

The Path Towards Responsible Consumption

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1. THE URGENCY TO ADOPT RESPONSIBLE CONSUMPTION

The current consumption patterns are not compatible with the planetary boundaries (UNEP, 2019). We would **need 2.75 Earths** if everyone lived like Swiss residents.¹ And despite the hope that we would "build back better" following the Covid-19 pandemic, the Swiss consumption levels have already grown above the pre-pandemic levels.²

The call for action is urgent! According to the latest IPCC report³, we have **three years left** to cap our greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) and avoid a climate catastrophe. Although lifestyle changes alone cannot solve everything, they have a key role to play, technological advances will not suffice. In Europe, shifts in behaviour could contribute to more than 20% of the GHG emission reductions required to reach net zero by 2050 (Costa et al., 2021).

Responsible consumption, which is in line with SDG 12 (sustainable consumption and production)⁴, requires bringing all actors onboard, from consumers and producers to policymakers. **Responsible consumption** refers to consumers' considerations for social and environmental consequences of their choices. **Responsible production** considers the impacts arising from a firm's or brand's business activities from the initial to final production. In this case, producers are responsible to identify and ideally eliminate negative impacts. **Responsible**

policymakers are those who have a political agenda aligned with finding solutions to the social and environmental challenges their voters face.

Responsible behaviour is closely related to **social consciousness**. Webster (1975, p. 188) coined the definition of a socially conscious consumer as someone "who takes into account the public consequences of his or her private consumption or who attempts to use his or her purchasing power to bring about social change". Social conscious consumers are defined by three characteristics: (1) the acknowledgement of **social and environmental issues**, (2) the belief that these issues can be addressed through a change in behaviour, and (3) the feeling of belonging to a community that shares an interest in these matters.

The aim of this report is to identify the issues with the current economic model and the individual barriers that hinder responsible consumption, as well as to call for action for coordinating the shift towards more responsible behaviours across all actors. It represents a follow-up to the Conference on Responsible Consumption organised by E4S and ASSH in Bern on 31st August 2021⁵ and kick-starts the E4S series on this topic.

2 See for instance the Payment Card Transactions, as monitored by Monitoring Consumption Switzerland.

5 You can find a summary of this event here.

¹ In 2018, the Swiss Ecological Footprint – i.e., the area required to produce what individuals consume – was 4.35 global hectares (gha) per person, while the global Biocapacity – i.e., the existing productive area – was 1.6 gha per person. See the National Footprint and Biocapacity Accounts 2022

³ See the Sixth IPCC Assessment Report

⁴ The 12th goal set by the United Nations and adopted by world leaders during the 2015 UN summit in New York is meant to ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns. Among the objectives set for 2030: the substantial reduction of waste, the large-scale dissemination of information on ways to consume in a more harmonious way with nature (UN, 2022).



2. RESPONSIBLE CONSUMPTION AND THE ECONOMY: WHERE LIES THE PROBLEM?

Economic theory is, in its essence, interested in studying the mechanisms through which individual and societal well-being are maximised given the resource constraints. The **first fundamental theorem of welfare economics** states that a competitive market equilibrium is Pareto optimal.⁶ It echoes the famous **invisible hand**⁷ of Adam Smith and provides the conditions under which the pursuit of individual welfare is congruent with society's well-being maximisation problem.

However, this theorem is commonly misunderstood in economic theory. Often forgotten are the assumptions behind this theorem – a key requirement is the absence of uncorrected externalities in the economy. **Externalities** are those situations where the impact (positive or negative) of someone's behaviour on the profit or well-being of someone else is not taken into account by the pricing system. This leads to individuals not taking into account the consequences of their activities on the rest of society with the result that the pursuit of their own interests is not aligned with the collective interest.

Imagine, for example, that one wishes to spend a weekend skiing in the Swiss mountains with one's family and one can choose between two means of transportation: either travel by train, or take a private car. Using the car is generally cheaper, faster – depending on traffic jams – more convenient to transport one's luggage and skis, and there is no risk of missing one's connection. However, fuel-engine vehicles emit greenhouse gas, responsible for climate change, and fine particles, associated with negative health impacts such as asthma and heart disease. Hence, while travelling by train is the better option for society and the environment, fuel-engine vehicles are often the most comfortable option for the individual. This example illustrates the recurrent **social dilemma** or collective action problem one faces when purchasing food, travelling, or consuming electricity and energy.

