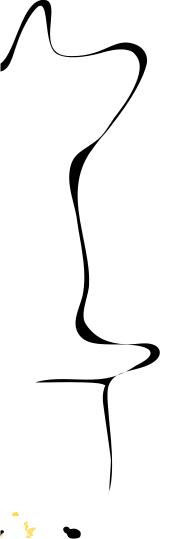


A New Formula for Sustainable Clothing Consumption

The Effects of Regulatory Focus Framing and Guilt Appeals on Intention to reduce Clothing Consumption



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ABSTRACT

Background

Due to the continually expanding clothing industry and its severe social and environmental impact, a rough alteration in consumer behaviour, more specifically a substantial reduction in clothing consumption is vital. As social marketing is able to induce behavioural change, uncovering strategies that enhance the effectiveness of their implementation is required for their success. A possible strategy that has been previously applied to enhance the effectiveness of social marketing advertisements is the use of regulatory focus framing, meaning that a message can either appeal to promoting gains or appeal to preventing losses. Another commonly applied strategy is the use of a guilt appeal, which can increase persuasion by targeting people's emotions. Yet little is known about their effects in the context of reducing clothing consumption. As such, this study aims at approaching this research gap by addressing to what extent regulatory focus framing and guilt appeals can affect intention to reduce clothing consumption. Furthermore, the present study also considers environmental awareness as a possible covariate.

Methodology

For the purpose of this study, a 2x2 between-subjects (n =161) experimental design (promotion frame vs. prevention frame; guilt appeal vs. no guilt appeal) was conducted online in the form of a questionnaire. After participants were exposed to one of the four campaign designs, the dependent variables feelings of guilt, moral obligation, intention to reduce clothing consumption, and attitude towards the campaign were measured.

Results

Following the MANOVA test, the findings of this study imply that an advertisement containing a guilt appeal increases feelings of guilt, which then amplifies intention to reduce clothing consumption, as opposed to an advertisement without a guilt appeal. Moreover, this study reveals that the effect of feelings of guilt on intention to reduce clothing consumption is mediated by moral obligation. The results of this study do not uncover main effects for regulatory focus framing on the dependent variables, nor was the interaction effect between regulatory focus framing and guilt appeal significant.

Conclusion

Additionally, this study allows drawing implications for developing future social marketing campaigns aimed at fostering a reduction in clothing consumption. In particular, the findings emphasize the potential of a guilt appeal in social marketing campaigns aiming at behavioural change. Furthermore, the results highlight the importance of raising awareness on environmental issues in order to drive pro-environmental behaviours.

Keywords: clothing consumption, social marketing, guilt appeal, regulatory focus framing.

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1. INTRODUCTION

One of world's largest causes of climate problems is the continually expanding clothing industry. This particular industry is accountable for 10 percent of global carbon emissions and 20 percent of global wastewater – numbers that exceed all international flights and maritime shipping (UNEP, 2018). Due to falling costs, streamlined operations and an increase in consumer purchase power, not only did clothing production double between 2000 and 2014, the quantity of garments annually purchased by the average consumer has also increased by 60 percent. These clothing items are kept only half as long compared to 15 years ago, making lowpriced garments nearly disposable (Remy, Speelman, & Schwartz, 2016). Apart from carbon emissions and extensive water usage, 85 percent of textiles ends up in landfill. Moreover, garments release 500.000 tonnes of microplastics into the ocean each year, equalling 50 billion plastic bottles. These microplastics are virtually impossible to clean up and are able to enter our food chains (Ellen MacArthur Foundation, 2017; UNECE, 2018). Beyond environmental ramifications, the clothing industry brings about a social cost of problematic labour conditions, including health and safety hazards for employees, child labour, and low wages (Remy, Speelman, & Swartz, 2016). An alteration in clothing consumption behaviour is imperative for the survival of the earth and its natural resources.

