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A cross-national intention-gap analysis of vegetarians in Latvia and Denmark zooming in on ethical consumption

Culture, Communication and Globalization

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Abstract

The paper examine how the choice to consume ethical goods and therefore, the intention gap differs within vegetarian social group in different countries-Latvia and Denmark. Semi-structured in-depth interviews revealed that Danish and Latvian vegetarian group has some similarities, but also notable differences in their intentions to purchase certain ethical product groups. Furthermore, suggested reasons for intention-gap has differences within these two vegetarian groups.

Findings suggest that caring about certain ethical aspects has importance of intention formation. Lack of caring about the issues, situation context and justification, among the other factors, however, should not be underestimated and should be considered in further studies.

The research aims to provide new knowledge in the field of ethical consumption and serve as inspiration for further, larger scale cross-national researches as well as different empirical studies.

Executive summary

The research aim to examine how the choice to consume ethical goods and therefore, the intention gap differs within vegetarian social group in different countries-Latvia and Denmark differs. The paper explore whether ethically minded consumers within one social group but in different countries emphasize similar facets of ethical consumption and whether there are different reasons behind the intention gap.

This research explore several theories about intention formation and intention gap by semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted via skype. Similar number of Danish and Latvian participants were interviewed. The analysis is theme-driven and are based on applied theories. However, due to relative freedom of interviewee to bring in new ideas, few new themes emerge from the interviews. The results from both countries are analyzed and compared in order to answer the problem formulated in the introduction. Furthermore, results are compared with available literature within the field of study.

The results outline few similarities and several differences in intentions to purchase ethical goods within vegetarian social group in Denmark and Latvia. Furthermore, it highlights the role of

‘caring’ about certain facets of ethical consumption in order to form the intention to purchase ethical goods within certain ethical product category. The analysis indicate that main reason for not buying ethical products is the lack of caring. The lack of intentions significantly decrease possibility that consumers will purchase ethical goods. Analysis indicate that Latvian intentions to purchase ethical goods are based on mixture of self-oriented and external motivation, whereas Danes emphasize ethical consumption intentions as humanistic commitment and therefore, motivation is rather external. Latvian vegetarian interviewees emphasize caring, and thereby intentions to purchase products that are associated with animal welfare, health and social justice in local scale, whereas Danish vegetarian interviewees emphasize caring about animal welfare and environment.

There are a number of possible reasons for intention-gap. These reasons differ within vegetarian social group in Denmark and Latvia. There are, among the others, context-specific issues that play some role in the intention-gap. Often Danish vegetarians emphasize price and availability as the main reasons for the intention-gap, whereas Latvian vegetarians mention availability as one of the main reasons for intention gap. Also, lack of information might lead to an intention-gap interviewees revealed that sometimes it requires a lot of information to know which products can be considered as ethical.

Latvians use a lack of perceived consumer power to justify their choice not to purchase ethical goods, whereas Danish vegetarians tend to “Do their bit” with their consumption practices.

Positive experience increase the likeliness to purchase ethical goods whereas negative experience does not seem to decrease intentions to buy intended ethical products, but rather leads to avoidance of a certain brand.

Due to highly exploratory nature of this study, the findings reflect experiences and views of the particular sample group; moreover, it is a rather diverse consumer group. Therefore, the findings may not be generalized but rather provide new knowledge in a field of the studies of ethical consumption and intention gap.

Further studies on the topics of cross-cultural ethical intention and the intention gap are highly recommend. Also, further study exploring the actual ethical consumption of these groups is a possibility for further research.

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Introduction

Since 1975, when Webster discussed the importance for companies to act in a socially responsible manner, increasingly more attention has been paid to consumers' impact on different global processes, such as social welfare, environment, and animal welfare. In the course of the last two decades, ethical consumption has become a hot topic in Western society. Thus, many organizations, for example, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), European Union and United Nations, emphasise the responsibility of companies to produce and the responsibility of consumers to choose products that are produced in a responsible manner: responsible to the environment, society and animals (OECD, 2008; Mont, 2012). It has been argued that consumption is a powerful way how individual consumers can express their political opinion in everyday situations (The Economist, 9 December 2006), and ideally it should express our concerns about issues that are of importance to us. Many scholars argue that although people are aware of problems caused by the consumption practices of Western society, due to various reasons they rarely translate their knowledge into actions (Carrington et al, 2012). Researchers in this field mainly focus either on intention formation process, or on the reasons why consumers do not purchase ethical products (cf. e.g. Carrigan and Attalla, 2001; Shaw and Clark, 1999; Carrington et al., 2010), while researchers have rarely taken the reasons why people choose to purchase ethical goods and what ethical consumption means to them as a point of departure for their investigation and further analysis of the intention gap. Though there are a number of studies related to the intention gap of ethical consumption (cf. Xinming, 2014), they have been conducted within one country; furthermore, most of the studies focus on Anglo-American ethical consumption and ethical consumption of middle class (Ariztia et al. 2012). However, it is possible that both reasons for ethical consumption and the intention-gap differ from country to country (Ariztia et al. 2012).

The main focus of the present research is on a social group of vegetarians, as several studies suggest that vegetarians are ethically-minded consumers and therefore often purchase ethical products. Badford (1999) suggests that vegetarians are the only ethically-minded consumer group that is consistent as to ethical consumption behaviour, as they regularly abstain from meat consumption. Several studies suggest that vegetarians purchase ethical goods (Ansberga, 2009). Moreover, during the last years' number of vegetarians have been rising (Morgan, 2015; SKDS

2014, DVF, 2010); therefore, vegetarians represent significant part of the ethical consumers' group if they are classified as such.

This research Latvian and Danish vegetarians' reasons for ethical consumption as well as their intention gap. Previous analysis suggests that the reasons for becoming a vegetarian in both countries differ. Thus, according to previous studies, the main reasons in Latvia for becoming a vegetarian are animal welfare, own health, and spiritual practices (Ansberga, 2009), whereas motivation for vegetarians in Denmark often lies in ethical reasons and environment (Rakvica, 2014). Furthermore, the vegetarian food consumption culture in both countries is different: in Denmark, there are traits of postmodernism, whereas the food consumption culture in Latvia still remains post-traditional to a large extent (Rakvica, 2014). The question of how the choice to consume ethical goods and therefore the intention gap differs within one social group in different countries remains largely unanswered. This research therefore seeks to gain better understanding of **how and why Danish and Latvian vegetarians choose to purchase (or not to purchase) ethical goods** as well as **how both intentions to purchase and reasons for the intention gap differ within the social group of vegetarians in Latvia and Denmark.**

This research aims to provide the academic community with new knowledge, yet, due to the exploratory, small-scale and interpretive nature of the study, does not seek to provide the ultimate „truth” with respect to these issues. In addition, this research aims to inspire further comparative and cross-culture studies of ethical consumption.

Methodology

In this chapter I explain and justify my perception of epistemology, ontology and axiology. This, in combination with theories and carefully designed methods, is meant to ensure validity of the research.

As the nature of this research requires to investigate and interpret the experiences of human beings, I will apply the ontological position of objective hermeneutics. Objective hermeneutics affirms that human beings interpret the entities around them on the basis of their past experiences and try to understand the world through the cognitive process, applying their foreknowledge in

this process (Gadamer, 1976). Shortly, it is the study of actions and spoken texts of human beings and attempt to understand why they act and say as and what they do. Interpretation in this process is of significant importance, as “interpretation is an attempt to make clear, to make sense of an object of study” (Taylor, 1976). Making sense is a part of interpretation which involves the history of ourselves, as our personal history influences the way we see the world and the way we understand and interpret it (Watchterhauser, 1986). The objective hermeneutics emphasizes that the process of understanding the world happens through a constant dialogue, which includes a dialogue with other entities as well as with oneself. It is the study of other social actors’ meanings that they express in dialogue and that are further interpreted by the researcher. The researcher’s task is to try to understand the expressed meanings of oral texts produced by social actors and make the research true, objective and validated (Ortiz, 2009).

In this research, hermeneutic circles will be used in order to discover new knowledge. It is an attempt to understand the whole of the text from details and parts of it, as indeed there is certain interdependence between the whole text and its. “The whole can be understood only through its parts, but the part can be understood only through the whole” (Muller-Vollmer, 2000 in Motahari, 2008). I am aware that my personal values, past experiences, knowledge and my history (culture, society and other) as well as expectations influence the way I interpret the texts and the speeches of interviewees; however, I use hermeneutic circles to interpret the spoken text and try to “find the authors original meaning” (Ortiz,2009) in such a way to gain knowledge.. Hermeneutics circles is a means to examine the context of given text, that is, the cultural, social and other background of an informant, and apply this knowledge in interpretation (understanding) process (Ortiz,2009).

However, the similar standpoint of objective hermeneutics and positivist approach is that both tend to search for knowledge or truth that can be tested and validated by others (Lin, 1998)

The exploratory nature of this research requires interpretation of meanings provided by social actors. I gain knowledge from social actors who interpret the world around them; their current thoughts are influenced by their past experiences, knowledge, culture that forms their cognitive process through these past experiences (Sounders et al. 2009), and their current knowledge and understanding are based upon their history of their self. However, I do not analyze the factors

that have formed their current knowledge, but rather interpret their current thoughts and expressed opinion.

As interpretivist, I consider qualitative data as acceptable knowledge. By adapting interpretive standpoint, I look for knowledge about the ethical consumption experiences of vegetarians as well as about their choices to purchase or not to purchase ethical goods (Sounders et al. 2009). Obtained information is interpreted by means of applying carefully chosen theories.

As interpretivist, I also realize that knowledge obtained in the course of the study is observed through a cognitive process that has an impact on gained results; therefore, generalization of the findings of the research is possible only to some extent, that is, it is a subject of limited generalization (Guba, 1990). Furthermore, due to the exploratory and interpretive nature of the study, this research does not provide the ultimate “truth”, but seeks instead to gain and provide new knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2004).

Researcher’s role in the qualitative research is linked to researcher’s objectives, knowledge and experience. The objective hermeneutics refers that knowledge that is gained during the research is in continuous development and under continuous construction; it is a continuous process of gaining a new knowledge and building on existing knowledge.

While conducting the research, I am aware that information has to be collected and interpreted with caution, because I am a vegetarian myself and therefore have to be careful about the possible bias. Therefore, my task is to abstain from imposing my views and expectations in this research. Due to the interpretive nature of the research, I acknowledge that I have to be careful when analyzing and interpreting gained data. However, the fact that I am part of vegetarian social group can be beneficial for the research as well. According to Walter (2013) and Hecht (2005), vegetarians often feel more comfortable to share their views with other vegetarians than with omnivores, while Walter (2013) observes that vegetarians tend to have defensive or advocating position when talking with omnivores about vegetarianism. It is therefore beneficial that they are interviewed by a person whom they perceive as like-minded (Povey et al. 2009)

Research design

The research is designed to explore Latvian and Danish vegetarian ethical consumption choices. I will investigate the reasons behind the actions of social actors. Therefore, the research design is such as attain this objective.

Nuances and details have an important role in qualitative research. Therefore, I will have great focus on them. The first step is to collect information; the second step is to interpret collected information and data from the perspective of relevant theories; the third step is to provide new knowledge in scientific literature.

This research will be based on relevant theories and primary data, as available secondary data do not cover the field of research. I will use primary data to build on existing knowledge.

Research structure

Research structure is carefully designed to achieve the goal of the research, that is, to answer the research question and to obtain new knowledge. Methodology section provides information on what methods will be used to conduct a research and will contain justification on the chosen methods. This section will be followed by literature review section. The literature review section will provide knowledge on existing literature and theories within the field of research. This section will be followed by applied theory section. It is central to the research as further analysis will be based on chosen theories. Applied theory section contain justification of the choices and explanations on how particular theories will be applied to the analysis section. Further, empirical data section will provide information on the data obtained in the course of the research. It will clarify criteria for participant selection and justify the sample size as well as explain the choice of place for finding participants. It will also present a discussion of trustworthiness and ethicality of the research, as both these aspects are of crucial importance when conducting qualitative research.

Analysis section will be based on theory and divided into several parts. Firstly, the relevant places and methods for finding participants will be selected. Afterwards, semi-structured in-depth interviews with vegetarians will be conducted through Skype (Sounders et al. 2009). Skype has

been chosen as a place for interviewing participants due to the several advantages it offers. Thus, according to Kazmer and Xie (2008) interviews carried out on Skype provide contextual naturalness as well as are less time-consuming than face-to-face interviews. Moreover, according to Kazmer and Xie (2008), interviews via Skype provide more open thought-sharing than in case face-to-face interviews (Kazmer and Xie, 2008). This is the core of the analysis, which will provide the necessary information about vegetarian ethical consumption intentions and the intention gap. Should it be necessary, further questions to the participants will be asked afterwards in order to clarify questions. Further questions will be asked by contacting interviews via Skype. This method will be applied because of the nature of the research and the stance of hermeneutic objectivists that I endorse, which involves hermeneutic circles that suggest to build upon existing knowledge. Each time when new knowledge is gained, I refer to existing knowledge, while I also clarify gaps in exiting knowledge by gaining further knowledge (Motahari, 2008).

In-depth semi-structured interview method is chosen because of the relative freedom is allows the researcher. Though the outline of the questions will be prepared prior the research and will be carefully design in order to explore chosen theories, this method still gives a possibility to develop and modify the questions during the interview. Also, it gives the participants relative freedom to bring in new themes. The interviews will be recorded, which allows to pay attention to the details, both textual and intonation, when analyzing the interviews. I will follow Kvaales' (1996) interviewing strategy, which includes seven steps and underlines the importance of conducting an interview in a careful manner, focusing on the careful preparation for the interview, conducting the interview, and analyzing gained information (Kvale, 1996). The interview will begin with some general questions to direct the conversation in a less official mode and to get past the intial, gurded stages of the interview. The objective of this strategy is to gain the participants' trust and encouradge the interviewees to share their thoughts and experiences more openly as well as to diminish their possible inclinations to give socially „correct” answers or answers that they would think the interviewer expects of them (McCracken 1988; Rubin and Rubin 1995).

Analysis is theme-driven; the themes are based on applied theory. Therefore, interviews will be analyzed by applying codes that will be arranged under these themes. However, as the chosen

method gives the interviewee certain freedom to bring in new ideas and thoughts, it is possible that during the interviews new themes might emerge. If it happens, I will refer to existing knowledge, revise and add new knowledge.

Further step in the analysis is to compare results from Latvia and Denmark. This part of analysis will provide a better understanding of how and why Danish and Latvian vegetarians choose to purchase (or not to purchase) ethical goods as well as how both the intentions to purchase and reasons for intention-gap differ within the social groups of vegetarians in Latvia and Denmark.

After the above investigation, I will hold a discussion on findings in connection with the previously reviewed literature and theory as well as will discuss the consistency (or perhaps inconsistency) of my findings with those obtained in previous studies. Furthermore, this section will hold a discussion on the contribution of this research to already existing knowledge about ethical consumption.

Literature review

Ethical consumption

There is no clear definition of what ethical consumption is. Ethical consumption includes term “ethics” and “consumption.” In philosophy, there is not clear definition on what ethic means. *Ethos* is a Greek word meaning “character, conduct.”; it represents socially accepted norms, moral and values and therefore can differ in different cultures and even in different social groups (Rowe, 2007). “Values”, however, should not be used in the same meaning as “ethics” to refer to “how a moral person should behave” (Josephson, 2002), as the term “values” rather refers to inner judgement in the ethical decision-making process of “what is right and wrong” (Josephson, 2002). Lasmane (2012) suggests that ethic is about what morals and values are found appropriate by members of society and individuals themselves. Ethics help us decide what is right and good or wrong and bad in any given situation. According to Lasmane (2012) ethics represent what is right and thereby what is not. Also, it represents ideas on what is valuable, important; it is inner understanding regarding the meaning of life and appropriate lifestyle. Paul

and Elder (2006) define ethics as “a set of concepts and principles that guide us in determining what behavior helps or harms sentient creatures.” This definition relates to our interaction with others and points out that we have responsibility towards other creatures.

Malloy (2003) suggest that there are means-oriented and ends-oriented ethics. Means-oriented ethics focus on the motives and behaviour itself, and emphasize the importance of their inner values and moral norms, whereas ends-oriented ethics focus on the outcome of certain actions, in this way justifying intentions and rather stating that intentions are less important than the actual outcome of the actions (Malloy, 2003). The ethics and values include such questions as “what, why and how” and form the behaviour when an individual decides upon “What I should do? Why I should do it? And how should I live/ do?” (Malloy, 2003) .These questions include choice, which is based on inner values formed by social norms, culture, rules, family and own individual world-view, moral and other influencing factors that surround individual and as well as is significant importance in forming moral norms and values (Malloy, 2003). Ethical consumption definitions are based on either means-oriented ethics or ends-oriented ethics. For example, some scholars argue that all purchases are ethical to a certain extent, as consumers act upon their inner values and moral judgements (Burke et al. 1993). Cooper, Martina and Holbrook (1993) when explaining ethical consumption use such terms as “Consumers ethical concerns” and “inner moral norms.” They consider such consumption as “decision making, purchases, or other consumption experiences that are affected by the consumer’s ethical concerns” (Cooper-Marina and Holbrook (1993). Both definitions constitute the means-oriented ethics, as it focuses on the intentions yet does not consider the outcome of an action. Also Shaw and Clark (1999) underline the importance of decision-making in ethical consumption that should constitute inner beliefs and moral norms formed over the time by distinctive social groups. Opposite to this view, Harrison et al. (2005) suggest that outcome of consumption is the factor that determine whether or not consumption can be regarded as ethical. He suggests that consumers have to consider an impact on society and environment in order to be considered as ethical consumers (Harrison et al. 2005). This includes both inner motivation (caring about environment and society) and the outcome; consumers have to act in order to achieve the goal: positive impact on society and environment.

Definitions often include similar facets; however, some are more explicit, whereas others are broad and vague, including personal values, moral and other indefinite terms. These are vague terms as “Values, purposes and ethical strategies differ in all sectors of society to a greater or lesser extent” (Malloy, 2003). Often when explaining ethical consumption such words as “sustainability”, “welfare”, “well-being”, “environment”, “moral”, “values” are used (Harrison et al. 2005, Shaw, 2005; Tallontire et al., 2005; Carrington et al., 2010). Sometimes “green consumption” and “sustainable consumption” is used as synonymous to “ethical consumption”; though those are parts of ethical consumption, they do not cover all aspects of ethical consumption. “Ethical consumption” refers to consumption in a broader sense and including many facets, whereas “green consumption” and “sustainable consumption” refer to environmental sustainability and fair-trade products (Schnith, 2008). However, some terms are similar, though they employ a perspective from a different angle. Sustainable consumption is often included in the definition of ethical consumption and addresses such issues as environment preservation, acknowledging that earth ecosystem and human welfare have limits both in terms of health and economic and social progress (Sabapathy, 2006).