The prerequisite for responsible decision making is that consumers, producers, and policymakers do consider how their individual choices affect the environment and society. But, how can these considerations be internalised, i.e., used by economic agents for making responsible decisions? Individuals are, at least partly, self-interested and make choices based on simple cost-benefit analyses. The ideal lever for responsible behaviour would thus be that the price reflects the "true" cost, i.e., the actual production cost plus the monetary value of social and environmental externalities. This is the theoretical solution proposed by Pigou (Cannan & Pigou, 1921). In a world with externalities, the price system should be completed by an array of taxes (and subsidies in the case of positive externalities) which would align the private and the social interests, i.e., make it possible for consumers and producers to base their decisions on a pure cost-benefit analysis.

⁶ Pareto optimality describes a situation where it is not possible to improve the welfare of one individual without making someone else worse off.

⁷ The "invisible hand" is a metaphor for how, in a free market economy, the best interest of society is fulfilled thanks to individual self-interest and freedom of production and consumption.



Unfortunately, in the world we live in, most externalities, and notably some of the most important ones, are not priced. This is because, on the one hand, externalities are often not known or difficult to value⁸, and, on the other hand, because of a lack of political will. For example, although we know that climate change has strong negative consequences on biodiversity (Pecl et al., 2017), quantifying these impacts and measuring their effects on human society is very challenging. The implication of this state of affairs is that, in many situations, pure cost-benefit analyses by private decision makers will not lead to socially optimal decisions. The above social dilemma is pervasive, and the notion of responsible consumption arises with acuity.

Another issue with the current global economic market setup is that recent economic and technological evolution (broadly speaking, the digital revolution on the one hand, the advances of globalisation on the other) have led to increasing economic **inequality** thus reinforcing the need for redistribution. Consumption choices that tend to deepen the social and economic inequalities could be classified as irresponsible through the social dimension of responsibility.

For instance, if a minority of wealthy people eat more meat and the cows producing that meat need to be fed with cereals, then the price of cereals increases and, as a result, cereals are less affordable for those with very low means. Similarly, if more well-off people buy properties in rural areas, then house prices increase in those areas so the less wealthy ones cannot afford those properties. This mechanism refers to **pecuniary externalities**. Whereas real externalities affect economic resources, pecuniary externalities appear when economic decisions of one agent influence market prices and the resulting evolution of prices has a significant impact on the rest of society.

Pecuniary externalities are relevant when one considers social preferences for equality or fairness. The first welfare theorem or the invisible hand concept does not pretend that the resulting allocation of resources is fair. It is thus fully compatible with economic theory to argue for taking into account and correcting for pecuniary externalities. Which form could this correction take? What could be done to prevent the mechanism from taking hold and consequently deepening inequalities? One option would be to **impose taxes or other forms of restrictions** that encourage more sobriety in consumption.

This would be consistent with the observation that **conspicuous consumption**⁹ **or over-consumption** is not necessarily optimal for well-being maximisation. Often, this over-consumption is driven by marketing tricks (e.g., discounts, bundling, new models), giving the illusion that buying extra is necessary for increasing well-being, but that extra is not usually based on a real need. For example, buying the tenth pair of jeans or updating one's smartphone¹⁰ with the very latest model is not necessarily making somebody better off. It might just give the person a dopamine spike for a very limited amount of time, with the additional task of finding space for the additional pair of jeans or an

⁸ A prominent example of a failed attempt to adjust the price system is the Swiss CO2 Law which included a series of taxes and penalties for stakeholders with high greenhouse gas emissions. The law was rejected by voters in 2021 possibly because of a misunderstanding of the function of the price system, i.e. the legitimacy of a liberal economic system requires prices to be correct and thus, if that is not the case, corrected in the presence of externalities.

⁹ Conspicuous consumption describes the situation when individuals buy and consume at a high price, a high quality and in large quantities, usually because they care about their standard of living and how they compare with their peers.