Present-day consumers are well aware of the environmental and social impact of current clothing production processes and clothing consumption behaviours. Ethical sourcing of products has become a pivotal issue in the clothing industry, incited by consumer demand for products manufactured in conditions which respect environmental and social sustainability, and hold reasonable labour conditions. This progression has resulted in a notion labelled 'ethical consumption', defined by Jobber (2006) as "the taking of purchase decisions not only on the basis of personal interests but also on the basis of the interests of society and the environment' (as cited in Goworek, 2011, p. 75). The latter definition could be perceived as an overarching term covering several translations of ethical consumption, including green consumerism, voluntary simplicity, sustainable consumption, and consumption reduction.

Despite efforts to steer consumer behaviour towards more sustainable consumption patterns, research suggests the existence of an intention-behaviour or attitude-behaviour gap. This gap refers to the discrepancy between consumers' positive attitudes towards ethical consumption which is subsequently not translated into actual ethical consumption behaviour and purchase decisions (Niinimäki, 2010). A possible approach to address this attitude-intention-behaviour gap is the role that social marketing can play in achieving social change. Kotler, Roberto, and Lee (2002) define social marketing as "the use of marketing principles and techniques to influence a target audience to voluntarily accept, reject, modify, or abandon a behaviour for the benefit of individuals, groups, or society as a whole" (as cited in Peattie & Peattie, 2009, p. 262). Considering that social marketing is able to induce behavioural change, uncovering strategies that enhance the effectiveness of their implementation is required for their success.

A commonly used approach to enhance the effectiveness of social marketing advertisements or campaigns is that of regulatory focus framing. In a social marketing context, an advertisement can either appeal towards achieving a positive end-state (promotion-focus frame) or towards not achieving a negative end-state (prevention-focus frame) (Cesario, Grant

& Higgins, 2004). Regulatory focus framing has been previously studied in the context of charitable advertising (Chang & Lee, 2009). An example of a promotion frame in such a context would be "With your help, an unfortunate child can have an opportunity for a bright future". Vice versa, a prevention-framed message would be "Without your help, an unfortunate child will remain living in the dark". The two messages promote donation behaviour, yet they are framed differently. Das, Kerkhof, and Kuiper (2008) found that promotion-focus framed messages positively affected attitudes towards the message which subsequently increased donation intentions.

Various studies have compared the effectiveness of promotion- and prevention-frames, however little is known about their effectiveness in a social marketing context aiming to reduce clothing consumption. Therefore, the first objective of this study is to contribute to the body of knowledge of regulatory focus framing in the aforementioned context.

Another frequently applied approach to increase social marketing persuasiveness is evoking feelings of guilt by means of a guilt appeal. These guilt appeals generate an emotional imbalance among recipients, which can be rectified by engaging in the required behaviour aiming to fix the situation (Brennan & Binney, 2010). Contrarily, a guilt appeal has also been found to work counterproductive as a guilt appeal that attacks the recipients' self or his actions could result in anger or irritation. Accordingly, the second objective of this study is to examine the effectiveness of guilt appeals in the context of a social marketing advertisement aiming to reduce clothing consumption.

In order to further examine these issues, the present study aims to provide an answer to the research question to what extent regulatory focus framing and guilt appeals affect behavioural intention to reduce clothing consumption. If these two strategies prove to be or not to be effective in altering consumer intentions and behaviours towards reducing consumption, the current study will contribute to the body of knowledge on the application of social marketing in anticonsumption behaviour. Furthermore, the research findings might be of interest to marketeers by constructing an enhanced view on how regulatory focus framing and guilt appeals can be incorporated in social marketing campaign strategies.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Ethical Consumption

In the literature, various definitions of 'ethical consumption' exist, as well as different interpretations of ethical consumption ranging from Fair Trade principles, organically grown and processed materials, labour conditions in developing countries to depletion of natural resources, carbon emissions and water pollution. A definition by Joanes (2019) centres its meaning of ethical consumption around the political 'vote' a consumer has and defines ethical consumerism as "consumers who conceptualize and wield their collective dollars/pounds/euros as 'votes' to encourage more ethical behaviours from companies" (p.730). The most relevant definition, however, for the current study is provided by Cooper-Martin and Holbrook (1993), who define ethical consumer behaviour as "decision-making, purchases and other consumption experiences that are affected by the consumer's ethical concerns" (as cited in Bray, Johns, & Kilburn, 2010, p.1).