One of the commonly used explanations of ethical consumers is provided by Shaw (2005). As he argues, ethical consumers are ‘those consumers who considered environmental issues, animal issues and ethical issues, including oppressive regimes and armaments, when shopping’ (Shaw, 2005). This includes responsible and well-informed decision-making when purchasing products; besides, the decision should be made according to one’s inner values and conviction (Harrison et al., 2005).

This explanation of term is similar to definition presented by ECRA (1997) where ethical consumption includes “promotion of universal human rights; environmental sustainability; animal welfare” (ECRA, 1997). Shaw’s definition is more extensive as it includes “considering operative regimes and armament.” This definition also includes “ethical issues”, thus significantly extending the meaning of ethical consumer, as “ethical issue” is defined as “conflict of right (ethical) and wrong (unethical) or situation forcing alternatives on an entity seeking ethical behaviour.” However, the definition presented by Shaw does not implicate that one should act according to ethical concerns as well as does not specify to what extent one should “consider environmental issues” in order to be perceived as an ethical consumer. This is

supplemented with Tallontire et al. (2001) view that one has to act upon his or her ethical concerns and buy products that are considered as ethical. The definition presented by ECRA emphasizes 'promotion'; it implicates that one has to act in order to promote ethical issues. Moreover, Harrison et al (2005) suggests that ethical consumption has to be based on ethical concerns to be considered as ethical. According to him, own well-being cannot be considered. This constitute means-oriented ethics and does not comply with ends-oriented ethics, as own well-being would be then the outcome of the action that would be the motivation for ethical behaviour.

Webeter (1975) was one of the first scholars who was concerned about some part of ethical consumerism, in particular considering Corporate Social Responsibility of a company when shopping and in that way promoting such values. He then indicated three characteristics that he found as the most important in ethical consumption, namely, being aware of the situation and problem; consumers also have to understand that they can actually change the situation by their purchasing behaviour. Moreover, they have to assume a certain attitude towards problematic issues, and this attitude has to be reflected in consumer's behaviour.

Ethical values in this context is "environmental friendliness, biological production, production and distribution in a socially responsible manner" (Zaccai, 2007)

Some authors have tried to identify which ethical consumption facets are important for a consumer when deciding which products to buy. As Zaccai (2007) argues, very few people make their decisions regarding ethical consumption on the basis of environment protection reasons. He explains that in the best case, ethical consumers consider it as one of several factors when choosing a product. He argues that the motivation for choosing ecologic products is "health and security, belonging to the group, a need to feel distinctive" (Zaccai, 2007). Lavik (2002) also stresses hat those who consider environmental aspects when choosing a product as main criteria are environmental activists, and such buying behaviour is rare.

Motivation to choose ethical products can be "political, religious, spiritual, environmental, social or other" (Szmigin, Carrigan, 2007).

The products that are associated with ethical consumption are organic, biological and ecological products, fair-trade products, seasonal foods, products with low food mileage, locally produced goods, and some other types of products as well.

Ethical consumer classification

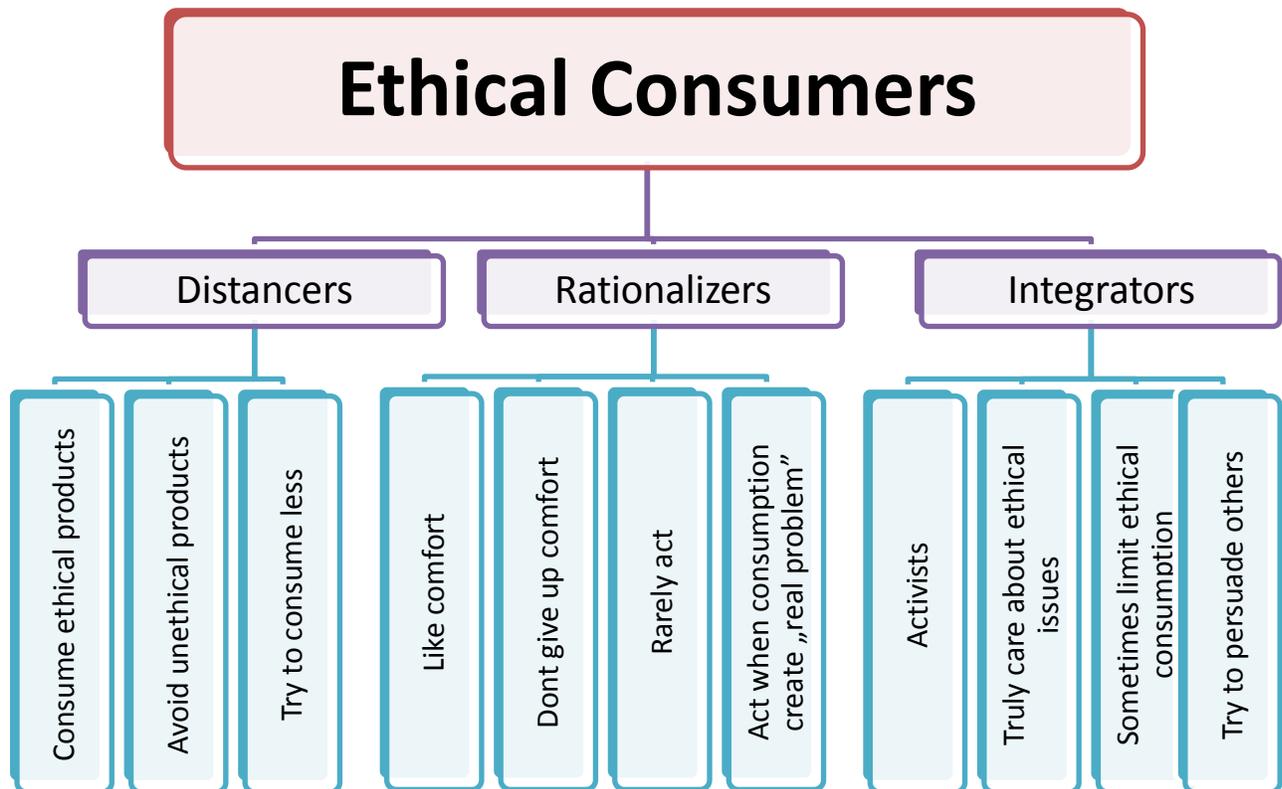
It appears that consumers are quite often actually not concerned about the ethicality of their purchasing habits, and are interested in other ethical attributes of products. Moreover, when asked about their ethical consumption habits and reasons for it, they tend to reflect the information that is topical in mass media and therefore is often discussed in society (Eskjaer, 2013). In order to analyse whether or not a person can be considered as “ethical consumer” Tallontire et al. (2001) suggest to emphasize the actions of consumer, that is, what they do purchase instead of looking on “what they do not do” (Tallontire, et. al. 2001). Ethical behaviour can be classified into “positive ethical buying behaviour” and “negative ethical behaviour” (Carrigan, Attalla, 2001). These two terms are often used by scholars to distinguish whether consumers are buying ethical goods or boycotting unethical goods or companies. Purchasing goods that have ethical attributes is considered “positive ethical behaviour”, while boycotting companies or products that are considered unethical is “negative ethical behaviour.” Often consumers tend to punish unethical companies. However, consumers rarely tend to reward ethical companies for their efforts (Carrigan, Attalla, 2001).

Schnitz (2008) present a classification of ethical products according to the ethical facet that these products emphasize. This classification distinguish four different categories: environment, social justice, biodiversity and religion (Schnith, 2008). Some ethical product categories fall under several categories. Environment category includes organic and local products, animal welfare and sustainability. Social justice category, the same as an environment category, include local products, animal welfare and sustainability. However, additionally, it includes religion and fair trade. This is the most comprehensive category within all four. Biodiversity category includes organic, local and heritage products, but the religion category, religious products, that are not always ethical, but often have to meet certain standards that would correspond to somewhat eccentric religious and often ethical beliefs. Products that fall into an environment category are consumed by ethical consumers who are often called environmentalists, because they care about the environment and tend to show their care actively. They are also called “green consumers”

(Tallontair et al., 2001). Ethical consumers who tend to purchase ethical justice products tend to care about other human beings and animals. Recent studies show that people tend to care about others more than for environment (Liebe, 2014; Lavik, 2002). The recent research suggests that people in USA and Germany tend to buy fair-trade products rather than organic products, as they feel egoistic satisfaction after doing something good for other human beings. The research also suggests that people tend to donate or buy fair trade rather than buy products that emphasize environment as a priority (Liebe et al. 2014) However, ethical consumers even within the same category may emphasize different areas; therefore, it cannot be generalized that all ethical consumers within a particular category would have similar buying behaviour and similar choice of ethical products (Liebe et al. 2014).

Tallontire et al. (2001) distinguish classification of so called “Green consumers.” Green consumers can be classified into five sub-categories: True Blue Greens (those who actually care about the environment and act in order to protect environment), Green Back Greens (their main focus is not the environment; however, they tend to buy environment-friendly products), Sprouts (buy environment-friendly products only if those meet their needs and are not willing to give up their comfort to be ethical consumers), Grousers and Apathetic. This classification is also based on the engaging into ethical consumption and in the extent of caring for the environment. Out of these five subcategories, only three can actually be considered as ethical consumers, as the last two include consumers who do not care and do not act to protect the environment. This corresponds to the ethical consumer classification by Newholm (1999 in Tallontire et al. 2001), who distinguishes distancers, integrators and rationalizers. Distancers try to consume ethical products and reduce their overall consumption; they also try to avoid products that they consider unethical (Newholm, 1999, in Tallontire et al. 2001). Integrators are activists who imposes ethical issues in their lives as much as possible; though they really care about ethical issues, they sometimes have to limit their ethical consumption as they actively work on persuading others about ethical issues and might lack a time (Newholm, 1999 in Tallontire et al. 2001). Rationalizers are those who are not willing to give up their comfort and enjoy consumer society’s goods, however, act when they do think that it is really necessary to act. They believe that “they should act in those (few) cases when consumerism creates real problems (Newholm, 1999 in Tallontire et al. 2001). This classification is based on extent until what they do engage in ethical consumption, ethical actions and its effect on the lifestyle.

Table 1 Ethical consumer classification by Newholm



The Fair Trade Organization distinguishes three types of ethical consumers, namely, activists, ethical's and semi-ethical's. Activists, the same as True Blue Greens, are ones that actively act upon their ethical beliefs and, additionally act as persuaders, the same as integrators. Ethical's are consumers that regularly purchase products with ethical attributes and are interested in information about ethical companies. Semi-ethical's are consumers who purchase ethical goods infrequently.

The article also reflects three types of ethical behaviour: positive ethical behaviour (when consumers choose to purchase a product with ethical attributes); negative ethical behaviour (when consumers boycott certain company or products); and consumer action (it includes other activities than consumption, such as lobbying, active dialogue with companies, etc. (Tallontire et al. 2001).

Bedford (1999) in his study suggests that no one is expecting ethical consumers to be consistently ethical in their buying behaviour; however, “it is only vegetarians and vegans who are expected to have a constancy of ethics” (Bedford, 1999). He suggests that ethical consumption involves everyday negotiation about everyday concerns. The research suggests that “ethical consumer is personally empowered, but remains very much within the boundaries of conventional culture.” It is suggested most of the ethical consumers show the care for others when choosing to purchase products that are considered to be ethical. There are traits of collectivism in ethical consumers who perceive themselves as ethical consumers. However, ethical consumerism is a complex process that involves finding a lot of information about the products which an “ordinary ethical” consumer is not fully capable to do; therefore, he or she should have clear information in order to continue to buy a certain ethical product. Ethical consumption is just one of the ethical actions. It is very difficult to have a consistency in ethical action, also within an ethical consumption (Bedford, 1999).

Another classification of ethical consumption is based upon the aim why the ethical goods are purchased. Szmigin and Carrigan (2007) distinguish four dimensions of ethical consumption, where the purpose of the purchase is distinct. Szmigin and Carrigan (2007) state that consumers buy ethical products because of hedonic pleasure, as a distinction, caring for others, and as aesthetic response.

Arnold (2013) distinguishes seventeen different consumer groups related to ethical consumption, considering an engagement level in ethical consumption, attitude towards it, consumption habits, life stage, being a part of certain ethical consumer group, common characteristics and other relevant factors (see table 2). Seven of these ethical consumer groups have strong motivation for ethical consumption that is most likely other than self-oriented. They do it either for the

environment, their children, future generations, other human beings, animal welfare, or for other reason. These are Eco-warriors, Good-lifers, Conscientious Consumers, Ethical intents, Extreme Greens, Authentic Greens and Do-good greens. Some of them are strong activists who try to convince others to become ethical consumers, for example, Eco-warriors and Extreme Greens, but others try to engage in ethical consumption as much as possible, for example, Good lifers, and Do-good greens. There are three categories that try to be seen as ethical consumers because of various reasons. In this, categories are Seen To Be Green, Green Tribes and Hypocritical Greens. However, their motivation to be an ethical consumer is not based on their ethical values, but is based on fitting in certain society, or is fashionable, or has been other motivations that are not truly ethical. Health and Body conscious consumers are self-oriented, and their motivations for ethical consumption is own well-being. Similar attitude is that of Suburban Off-setters; this group is self-oriented, though consume ethical products less often than Health and Body conscious. Besides that, they also sometimes tend to show off with their ethical consumption, as consuming ethical products, in their opinion, can show their status. In between self-oriented and externally-oriented ethical consumers are Informed Consumers and Authentic Greens. Ethical consumption of Informed Consumers is based on facts, such as their own well-being or external reasons, such as environment or animal and human welfare. Authentic Greens are truly ethical consumers who actually purchased and promoted ethical consumption before “everybody else” (Arnold, 2013). As the last group are Slobs, Anti-greens and Sceptical Greens, which are actually not ethical consumers, but has dissimilar attitude towards green consumption. Slobs and Anti-greens do not consider ethical consumption, whereas Sceptical Greens are those who debate these issues time and again and tend to be sceptical and cynical about them. These are consumers who say that their ethical intents would not influence overall ethicality, environment and other issues.

Table 2 Ethical consumer classification by Arnold

Type	<u>Eco Warrior</u>	<u>Good lifers</u>	<u>Conscientious Consumers</u>	<u>Seen to be Green</u>
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passionate Activist • Self-identity as of an ethical consumer • Low consumption • Don't shop at supermarkets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable living • Get back to nature • Like natural, organic, fair-trade • Recycle • Reuse • Buy local products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong family values • Change attitude when have baby • Care about environment, ecology, health • People are important 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethical consumption as a trend • Ethics is fashionable • Ethical consumption is part of image • Not truly informed about ethics
Type	<u>Informed consumer</u>	<u>Suburban Off-setters</u>	<u>Health and body concious</u>	<u>Ethical intent</u>
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Factual group • Well informed • Analytical • Not emotional • Base decisions on statistics and facts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Like comfort • Do not give up comfort • Purchase ethical products time by time • Buying premium price products shows their wealth • Care about quality and taste of organic and fair trade products • They „do their bit” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-focused • Buy organic, ecological products • Ethical consumption is part of healthy lifestyle • Care less about other people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has ethical intentions • Buy ethical products time by time • Would like to buy more ethical products • Lack finances to shop more ethically

Table 3 Ethical consumer classification by Arnoldda

Type	<u>Slobs</u>	<u>Green tribes</u>	<u>Extreme Green</u>	<u>Sceptical green</u>
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is not ethical consumers • Do not care about ethics • Do not care much about health 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being a part of ethical consumer tribe • Ethical consumption as personal identity • Mostly are teenage kids 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politically oriented • Anti-capitalist • Support „Buy nothing day” • Link environmental problems with capitalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oppose green consumerism • Likes debating, finding opposing argument
Type	<u>Authentic Green</u>	<u>Do good greens</u>	<u>Hypocratical greens</u>	<u>Anti-green</u>
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Truly ethical consumers • Promoted ethical consumption before it became a trend • Know what is ethical consumption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adapt green lifestyle • Shop from local farms • Recycle • Calculate food-mileage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotes green consumption • Actions do not fit to what they say 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmentally unfriendly people • Do not bother about ethicality of their consumption
Type	<u>Want to be Greens</u>			
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Talk about ethical consumption • Do not act as ethical consumers 			

According to research conducted by Schnitz (2008), ethical consumers have rather high-income level (higher than average) and higher education level as well as are in self-actualization stage.

There are many products that are perceived to be ethical, such as organic food and ecological food is perceived to be healthier than convenient products and has a positive impact on environment; humane foods that consider animal welfare; fair-trade products that consider welfare of producers, social justice and promote sustainability; products with low food mileage, local food and seasonal food that relates to minimizing negative impact on environment and support to local producers, in this way encouraging social welfare; finally, heritage food that is meant to preserve biodiversity (Schnitz, 2008)

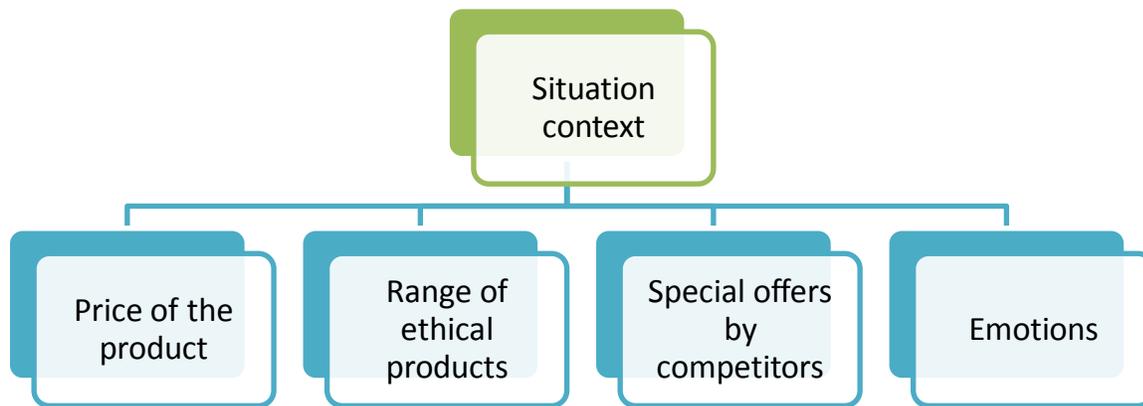
Intention-gap

Several scholars have tried to understand and explain the complex decision-making process that is involved in ethical consumption (Carrington et al. 2010; Bedford, 1999; Carrigan, Attalla, 2001, Shaw and Clark, 1999, Xinming, 2014). However, it is clear that not all ethically-minded consumers actually purchase ethical products. Moreover, ethical consumers rarely are constant in their ethical purchasing behaviour (Bedford, 1999, Szmigin and Carrigan, 2006). What is more, ethical consumers most likely have anomalies in their ethical consumption, as it is rather difficult to ensure that all they buy is produced in an ethical manner (Szmigin and Carrigan, 2006). There are several different theories that try to clarify why many consumers say that they will purchase ethical products, but in fact rarely do that: for example, in Latvia 30% consumers think that they should buy ecological products, yet only 12% purchase such products, and besides do that only sometimes (Carrington, et. al 2010; SKDS, 2014). There are several theories that try to explain why the attitude-behaviour gap appears, e.g. Carrigan and Attalla, 2001; Carrington, et. al 2010; Eckhardt et al. 2010; Caruana et al. 2015; Shaw and Clark, 1999; Gollwitzer and Sheeran, 2006. Carrington et al (2012) argues that actually ethical intentions are real and authentic. Therefore, in intention-behaviour gap the largest problem is not a lack of intention, but has other causes for it. This is contrary to the methodological approach towards intention-behaviour gap.