¹⁰ In his well-known and highly criticised New York Times article, Lindstrom (2011) mentions a neuroscience-based study that identified, by using functional MRI techniques, that during the usage of an iPhone[®], specific brain areas activate in the same way as during a romantic relationship.



alternative usage for the old device.¹¹ All in all, one could argue that "keeping up with the Joneses" is not necessarily economically rational.

Therefore, measures promoting **sufficiency**¹² (as an alternative to over-consumption) may be fully justified. Ideally, policies should incentivise sufficiency and enforce fully transparent information about the life-cycle of products and services available to consumers. But **regulation** might fail or take too long due to political cycles and slow political decision making. This implies that the social dilemma mentioned above is present and that the notion of responsibility is acutely relevant. Consumers and businesses¹³ have a role to play in the sense that they should step in and **self-regulate** their behaviours.

3. BARRIERS AND BIASES DETERRING RESPONSIBLE CONSUMPTION

Economists have long challenged the assumption of selfish individuals – the so-called homo economicus.¹⁴ People often voluntarily commit to costly responsible actions, even when their efforts have little impact on welfare improvement (Ostrom, 2009). For instance, many individuals engage in recycling activities or are willing to pay more to purchase renewable electricity. Thus, individuals do not solely make decisions based on financial interests (**extrinsic motivation**) but also based on their moral values (**intrinsic motivation**).¹⁵ Crompton and Kasser (2009) find that people who are extrinsically motivated to seek wealth, possessions or status, are less likely to cut their ecological footprint and

look for (extrinsic) distractions when facing environmental threats, further increasing their ecological footprint. On the other hand, people who are intrinsically motivated are more likely to consume responsibly and actively engage in actions to combat global warming.

Even if individuals are intrinsically motivated, they may not act in a responsible manner. For instance, in the case of the votation on the CO2 tax, even if the initiative was not accepted at the Swiss national level, we could expect that the individuals who were in favour should remain consistent with their own values and behave as if the law had passed (e.g., by

¹¹ However, as the definition of conspicuous consumption says, it is explained by the fact that some people put a higher weight on the way their consumption choices signal their status. Moreover, addiction patterns, i.e. the more one consumes, the more he or she needs to consume, might enter into play.

¹² In their meta-analysis regarding sufficiency, Jungell-Michelsson and Heikkurinen (2022) defines the concept as follows: "Sufficiency is a transdisciplinary concept about 'enoughness' of human doings in relation to ecosystems—an end in itself and a means for sustainable consumption and production comprising three main premises, namely the complementarity of capital (from ecological economics), social metabolism (from political ecology), and altruism towards human and nonhuman beings (from ecological philosophy)."

¹³ This discussion could be extended to the decisions of the business sector as the same considerations disqualify the notion of shareholder value maximisation by firms in a world of pervasive externalities.

¹⁴ Already in his "Theory of moral sentiments", Adam Smith (1759) discussed moral motives. More recently, economists have considered several alternative preferences such as altruism (Becker, 1974; Levine, 1998), warm glow (Andreoni, 1990), fairness (Rabin, 1993), reciprocity (Fehr and Gächter, 1998), inequity aversion (Fehr and Schmidt, 1999) or morality in the Kantian sense (Laffont, 1975; Alger and Weibull, 2013).

¹⁵ Landier and Thesmar (2022) take an innovative approach for understanding the trade-off between economic interests and moral values, by estimating the willingness to pay for adhering to values such as freedom, identity, altruism, justice, etc. in France, Germany and the United States.



reducing their CO2 footprint). But this is not necessarily the case. The concept of **intention-behaviour gap or value-action gap** refers exactly to the cases when social and environmental preoccupations of consumers are not necessarily reflected in their consumption behaviours (Tsarenko et al., 2013; Boström and Klintman, 2018). There are several reasons explaining such a gap.

First, consumers may be **financially constrained** or may be limited by the **lack of alternative options or infrastructures**. When poor, the priority is to make ends meet every month before considering a more responsible way of consuming. In 2020, 8.5% of the Swiss population was estimated to be affected by poverty.¹⁶ Consumers who live in remote areas may be dependent on their cars to go to work or shopping. When renting an apartment, tenants have no say in their heating system – in 2017 almost two out of three buildings in Switzerland were heated by fossil fuels.¹⁷ When purchasing food, the basket is limited by the offer available in one's neighbourhood supermarket.