Sustainable consumption is a concept closely related to ethical consumption and involves the purchase, usage, and disposition of products while aiming to minimize detrimental effects and maximize the long-term beneficial impact on society (Webb, Mohr, & Harris, 2008). Currently, institutional consensus tends to settle for a definition of sustainable consumption that, rather than consuming less, implies consuming differently (Jackson & Michaelis, 2003). Consuming differently is allegedly achieved primarily by the production and consumption of more sustainable goods, such as eco-labelled and energy efficient products. This definition of sustainable consumption is problematic, however, as it fails to address the issues concerning the scale of consumption, the essence of consumer behaviour and the pertinency of lifestyle adaptations (Jackson & Michaelis, 2003). Institutional reticence to address these issues hinges on a number of concerns. The most prominent one being that addressing them properly, would involve infringing on fundamental assumptions about the functioning of today's society. More specifically, market-economy structures require a continuous increase of consumption for the maintenance of the economy (Akenji, 2013).

2.2 Consumption Reduction: Definitions, Determinants, and Related Concepts

As opposed to the majority of studies on ethical consumption perceived as consuming differently, the current study centres around consuming less, hence consumption reduction as a form of ethical consumption. Closely linked to consumption reduction, Santor, Fethi, and McIntee (2019) define consumption restriction as "the act of postponing the consumption of goods until needed, reducing the amount consumed, and the frequency of consumption, avoiding the consumption of goods that are not necessary, or the consumption of goods that are unlikely to last, continuing to use something that is out-of-date, damaged, or old longer than wanted, reusing something that was previously owned, and favouring the consumption of eco-friendly products" (p.3).

Another concept associated with consumption reduction is anticonsumption, which is concerned with reasons against consumption, including "reasons against specific brands, product categories, or consumer culture altogether" (Peifer, Chugani, & Roos, 2019).

Anticonsumption contains two particular components; nonmaterialism and voluntary simplicity. As these two components have distinct drivers and motivations, it is crucial to distinguish between the two. When consumers do not place importance on materialistic items for defining themselves, their success, or their happiness, we refer to nonmaterialism as an example of an anticonsumption *value*. Voluntary simplicity, on the other hand, is an example of anticonsumption *behaviour*, and can be interpreted as a conscious reduction of consumption and ownership of materialistic goods (Burgiel, Sowa, & Zralek, 2015).

In the present study, it will be scrutinized how social marketing can contribute to a conscious reduction of consumption through reminding consumers of the detrimental consequences of the clothing industry on the environment. Therefore, the voluntary simplicity component of anticonsumption behaviour is central here as it concerns an altruistic motive concerned with others' wellbeing, thereby limiting consumption to preserve environmental resources, as opposed to the nonmaterialism component of anticonsumption that is part of an individual's values (Burgiel, Sowa, & Zralek, 2015). A previous experimental study by Peifer, Chugani, and Roos (2019) found that reminding consumers about the environmental ramifications of their consumption behaviour can effectively increase levels of voluntary simplicity. Participants in their study imagined that they were in an everyday context in which they could buy shoes that they liked but did not need and then reported their willingness to buy the shoes without any reminders or after a reminder that overconsumption can have implications on the environment. The finding that a certain reminder increased levels of voluntary simplicity was especially salient when consumers were reminded of natural resource depletion, which increased intentions to showcase voluntary simplicity behaviour. They further suggested that organizations wishing to promote consumption reduction should appeal to linkages between overconsumption, natural resource depletion, and climate change.