Methodological approach is based on the social desirability bias: it suggests that people are not as ethical as they tend to show themselves in surveys. Another theory that attempts at explaining

the intention-behaviour gap is based on theory regarding context-specific issues. Scholars often distinguish four main situation contexts that have significant importance in intention-gap theory (Carrigan and Attalla, 2001). See the table below.

Table 4 Context specific issues



The third one is a psychological approach that aims to explain the inconsistency regarding attitude and behaviour, self-identity impact on ethical consumption, and historical, social and cultural context in a gap between ethical intentions and ethical consumption (Courtney, 2008; Murtagh et al, 2012, Caruana et al. 2015). Furthermore, some studies suggest that consumer should not be seen as individual but rather as a part of a group, for example, as a part of the family, or a group of peers, or of distinct social groups that has certain impact on individual consumption behaviour (Shaw and Clarke, 1999; Courtney, 2008; Caruana et al. 2015). Furthermore, Care theory should also be considered to have a role in intention-behaviour gap, as ‘caring’ is a vague and uncertain term, though it might have a large impact on behaviour as there is “interaction between care and commitment to ethical behaviour” (Caruana et al. 2015).

One of the theories suggests that many respondents are willing to respond in the manner that would please the researcher, or respondents simply try to respond in the manner which appears to them to be the correct one (Carrigan and Attalla, 2001); that is called social desirability bias.

Mediatization of ethical consumption has resulted in perception of what is ethical and what consumers should do, and what kind of products one should purchase in order to be considered as ethical consumers (Eskjaer, 2013); therefore, part of respondents, according to social desirability bias, might be willing to show their “good” behaviour and caring about ethical issues and therefore answer in the way that corresponds to the image of ethical consumption and proper behaviour promoted by mass media (Tallotair et al. 2001). According to Eskjaer (2013), media plays a significant role in the development of ethical consumption culture as well as designs in the minds of consumers the understanding of what ethical consumption, sustainability, and green consumerism mean.

Mass media has some role in public opinion formation (Laswell, 1948). According to Eskjaer (2013), “sustainability” is a weak term, which is much used in mass media to cultivate the image of what it “should” mean. He claims that major “commercial players have been able to embrace the political discourse of sustainability, using the media to cultivate images of green enterprises, green brands, and the somewhat oxymoronic term “green consumption”” (Eskjaer, 2013). Ethical consumption (or parts of it, such as ecology, sustainability, etc.), has rather become a trend: respondents of surveys tend to show care about ethical issues, though the vast majority of consumers “continue to ignore social issues as they repeat their traditional product preference and purchases in marketplace.” (Eckhardt et al. 2010). The reason for that is that people are not willing to reveal that they do not care as much about things that they think others expect from them to care about (Eckhardt et al. 2010) They simply want to be perceived as “good” persons, that care about others (Liebe et al. 2014, Eckhardt et al. 2010).

According to Eckhardt et al. (2010), some of the reasons why consumers often decide to be ignorant of ethical issues in consumption context are higher price that consumers often have to pay for ethical product and the effort that is involved in finding information about ethical product and finding a product itself; therefore, paying attention to ethical issues in consumption involves extra effort and extra time. Choosing ethical consumption might also mean that consumers have to avoid popular brands (Eckhardt et al. 2010).

Another reason for the intention gap might be a consumer ability to disconnect their attitude towards ethical issues from their behaviour. Consumers might be against the use of child labour in manufacturing products, but they can still purchase products that are suspected to be produced

using child labour because of various reasons, such as strong brand attachment and symbolic meaning of it. Particular brand might be part of self-concept and self-identity construction (Escalas, Bettman, 2005). Therefore, a consumer might have strong attachment to the brand, that is, stronger than willingness to act upon ethical beliefs. Consuming certain brand might be used to express oneself to others and therefore have a symbolic meaning (Escalas, Bettman, 2005). They also might justify their choice by stating that it is not possible to influence such complex issues by just not purchasing a product from a certain company (Eckhardt et al. 2010, Xinming, 2014). Recent research on ethical consumption in China revealed that one of the reasons for not buying products that are labelled as ethical is the distrust regarding their ethicality: consumers justify their choice to buy cheaper products or branded convenient products by saying that companies that are labelled as “ethical” are “showing off” (Xinming, 2014) and therefore are not truly ethical. Furthermore, Fielding et al. (2008) suggest that “people feel that they cannot make a difference” with their ethical consumption practices. Justification of not acting according to what is perceived as “the right way” may include distinctive reasoning: for example, the lack of money to buy an ethical product, or scepticism, cynicism, or distrust in ethical products, or lack of choice, etc (Xinming, 2014). Justification is the way how one preserves the own image of being “good” or “ethical” person while not acting according to these principles. “A justification is an account that takes responsibility for the unethical act, but attempts to make it seem ethical. An excuse denies full responsibility for the action” (Eckhardt et al. 2010) The reasoning in justification may vary in distinct cultures (Eckhardt et al. 2010).

Ethical consumption is a complex process; non-ethical consumption of ethically minded consumers may sneak into it. In order to consume ethically, a person first of all has to have an intention to do so. They suggest that consumer decision-making process is a very complex process, and it becomes even more complex when considering ethical consumption. Shaw and Clark have developed the “belief formation model in ethical consumer groups” (Shaw and Clark, 1999). They suggest that ethically-minded consumer decision-making is surrounded by distinct factors of influence, as distinct social groups, including family, friends, the partner, ethical organizations, etc. can provide one with support, distrust or feeling of guilt, thus forming normative beliefs. One’s beliefs, however, are a combination of normative beliefs and information from different sources. Beliefs form the attitude, whereas the attitude jointly with control factors (such as price, availability, convenience, information, ethical issues and time)

form behaviour (Shaw and Clark, 1999). The individual and subjective feelings play a significant role in the process of forming beliefs and behaviour. Therefore, the role of feelings should not be underestimated. Support from others is an influencing factor, yet that does not necessarily imply that in a case of a lack of support, one will have weaker conviction to continue on with ethical consumption; however, it depends on culture and the personality, as there are people who are more autonomous in their choices than others (Triandis, Suh, 2002). For example, in Scandinavian countries, there is a horizontal individualist culture, and the emphasis in personality formation is on “[being] self-reliant, independent of others and uniqueness” (Triandis, Suh, 2002). Nevertheless, receiving support from others may have positive effect on behavioural change. As Stevens (quoted in Courtney, 2008) states, “being a part of a collective system motivates a consumer to participate in the broader movement of collective action.” In other words, if consumers are a part of a collective group that supports ethical consumption and feel support from others members of the group, they are more likely to engage in ethical consumption. Even being an individualistic personalities, we are still driven by social norms and expectations (Courtney, 2008) Collective action and feelings such as a feeling of being a part of collective force are often stronger than price-sensitivity. Stevens argues that even those with a relatively low income level can be persuaded to buy ethical products regularly if that is a part of collective action (Courtney, 2008) “Participating among like-minded individuals in a collective effort reinforces the ethical behaviour they desire to exhibit” (Courtney, 2008) Collaboration with like-minded individuals may therefore have positive effect on ethical behaviour and consumption (Fielding et al, 2008). Belonging to group that consider themselves as ethical consumers provides an individual with normative messages and in this way motivates him or her to engage in behaviour that is perceived as desirable and acceptable in that group (Fielding et al, 2008).

Another theory on how an intention-gap in ethical consumption appears is developed by Carrington et al. (2010). They underline the importance of “understanding the role of implementation intentions in the intention–behaviour gap of ethically minded consumers” (Carrington et al., 2010). This theory is based on the gap in previous studies about ethically-minded consumers that rarely purchase ethical goods. They underline that currently it is not clear when, where and how ethically minded customers would translate their ethical values in buying behaviour constantly, not only occasionally (Carrington et. al, 2010). They argue that intention

implementation until a large extent determinate whether or not intentions will result in behaviour. They have developed the “intention-behaviour mediation and moderation model of ethically minded consumers.” (Carrington et al. 2010). They argue that intentions are the base of and the preferred result in ethical consumption. However, intention implementation, actual behavioural control and situational context lead to actual behaviour. Implementation intentions are important in order to plan the actions that would form the actual behaviour. They argue that if ethically-minded person have developed “if/than” action plan, the probability of implementing the plan and abstaining from external obstacles is significantly higher (Carrington et al. 2010). Implementation of plans helps to abstain from different situational contexts that might influence the choice to consume ethical products. Implementation intentions with “if/than” plan is the bridge between ethical intentions and actual behaviour when shopping, because “these simple plans help individuals to get started in realising their intentions, shield their intentions from unwanted influences and avoid conflict (Dholakia et al., 2007; Gollwitzer and Sheeran, 2006 in Carrington et al. 2010). Carrington et.al. (2010) argue that “if/then plan” significantly increase the probability that consumers will act upon their ethical values and intentions and, what is more, will develop automaticity in their ethical behaviour. However, it is important to have a clear inner motivation to change existing habitual behaviour and formulate the “if” part in “if/than” plan (Verhoeven et al., 2014). “Specifying the right personally relevant critical cue that is inducting the unwanted responses is thus essential for effective implementation intention.” (Verhoeven et al., 2014)

This would further form the increase in ethical consumption and would decrease a gap between intentions and actual behaviour. However, when people create “if/than” plans, they often do not consider the influences of external factors and emotions as well as the influence of automaticity on their behaviour, thus often failing to make the right specification of relevant cues. (Verhoeven et al., 2014) Emotions play a more significant role in affect-rich products than in affect-poor products, as the first ones can often be purchased based on inner feeling and intuition, but the purchase of affect-poor products are more rational and analytical (Khan et al. 2005). In order to understand the role of automaticity in behaviour, it is necessary to look first into what it means. Automaticity includes such features as “unintentional, uncontrolled/ uncontrollable, goal-independent, autonomous, purely stimulus driven, unconscious, efficient and fast” (Moors, Houwer, 2006); at least three of these features rather than all of them have to be present in order

for automaticity to be detected (Moors, Houwer, 2006). The fact that automaticity often exclude awareness makes it rather difficult to change such behaviour; therefore, in order for the change in behaviour to take place, one should be aware of the habit that is intended to be changed and the specification of relevant cues as well (Verhoeven et al., 2014). Though it is sometimes difficult to get started with ethical consumption and overcome the automaticity of previous actions, if first step is taken, most likely the action will be repeated. That is particularly the case if the experience is positive and satisfactory, as according to theory, “behaviour that is experienced as successful is likely to be repeated” (Murtagh et al. 2012).

Awareness, knowledge, and motivation are essential parts of behaviour change; however, those are not efficient enough to establish behaviour change and disrupt present automaticity in consumption, if the intention implementation plan is lacking (Verhoeven et al., 2014). “Implementation intentions can establish desirable habitual behaviour by creating new cue-response associations” (Verhoeven et al., 2014)

Buying behaviour is also accompanied by the presence of choice. In order to understand the behaviour, it is necessary to look into how consumers’ choice is formed (Levin and Milgrom, 2004). The choice can be based on functional goals or on emotional desires (Khan et al. 2005); therefore, emotional desired should not be underestimated when considering consumption, as an emotional state might overtake “functional motives in the choice of products” (Khan et al. 2005).

Scholars distinguish the difference in choice between utilitarian goods and hedonic goods. Utilitarian goods are necessities, whereas hedonic goods are often considered as luxury (Khan et al. 2005). As such, the way of choosing these products differs; the price premium that consumer is willing to pay for such products is different as well (Khan et al. 2005). This refers to Maslow’s pyramid of needs: necessities refer to basic needs, whereas hedonic goods are related to the sense of belonging, esteem and self-actualization (Maslow, 1940 in Cunningham, 2008). However, utilitarian goods can become a hedonic good as well, depending on the purpose of purchasing these goods (Khan et al. 2005).

Self-identity has a strong impact on consumer’s behaviour, as it determinates the level of engagement in articulated action (Fielding et al. 2008; Murtagh et al. 2012). The sense of self-identity as ean ethical onsumer plays sa significant art in consumption practices as person tries to

constitute to othe own inner belief of what he is and how he therefore should act. Engaging in ethical consumption therefore can affirm identity, but not acting upon these self-identity leads to discomfort (Fielding et al. 2008). There is a positive correlation between self-identity and intentions as well as actual behaviour (Fielding et al. 2008). Therefore, self-identity should support the image of 'self as of ethical consumer', because if self-identity do not correspond to 'self as ethical consumer', it might contribute to resistance to change and provide a barrier that is rather difficult to overcome (Murtagh et al. 2012)

Vegetarians, classification, intentions and ideology behind it

Vegetarianism has long historical roots both in Western history and in the East. Many ancient philosophers such as Pythagoras, Plutarch, Empedocles, Porphyry and were against meat consumption and offered various arguments to support their position, such as ethicality, religion and even ecological reasons (Kretch et al. 2004). In the East, vegetarianism was a part of practices of several religions, such as Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism. Therefore, it has preserved strong positions there until nowadays: thus, in India about 70% of population are vegetarians.

In the West, becoming a vegetarian is one's own choice; the main reasons for avoiding meat products are ethicality, animal welfare, health, environment, or several of these reasons (Fox, Ward, 2006; Leahy et al. 2010). Other reasons are economic ones, family influence, religion, and diet.

Vegetarians are persons whose diet is mainly plant-based. However, there are several types of vegetarians according to which product categories one is consuming. The main idea is that vegetarians avoid any products from slaughtered animals, including poultry, beef, pork, and fish (McNaill and Merchant, 2004; Ginter, 2008). In this way, vegetarians are considered to be ethical consumers who practice negative ethical behaviour, that is, avoid certain product categories. Vegetarianism can be considered as ethical consumption (or anti-consumprtion), as vegetarians often have the ethical intention of minimizing animal suffering (Fox, 1999), so their consumption (or anti-consumption) contributes in such a way to animal welfare (Fox, 1999).

The extent to which vegetarian observes a vegetarian diet differs, as there are sub-categories of vegetarianism due to the choice to avoid or consume certain animal-related products. The reasoning for becoming a vegetarian often also influences choosing or avoiding certain products. For example, vegans avoid all animal-related products, including honey, eggs, gelatine, food-addictives that are animal-based, and milk. Recent studies show that vegans choose this diet because of their concern for animal welfare as well as for ethical reasons (Rakvica, Raycheva, 2014). There are also semi-vegetarians, that is, the persons who do not consume beef or pork, but do consume fish and poultry products as well as eggs and dairy products.

Some of the most popular vegetarian diets are considered to be ovo-lacto vegetarianism and lacto-vegetarianism. Ovo-lacto vegetarians do not consume any meat-products, but do consume eggs, dairy products, and honey, whereas lacto-vegetarians do not consume eggs or meat products, but do consume dairy products (McNaill and Merchant, 2004, Ginter, 2008). Other categories are lacto-vegetarians, raw-foodists and fruitarians. The reasoning behind each of these categories differs. For example, fruitarians have a rather philosophical stance, willing not to cause any suffering to any living creature, including plants, whereas raw food consumption is based on idea that raw food (food that is not heat-treated or is treated to the heat less than 40° Celsius) is healthier than heat-treated food.