Second, the impacts of our actions, i.e., the externalities, are often **not known or misperceived**. Frick et al. (2004) have shown that Swiss citizens had **limited knowledge** of environmental issues such as greenhouse gas effects, energy efficiency, and ozone layer depletion. In addition, when consumers purchase food or clothes, they have little information about how those goods were produced, i.e., there is an **asymmetry of information** between producers and consumers.

Finally, many biases affect our decisions. The **pres**ent bias is the tendency to overvalue the short-term impact at the expense of long-term consequences, based on John Maynard Keynes' famous idea that "we are all dead in the long run". The risk bias is the tendency to underestimate extreme events (e.g., climate catastrophes) and to overestimate the capacity to overcome them. These behavioural patterns are particularly problematic in the context of climate change since our emissions today will lead to dramatic impacts in the future.¹⁸ The availability bias implies that consumers make their decisions on what is available or most recent in terms of products and information. In other words, we put little effort into finding alternative and more responsible products. Due to confirmation bias, we tend to believe and act on what we already know or think we know, and due to loss aversion, we prefer to avoid losing our current consumption basket rather than accessing a consumption basket that is equivalent or could be superior in terms of welfare. This means that there is a reticence in purchasing unfamiliar products and adopting new practices.

Bringing these different barriers and biases into light generates a better understanding of the **complexity of responsible behaviour**. When confronted with ethical dilemma situations, there is no clear answer, no clear solution, and no perfect choice. Defining precisely what increases societal welfare is difficult and would ideally require a cost and benefit analysis for each action, but even the seemingly best option may have some unintended side effects.

¹⁶ See FSO – Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (SILC)

¹⁷ See FSO - Survey on the energy sources in residential buildings

¹⁸ One explanation of this "shared blind spot" comes from Goleman (2009) through the evolutionary development of human brains: we are very good at identifying and reacting to concrete immediate dangers (e.g., allowing us to run from dangerous animals), but we are bad at "spotting less palpable threats" (e.g., global warming, biodiversity loss).



4. COORDINATING CHANGE: THE ROLE OF EACH ACTOR

In light of the barriers discussed above, the burden of adjusting behaviours cannot only fall on the shoulders of consumers. Producers and policymakers also have a role to play, and only a concerted and coordinated approach will deliver the necessary changes. An important - though often overlooked - aspect is that we are first and foremost all consumers, since we all need to eat, dress and move. Then, we take on additional roles as either employees, company owners, or policymakers. Firms rely on inputs to produce goods which makes them subject to the same barriers and biases as consumers. The long supply chains that were developed to reduce production costs exacerbate the asymmetry of information, while a focus on profit i.e., extrinsic motivation - also stands in the way of promoting responsible production patterns (Hinton, 2020).

In addition to these barriers and biases, several interdependencies link each of these stakeholders, complexifying the picture. The figure below illustrates these interdependencies graphically and highlights each actor's main influences on the other stakeholders. The different feedback loops for each element of the system, as well as the mechanisms that can reinforce (+) or on the contrary weaken (-) responsible behaviours are also displayed.¹⁹

Each actor has more power than they believe given that their actions also influence their peers' as well as the other stakeholders' incentives for action. Consumers can reinforce their behaviours through habits or peer effects. Similarly, business practices are reinforced by profit-seeking or pushed towards change if competitors propose products and services which are in line with different values. Political competition could as well promote responsible behaviours by incentivizing environmentally and socially friendly policies.

Responsible consumers can decide to purchase responsible products and services from responsible firms. Ethics can be a strong factor that turns a consumption decision into **political consumerism** (Boström, 2018), i.e., a tool for activists and individuals to choose whether to consume a good or service based on the labour and environmental practices associated with the product or the brand. They can buycott²⁰ or boycott products and services, apply for jobs and get employed for the companies producing those products and services, as well as strike or leave if they are not satisfied with their working conditions or firms' values and/ or do not agree with their business strategy.

