum encourages cereal eating and fruits</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Organic fruit, that's good! Well not really, they just grabbed an apple and a pear and then went out of the house to play with friends at the front.</p>	
<p><i>Abbi and little sibling volunteer to help shopping more but Illana seldom does</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Is there anyone who willingly comes shopping with you more often? Abbi, I think Abbi and [little sibling] would volunteer to join with me. Why do you think that is? I think because she probably thinks she's going to get something, which she doesn't. Illana also did that a few times I can count on my fingers. Not any more anyway, you know if they've been good, we'll get them something but they don't get things all the time. She's the one who will try and put things in the trolley or make a scene in the shop to get his own way, I think she's quite crafty in that way. You know, she thinks she's doing me a favour coming shopping with me to help but then I think she thinks she's going to get something back. I don't know, perhaps I should give her something because she is the only one that shows an interest.</p>	<p><i>Influence attempt; acts of kindness</i></p>
<p><i>Illana thinks she may get something in return kids get things if they've been good; don't get things all the time Illana is crafty, will try it on, make a scene</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Does [Mr. Cohen] not go with you? No, usually he stays here to look after the kids or I'll do it when he's at work, it's quieter then, and you don't have to queue. I prefer going on my own if I'm honest because at least then I'm in and out and I don't have to fight the kids out of something.</p>	<p><i>Quid pro quo Influence attempt; visible embarrassment</i></p>
<p><i>Mum prefers to go shopping alone leaving children with Dad</i></p>	<p>Interviewer</p>	<p>Is that hard work?</p>	<p><i>Efficiency of doing chores independently</i></p>

<p><i>Hard work taking children to supermarket shopping with Illana who doesn't take no</i></p>	<p>Mrs Cohen Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>God yeah, it is. It's not too bad with Lee because he knows that no means no. Illana can be a bit of a pain, she's the one who will go on and on at me to get her something. It must be tempting to give in, especially if she's being a handful in public? It is, but then if you get her something you've got to get the others something. I can't leave them out, can I? I'm like that woman on the actimel advert! I just do it back to them.</p>	<p><i>Equality of children utmost</i></p>
<p><i>Mum feels she can't leave other children out</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Do the kids get involved in any other family decisions? Vacation? To be honest, we've not really been on that many family holidays because it gets really expensive. I mean, you're probably looking at three to five thousand pounds for all of us to go away, and now that [little sibling's] at High School we can't take him out during term times. I don't think they get much of a say, at the end of the day it will be me who makes the decision. If they had their way they'd got to Israel, they always want to go there.</p>	
<p><i>Won't take the youngest out of High School for cheaper holidays</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mr Cohen</p>	<p>All the kid's want to go there? Mostly Abbi, but what she says seems to go. There's no way we're going, even if you could get a cheap flight to Israel it wouldn't be that cheap, and that's without food and board. But they can be very devious, very devious.</p>	<p><i>Sibling leadership</i></p>
<p><i>Mum makes final holiday decision Illana/youngest follow Abbi</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>How? They just try it on, especially Illana. I think that sometimes Abbi is quite easily led by Illana. It might be just that she doesn't care where she wants to go on holiday although it seems to be that Illana will get her on side at times. So, then there's three of them wanting the same thing. Usually, it's Illana and [youngest] who might try and get similar, but at holiday times it's Abbi who will usually follow after Illana puts pressure on her.</p>	<p><i>Influence attempt: Coalition</i></p>
<p><i>Children can be devious</i></p>			<p><i>Influence attempt; Deception</i></p>
<p><i>Abbi easily led by Illana</i></p>			<p><i>Intragenerational influence</i></p>
<p><i>Illana tries to get Abbi on her side</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Why do you think that is? I don't know really. It might be if there's two of them wanting it there's no choice in wanting any different, especially if Illana is involved.</p>	<p><i>Group work/Intragenerational influence</i></p>
<p><i>The kids just give in if</i></p>	<p>Interviewer</p>	<p>Do you think Illana is quite dominating them?</p>	<p><i>Coalitions</i></p>