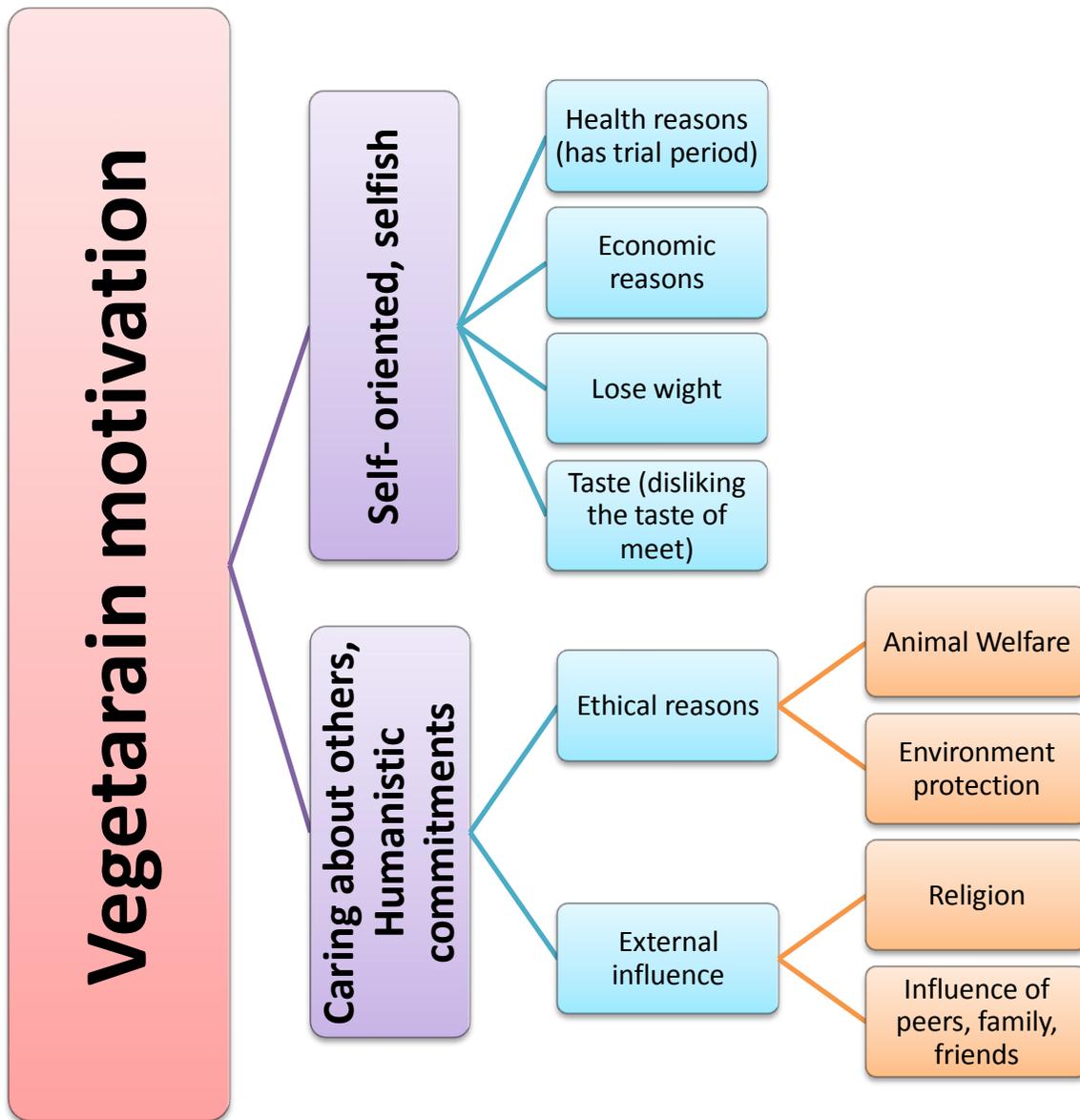
When considering vegetarianism as a part of ethical consumption, Huber (2011) argues that those vegetarians that do consume dairy products and eggs are responsible for unethical treatment of animals, as producing dairy products involves slaughtering of calves and mistreating of milk cows, while consumption of eggs contributes towards ethically problematic treatment of laying hens and slaughtering of male chicks. Bedford (2001) argues that vegetarians are the ones who are expected to have a consistency in their vegetarianism practices, whereas ethical consumers cannot be consistent in all their consumption, as that would require substantial knowledge, money, and other recourses (Badford, 2001).

Researchers suggest that the choice to consume ethical products is influenced by the attitude towards environment, society, and other living creatures, and there is little correlation between this attitude and education level, income level, and other socio-economic factors (Gill, et. al. 2000). The choice to become a vegetarian is often also a consequence of caring about environment or avoiding suffering of animals caused by production of meat. Vegetarianism is

associated with a higher education level, as people with higher education are more likely to be “better informed about the health, ethical and environmental benefits associated with vegetarianism” (Leahy et al, 2010). A recent quantitative study in the United Kingdom shows that vegetarians are more likely to have higher than average income level, usually live in a household with one or two persons, are in a relationship but not married, work as managers or technical workers. The majority of vegetarians are young women working in small-scale companies (Leahy et al, 2010). Leahy (2010) argues that the fact that the majority of vegetarians choose to work in small privately owned companies may be due to the unwillingness to work for “large multinational corporations”, whereas small locally owned businesses are perceived as more sustainable and socially responsible than large corporations (Friends Of the Earth, 2005).

Although ethical issues is one of the main reasons to become a vegetarian, they are not the sole motivation for this choice: thus, this choice is often motivated by concerns for health and one’s well-being. According to Fox and Ward (2008), these are two main motivations to become a vegetarian. However, other studies suggest that the vast majority of vegetarians choose this diet because of ethical reasons. For example, the majority of vegetarians in Latvia have chosen this diet because of ethical reasons and see it as a part of their lifestyle, not as just a diet (Ansberga, 2009). For both vegetarianism and ethical consumption, personal values, motivation, and personal concerns play an important role in the decision-making process (Fritzsche, Oz, 2007; Barnett et al., 2005). Therefore, when considering means-oriented ethical behaviour, the motivation for becoming a vegetarian and the motivation to choose ethical products are important. When discussing ends-oriented ethical behaviour, vegetarians can be considered as consumers who have a positive impact on the ecosystem, as vegetarianism contributes to diminishing the “impact on the environment and economies of pollution, intensive farming and land degradation by grazing” (Fox, Ward, 2008); the motivation for becoming a vegetarian does not have significant importance from that perspective. However, the extent of vegetarians’ engagement in positive and negative consumption may be influenced by motivation to become a vegetarian.

Table 5 Vegetarian motivation



Becoming a vegetarian often has a significant influence on the lifestyle, whereas ethical consumption does not necessarily involve significant changes (Powel, 2002, Tallontire et al. 2001). There are, however, some vegetarian subgroups as well as subgroups of ethical consumers that have integrated these practices in their lifestyles more than other groups, e.g. vegans, who often advocate animal rights and environmental issues, or integrators, who actively apply ethical

consumption in their every-day consumption practices and advocate it (Newholm, 1999, in Tallontire et al. 2001; Rakvica and Raycheva, 2014).

Vegetarians that choose this diet because of ethical reasons, including reasons related to environment protection and animal welfare , are very fast at making this diet part of their lifestyles (Fox, Ward, 2008). There is no clear evidence as to what constitutes the main force that drives sudden change in behaviour when one decides to become a vegetarian because of ethical reasons; however, Verhoeven et al. (2014) argue that the presence of awareness, knowledge, and strong motivation can lead to the behavioural change, while the implementation of intention together with “if/than” plan makes behaviour sustainable as well as makes the goal easier to achieve (Verhoeven et al., 2014; Sheeran et al, 2005). Health vegetarians usually do not adapt vegetarian diet straight ahead, but instead have a “trial” period, during which they try to discover whether such a diet fits their needs and desires (Fox, Ward, 2005). It is not clear whether health vegetarians as ethical consumers would adapt their ethical consumption intentions slower than ethical vegetarians. Moreover, there have not been studies on how promptly the vegetarians with other motivations than health and ethical reasons adapt vegetarian’s vegetarian's diet in their lifestyles.

According to Fox and Ward (2005), the ideology behind the ethical vegetarian choice are “humanistic commitments”, whereas health vegetarians have a selfish concern about themselves; therefore, it may be the case that ethical vegetarians tend to buy fair trade products rather than organic products as they feel egoistic satisfaction for doing something good for other human beings, whereas health vegetarians might buy organic products rather than fair trade products because of the perceived healthiness attributes associated with organic and ecological products (Liebe et. al. 2014).

There are also vegetarians who choose this diet because of economic reasons, because of family or peer influence, because of taste (disliking taste of meat), because of their willingness to lose weight, because of environmental issues and religion (Fox, Ward, 2005); besides, there are sometimes several reasons for choosing this diet. However, there is mostly one dominant reason, while other motivations are subordinated (Fox, Ward, 2005; Rakvica, 2014)

Applied theory

This section will contain theories that will be applied in further research. Furthermore, it will contain reasoning for choice of certain theories and justification. The choice of the theories is based on the aim of the research and previously discussed literature.

Firstly, I need to understand what is ethical products in order to understand whether Danish and Latvian vegetarians purchase ethical products, and what kind of products they buy. I will apply Schnitz (2008) theory to distinguish what is ethical products and how they differ from convenient products (see page 17). According to Schnitz (2008) these products are divided under sub-categories relating to certain ethical consumption aspects and comprising certain ethical values. These categories are environment, social justice, biodiversity and religion (Schnitz, 2008). As certain products can fall within several categories, I will look for motivations to buy these products as well. It will allow to distinguish how Danish and Latvian vegetarians choose to purchase ethical goods.

In order to understand their motivation to purchase ethical goods and understand why Danish and Latvian vegetarians choose certain ethical products, I will apply Arnold (2013) ethical consumer classification, where he distinguish reasons why people choose to purchase certain ethical products (see table 2). He offer gradational view on motives why consumers purchase ethical goods, therefore allow to see whether the motives are self-oriented or external- as a humanistic commitment (See table 5). It allow to see whether Latvian and Danish vegetarians have ethical intentions to purchase ethical products or no. The motivation will be combined with theory about care. According to (Caruana et al. 2015). consumer have to truly care about certain issue in order to translate this issue into action. This theory, according to hypothesis, plays a significant importance in intention formation. The hypothesis is that if consumer care about certain issue, he will have intentions to purchase products that fall within ethical product category presented by Schnitz (2008). Moreover, it is more likely that they will act upon the issues that they care about as acting upon ethical issues play a large role in their self-identity and lifestyle (Fielding et al. 2008).

In order to clarify why Danish and Latvian vegetarians choose not to purchase ethical goods, several theories about intention-gap will be applied. Firstly, Carrigan and Attalla, (2001) theory about social desirability bias will be applied when building a questions for the interview. Carrigan and Attalla, (2001) suggest that interviewees tend to answer in socially “correct” manner and express care about certain aspects only when the question is raised by the researcher (See table 5). This theory will be applied when designing a questions and also, when analyzing results.

Situation context theory presented by Eckhardt et al. (2010) will be applied to analyze what might be the possible reasons for not acting upon ethically minded vegetarian intentions (See table 5). Testing situation context theory will allow to examine why Danish and Latvian vegetarians choose not to purchase ethical goods in a cases when they have intentions to purchase them. According to Eckhardt et al. (2010) price, availability, discounts (to convenient products) and emotions play a role in intention- gap. Also, Danish and Latvian vegetarian reasons for intention-gap will be analyzed according to situation context theory.

Furthermore, “Intention-behaviour mediation and moderation model of ethically minded consumers” developed by Carrington et al.(2010) will be applied. In this research specifically theory about ‘if/than plan’ will be tested (See table 5). According to Carrington et al.(2010) this plan significantly increases possibility that intentions will become a real action (Dholakia et al., 2007; Gollwitzer and Sheeran, 2006; Carrington et al. 2010). Table 5 illustrate why if/than plan increase possibility that intentions will form the actions. I will investigate whether vegetarians form if/than plan when planning their consumption and if interviewees confirm positive impact on intention implementation.

According to theory, positive and negative ethical product consumption experience determine whether purchase will be repeated. I will therefore explore if certain positive or negative experience serves as a reason for purchasing or avoidance to purchase certain ethical goods.

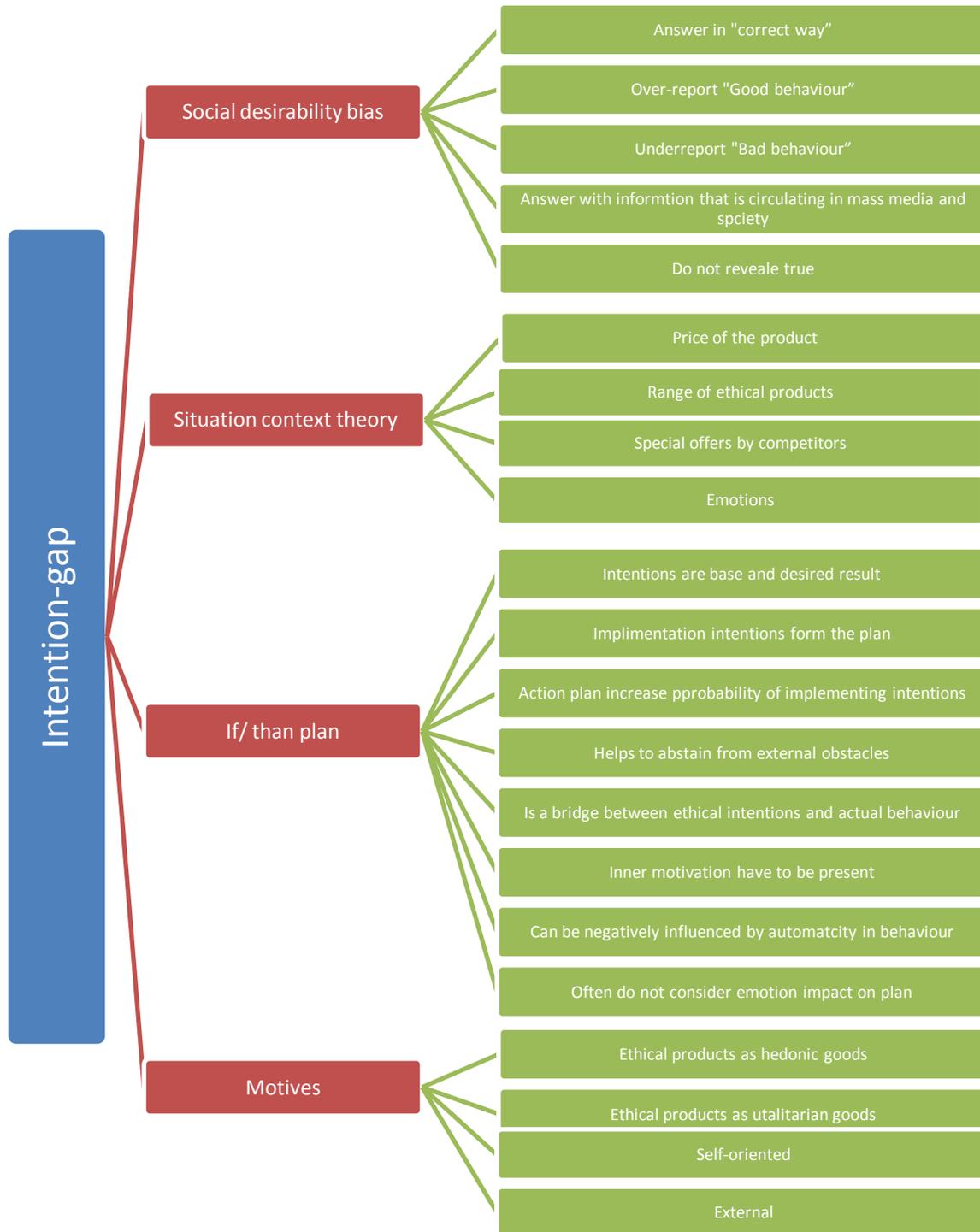
Also, Webeter (1975) theory is that consumer have to be aware of the problematic issue and think that they can actually change the situation with their buying behaviour. This theory will be used to analyze if Danish and Latvian vegetarian interviewees are aware of problematic issues related to ethical consumption, and whether they think that they can change the situation.

According to Webeter (1975) if person does not believe that he can influence problematic issue with his behaviour, it is more likely that he will not act. It will help to determine whether it is one of the reasons why Danish and Latvian vegetarians do not purchase certain ethical product categories.

According to Shaw and Clark (1999) friends, family and other close people can either support or discouradge intentions to consume ethical goods. Close persons, surrounding society and surrounding information form beliefs, subsequently influence the intentions to buy ethical products. Therefore I will analyze experiences that participants have had with relatives', friends, what information do they reveal to have around them and if they search for support in like-minded social groups, that would help to sustain their ethical consumption intentions.

Furthermore theory about justification will be applied. Eckhardt et al. (2010) explain how and why consumers tend to justify their choice not to buy ethical product. When analyzing intention-gap, I will test if Latvian and Danish vegetarians have similar reasoning for justifying similar matters. It, together with care theory, will help to clarify how Danish and Latvian vegetarians choose not to purchase certain ethical product categories.

Table 6 Applied intention-gap theories



Empirical data

The empirical data for this research is collected by semi-structured in-depth interviews. The interviews were theme-driven, although the participants were allowed to talk relative freely. The themes explored during the interview will be arranged in several parts. In the first part, the questions about motivation to become a vegetarian, care (according to theory), criteria for choosing products and questions to reveal participant intentions for buying ethical products were asked. Afterwards, the question about ethical consumption was asked in order to lead the interview towards the topic of ethical consumption. The answers will be compared with information given before questions about ethical consumption were raised and after this, topic was raised by the researcher. The interview contained parts regarding the situation context, belief-formation, “if/than plan” and actual ethical consumption.

The choice of participants is based on several criteria; these criteria arise from the formulation of the problem and chosen methods.

The main criteria were as follows:

1. Participants have to consider themselves as vegetarians and have to abstain from meat consumption. These criteria arise from the scope of the research, as this research studied ethical consumption of vegetarian's social group. The specific subgroup of vegetarianism is not the main criteria when participants are selected. In order to gain a larger coverage, participants will be selected from different sub-groups. For the research purposes, the vegan subgroup will not be dominant when selecting participants, as this particular subgroup is considered to be the most active animal-right and environment activists (Hecht, 2005). Therefore, the dominant position of this sub-category might have a significant impact on the results. Vegan subgroup, however, will not be excluded as they still represent a diverse group of vegetarians.
2. Participants have to be either Danes or Latvians. These criteria are based on the problem formulation and subsequently on the purpose of comparing Latvian and Danish ethical consumption and intention-gap. Furthermore, interviewees have to have this particular nationality because of geographic limitations and accountability.

A similar number of Danish and Latvian vegetarians will be selected. Gender, occupation, income level, family status, age are not considered as criteria when selecting participants, as I consider vegetarians as a group that is not segmented by different socioeconomic factors, though I acknowledge that these criteria might have an impact on the results. Also, the time frame how long participants have been a vegetarian is not criteria when selecting participants; however, it is required that participants should have some experience as to consumption while they have been a vegetarian. Therefore, participants must have been vegetarians for at least several months.

Prior knowledge about ethical consumption is not necessary. Moreover, before the interview participants were not informed that the interview will be particularly about ethical consumption, but instead they knew that the interview will be about consumption.

In order to increase a variety of participants they were selected in two different ways, namely, by snowball sampling and via vegetarianism-related social network groups.

Two online communities were chosen in Denmark, namely „vegetariankontakt.dk” and the Facebook group „Veganere and Vegetarer.”, as these are the most active forums which are related to vegetarianism. Though there are such Facebook groups as „veganske livsfilosofi” and similar, the participants were not selected in these groups. Though vegan groups are sub-category of vegetarians, selecting participants from these groups would narrow down the scope of the research and possibly would have a significant impact on its outcome.

In Latvia the largest vegetarian online community were chosen. „Veģetārieši-es nevienu neēdu” is social network group in Darugiem.lv. There are no related Latvian vegetarians Facebook groups. Though there is a Latvian vegan Facebook group, it was not chosen for selecting participants because of above mentioned reasons.