In turn, responsible producers receive the signals sent by responsible consumers. Marketing, often criticised for its role in pushing towards over-consumption, should instead act as a sensor that evaluates and connects with society. Marketing can attract, but also has the duty of retaining consumers. Therefore, if a mass of consumers boycotts irresponsible products, then marketing is responsible for incentivising the companies' shift towards more responsible production. "From the daughter of globalisation, marketing could become the mother of responsible consumption" as Frederic Dalsace,

¹⁹ Inspired by Michaelis (2003, p.916) by focusing only on three types of actors and adding feedback loops.

²⁰ Buycott can be defined as the act of rewarding, through a purchasing decision, a company that aligns to environmental and ethical standards.



IMD marketing professor and researcher, defended during his intervention held for the E4S Conference on Responsible Consumption.²¹

Responsible policymakers should frame the transition and have the duty of lifting the above-mentioned barriers by providing efficient incentives. They could use either soft regulation (education and nudging campaigns²²) or hard regulation (taxes, subsidies, bans) to steer consumers' and producers' behaviours. For instance, policymakers have the responsibility of enforcing information transparency and breaking information asymmetries. "The old saying has it that what we don't know can't hurt us. But the truth today is just the reverse: what we don't know about what goes on backstage, out of sight, harms us, others, and the planet." (Goleman, 2009). Having the complete information about how products or services are produced, across the whole supply chain, and consumed, as well as the environmental, social and health impacts of production and consumption is crucial for making responsible decisions.²³

Even if everybody has a role to play, this systemic perspective is not meant to make an argument for free riding behaviours, but exactly the opposite. It is meant to raise awareness about how one's action impacts the whole system. Being aware of the barriers allows a first perspective on how they can be overcome.

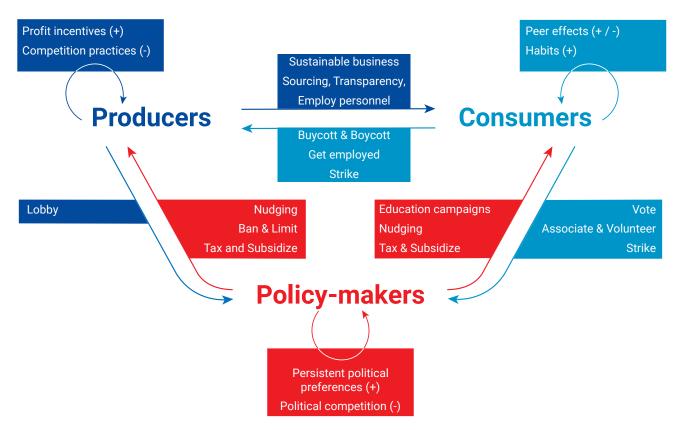


Figure 1: Systemic representation of responsible behaviours drivers by stakeholder

²¹ You can watch the intervention here.

²² Nudging policies alter behaviour "in a predictable way without forbidding any options or significantly changing their economic incentives" (Thaler and Sunstein, 2009).

²³ We are currently developing at E4S a True Cost of Food platform in collaboration with a wide range of academic and industry partners. This project is meant to find ways for implementing the true cost of food (accounting for the monetary value of environmental, health and social externalities of food production along the whole supply chain) for transforming the Swiss food system towards a more resilient, fair and healthy one.



5. THE PATH FORWARD

Today's social and environmental challenges push us to find solutions to live more responsibly. The problem with responsible behaviours (or rather their absence) comes from the complicated ties between all stakeholders. Each one has its own biases that prevent the implementation of responsible behaviour. But taken as a whole, it is possible to find solutions to each of these biases and scale up those solutions for reaching the critical mass. It is possible to solve this conundrum, but it requires the collaboration of all.

With this idea in mind, it is fundamental to understand in more detail the reasons and forces that guide each of the different actors in making responsible decisions. The next insights of this series dedicated to responsible consumption will focus, one by one, on policymakers, producers, and consumers. They will showcase concrete examples of good practices and propose ways to scale them up.

Related work:

https://e4s.center/from-true-costs-to-revolt-instruments-for-responsible-consumption/

https://e4s.center/infographic-key-facts-figures-on-consumption-in-switzerland/

https://e4s.center/platform/grand-challenges-andthe-role-of-business-firms/

https://e4s.center/document/moving-towards-a-circular-economy/

https://e4s.center/document/introducing-an-air-ticket-tax-in-switzerland-estimated-effects-on-demand/



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