<p><i>others want something; no point in asking for another thing Illana is dominating</i></p>	<p>Mr Cohen Interviewer Mr Cohen</p>	<p>Oh God yeah. You wouldn't think it to look at her, but I think what she says goes, definitely. Could that be why Abbi and the [youngest] group together? I guess it could be, yeah. I think that Illana does have quite a lot of power over the kids and they gang together to have more of a say in things. Illana is very outgoing and loud, sometimes too loud!</p>	<p><i>Intragenerational influence Sibling leadership</i></p>
<p><i>Illana has power over kids Illana is loud/outgoing</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Do you think that Illana wants more than the other kids? No, not really. She might ask for things more than the others, but she doesn't necessarily get them.</p>	<p><i>Power plays</i></p>
<p><i>Illana may ask for things more, but won't always get them</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Was that the case over Christmas? Well, they each were told to write a wish list of all the things they wanted and then give it to me. They know now that Father Christmas isn't real and I think that because of that the things they wanted were more realistic.</p>	<p><i>Coping strategy: asking does not prove productive</i></p>
<p><i>Children aware of financial limit at Christmas</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>But did they not just write down everything they could think of? Well, Abbi and [youngest] had just had their Birthdays which I think must have had an impact on what they wanted. But they were aware that there was a financial limit and that they couldn't have everything, so it wasn't a case of putting anything and everything down. I think with the lists they did think about the things they wanted more.</p>	
<p><i>Children had to think carefully about what they wanted</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mr Cohen</p>	<p>Did they ever change the things they wanted, or want to add more things on? No, I wouldn't let them. I think they knew that they had to think carefully about the things they wanted. I mean they probably knew that they would get other things as well that weren't on their lists, but they did spend a long time choosing.</p>	<p><i>Coping strategy; imposed parental rules</i></p>
<p><i>Dad wouldn't let them change their lists Children aware they would get other, non-list things</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Did any of them want the same thing or food? The vegan breakfast cereal. It was ridiculous, they each wanted the same cereal and I'm not prepared to buy them as they were expensive. So, about the presents what I did was made sure that they had the things they wanted on their lists and anything similar they wanted I did a lucky dip. I just</p>	<p><i>Coping strategy; imposed parental rules</i></p>

<p><i>Kids wanted same thing; Mum not prepared to buy it separately for each</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mr Cohen Interviewer Mrs Cohen Interviewer Mr Cohen</p>	<p>wrapped the presents that they wanted that were the same and handed one out to each of them and that way I didn't know what they were getting. What did they do with them? Well, they had a game each, which was their game. Did they share them? No, but they will learn to share. Was that between them? No, they got one each.</p>	<p><i>Clear parental rules</i></p>
<p><i>Kids don't share; Mum trying to teach them to</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>So, they wanted the same thing but had to have one each? I know, it sounds silly. I wouldn't buy them the same game each, but I would like a separate PlayStation.</p>	<p><i>Parent as teacher</i></p>
<p><i>Abbi and Illana got a game each</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p>	<p>Why do you think that is? Well, they have a separate telly in their room each so I just thought that they should each have one. Illana has one down here as well and Abbi has one in her room too.</p>	
<p><i>Separate console so they could play at same time</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen Interviewer Mr Cohen</p>	<p>So, were they happy with the way that you gave out the presents they each wanted? I think so although they did get a bit of Christmas money so they could get anything they wanted now. Would you stop them buying the same game three times? No, why should I? It's their money, and I think that it might make them appreciate how much things are, and if they only learnt to share then they could save themselves some money and buy other things. I don't think that they know how much things cost, I mean a game to them is just two hundred pounds. I don't think they know how much two hundred pounds is, they wouldn't realise that I'd have to work hours to get that.</p>	<p><i>Justification of duplication of commodities</i></p>
<p><i>Mum wouldn't stop the boys buying the same game each with Christmas money; trying to teach the value of money</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mr Cohen Illana</p>	<p>So, they weren't disappointed with the things you bought them? No, I think they were quite pleased. I like them.</p>	<p><i>Parent as teacher (re: money)</i></p>

<i>Don't know the value of money</i>	Abbi	Me too. They were cool.	