2.3 Social Marketing and Persuasion

Underlying this research is the question how social marketing can induce behavioural intentions as a function of the factors moral obligation and feelings of guilt. In the context of tackling environmental problems and climate change, social marketing has become a ubiquitous approach to drive human behavioural change and promote environmental behaviour. Andreasen (1994) proposed the following definition of social marketing: "the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part" (p.110). Hence, this approach aims to persuade individuals in a society to voluntarily behave in a particular manner. Although a considerable amount of research exists on the implementation of social marketing to promote pro-environmental behaviour, little is known about the application of social marketing to address overconsumption and promote consumption reduction.

2.4 Moral Obligation and Feelings of Guilt

There are various theories on explicating the determinants that lead people to exert altruistic behaviour, including pro-environmental behaviour, such as consumption reduction. In the

present study, however, the focus will be on behavioural intention as a function of moral obligation and feelings of guilt.

Intention to engage in pro-environmental behaviour has been understood as a function of moral obligation (Chen, 2016). A moral norm is an "individual's conviction that acting in a certain way is inherently right or wrong regardless of their personal or social consequences" (Manstead, 2000, as cited in Arvola et al., 2008, p.444). These feelings of moral obligation are generated when awareness of another's need activates the individual's internalized cognitive structure of values and norms (Schwartz, 1977). Joanes (2019) extends the Norm Activation Model from Schwarz, with a concept of identification with humanity (IWAH) and established three antecedents of moral obligation: awareness of need, ascription of responsibility and outcome efficacy. A further meaningful implication of the study by Joanes is that it specifically demonstrated that increased awareness of the problem is related to feelings of moral obligations to reduce clothing consumption. More generally, people who hold a strong moral obligation to reduce their own impact on the environment are substantially more inclined to adjust their personal behaviour (Brody, Grover, & Vedlitz, 2012).

Another predictor of intention to engage in pro-environmental behaviour identified in the literature is a feeling of guilt. Guilt is considered to be a self-conscious negative emotion that occurs when one experiences failure (or anticipated failure) to adhere to personal, moral, or social norms (Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996). Although guilt is a negative emotion, it is considered an adaptive emotion since it is correlated with problem-solving coping behaviours, for instance when feelings of guilt are experienced, people want to engage in behaviours aiming to repair or solve the situation (Pounders, Lee, & Royne, 2017). Findings from the study by Onwezen, Antonides, and Bartels (2013) imply that anticipated emotions, such as guilt, affect behaviour through feedback mechanisms, in which these emotions serve to evaluate behaviour about personal and social standards. Subsequently, the emotions form behavioural intentions, rather than directly stirring actual behaviour.

As these perceptions of moral obligation and guilt have been shown to affect (proenvironmental) behavioural intention, it might be suggested that social marketing should aim to appeal to these concepts. Two commonly applied strategies to intensify the persuasiveness of social marketing advertisements are the use of regulatory focus framing (Pounders, Lee, & Royne, 2017) and the use of guilt appeals (Brennan & Binney, 2010). These two concepts will be explicated in the following sections.

2.5 Regulatory Focus Framing

A commonly used technique in social marketing to increase message effectiveness and persuasion is message framing. Depending on the specific aim of behavioural change, a persuasive message should either accentuate the benefits of engaging in a behaviour (gainframe) or the costs of failing to engage in a behaviour (loss-frame) (Pelletier & Sharp, 2008). People are typically motivated to pursue pleasure and avoid pain. Higgins (1997) explains this notion in his theory of self-regulatory focus that distinguishes between two types of self-regulatory systems: promotion focused and prevention focused. A promotion-focused approach here involves striving towards pleasure and enjoyment. In contrast, a prevention-focused approach involves the avoidance of pain or suffering. Individuals differ from each other in their

dispositional regulatory focus; whereas some individuals typically are more promotion-focused, others tend to be more prevention-focused (Higgins, 1997).

Regulatory focus framing is a frequently used strategy to increase message persuasion in various communications. In the context of social marketing, an advertisement can either appeal towards achieving a positive end-state (promotion-focus frame) or towards not achieving a negative end-state (prevention-focus frame) (Cesario, Grant & Higgins, 2004). For instance, "Reduce your clothing consumption and help maintain the earth" versus "Reduce your clothing consumption and help prevent environmental damage". The two messages promote an identical objective, but they are framed differently.