Data gathering, trustworthiness and ethics of the research

Data were gathered by semi-structured in-depth interviews. The initial intention was to select 30 participants: 15 Danish vegetarians and 15 Latvian vegetarians. Though at the beginning, I selected 26 participants, 7 of them either canceled the interview or did not show up for the interview on agreed time. After all 19 participants for the interviews were

selected and interviewed. There were nine Latvian interviewees who live in Latvia, seven Danish interviewees who live in Denmark, one Latvian living in Denmark, and one Dane living in Latvia. The last two participants were selected to gain a deeper understanding on differences between two countries, specifically on context-specific issues. Though the prior intention was to classify Latvian vegetarian living in Denmark as a representative of the Latvian vegetarian group, after clarifying relevant details it made sense to consider this interviewee as the representative of the Danish vegetarian group. The reason for such a choice was the duration of stay in Denmark, the reason for staying in Denmark, the mass media consumption, and the frequency of visiting Latvia. The participant revealed that she had been living in Denmark already six years. She works here, consumes local mass media, lives together with a Danish partner, and visits Latvia once a year for just a short visit; therefore, she does not have experience of ethical consumption in Latvia almost at all.

The Danish vegetarian living in Latvia was evaluated according to the same criteria, and it was decided to consider her as a part of the Danish vegetarian group as at the time of the interview, she was living in Latvia for a short period (one month). She revealed that she did not use the local mass media but rather followed Danish mass media, she told that she has a very little experience with consumption in Latvia, but she could share her consumption experience in Denmark.

The age of Latvian interviewees's was from 18 years to 53 years; however, most of them were of the age from 20 to 30 years. Danish interviewees were of the age from 16 years to 63 years, but more than a half of interviewees were of the age from 20 to 30 years. Though the age of the interviewees was not set as a criterion selecting respondents, it limits the possibilities for generalization as one age group is overrepresented than other age groups.

Participants from both countries have or are currently taking a higher education or higher professional education, except two interviewees who are still studying at gymnasium.

Interviewees from both countries have considerable experience in vegetarianism, namely, from 10 months up to 43 years. However, there are more Danes with longer experience

(10 years and more) than in Latvia. Latvian interviewees experience in vegetarianism is 3 to 10 years.

The significant difference is that most of Danish interviewees are not married, currently do not live with a partner and do not have children. Only one interviewee lives with a partner, and one is married and has children. Most of Latvian interviewees are married or lives with a partner, and 7 of them have children. Only two reported themselves as single and do not have a child.

Equal number of Latvian interviewees are students, IT specialists and self-employed. One person reported herself as a housewife. Most of Danish respondents are students, while others are IT specialist, pensionist, and nurse.

These factors were not criteria when selecting respondents, as the scope of this research does not impose such limitations. Also, vegetarians are considered as one group that is not segmented by distinct socio-economic factors. However, I acknowledge that it can have an influence on the results that are obtained.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted via skype; the main reasons for that were geographic limitations and ease to convince people to participate in such interview (as it is less time consuming). It should also be reminded that advantages that are associated with skype interviews and discussed in methodology, were also considered when choosing a place for the interview (Kazmer and Xie, 2008).

Almost all interviews were conducted as individual interviews, however, ne interview was held with two participants in th same time. They are couple living together. Most of the things they buy they consume together. Therefore, it made sense to hold the interview together. This approach gives the possibility to gain deeper understanding in their ethical consumption as they supplement each other when discussing the themes.

The interviews in Latvia were mainly conducted in Latvian language, except of two participants who agreed to have an interview in English. Interviews in Denmark were conducted in English. This provides a certain limitation in selection of participants and possible language barrier: as English language is not a national language in Denmark, it

is possible that it is harder both-to understand that questions and express meanings. Latvian interviewees were not limited in such a way; however, I realize my role in the translation Latvian participant expressed meanings. In order to make the gained data accessible and understandable for those who do not understand Latvian language, I translated transcript of spoken texts in English. I did not write transcripts for interviews that were conducted in English. However, I did write transcripts of parts that were quoted in the analysis.

In order to increase trustworthiness of the research Kvale (1996), the seven-step method was applied. This method suggest to overcome social desirability bias with some general questions at the beginning and with referring back to some questions several times during the interview (Kvale, 1996). Social desirability bias is an issue that researchers have to be careful when choosing qualitative interviews as a research method.

To explore some questions in depth, probing was used. Furthermore, it was used in cases when inconstancy of answers were detected. This method allow to reduce social desirability bias as well (Barriball and While, 1995)

In order to increase the validity of the research, I was careful not to impose the researcher's bias in data gathering. However, I am aware that the interpretive study cannot be fully independent of researcher's interpretations (Sounders et al. 2009)

Also, in order to increase trustworthiness of the research similar number of both country representatives was selected as significant overrepresentation of one county's vegetarians might lead to decrease of trustworthiness of gained information (Barriball and While, 1995).

Ethicality of the research was ensured by ensuring the anonymity of the participants. Before the interview they were informed that the interview will be anonymous, but it will be recorded and the records will be used for research purposes. It increased the possibility that interviewees will be willing to share their thoughts, experiences and views more openly (Sounders et al. 2009)

Due to the limitation that this research has, including a relatively small sample size and diversity of vegetarian social group in Latvia and Denmark, it is not possible to generalize the outcome of the research, but they still provide new knowledge (Flyvbjerg 2004).

Analysis

Denmark

Motivation

Hypothesis is that vegetarian motivation for choosing and practicing vegetarian diet and caring (or not caring) about certain facets of ethical consumption is closely linked together; therefore, this section will contain an analysis on what are the main reasons for practicing vegetarianism and what facets of ethical consumption vegetarians do care about. Firstly, I will analyze Latvian and Danish vegetarian motivations and caring about ethical consumption issues separately, and afterwards I will compare Latvian and Danish vegetarian motivations and caring about ethical consumption issues to see whether the main motivation to become a vegetarian in both countries differs and whether there are similar facets emphasized about caring about ethical consumption. Furthermore, I will examine whether in both countries, there is positive correlation between their motivation for choosing a vegetarianism and ethical issues emphasized. During the interview, several questions addressed those issues- some of the questions were direct and straightforward whereas some were more complex in order to search for details and meanings behind the statements interviewees made.

Most of Danish vegetarian interviewees revealed that their primary motivation for abstaining from killed animal products is moral obligations, subsequently ethical reasons as animal welfare is important for them. Only one interviewee emphasized health as a primary reason for choosing the vegetarian diet.

Less than half of interviewees had several motivations for choosing vegetarianism, and they told that both reasons were important. Often combination of reasons is animal welfare and

environment aspects or animal welfare and health. Only one interviewee told that motivation was own health and actual taste of meat, but not animal welfare. She shared her motivation „I thought that it was healthier, and I did not really like meat that much (..) Yeh, basically I think it (vegetarian food) was healthier and delicious” (Interview 6; 1:27- 2:04). This interviewee had some trial period for adapting vegetarian diet in her lifestyle as well. Another interviewee, whose motivation for becoming a vegetarian was partly health had a trial period as well. Other interviewees did not indicate that they had some trial period before adapting vegetarian diet fully, however, they do have some period for adapting vegan diet.

Though all Danish interviewees were still consuming dairy products and eggs, more than a half suggested that they either are almost vegan or has intentions to go vegan suggesting that their motivation for it is mainly animal welfare and partly environment aspects. These interviewees say that they consider veganism as very ethical consumption and environment-friendly as animal product production s associated with large recourse usage, which is, in their opinion, bad for environment. Two interviewees also suggest that the motivation of being a vegetarian has changed over the time and with gaining more knowledge about this topic. One of the interviewees told her experience: „At first it was that stage where I was, like „We all need to save the planet” and I was really into all climate changes and stuff, but it is not that much about climate change anymore, but it is more like than when I got vegetarian, I started reading more about it, and than I realized how terrible I think the animals are treated so that's more like a reason why I am a vegetarian now, and that is also a reason why I want to go vegan because I don't think that dairy cows are treated well” (Interview 7; 01:40- 02:37)

Care

In order to distinguish which facets of ethical consumption might be important for vegetarians, according to theory it is necessary to look on about which aspect's people care about. It is more likely that issues that person care about will be translated into actions.

The hypothesis is that the ethical issues' vegetarians care about are partly related to their motivation to be a vegetarian.

Nearly all Danish vegetarian interviewees do care about animal welfare when they consume products. They do check the ingredients of the products to make sure that these products do not

contain any animal products and at least half of interviewees avoid any animal-related products, including dairy products and eggs when possible. It is related to their motivation to be a vegetarian, which, in most of the cases are ethical reasons and caring about animal welfare.

Another issue Danish interviewees express caring about is environment. All interviewees expressed caring about this issue and emphasized it several times during the interview. They revealed their concerns about climate-change and consumption impact on the environment. As one of the interviewees told, „Environment is very important to the Danes” (Interview 2; 33:50-34:00) Another interviewee express her care about environment in the way how she is shopping „when it comes to cloth, I really think it is hard but when they have some sort of tag that says that they have used less water or try to use organic products than I try to buy stuff like that” (Interview 7; 7:00-7:35)

About a half of the interviewees express that they do care about social justice and try to consume products that would be produced with the respect to the workers and farmers and considering child labour issues in the production. „It (fair trade) is almost more important than whether it’s ecologic because (...) I think workers are more important. If I have to choose ecologic vegetables or fair trade marked, I will choose fair trade” (Interview 7; 34:10-35:10). Another interviewee suggest that she thinks much about child labour issues as she thinks that children should go to school not to work (Interview 5). However other half of the interviewees did not say that they truly care about it much when they consume products.

Some interviewees told that they do care whether the product is locally produced or not, however, the main reason for caring about it was indicated to be environment and transportation that are considered to be harmful for the environment. Only one interviewee suggested that she care about product being produced locally because she want to support local society. As an interviewee says, „If possible I buy local products. We have tomatoes in our greenhouse until December, and afterwards we just cut it out. It is very rare that we buy tomatoes. It means that we look on position where it came from so we don’t have too far to transport it” (Interview 1; 16:05- 16:32) Another interviewee, however, emphasize his own well-being by purchasing locally grown products, and mention environment as secondary importance. He tells that he knows the farmers he buys products from, and he knows that “I trust them that they will not try to sell me a shit” (Interview 3; 14:55-15:05)

Two Danish interviewees suggest that they do care about companies being socially responsible. They say that they do care about companies treating their employees well and with the respect to animal welfare. They suggest that they care about it a lot so they boycott companies they find unethical, and, moreover, try to convince others to boycott these companies as well.

Four interviewees revealed that they do care about their own health when consuming products, however, they do not emphasize this issue. Three of them had health issues as one of the motives for choosing a vegetarian diet.

Understanding the concept "Ethical consumption"

When asked to explain the term "Ethical consumption" the interviewees seem to show confidence.

When explaining the term, Danish interviewees emphasize animal welfare and treating animals in an appropriate way. They also emphasize an impact on the environment as criteria to evaluate the ethicality of the product.

The understanding of concept "ethical consumption" according to the interviews are related to the aspect the interviewees care about. For example, interviewee 3 say that „It is animal welfare for me, and It is sustainable agriculture- you cont spoil nature; you replace things, and you don't use more chemicals or destruction than necessary" (Interview3; 11:56- 12:35) His understanding of ethical consumption reflects how he is trying to consume things and what facets of ethical consumption he emphasize when consuming.

Whereas interviewee 1 emphasize moral aspects when choosing to become a vegetarian and when consuming products. He says, „I see ethics as I see morality. What is ethics and moral is when we try to reduce mental suffering or increase mental well-being so ethical consumption would be anything where you would try to do those things. Of course you reduce suffering by not consuming meat (...) Pollution... we are also hurting environment where animals and ourselves live and that also create suffering so anything that lowers pollution and lowers suffering is ethical consumption ” (Interview 1; 10:00-10:55) The interviewee 7 says that „For me personally is to buy a staff that courses the least amount of harm to others both animal and people” (Interview 7; 09:00-09:20) Her explanation of ethical consumption constitute to the aspects that she cares about when consuming products.

Moreover, the interviewees emphasize that it is the way how they understand this concept, and that they define this term according to their own inner beliefs. When explaining the concept, they use such expressions as “For me personally...” (Interview 7, 09:00-09:10), “I think it is...” (Interview 4; 08:00-08:10); “I see ethics as...” (Interview 1, 10:00-10:10)

Intentions

The hypothesis is that vegetarian intentions to buy products that constitute to certain ethical consumption facets conform the ethical consumption facets that they care about. According to Caruana et al. (2015) consumer have to truly care about some ethical issue in order to translate this care into intentions to purchase product with such ethical attribute.

Nearly all Danish interviewees have an intention to buy products that do not cause animal-suffering. Moreover, half of interviewees try to buy products that do not contain any animal products. However, during the interview they did not emphasize that products should not be tested on animals.

The interviews reveal that nearly all Danish vegetarians do have aim to buy ecological, biological and organic products. Only one interviewee says that he does not have intentions to buy organic or ecological products because of financial issues. He says, „I haven’t thought that much about ecology and what I purchase mostly because I haven’t had that much money, and I know it is more expensive” (Interview 1; 04:31- 04:52). However other interviewees say that they do have intentions to buy that kind of products because of various reasons. These reasons are closely linked to the aspects that interviewees care about. Those who care about environment say that they have intentions to buy organic products because of environment. They argue that organic product is more friendly to the environment. Those, whose primary concern is own health emphasizes that their intention to buy organic food is because these products are associated to have fewer pesticides, and they are not GMO. However, only few interviewees tell that their intention is to buy ecological and organic products because of their own health.

More than a half of interviewees say that they buy local products. However, only few say that they have the intention to buy locally produced products when they go to the shop. Moreover, when talking about locally produced things, they mainly relate to food products.

Interviewees show the intention to buy products that are associated with decreased food mileage, and it was one of the main reasons why to choose locally produced products or choose products that are transported in environment-friendlier way, for example, buy bananas instead of buying pine-apple as bananas are transported in the ships, but bananas-with the airplane (Interview 7).

Four interviewees have strong intention to consume less. They re-use things. They use things until they worn out, and buy quality things that last very long time. “I buy less, and when I buy it, I think about it more (...) I think it is how more people should think about the stuff they buy” (Interview 7; 23:40-23:55) They also try to reduce water consumption, electricity consumption and other recourse consumption. For example, several interviews told that they did not have a care and they bicycle when possible instead of using other kinds of transportation.

One interviewee, when shopping, do not have other ethical intentions than buying things that do not cause real suffering, especially to animals, therefore, he chose to abstain from animal products as much as possible, but when it comes to other ethical issues, he does not have intentions to buy them as then the price is dominant and his intention is to buy products as cheap as possible. This is contrary to most of the interviewees. Most of Danish interviewees have intentions to buy quality products that are associated with higher price.

Gap between intentions and deeds

Price plays a certain role in the intention-gap for Danish interviewees. „A price of course plays a role when you are a student so it is not always that i feel when I am Denmark that I can buy ecological products because they are mainly more expensive than non-ecological products.” (Interview 7; 06:30-06:47) However, when it comes to food one-third of interviewees told that current prices for ethical products might make them refrain from buying ecological and organic products even though they have intentions to buy it. Furthermore, interviewees who does not have an intention to buy ecological and organic products say that he haven’t thought about buying these products because of financial reasons, but he might consider it when he has more money. „I havn’t thought that much about ecology and what I purchase mostly because I havn’t had that much money, and I know it is more expensive” (Interview 1; 04:31- 04:52) „But of course if and when hopefully I will get a proper amount of money to live and pay for a product to consume I would consider ecology as a good way to support the environment” (Interview 1; 05:02-05:22) Cotrary another interviewee who has intentions to buy ecological and organic

products because of environment and her own well-being suggest that though she is a student, she works part-time job just to support her intentions to buy that kind of products, therefore, she buys such products constantly (Interview 5). Moreover, those who have stable income do not mention price as a reason why to abstain from buying such products even though these products are associated with higher price.

The reason for not buying ethical products often is mentioned a lack of information. Interviewees suggest that it is not that difficult foodwise as it is with other products. Often as an example is mentioned cloth. Nearly all interviewees say that it is difficult to buy ethically produced cloth and cloth that are made from ecological materials.

Also, when talking about ethical consumption in general, interviewees say that it is nearly impossible to be fully ethical consumers again quite much because of information that it requires. „It consumes a lot of energy to really be living fully as ethical consumer because you need to spend a lot of time in researching" (Interview 3, 26:50- 27:14).

There are some trust issues as well. However, Danish interviewees, though tell that do not know if they can fully trust in the labels, they still tend to buy these products. One of the interviewees say that she buy fair-trade products as she hope that she can support the farmers in this way, though she is not sure whether they actually get a reasonable wage. „I am not sure but I hope so. But I think the idea is that the farmers should get more money but of course I don't know if they get them" (Interview 8; 14:14:14:43) Another issue concerned the fair-trade product is a range of available products. It was mentioned that the choice of fair-trade products is limited. Therefore, interviewees buy them rearlied. However, only few interviewees actually care about social justice therefore saying that the range of product is not satisfactory might be care of justification and lack of caring about farmer working conditions.

No one of interviewees complained about range of food-related products and skin and house care products. One of the interviewees even mentioned that now she buy more ethical products than she did 30 years ago. „ Now I buy more ecological products because it is easier to buy them here in Aarhus. 30 years ago, it was more difficult" (Interview 7; 06:50-07:13)

Danes who are very determined to buy ethical products say that their choice of product is not affected to buy special offers. Even if they see discounted similar product they still buy the product that they have intended to buy. Those interviewees who say that are more price-sensitive and has low income level say that sometimes they choose convenient product over the ethical one because of the price. Few interviewees, however, suggest that the special offers work the more other way around, meaning that if they see discounted ecological product, they buy it, even if they haven't intended to buy it before, and moreover they buy it in larger quantities and sometimes even make a stock with these products.