	Interviewer	What would happen if they weren't pleased?	
	Mrs Cohen	They'd tell you, especially Illana. She'd be the first one to say that she didn't have this thing.	
	Interviewer	And what would you do then?	
<i>Illana would tell if she was disappointed</i>	Mr Cohen	Probably go out on Boxing day and get her it to make up for not getting him what she wanted.	
	Interviewer	They must have thought quite hard over their Christmas lists then, it seems that you had most things covered.	<i>Influence attempt; visible Disapproval</i>
<i>Mum would try to compensate if kids unhappy</i>	Mr Cohen	I think I did. It was interesting actually because at one point they all wanted a bike for Christmas and were looking on the internet for the kind of bikes they wanted. Then Illana said that she didn't want one anymore and started looking at PlayStation stuff.	<i>Coping strategy; over compensation</i>
<i>Kids used the internet for choice of bike; Illana used Internet for PlayStation choices</i>	Interviewer	Why do you think she changed his mind?	<i>Technology guides information</i>
	Mr Cohen	Well, I asked her why and she said that it was because when summer comes, she knew that we'd buy them bikes anyway! So, she changed the bike idea and decided on a PlayStation. Then the other two cottoned on to this and they changed their minds as well, she's a right sod, Illana.	<i>Internet mavens</i>
<i>Illana changed bike choice as she felt her parents would buy her one anyway</i>	Interviewer	So, she influenced others?	
<i>Others followed her lead</i>	Mr Cohen	Yes.	<i>Sibling leadership</i>
	Interviewer	Do you think the boys influence the kind of stuff you buy, particularly food?	
	Mrs Cohen	Oh God yeah. Yeah, they do, especially food and the stuff they wear. I think with food it's partly because I take them with me sometimes and they had a say in what I get. They get a lot of information from the internet about new food on the market and they make sure I buy them. They wouldn't let me get some stuff, like the value items or whoopsies.	<i>Child influence on household consumption</i>
<i>Kids influence food</i>	Interviewer	Would they not?	<i>Intergenerational influence</i>
	Mrs Cohen	I think they would think that it's sad or minging to get stuff like that, whereas if they weren't there, I could get it and they probably wouldn't have clue they	

<p><i>choice; no cheap/reduced items</i></p> <p><i>Kids wouldn't know if Mum bought cheaper things alone</i></p> <p><i>Easier to give into demands of kids to Avoid arguments</i></p> <p><i>Food given in supermarket to stop them wanting things</i></p> <p><i>No choice; taken kids shopping together sometimes</i></p> <p><i>Abbi and [Youngest] work together to stop Illana's demands</i></p> <p><i>Illana can hold his own</i></p> <p><i>Group together for extra playtime/stay up late</i></p>	<p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer</p>	<p>were eating it. Sometimes it is easier to give in to the kids though, especially to avoid an argument in the shop. The easiest thing that I do now is buy something like pre-weighed bananas or a bag of cookies and open them and give them to the kids as we go around. That way they aren't hungry and concentrate on something else and I can get around easily.</p> <p>Would you take all the kids shopping at the same time?</p> <p>I have done, sometimes I have no choice if there's no one to mind them. But I will prefer to go alone to have my sanity, particularly without Illana.</p> <p>You mentioned teamwork before, would the twins ever work together to make you buy food?</p> <p>On the whole, I don't think the kids work together, but certainly, Abbi and [youngest] would like to compensate for Illana and her pushy ways.</p> <p>So, it's two against one?</p> <p>Usually, but Illana is quite happy with that and she can hold her own. But at times they will all want the same thing. Like when we're due to go out and they're playing together they will use that as an excuse not to go somewhere. Or if it's time to go to bed they'll say they are all playing on the computer together, so can they stay up a bit longer. Usually, I think that's quite nice, so I let them.</p> <p>Is there anything that you wouldn't let them get away with?</p> <p>Illana at the moment wants a ceremonial grade matcha green tea powder costing £142 - £159 per kilogram which she's not having, no way. She is just a teenager and there's no way she's having it. I want my kids to consume ethically but not to be extravagant. As a parent, I have a responsibility to bring them up knowing the worth of money and spending responsibly. She's been at it that her mates have it and her mates don't have it at all. She has had good but cheap matcha before but this one looks just as good so she's not getting it.</p> <p>And did she ask you for it?</p>	<p><i>Intergenerational influence</i></p> <p><i>Coping strategy; give in for quieter life/avoid stress</i></p> <p><i>Coping strategy; distract children/reward good behaviour</i></p> <p><i>Group work; intragenerational influence</i></p> <p><i>Group work</i></p> <p><i>Clear Parental rules</i></p> <p><i>Influence strategy; entitlement</i></p>