Justification

The most common justification for not buying certain ethical products is lack of information. Most of the interviewees say that it requires a lot of information, and it is simply impossible to be a fully ethical consumer. „I think it is very difficult to be concerned about all aspects (Interview 8; 18:25-18:35) Another interviewee express similar opinion and say that one has to choose the aspects he care about the most as it is too difficult to be a fully ethical consumer. „You can choose to pick your fights: you can support what you can: Buy organic and then you can, like I do, sort things out. So if you can do half it is better than none, if you can do all, than it is better than half” (Interview 5; 47:50-48:19)

Lack of knowledge and information is also an argumentation for not purchasing ethical products. However, as one interviewee told, though she does not know how to buy ethical products, she chooses to consume less instead. “I know that there are a lot of children in Asia or Africa that works on making the things I am buying and I don't really know how to buy stuff that havn't been made by children so my mentality is if I buy less than fewer children would have worked to make this stuff” (Interview 7; 22:40- 23:22)

When explaining the stand-point about cheap labour conditions and child labour most of the interviewees used justification for not acting upon it. As one of the interviewees explained, it is double edge as, in his opinion, from the one hand, the situation is bad, but from the other hand, he says that it is best for them if they have at least some job. „It is better than nothing” (Interview 1; 37:25-37:45) Furthermore, he add that in some countries, child labour is the only option. Therefore, the fact that children are working in those countries. „ is a less of two evils” (Interview 1; 40:06- 40:16) Another interviewee say that she still buy products that might have

involved child labour, but then she is donating money that helps children in developing countries and in this way try to support the children (Interview 5)

Responsibility to promote ethical consumption

All Danish interviewees suggest that it is their own responsibility to promote ethical consumption. They say that they can influence global issues if they do something about it. As one of the interviewees expressed opinion that was present in all Danish interviews „I can vote with my wallet... in small steps” (Interview 3; 35:05- 35:22) Some of the interviewees suggest that companies should do their bit as well and set up the standards for others. No one really suggest that government should do something about it. One of the interviewees said that „I think it could be on many levels in society. I think it would be good if company like as big influence as H&M would promote it because, then they could set an example that others could follow. I would also like to say the state, but then I am not sure as people already feel that are put on some general guidelines already.” (Interview 4; 31:00-31:46)

When asked if they really think that they can make some change with their consumption, they tell that „If I didn't think it makes a change, I would not be a vegetarian or working towards vegan than yeah, there would not be any big reason to be it” (Interview 1; 44:00-44:16) They mostly say that it is each and every persons own responsibility to do something about issues they care about. „People have to grow up on their own phases and make up their own mind on that subject” (Interview 2; 36:15-36:28)

If/then plan

Most of the interviewees do not make a physical list of the things that they want to buy, but they usually have an idea of what they want to purchase. „I mostly have an idea of what I want to buy when I go to the shop” (Interview 1; 19:00-19:16). They usually make the list if tend to buy things that they usually don't buy. Those, who make the actual list, say that they do stick to the intended list most of the time. One of the interviewees say that she make the list because if she did not make it, she tend to buy things that she actually did not need, but don't buy these things that she actually wanted to buy at first (Interview 7). „I always know when I leave the house what I will buy, and I try to figure out what I can get and where I can get it” (Interview 7; 42:30-42:46) She revealed that when she make a plan like this, she tend to stick to it significantly more than if she does not have this plan. Another person say that when she make the list, she sticks to

it, but when she plan what to buy but does not write it down, she actually buy more things than she intended at the beginning. However, it does not change the intentions to buy ethical goods (Interview 5)

Belief formation

Danish interviewees say that there is too little information about ethical consumption in Danish mass media. However, there are debates about climate changes, about ecology and about the environment. Most of the interviewees share a similar opinion about this topic. „There has been much more focus last, I don't know- 5 years, on environmental damages and stuff (Interview 6; 03:30- 03:46) Another interviewee say that there is some information about ecological meat, but sometimes about vegetarianism as well. He says that it is mostly related to health issues, and rarely to moral issues (Interview 1, 26:50-27:20)

Most of the interviewees share a similar opinion that there is too little information about different aspects of ethical consumption in mass media and there should be more that kind of information. One interviewee add that „I think you have to have an interest to be updated in this field” (Interview 4; 17:37:17:49) Therefore, most of the interviewees search the information in the Internet. As one of the interviewees told, it is possible to find everything in the Internet, however, one has to be critical on what he finds (Interview 3)

Many interviewees search for information and support in different Facebook groups and special homepages for vegetarians and vegans. Some subscribe for news letters as well to be updated in the field of interest, for example, child labour issues, etc. One of the interviewee revealed that in the social network „vegetarkontakt.dk” it is possible to find a lot of different information that vegetarians are often concerned about. „It was very helpful for me, and it is net where every vegetarian or almost every, but many vegetarians and vegans are put together in one net, and you can just like shoot away like if it is about environment, ethics or about food- everything. It was really helpful for me” (Interview 5; 22:40- 23:18).

Furthermore, in Facebook groups which most of the interviewees are part of, there is a lot of information about environment issues. „In a lot of vegetarian communities also climate change is big subject, so I am trying to buy climate friendly” (Interview 7; 04:49-05:06)

Most of Danish interviewees do not share a similar opinion about vegetarianism and ethical consumption. More than a half shared that either family did not accept this choice and refused to eat what vegetarians have cooked (Interview 5), or they partly accept it but don't share similar view on ethical aspects of consumption (Interview 6).

When the interviewees did not feel that they can share similar views with family or other society that is around them, they tend to search for information, support and like-minded people in social networks. For example, one interviewee, whose family did not accept her ethical choice, not to consume meat told that she was searching for like-minded people in the social network. „Vegetarkontakt.dk. It is like a Meka for questioning about vegetarian or vegan issues and there are a lot of supports when you just become a vegetarian or vegan- how to handle it with your family and how to react or how to deal with people that aren't accepting that side of oneself. So that's very helpful because none of my family is vegetarians, and it took like a year for the to accept" (Interview 5; 23:20- 24:20). Another interviewee, whose family and friends are not vegetarians also tend to search for information and support in social networks. He also told that he talks with other vegetarians in these groups as in that way he can share his opinion (Interview 1). Another interviewee revealed her experience that it has been very difficult 30 years ago to be a vegetarian as there wasn't many vegetarians at that time. It indicates that it was difficult that she could no longer share similar world view with other. Now she knows a lot of people that are concerned about ethical consumption and they share the information and news about it (Interview 8)

Those whose family are supportive show confidence in their choice and express self-confidence in society, which is not sharing similar view on ethical consumption and animal welfare and feel confident to do something about the issues one is concerned about. „I always had that kind of feeling that if something is wrong you should do something about it and always when I do something, my parents supported me, so I was used to that I can do something about stuff" (14:09-14:35) There were two interviewees whose family was very supportive, and they were actively sharing with others their world-views about vegetarianism and ethical consumption.

Positive/ negative experience

When asked about particular positive or negative experience related to ethical products, most of the Danish interviewees could not recall any really positive or negative experience. One interviewee told that she had a negative experience with the product that was rotten, and she did not buy that particular brand afterwards anymore, but it did not discourage her to buy ethical products in general. Many interviewees say that ethical food products taste better and have better quality. Therefore, they would never buy, for example, non-ecological apples as these do not taste as good as ecological (Interview 9 Dk). This experience suggest that positive experience has a positive impact on repeated purchasing behavior.

Deeds

The interviews reveal that most of Danish interviewees constantly act upon ethical issues that they are concerned about. From caring about issues, they develop a plan what they can do about these issues and actually take the responsibility and act. Some of the interviewees reveal that they translate their ethical intentions as much as they possibly can- they grow their own vegetables, buy local food, when they need it, do not consume any meat products, consume as little as possible, reuse and repaired things. Another 3 interviewees say that their main concern is environment, and therefore, they purchase most of the things that are environment-friendly and also try to consume less. However, they reveal that they cannot be fully ethical as it requires too much information, and also the range of some things are not satisfactory. Danish interviewees often mention buying ecological and organic products. The reason for it is different, but outcome is the same- they do buy these products frequently. They also mention buying ecological or organic skin-care, beauty products and cleaning products. Most of Danish interviewees say that at least 70% of their food products are ethical. From these three, people say that nearly all food products, house-care and skin-care products that they buy are ethical- at least 95% and more (Interview 2; interview 5; interview 8). Only one person say that he does not buy so many ethical products as he has some financial issues (Interview 1)

When it comes to cloth, they say it is difficult to buy organic and ecological cloth, or cloth that is produced in the socially responsible way. They purchase that kind of things time buy time, but it is not regular purchases. However some interviewees say that they buy cloth very rarely and

wear them until they worn out, and partly buy their cloth in second-hand stores as they think it is more ethical to do so.

They do not mention any other ethical products that they buy. Though several interviewees try to reduce consumption in all aspects of consumption.

Latvia

Motivation

Interviewed Latvian vegetarians has different motivations for choosing a vegetarian diet. Particular motivations are own health, ethical issues (mainly animal welfare), family influence, „negative energy avoidance” that is associated with killed animals. This reasoning is often part of some kind of religious practices, such as Hinduism (in a form of yoga or Ayurveda) adapting some parts of philosophy that lies under it. Rarely financial reasons also motivate to adapt vegetarian diet as meat products are sometimes associated with higher price. For example „I had a very little money. Therefore, I was buying the cheapest products, and therefore, I renounced from meat as it was very expensive.” However opposite to Leahy et al (2010) findings in research about vegetarianism in United Kingdom, the interviewee did not return to meat consumption after an increase in income, but rather continue his vegetarian diet as „After some time, I realized that I can (live) without meat... I came back to Latvia and thought that I would continue this diet... just as experiment... I thought to try it for six months. After six months, I thought to try for some half year more, and so it continued”

Sometimes family impact on decision to become a vegetarian is clearly revealed whereas sometimes it is disclosed only by analyzing the context of situation. For example, interview nr 2 (1) says that „I am a vegetarian since childhood. My parents were vegetarians. They are not (vegetarians) anymore, but I am. I do not consider meat as a food at all.” (Interview nr 2. 2:53-3:12) Here we can clearly see that interviewee notice the impact of her parents to become a vegetarian. However, interviewee nr 2 (2) revealed that he had been an omnivore all his life but 5 years ago he started to think about ethical reasons and in a half year transformed his diet in a vegetarian diet. It was at the time he started to date his wife who is a vegetarian. Though he did not emphasize her influence on his decision, it is very likely that he had some impact on the diet that he had decided to adapt. Furthermore, his wife has recently become a vegan, and now he

considers choosing a vegan diet as well. Therefore, the possible impact of closes persons in this choice should not be undermined.

Though motivations vary from person to person, usually there is one dominant motivation, which is supplemented with other reasons either already at the start or adapted afterwards. As one of the interviewees revealed that she has been a vegetarian since childhood and have become a vegan because of ethical reasons, but afterwards found out about health benefits as well, therefore, she is maintaining her vegan diet (Interview nr 2. 1) Interviews revealed that Latvian vegetarians were very much focused on own well-being and animal welfare. As one of the interviewees mentions: „I love animals. Therefore, I am not killing them.” However, during the interview he revealed „ I am a vegetarian for myself, for my own sake” (Interview nr 4)

Most of the interviewees at some point mentioned both aspects being important to them. However, there is a tendency that one of the reasons is dominant over the other. Mostly, the interviewees revealed that ethical reasons are supplemented with health benefits or other way around. Moreover, it can shift at some point. „The first reason was that I did not feel well after different celebrations, and I thought that I could try to avoid meat, so the first reason was health, and the second reason was ethical issues, but now I think the dominant are ethical reasons" (Interview 1; 1:50- 2:20).

The theory suggests that those who adapt a vegetarian diet because of ethical reasons, do it more sudden than those who do it because of own welfare as they say that they have some trial period. The interviews, however, suggest that this phenomenon is only partly in presence. Some interviewees who choose this diet because of own well being have had some trial period. „I started practicing yoga, and my body did not require to eat products. I started to use them less. It solved several health problems. Then I searched for more information about it and finally decided to adapt a vegetarian diet fully.” (Interview 5; 0:46-1:15) However, some interviews reveled that they change their eating habits in one day „My brother in law gave us present to the lecture by Tarsunov. He is educated in Veda. Renunciation was very simple. After lectures we went home and told to our kids- we are not going to eat dead bodies at our house anymore. Since that day, we are not eating meat.” Moreover, opposite to the theory some of the interviewees who decided to adapt this diet because of ethical reasons had a trial period „All my life until 27 years I had been an omnivore, but then in a half year period I transformed into a vegetarian.

Why? Because of ethical issues. I did not think much of health, but probably it was also a reason... but I also do not like the taste of meat. I do not consider it as a food. ” (Interview nr 2; 4:30-5:14)

„The first impulse was not related to karma. Often people say that they love animals, and it is very important to them not to kill animals. My first impulse was health issues. I think that we do not really need meat” (1:22)

Care

In order to distinguish which facets of ethical consumption might be important for vegetarians, according to theory it is necessary to look on about which aspect's people care about. It is more likely that issues that person care about will be translated into actions.

All Latvian vegetarian interviewees do care about animal welfare. Therefore, emphasize that animals should not suffer when products are produced. All of them underline the importance of products being a vegetarian. Most of them check the content of the products in order to make sure that they do not buy products that contain any killed animal ingredients and are not tested on animals. Moreover, interviewees who are vegans or trying to become a vegan stress out that they do check if the product is vegan as it is the primary criteria when choosing a product. They also emphasize caring about environment, however, not more than other interviewed Latvian vegetarians. Furthermore, vegans claim that their choice to avoid any animal-related products are environment-friendly. As a vegan interviewee told: „environment is important, but veganism goes in hand with environment protection.”

Opposite to the hypothesis, vegetarians whose motivation is to become a vegetarian because of own well being still express caring about the environment. As one interviewee told: „it should not be a convenience product. It should be environment-friendly, and as it is environment-friendly, it is also good for me as it is a natural product” (Interview 7; 8:23-8:44)

The second priority to the interviewees are own health and health of their family members. The interviewees show caring about own well-being. Therefore, claims to avoid any harmful chemicals, tend to choose ecologic products, more natural cosmetics, cleaning products and choosing foods with fewer pesticides, etc. It is often a self-oriented choice. For example, one interviewee suggest that „I buy ecologic cloth because my body does not want to feel chemicals”

(12:55- 13:10). It clearly shows caring about own well-being. She also suggests that consumption influence mental and spiritual health. Persons that have chosen to be a vegetarians because of own well being emphasize care about a healthiness of product's multiple times during the interview in such a way suggesting the significant care about this particular aspect.

The third priority of ethical consumption that Latvian vegetarians show fairly strong care about is support to local economy by their consumption. Most of the interviewees suggest that they tend to choose products that are made in Latvia, especially food-related products. „I mostly choose locally produced, home-made products produced at micro-size company.” The reason behind is to support local economy, local producers and improve social welfare in the own country. „Yes, I choose local products. I am shopping at local market, and also when buying in the shops I am looking for Latvian products" (Interview 3; 12-12:40). When asked to explain why they do choose local products, the argumentation is „I buy products made in Latvia to support local society so that they would not go to work abroad but would continue their work (in Latvia)" (Interview 7; 22:00- 22:35). The choice to buy local products. However, is not only purely because of care about social justice, but contains perception that local products are healthier than other so interviewees partly show care about social welfare of local society and partly- about own well-being.

Moreover, Latvian interviewees show care about social justice in local scale, but do not emphasize the importance of it in global scale. For example, interviewee 1 told, „I haven't bought a garlic in the supermarket because I did not want to buy garlic that is produced in China as I know that they can also be produced in Latvia. When I went to the local market, I saw a man selling garlic that is produced in Latvia, and I bought it straight away.” (34:35-35:35). Though when the question rose they either care about it theoretically or due care about abstract energy that the product contains because of the thoughts that producer „puts into the product” that they consume (Interview 7; 6). When rose question interviewees say they do care about social justice, however „we do not know what are the working conditions for people that are working in fruit plantations, and therefore, it is possible that we support unethical working conditions indirectly”(23:08- 23:30). Only one interviewee mentioned caring about social justice in terms of purchasing fair-trade products before the interviewer had risen the question. Moreover, some of the interviewees say that social justice is not important to them at all.

Some of Latvian vegetarians do consider a food mileage. However, they do not care about it much. According to Latvian vegetarians, the choice to buy locally-produced goods are not connected with caring about the food-mileage. Most interviewees revealed that they simply did not care about food mileage at all as they tell that they live in a globalized world and want to have sufficient food choices all year round which, according to them, is impossible if consuming only local foods. Only one interviewee revealed that somewhere in his priority list is the food mileage as well, though it was not his main concern.

Understanding the concept „Ethical consumption”

Most of Latvian interviewees revealed that they had not heard term „Ethical consumption” before. Interview 5 answer similar as other interviewees „I am not aware of this term”(07:35-07:42). Moreover, interview 7 expressed that „I haven’t been thinking about it.” It was noticeable that most of the interviewees have not actually been thinking whether their purchasing behavior is ethical and what does ethical consumption mean. When they were asked to define this particular term, they were rather guessing what it possibly includes. Several interviewees emphasized ethical consumption as being a conscious consumer- conscious about choices one is making. Persons have to purchase goods in a responsible manner. As one of the vegetarians suggested, „Ethical consumption? It is when purchasing products with conscious, with moderation and not thinking only about oneself” (Interview 7; 11:30-12:00) In a deeper sense another interviewee told that „Probably it is when you understand what you are consuming” (9:30-9:57) suggesting that one has to think about inner ethical values when purchasing and consuming products and consumption should correspond to these values.

Most of the interviewees point out considering animal welfare as a part of ethical consumption, and it is often mentioned together with considering consumption impact on environment. „it (ethical consumption) is about realizing that you are a part of environment and should consider environment and do not harm self and others” (Interview 5; 07:42).

Some of the interviewees mention social justice as well. „Ethical product is socially responsible. I don’t know if it is ethical, but we buy Latvian products but not Lithuanian ones. We buy fair-

trade sugar and tea” (Interview 7; 14:20). This indicates that some Latvian vegetarians do think that considering social justice might be part of ethical purchasing behavior.

Only one interviewee told that he was aware of what does this term stands for and defined it rather precisely. His definition of ethical consumption is: „It is taking into account how your choices affect others. How much it affects animals, how much it affects the environment and the way it is produced, for example, how much greenhouse gases it produces or how much resources does it waste and also how it affects the workers- do the workers receive minimum wage and what are their working conditions and so on” (Interview 8; 04:50-5:56)

„Intentions to buy ethical products

According to the theory, intentions to buy ethical products are closely linked with caring about certain ethical issues as it is more likely that true caring will form the intentions.

The pure intention of Latvian vegetarians regarding their consumption is closely linked to the motives of following a vegetarian diet. Most of the vegetarians have pure intention to minimize animal suffering that is associated with using products that involve killing animals. Therefore, most of Latvian vegetarians do have intentions to buy ethical products that consider animal welfare in the production. Moreover, vegans have intentions to buy vegan-friendly products- these are products that do not contain any animal products and are not tested on animals. This criterion is mentioned as priority when choosing any kind of products as this constitute to their philosophy of cruelty-free product production. When asked about main criteria when choosing products to purchase, interviewee 8 told, „Firstly, it (product) has to be vegan.” This intention is based on motivation to be a vegetarian. Therefore, is forming intentions to buy only vegetarian products, including skin-care products and other.

All interviewees do have intentions to buy foods that are associated with being healthy. They try to use products that have fewer potentially harmful chemicals and are more natural. This is one of their main considerations when buying food products, skin-care products, cleaning products and cosmetics majority of them tend to choose ecological, organic or biodynamic foods, and foods that they consider to be healthy. Not all of them has intentions to buy products that have eco-labels. However, it is partly because of common perception that local products are healthy, so some of them either grow their own food, or has relatives that provide them with locally

grown vegetables. As an alternative, they also tend to go to the local market time by time and buy vegetables, fruits and berries that are in season there. There is, however, tendency that most of the interviewees do consider eco-labels when shopping for food and has intentions to buy at least part of the products with eco-labels. Moreover, majority tend to buy ecological, organic or natural skin-care products that would not „pollute” their body with, in their opinion, unnecessary chemical substances. The same goes for cleaning products, for example, washing powder, that has contact with the skin, housecleaning substances, that can be breath-in, etc. There is an intention to buy products that are associated with being healthy. Though ecological products are associated with being environment-friendly, less than half of interviewees do have intentions to buy environment-friendly products and even fewer numbers of interviewees do consider food mileage when shopping.

Interviewees revealed that they had intention to buy locally produced products. These intentions are based on caring about local social welfare and their own well-being, and health. Therefore, all of interviewees reveal that they have intentions to buy more locally produced products, and, if possible, to buy from local farmers or take vegetables for their relative's gardens. Though buying locally produced goods are associated with being environment friendly, only few interviewees mentioned it as one of the reasons why to purchase it. Interviewed Latvian vegetarians do not have the intention to buy local produced products because of environmental aspects. However, Latvian vegetarians have intentions to consume less, for example recourses (water and electricity), buy fewer things and cloth. Those who have intentions to consume less, tend to buy quality things that are long-lasting, avoid in their opinion unnecessary things and buy cloth in second-hand shops. The intention to consume less is present in nearly all interviews. However, the reason behind it is not straight-forward. It is partly associated with being environment friendly, and partly being financially beneficial because reduces expenses.

When talking about corporate social responsibility, Latvian interviewees rarely have intentions to buy such products. They mention caring about it only after these questions is raised by the interviewer. Interviewees revealed that when they go to the shop, they do not have intentions to buy particularly products that are produced by socially responsible companies. Interviewee 2 reveal, „Ideally is if our life philosophy corresponds with the philosophy of the company. It's in ideal case, but we do not think about it when purchasing each and every product”(14:12-14:30)

Moreover, only few interviewees revealed that they had intentions to buy fair-trade products or products that do consider social justice. Almost all the interviewees have bought a fair-trade product. However, most of them do it spontaneously without prior intention to do so.

There is correlation between motivation to be a vegetarian and intentions of buying products with certain ethical aspects. For example, vegetarian who chose to be a vegetarian because of financial issues do not have any intentions to buy ethical products whereas vegetarians who choose a vegetarian diet because of ethical reasons do consider ethical aspects of consumption more. Vegans, who have chosen to adapt the vegan diet because of ethical reasons do have intentions to buy environment-friendly products and cruelty-free products. Vegetarians who chose a vegetarian diet because of health issues tend to emphasize intentions to buy as healthy products as possible (including ecological, biodynamic, organic, etc.). However, as there is often multiple motivations for being a vegetarian, there are also intentions to buy products with multiple ethical attributes. All interviewed vegetarian do consider vegetarianisms to be healthy. Therefore, they all do consider health attributes of the food when shopping. Those vegetarians who have adapted vegetarian is because „killed animals have provided negative energy” and eating animals create bad karma, do not have intentions to buy products that consider social justice, as they argue that people create their own karma and are self-responsible for their lives. As an interviewee 4 mention „They (workers) are receiving reasonable payment. Who can tell what is reasonable payment and what is not? It is just our perception that 1 cent a day is not reasonable payment for the work. But who we are to judge their lives? They receive reasonable payment according to their karma. They should do something to change their karma instead of complaining” (45:00-45:35)

None of the interviewed Latvian vegetarians had the intention to be an ethical consumer. As previous analysis about understanding the ethical consumption concept shows, most of them haven't been thinking about ethical consumption. Their intentions and consumption are naturally occurring with their motivation to be a vegetarian, and the ethical aspects that they care about.

Gap between intentions and deeds

Interviewed Latvian vegetarians tend to shop according to their intentions. However, there are some aspects that they mention. Care form the intentions. However, only things that they truly care about they translate in intentions to consume. Though interviewees tend to express care about issues that are brought up by the interviewer, it does not implicate true caring about these issues. According to analysis above, only these issues that people truly care about create the intentions to shop accordingly. Therefore, in this section I will analyze what create the gap between Latvian vegetarian intentions and actions, but i will not analyze why they do not shop according to all ethical consumption facets.

Those Latvian vegetarian interviewees who have intentions to buy products that are associated with ethical consumption, tend to stick to their intention if it is their priority. However there are external factors that are mentioned to have an impact on intentions to buy ethical products. Most often interviewee's mention price and range of the products as the aspects that have an impact on their decision whether or not to buy a certain ethical product. As an example, often interviewees mention cloth- some of them would like to buy locally produced ecological cloth, however, they tell that both- the price is too high, and the range of the cloth are too small. As interviewee 2 told, „I would like to buy quality cloth that are not produced in China, but we are not that reach to afford quality cloth.” Furthermore, interviewee 1 mention: „I prefer to buy cloth produced in Latvia, but there is not that much to choose from.” However, many respondents told that as locally produced and ecological cloth range is small and these cloths are often expensive, but they still have an intention to buy environment-friendly cloth. They sometimes choose to buy second-hand cloth as an alternative.

Furthermore, when asked about food products, most of the interviewees told that the price does not influence their choice of the products much as they are looking for quality food that would be healthy, but other interviewees revel that though they would like to buy more ecological products, they cannot afford it „In (name of the shop) there is a bio rice. However, we don't buy them as we eat them pretty much, and it turns out to be too expensive” (Interview 2 48:40-49:00) Moreover, the same person reveals that „sometimes price is more important than the product being organic” (Interviewee; 13:49-14:06)

The range of the products sometimes has impact on the intention-gap. However, most of the interviewees revealed that overall range of ethical products is satisfactory. Sometimes they cannot find some certain locally produced products in the supermarket, and they have to go to the local market to buy them. Some cannot find some specific products in the local shops, such as vegan cheese, and therefore, purchase it less frequently, but overall the interviewees told that range of the ethical products in the shops is satisfactory. However, they have to know where to look for these products.

Special offers often do attract Latvian vegetarian attention. However, they tend to reveal that it does not stop them from buying the things that they have intended to buy. They actually reveal opposite- if they see ecological products with the discount, they tend to buy them in larger quantities. „I buy products with discount, but those that I anyway consume. For example, I take eco yogurt. I take three more because they are cheap” (Interview 7; 33:30- 34:00) Moreover, it encourage to try new ethical products, for example, fair trade, that they do not consume regular, or some ecological product that they have not tried before. Furthermore, interviewees say that he purchase things on special offers only if he needs that thing. As he revealed: „I know what I need and advertisements cannot influence me” (Interview 4, 30:00- 30:56) Only two interviewees told that as they are price-sensitive, they tend to buy products that are discounted even if their intention were to buy locally produced products.

Furthermore,. emotion play a certain role in the choice of the products. Interviewee 7 explained that „When I am very tired, when I havn't slept enough, and I haven't been eating enough, then I feel that specials offers start to influence me more. There is some emotional aspect- Than I want this, and I want that... But I try not to follow this state” (Interview 2, 43:08- 43:41). However as several Latvian interviewees revealed emotions actually support readiness to purchase ethical products. Several interviewees suggested that they had bought ethical products under emotions. For example, when asked whether emotions have a role in the shopping experience, one of the interviews told, “ If we are talking about food products, then yes. I will talk about coffee again, when I wanted to buy coffee, I went to the shelf to check one which I know is tastier, and then I saw (name of the brand) coffee with fair-trade and biological farming product and was not much expensive. And as I do not drink that much coffee at home, I better chose that one. I was not planning to buy super biological farming coffee that day.”

Another aspect that might be part of the gap between intentions and actions, is lack of trust in the trade marks and overall lack of trustworthy information on which products and companies are socially responsible. Some of the interviewees revealed that they did not trust in the labels, and they lack information about a worker's conditions in countries that produce goods. As interviewee 2 revealed, „We are buying fruits in the shops, but we do not know who is picking them and how.” When asked specifically about fair trade labels, he answered that he does not fully trust in the label (Interview 2; 19:00-20:00). Moreover, interviewee 4 says that: „One can write on the label anything, therefore I don't trust them” (Interview 4, 37:00- 37:34) Moreover, the same interviewee told that companies put these labels (eco, fair trade, etc.) because they are fighting for attention, energy and money (Interview 4, 39:30- 39:39). However, only two interviewees revealed that they do not trust in the labels. Other interviewees either trusted in the labels or told that they rather trust in them than don't.

When shopping together with someone else, it might have an impact on intention-gap as well. If the person is ethically minded, but are together with persons that are not, in some cases it influences decisions of what to purchase. „When I shop alone, all things that I buy are ecological, but when I am shopping together with my mother or someone else than they add different animal products, and it decreases percentage of ecological goods in my shopping basket. Then accordingly it (ecological products) might be 60-70%” (Interview 5; 26:20- 26:44)

Justification

The most common justification for not buying certain ethical products was that their actions anyway would not change anything in a global scale. Several interviewees told that they don't and cannot know how products are produced and whether child labour is used to produce certain things. They told that it is too complex issue and requires a lot of information which they do not have. Mostly, justification was used to justify the choice not to buy socially responsible products and products from companies that are not socially responsible. Moreover, some of the interviewees told that it (low salary for workers in third-world countries is not a problem at all, therefore he don't care about it.

If/ than plan,

About a half of the interviewees told that they regularly made a list of things they are going to buy. Another half admitted that they created a plan in their mind, that when they are in the

shop, they will buy certain things. Usually before going to the shop they check what they need and shop according to their needs. Interviewee 8 told that he made a plan, but not with certain brands. „Not an explicit list but mental points, e.g. I need grains, bread, vegetables such and such, fruits such and such” (Interview 8; 28:50- 29:17). Moreover, even when they do not create an explicit list of things that they need, they do stick to the brands that they are used to buy. „I do not experiment. It’s not like today I will take Lithuanian cheese and tomorrow- Latvian. No, I buy one particular. I actually always know what I want and what I will buy” (Interview 7; 33:00- 33:30)

When asked if interviewees tend to stick to their plans about what to buy most of them say that they haven’t been thinking about it before. Some of them feel that it is easier to distract them from their plan, and other say that it is nearly impossible. As interviewee 8 told that he buys approximately 2/3 of the things that he has intended to buy before, but then 1/3 can vary: „It depends on when you actually get there whether the list is actually worth buying, some special offers, etc., but it is 2/3 at least” (29:20- 29:52). There is, however, a relation between financial aspects, intentions and external aspects. As analysis above show, there is a certain influence of external factors to the plan, however, creating an actual physical list does not show the tendency to stick to the plan more than those who do not create a physical list. The data from interviews reveal that if/then a plan works only in the cases when there are strong intentions to buy certain ethical products. If there are no strong intentions to buy ethical products, then plan to do not help to abstain for changing the plan because of external reasons, such as discounts, etc. as interviewee 3 revealed, he does create a list of things that he needs, he plans to buy local products, however, if he sees that other similar product is heavily discounted, he will buy the one with discount. Opposite to this another interviewee 7 suggest that she rarely create a physical list, however she say that she still buy things that she had intended to buy. As she have strong intentions to buy a products that are produced in Latvia, she say that she still buy latvian product even if the other similar product is with the discount. „It is not like if Lithuanian milk will cost less, I will buy it. No. I will not buy it anyway” (Interview 7; 34:00- 34:14)

At the beginning when people start to be a vegetarian they tend to search for information, check the content of products and so on, in order to avoid any dead animal products in it. After some time, they already know which products are suitable for vegetarians and, which are not, and

develops a habitual action of buying certain range of products that are vegetarian-friendly. When discussing ethical products, one interviewee reveal that she has developed a habit to buy a certain range of products. She share her feelings: „Actually, it is already a habit. When I go to the shop... I have the feeling that we buy everything unchanging...” (Interview 7; 33:00-33:17)

„It is pretty long priority list that is already internalized as a habit so it is not as I would have to open a check list” (Interview 8; 03:30- 03:45)

Vegetarians are consistant in their choice to avoid dead animal products.

Belief formation

Nearly all Latvian interviewees tell that they do not consume Latvian mass media. Most of them do not have TV. They do not read local news papers and rarely listen to the radio. However, they tell that there is nearly no information about ethical consumption and vegetarianism in mainstream mass media. „I think I havn’t noticed much information, but I do not consume mass media, I do not listened radio. I do not watch TV. I don’t read newspapers. Only time by time there is some information in the Internet about vegetarianism” (Interview 6; 38:00-39:00)

They suggest that there is very little useful information, and there is nearly no information about aspects of ethical consumption.

However several interviewees say that the main information related to ethical consumption is a promotion to buy local products. „We have some kind of propaganda that we have to buy Latvian products” (Interview 3; 32:40-32:55) Furthermore, the same interviewee adds, „For example, example in Latvia it is the common belief that Lithuanian products have lower quality, and apples from Poland are not worth buying though it is very possible that many products are actually better than Latvian products” (Interview 3; 33:55-34:21).

Another interviewee also say that information about ethical consumption is related to encouraging support local producers. „People are being persuaded to buy local products and to buy environment-friendly products” (interview 7; 42:14- 42:30)

Furthermore interviewees say that information around them provides them with knowledge about different aspects of ethical consumption. „information that is around me, for example, in Facebook a lot of people are following Latvian producer pages (...) I would say that I have a lot of information, and it is positive” (43:30- 44:00) Almost all interviewees are part of local social network vegetarian group or part of Facebook group, which provided them with constant normative messages about vegetarianism. Some are following different international environmentalist pages, nutritionist blogs, etc.

In social network's interviewees search for inspiration, information and support from like-minded people. As interviewee 8 when asked if he search for like minded people around him, share his opinion „yes, I do... because it is sharing experience, and knowledge and having discussions with people about topics they care about and you do ” (Interview 8; 40:30- 41:00) Also it helps to sustain a conviction to be a vegetarian or vegan even if society around them do not support this choice.

Family and friend's attitude

When asked to share their experience about their family and friends attitude towards ethical consumption and vegetarianism, those people, who are in a relationship or are married, revealed that their partner thought the same way both- about consumption and about vegetarianism. One of the interviewees even pointed out „Actually, it is the same (attitude towards consumption). That is why we are family, that is why we are thinking the same. And to our children, we are teaching the same about recycling, or that we are not buying some products. We are telling them, that it is not healthy and there are healthier products, and they can choose something else. And in the family, there is one way of thinking about this thing” (Interview 1). Another interviewee add that vegetarianism change the friend circle and society that the persons communicate with. She told that there was a large gap between vegetarians way of thinking about consumption and other people way of thinking; therefore, she is not friends with her old friends but now have friends with the similar way of thinking. „Because of vegetarianism my friend circle has changed...” (interview 6; 39:00- 39:26) „because there is a large gap. It changes people that we are friends with and society around us.” (Interview 6; 39:35-40:00)

Another interviewee told that his friends support his veganism and environment activism. He pointed out that he has discussions with them about veganism and environment issues: „Mostly,

they are supportive. And I convinced some of my friends to go vegan or go vegetarian” Interview 8; (39:20-39:40)

Other family members, however, is not always supportive and rarely share the similar opinion. Several interviewees revealed that even though their partners are supportive and share the similar way of thinking, their parents, siblings and grandparents often judge their choice to be a vegetarian, and they often choose not to share with their consumption experiences with them as they do not feel comprehension and find it either difficult or useless to talk with them about these topics. „They (relatives) criticized my choice not to eat meat, but now I think they have realized that it is pointless. Before they told that I should not (be a vegetarian),) and I should eat meat, but I disregard it” (Interview 3; 41:20- 41:48) Another interviewee say that she avoid conversations about vegetarianism and about ethical consumption with her relatives as she do not feel support to her opinion, and she has conversely opinion about it. As she mention „I have a sister and she is trying to save money on food as much as possible whereas we dont’t save money on food, therefore, I don’t speak (about ethical consumption) there” (Interview 7; 53:10- 53:53)

Though there was one interviewee who parents were not vegetarians, however, supported her initiative to go vegan and to consume ecological and environment-friendlier products. She revealed that she is lucky to have the support from her parents, and she gladly share her ideas about consumption with them, and as she tells, it has also influenced their consumption as they tend to choose more ecological house-care products and healthier foods (Interview 5).

Those vegetarians who do not have friends or relatives that supported their ethical consumption intention's search for support in social network groups. As interviewee 3 revealed, he did not had anyone to talk with about different issues that vegetarians care about „I do not have anyone whom I could talk as vegetarian to vegetarian” (Interview 3; 42:15- 42:30). Furthermore, he revealed that in social network group and in the Internet, he finds information about issues that are related to vegetarianism and find like-minded people that has strengthen his conviction to maintain his ethical consumption habit. „One of the reasons why I sign in the social network group was to strengthen my conviction that I am doing the right thing as everybody around me- my family- told that I am doing wrong; that one cannot live without meat; that I will get ill without meat. But then I read information in social network group and some other articles about this topic, and I understand that it is possible (to live) without meat" (Interview 3; 42:45 -43:19).

Deeds

Most of Latvian vegetarians purchase, natural, ecological or organic skin-care products and products for house-cleaning. Furthermore, they tend to buy such products with possibly fewer chemicals.

Latvian vegetarians reveal that it is rather difficult to buy locally produced and ecological cloth. Therefore, they either buy convenient cloth or sometimes buy second-hand cloth.

Most of the interviewees tend to choose locally produced products over the other products as they receive those as healthier. They also think that these products support local welfare.

Most of Latvian interviewees do not consider themselves as ethical consumers, but when the question is raised by the researcher, they revealed that they consumed 40 to 70% of products that they perceive as ethical. Waste majority of those are locally produced foods, and some part of it are ecological skin-care and house-care products.

Comparison

Motivation for becoming a vegetarian

The analysis revealed that Danish vegetarians chose to abstain from killed animal products because of the concern for animal welfare. Though this is the primary reason, it is supplemented with the environmental reason and, in few cases, with the health reason; according to Hetch (2005), one or several additional reasons „bolsters and solidifies a person’s commitment to the practice.” Latvian vegetarians say that they choose their particular diet due to ethical reasons, concern for their health, and spiritual practices. That corresponds to the findings of the previous studies on the motivation to be a vegetarian (Ansberga, 2009; Rakvica, 2014; Hetch, 2005). In few cases other reasons, such as taste, economic reasons, and the influence of family were present as well, which corresponds to the reasons why people adopt the vegetarian diet pointed by Maurer (2002).