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<i>Illana refused food on basis of extravagance Kevin pleads his friends have it</i>	Mrs Cohen	She's asked me, yes. And when I said no, she went and asked [Mr. Cohen] who said go and ask your Mum. The poor girl was back and forth to us, but generally, if I say something [Mr. Cohen] would agree with me. Even if he [Mr. Cohen] didn't he would still go along with what I said and as a parent, we'd discuss it later when the kids weren't there. But Illana, it seems to be Illana this, Illana that, but Illana just kept going on and on at me about this matcha.	<i>Parental gatekeeping</i>
<i>Illana asked Dad when Mum said no</i>	Interviewer	And that didn't work?	<i>Influence attempt; approach other parent</i>
<i>Illana constantly asks Nagging doesn't work</i>	Mrs Cohen	No, nagging doesn't work.	
<i>Deal making works Good behaviour Rewarded</i>	Interviewer	Does anything work?	<i>Influence attempt; persistent asking</i>
<i>Deal making good; but everyone has to get something then Treating others fairly is a way to make things Easier</i>	Mrs Cohen	I think making deals with me or [Mrs Cohen] does work, like if they do well in a test they will get something or if they promise to be good. It has to be something that I know they will try at and will bring me a bit of peace. The problem with deal-making is that if I make a deal with one and he does what he says I have to get the others something.	
<i>Naughty wall/stairs used to discipline</i>	Interviewer	That must be quite hard!	
<i>Abbi and the Youngest are close but not not twins, as they are</i>	Mr Cohen	In some ways, it makes it easier because then I say that I can't give her something because it's not fair on her siblings! They seem to get over it quickly though, when they were younger it was worse. They used to have tantrums and I would get them to go stand at the wall or send them to bed early. That sounds really tight.	<i>Influence attempt; deal making</i>
	Interviewer	It's interesting that you think that Abbi and the [youngest] don't work together, I thought they might do because they are very close?	<i>Coping strategy; equality used to justify and (non) action</i>
	Mr Cohen	Well, I think although they are close they tend to want to do things separate sometimes just like siblings now, and not twins. I think if anything they look up to [eldest]. They want to be involved with him a lot, especially if his friends come. You know they'll want to play with them because they think he's cool and older, especially Abbi.	
	Interviewer	Do you think Illana has the most say in decisions?	<i>Coping strategy; discipline</i>

<p><i>treated as separate Kids look up to eldest and his friends</i></p> <p><i>Illana takes charge most; sometimes others follow her</i></p> <p><i>Kids work on behalf of others. Told mum what others wanted for Christmas</i></p>	<p>Mrs Cohen</p> <p>Interviewer</p> <p>Mr Cohen</p>	<p>It has been very Illana centred, hasn't it? I do think she takes charge more often than the others, sometimes making them follow her lead. She's the one that will make a stand for the others and on their behalf, and she's the one that is the most bad-tempered.</p> <p>Do the kids ever work on behalf of others, you mentioned Illana taking a stand for the others?</p> <p>Well at Christmas [Youngest] told me that Illana wanted Nike trainers which I didn't know about, so he just told me that she [Illana] would really like one. They did tell me what the others wanted over Christmas which was good.</p> <p>Thank you for opening up your home and, for sharing your family experiences with me. I'm grateful.</p>	<p><i>Siblings treated differently</i></p> <p><i>Intragenerational influence</i></p> <p><i>Sibling leadership; IG</i></p> <p><i>Influence attempt; recruit others on your behalf</i></p>
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