Latvian vegetarians do not emphasize environment as the reason for them to adopt this diet, but often mention their own well-being as one of the motives, whereas Danes emphasize caring about others, including animals and environment, rather than focus on their own well-being. Most likely, this is a reason why more than a half of Danish interviewees have an intention to go

vegan. According to Hetch (2005), those who have an intention to become a vegan believe in the „basic equality between humans and non-human animals” (Hetch, 2005). Furthermore, Danes associate vegan diet with being environment-friendly. They state that producing animal products is cruel and requires a lot of resources; therefore, it is not environment-friendly.

Latvian and Danish vegetarians show strong care about animals, as this is their main reason for adopting the vegetarian diet. Even those vegetarians who had other motives for adopting this diet at first, have developed in the course of time a strong sense of caring about animals; thus, every interviewee referred to that caring several times during the interview. The main difference between Latvian and Danish interviewees was that Latvian vegetarians emphasized care about their own health, whereas their Danish counterparts emphasized their care about the environment. Caring about these issues contributes to their motives to become a vegetarian. Another difference is that half of Danish interviewees expressed their concern for social justice on a global scale (caring about poor worker conditions in third-world countries, child labour, etc.), whereas Latvian interviewees did not show a strong concern for that: they told that they were concerned with it only when the interviewer raised that issue. That corresponds to Carrigan and Attalla’s (2001) statement that quite often interviewees tend to answer in the manner that they think would be the correct one and, what is more, do that only when the issue has been focused upon by the researcher. Furthermore, most of Latvian vegetarians try to justify their lack of concern with these issues. According to Eckhardt et al. (2010), that is an attempt to preserve one’s image of being “good” or “ethical” person while not acting according to these principles. However, Latvian interviewees do show strong concern with social justice on a local scale: thus, they say that they do want to support local producers as much as they can and explain that they are willing to do that as they care about social welfare in their country. Contrary to that, Danish interviewees rarely show concern with that; moreover, Danish vegetarians do not justify the lack of concern with that.

Another difference is that Danish interviewees revealed that they care about food mileage; it is part of their care about the environment. Latvians revealed that they do not care about it much: their priority is animal welfare, which they perceive as a contribution to ethical consumption. They argue that they need to consume goods that are produced in other countries in order to sustain their diet.

Also, it appears that for those who adapted vegetarianism because of ethical reasons, emotions played a significant role in their choice, whereas those who adapted this diet because of health issues mainly relied on logical reasoning.

Danish interviewees see vegetarianism mostly as a humanistic commitment to animal welfare and to the environment. They show strong external motivation for becoming a vegetarian. The same tendency is present when analyzing what aspects of their they care consumption they care about. Though some interviewees show self-oriented motivation, they still revealed strong caring about others when consuming products. Latvian interviewee motivation for becoming a vegetarian is a mixture of external motivation (caring about animals) and self-oriented motivation - caring about own well-being (physical health, spiritual health and own comfort). Their motivation to become a vegetarian reflects the aspects they show care about.

Intentions

The hypothesis is that vegetarian intentions to buy products that correspond to certain facets of ethical consumption confirm the ethical consumption facets that they care about. According to Caruana et al. (2015), consumers have to care truly about some ethical issue in order to translate this care into the intentions to purchase a product which has such an ethical attribute.

All interviewees in both countries have the intention to abstain from killed animal products. This intention is so strong that when interviewees go to the shop, they check the ingredients to make sure that products are animal-free. Moreover, most of Latvian interviewees emphasize that they have the intention to buy products that are not tested on animals. Intention to abstain from killed animal products corresponds to their philosophy of cruelty-free product production. Those interviewees whose motivation to become a vegetarian was other than animal welfare, have the same intention to avoid meat products. However, they have adapted the philosophy of cruelty-free products in the course of time rather than from the very beginning; therefore, their intention is not purely based on self-oriented motivation, but rather is external as a humanistic commitment and ethical choice.

When Latvian vegetarian interviewees go shopping, they all have an intention to buy healthy products. The intention to buy products that contains less (in their opinion harmful) chemicals as well as natural products and products with eco-label is purely self-oriented. The Danes

emphasize their intentions to minimize the negative impact on the environment when purchasing eco-labelled, organic and biodynamic products. Just few Danes told that they bought these products because they think it is healthier. Though they mention environment as a motive for adopting the vegetarian diet merely in few cases, they emphasize care about environment several times during the interview; subsequently, it is also one of their intentions to buy environment-friendly products when they go to the shop. Only few interviewed Latvian vegetarians had intentions to buy environment-friendly products, and it was not on their priority list when choosing products. As Latvian vegetarians do not show strong care about the environment, they do not have intentions to buy environment-friendly products.

The Danes have the intention to buy locally produced goods less frequently than Latvians, and those who do have that intentions, mainly do that because they say that they care about environment and food mileage. To the contrary, nearly all Latvian interviewees have the intention to buy locally produced goods whenever that is possible. They claim to do it because of the concern for social justice, that is, to support local economy, and also because these products are associated with being healthier, containing fewer pesticides and having better quality. Latvian interviewee motivation for intentions to purchase locally produced products is, therefore, mixture of external motivation and self-oriented motivation.

Most of the interviewees in both countries do not have intentions to buy products that would be produced in socially responsible manner, with the respect to workers and avoiding child labour. Though part of interviewees showed care about social justice on a global scale when the researcher raised that issue, most of them found some justification for why they did not care about it when consuming products. Only some interviewees (1 in Latvia and few in Denmark) said before the researcher raised the issue that they had an intention to buy fair-trade products and products that were not produced using child labour; however, according to the analysis, that was not their primary concern. That contradicts Liebe et al. (2014) findings, which suggest that people feel egoistic satisfaction for doing something good to others, e.g. buying fair-trade products to support other human beings.

The intentions of Latvians to buy products with ethical attributes correspond to the theory that people often buy ethical products not because of their 'ethical' nature, but rather because of other attributes that this product has (Eskjaer, 2013). For Latvian interviewees, those are health

benefits that are associated with ecologic, natural and organic products. However, this analysis suggest that it can be a mixture of both ethical reasons (for example, the concern for local society welfare) and other attributes of the product, including higher quality and the association between the product and benefits for health.

Though Lavik (2002) suggest that putting forth concern for environment as one of the essential criteria for choosing a product is rare, analysis of data on Danish interviewees rather runs contrary to that, as it shows that Danes have strong a intention to buy environment-friendly products; that criterion was very common among Danish interviewees. Moreover, Lavik (2002) suggest that those who consider environment as one of the main criteria when choosing a product are environmental activists.

Intention-gap

Further, I will discuss on the basis of previous analysis the main reasons for the intention gap. I will analyze the gap between the core intentions of participants as well as the reasons that may make them to abstain from buying products that they intend to buy. I will not focus on ethical consumption facets that interviewees do not care about and that therefore do not influence their decisions to buy or not to buy some goods.

According to Carrigan and Attalla (2001), situation context has a significant role in relation to the intention-gap. They argue that intentions to buy ethical products are mostly real, but such factors as price, range of the product (and availability), special offers by competitors, and emotions can make a consumer to refrain from buying these ethical products that they had intentions to buy. Analysis showed that situation context only partly has an impact on intention-gap.

Price has a certain role in Latvian and Danish ethical consumption. According to analysis, more Danish interviewees than Latvian interviewees sometimes tend to choose convenient product over the ethical one because of the price, even though they do have intentions to buy ethical products. Only one Latvian interviewee told that he abstains from buying more ecologic products because they are rather expensive. Price, however, has a greater role for those Danish vegetarian interviewees who report themselves as price-sensitive because of either working in low-paid job or being a student. Those who have a stable income do say that they buy ethical products

according to their intentions, even if these products are the more expensive ones. Moreover, youth is more price-sensitive when choosing clothes than older people. However, as they have intentions to buy environment-friendly clothes, sometimes they choose some cheaper alternatives, for example second-hand clothes or cheaper ecological cotton clothes from chain stores. However, it is debatable whether people would choose to buy ethical products more often if the price were lower. For instance, Danish interviewee who lives in Latvia now said that when she was living in Denmark, sometimes she did not buy organic and ecological products because they were more expensive. When she was asked whether currently, living in Latvia, she buys ecological and organic products more, she answered that she did not, though the prices in her current country of residence are lower for such products (Interview 4). Moreover, another interviewee revealed that she had found alternatives as to how to buy environment-friendly products, for example, she volunteered at certain organization and thus had opportunities to buy such products cheaper, etc. (Interview 5).

Range of the products as well as available information have similar importance regarding the gap between intentions and actual behaviour in Latvian vegetarian group and Danish vegetarian group. Interviewees from both countries revealed that they considered the range of ethical product as satisfactory. This, however, does not mean that the range and availability of ethical products in both countries are similar. As two interviewees revealed (those with a Dane living in Latvia and a Latvian living in Denmark), the range of ecologic and organic products in Latvia is rather small, and only the basic products can be found in local supermarkets. To find a larger variety, one has to look for such products in special shops (Interview 4; Interview 10) The results indicate that Latvian vegetarians have different expectations towards ethical product range than Danish vegetarians. It should also be mentioned that female interviewees in both countries reported that the range of ethically produced cloth is not satisfactory. Moreover, available ethically produced clothes were significantly more expensive than convenient ethically produced clothes, and that creates a gap between their intentions to buy locally produced cloth and environment-friendly cloth.

Special offers and emotions play some role in the choice of products, but analysis revealed that those who have strong intention to buy certain ethical products do that even if they see a similar non-ethical product to which significant discounts have been applied. However, interviewees

revealed that they tended to buy ethical products if they see discounts offered. If these are products that they regularly consume, they buy them in bulk. If they see products that they have not tried before, they tend to buy it even if they have not had prior intention to buy it. The most frequently used example were fair trade products. Most of the interviewees did not have intention to buy fair trade products, but they buy them if these products are discounted. Latvian interviewees see ecologic, organic and fair-trade products as hedonic goods which are associated with higher price (Khan et al. 2005). They tend to use the chance to try new products benefitting from a discount whenever possible.

Xinming (2014) suggest that sometimes the reason for abstaining from buying ethical products is the lack of the trust to the labels, which is sometimes a part of justification not to act with regard to the issues that respondents consider ethical. Several Latvian interviewees conformed this theory. However, it contributes only to the theory about the products that interviewees do not have intentions to buy. For example, some Latvian interviewees told that they did not trust the fair trade label, but they did not show intentions to buy products endorsing social justice anyway. Danish interviewees revealed that they either trust labels, or they want to trust labels. Therefore, Danish interviewees did not report distrust in labels as a reason to avoid buying certain ethical products.

According to Eckhardt et al (2010), justification may vary in distinct cultures (Eckhardt et al. 2010); comparison of justification used with respect to the same issue in Denmark and Latvia confirmed that.

Danish interviewees often justify their not being fully ethical consumers by the lack of information. According to Webeter (1975), consumers have to be fully aware of the situation and problem in order to take an action. Danish interviewees say that they choose a certain facet of ethical consumption and do their bit. Though they are aware of several problems that are associated with consumption, they choose a certain facet where they think that they can make a difference. According to Webeter (1975), awareness together with certain attitude towards a problematic issue and perception that individual can change the situation are reflected in consumer's buying behavior.

According to findings of Fielding et al. (2008), people often use the “lack of power” as an excuse meant to justify their choice not to buy product that they consider as ethical. Part of Latvian vegetarian interviewees justify the gap with lack of power to influence global issues: they state that their ethical consumption would not make a difference. Furthermore, it can be one of many reasons why Latvian interviewees tend to buy products that promote social justice on a local scale, as they might feel the opportunity to exert influence on a smaller scale, that is, in their own country.

In both countries Latvian and Danish vegetarian experience reveal that positive experience increase the likeliness to purchase ethical goods whereas negative experience does not seem to decrease intentions to buy intended ethical products, but rather leads to avoidance of a certain brand.

If/then plan

In both countries, interviewees demonstrated similar results regarding “if/ then” plan. About a half of interviewees do make a physical list, but another half create a plan in their mind. The results from both groups were similar. They do not create a plan with particular brand products, but rather have a general plan which is based on some criteria. If one of the main criteria is a certain ethical aspect, then they mostly stick to the intention to buy it. Only two interviewees revealed that the actual plan helps them to stick to prior intentions. The plan that interviewees usually create in their mind or on the piece of paper is too vague and unspecified and therefore does not exert a positive influence on ethical buying behavior.

According to Moors and Houwer (2006), if ethical products are purchased constantly, it develops automaticity in the action. Mostly Danish interviewees revealed that they had certain automaticity in their ethical consumption, whereas only one Latvian interviewee reported to have automaticity in her actions.

Belief formation

Most of Latvian interviewees revealed that their closest relatives (wife, husband, partner or children) share with them similar opinions about consumption. Most of the interviewees reveal that there is nearly no information about ethical consumption in mass media. In order to provide themselves with information and support, almost all interviewees are part of vegetarian or vegan

social networks or groups in Facebook. If they have like-minded friends, they share information about ethical consumption with them. They however abstain from sharing such information with persons who do not hold a similar opinion. The analysis show that Latvian vegetarians share their views about consumption mostly with persons that they think will support their intentions while avoid discussing ethical consumption with people that they think would discourage them. They seek communication with like-minded people and search for information. Latvian interviewees say that information in mass media actively promote local product consumption. Most of Danish interviewees report that they do not share a similar opinion about vegetarianism with their family and therefore search for like-minded people on social networks. However, they share a similar opinion about ethical consumption with acquaintances and some friends and gladly share information with them. Furthermore, Danish interviewees revealed that there was too little information about ethical consumption in Denmark, as they said that available information was mostly about the climate change and environment. Moreover, they search for information about ethical consumption on the Internet. Both Danish and Latvian interviewees reveal that they search for like-minded people as well as for support for their beliefs. According to Courtney (2008), that helps to sustain their conviction and motivates to act according their beliefs. Furthermore, that forms beliefs and helps to form and sustain intentions (Shaw and Clark, 1999).

Conclusion

The theoretical contribution of this research was that it broadened knowledge of how and why ethically-minded consumers within the same social group but in different countries choose to purchase ethical goods as well as of the main reasons for not purchasing ethical goods if ethically-minded people have intentions to do so. This research aimed at exploring whether there are differences regarding intention formation, intentions, and the causes for the intention gap within the similar social group in different countries as well as how these causes differ in different countries. Moreover, the research explored the role of ‘care’ in intention formation and the role of situation-context in the intention gap.

Due to highly exploratory nature of this study, the findings reflect experiences and views of the particular sample group; moreover, it is a rather diverse consumer group. Therefore, the findings

may not be generalized but rather provide new knowledge in field of the studies of ethical consumption and intention gap.

The key findings are that though vegetarian social group share some common values even within different countries (Hetch, 2005), the issues they care about in ethical consumption differ. The Danish vegetarian group mainly revealed external motivation for purchasing ethical goods, whereas Latvian vegetarian group showed a mixture of external motivation and self-oriented motivation to purchase products that can be classified as ethical. The analysis revealed that the Danish vegetarian group shows strong care about animal welfare, climate change and environment, but the Latvian vegetarian group mainly focuses on animal welfare, own health and social welfare on a local scale (within own country). It was revealed that the members of these social groups form the intentions to buy ethical goods based on the aspects they ‘care’ about. Accordingly, the Danish vegetarian group has a strong intention to purchase ethical goods that are associated with environment-friendliness, whereas the Latvian vegetarian group demonstrated the intentions to buy products that they perceived as healthy. Furthermore, the Latvian vegetarian group has intentions to buy local products. This indicates that it is more likely that consumers will develop an intention to buy certain ethical products if they “truly” care about the issue. Analysis revealed that if the ‘care’ is revealed only when the question is raised by the interviewer and is supplemented with a justification, it does not form the intention to buy such an ethical product. Subsequently, vegetarian consumers do not form the intentions to buy certain ethical products if they do not care about the issue. However, that does not exclude the possibility that they may buy ethical products which they did not intend to buy previously, as the situational context may not only make a consumer to abstain from buying ethical goods, but also exert its influence the other way around, that is, consumers might buy ethical products without prior intentions due to sudden emotions or special offers.

The research aimed to gain better understanding of why Danish and Latvian vegetarians choose not to purchase ethical goods. Carrington et al. (2012) suggested that mostly intentions are real, but consumers are influenced by context-specific issues that make them abstain from buying ethical goods. Findings in this research, however, indicate that first of all the lack of caring and then the lack of intentions significantly decrease possibility that consumers will purchase ethical goods. There are, however, context-specific issues that play some role in the intention-gap.

Moreover, these issues and their significance are similar in both countries only partly. In Latvia, the price of ethical products has less impact on intention-gap than in Denmark; however, the price of the products sometimes is used as justification for not buying these products. Even if the products are available at a lower price, that does not mean that the person will purchase more ethical products. The reason for that might be lack of intentions to do so.

In both countries the availability of ethical products has some role in the intention gap. Interviewees point out that there are some product categories in which the range of products is narrower and the availability of products is lower, and mention that as a strong reason why they purchase such ethical products rarely even if they have the intention to do that.

Positive experience increase the likeliness to purchase ethical goods whereas negative experience does not seem to decrease intentions to buy intended ethical products, but rather leads to avoidance of certain brand.

Analysis indicated that consumers are often aware of the problem, but not always feel the power to change something with respect to the issue. This subsequently results in their unwillingness to act in order to change these issues. Latvians often justified their choice not to act in regard to certain consumption-related problems as caused by the lack of power to change something. It is possible that they choose to act regarding local-scale problems as they feel that they have more power to influence these issues. Danes, however, do say that they possess a certain power as consumers, but rather say that they cannot be fully ethical and justify that as due to the lack of information. It is possible that the perceived lack of consumer power has some relation to care and intention formation.

This study indicates that there are differences regarding both intention formation and the intention gap within different countries; therefore, it aspires to inspire the researches in the fields of sociology and culture to pursue further studies on the topics of cross-cultural ethical intention and the intention gap. Furthermore, due to type of this empirical study and its limitations, namely, that the researcher had to rely on the information provided by the interviewees, future studies should aim at exploring the actual ethical consumption of these groups. The concepts introduced in this research should be critically compared with the actual behaviour in order to clarify whether vegetarians as a social group walk their walk or just talk their talk.

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