Limited research is available on the effects of regulatory focus framing in social marketing on moral obligation. Van Dam and De Jonge (2015), however, studied the effects of regulatory focus framing in ethical labels on the activation of personal norms (moral obligation). In three computer-based experiments using different designs, they tested whether negative signalling of low ethical quality would have a stronger effect on purchase intentions of ethical products than the positive signalling of high ethical quality. Their findings suggested that negative labelling (prevention-focus) activates personal norms more than positive labels (promotion-focus). Moral obligations towards behaviour are activated when individuals perceive that something they value is under threat (Stern, 2000), for instance the environment. These activated personal norms "create a general predisposition that influences all kinds of behaviour taken with pro-environmental intent" (Stern, 2000, p. 413). Prevention-focused labels apparently make threats more visible than promotion-focused labels do, leading to increased effectiveness in changing consumer behaviour mediated by moral obligation. Relating this finding to the current study, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H1: People will experience higher feelings of moral obligation when they are exposed to an advertisement framed in prevention-focus (as opposed to when they are exposed to an advertisement framed in promotion-focus).

Research on the interplay of guilt appeals and regulatory focus framing in social marketing already exists. Pounders, Lee, and Royne (2017), for instance, found that guilt appeals were more effective in combination with promotion-focused messages, implicating that social marketing advertisements that include a guilt appeal should highlight attaining a positive outcome or gain. Nevertheless, little is known about the effect of regulatory focus framing on feelings of guilt. As Van Dam and De Jonge (2015) suggested, prevention-focus framing makes threats more visible than promotion-focus framing does. It might be implied that prevention-focus framing, or a loss-frame, emphasizes the failure to adhere to certain norms. Failure to adhere to personal, moral, or social norms evokes feelings of guilt (Tangney et al., 1996). Accordingly, the following hypothesis is formulated:

H2: People will experience higher feelings of guilt when they are exposed to an advertisement framed in prevention-focus (as opposed to when they are exposed to an advertisement framed in promotion-focus).

Furthermore, it is assumed that a promotion frame is more suitable with a campaign that is advertising a positive end state such as the maintenance of the earth, in contrast to a prevention frame, as it leads to higher levels of regulatory fit. Promotion framed messages are thus likely to positively affect the processing fluency of consumers, as well as it is expected that promotion framed messages lead to a more favourable attitude towards the campaign (Higgins, 2000). A positive attitude towards the campaign positively affects behavioural intention, according to Ajzen's (1985) theory of planned behaviour. Therefore, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H3: The effect of the campaign's regulatory focus on the consumers' intention to reduce their clothing consumption is mediated by their attitude towards the campaign.

2.6 Guilt Appeals

A different approach commonly applied to increase persuasiveness in social marketing is the use of guilt appeals (Brennan & Binney, 2010). As has been discussed before, guilt is considered to be a self-conscious negative emotion, which is evoked when an individual experiences (anticipated) failure to adhere to personal, moral, or social norms (Tangney et al., 1996). Negative appeals, including guilt appeals, are used in social marketing to generate an emotional imbalance, which can be rectified by engaging in the compliant behaviour aiming to fix the situation (Brennan & Binney, 2010).

Various studies have examined the effectiveness of guilt appeals in stimulating behavioural intention and its results vary. Brennan and Binney (2010), for instance, examined the effects of fear, guilt, and shame appeals in social marketing. Through semi-structured indepth interviews, they measured participants' attitudes towards appeals in advertising and their self-reported emotional responses to the appeals. Their findings suggest that guilt appeals can be effective in changing behaviour, but only when accompanied by the belief that individual action is needed and able to ensure the necessary social change. Another study implied that moderate guilt appeals (when the intensity of the guilt appeal is kept under control and is not attacking the recipients' self or his actions) are most effective as they contribute to feelings of guilt, but are not perceived as manipulative by message recipients (Chédotal, Berthe, Peyrelongue, & Le Gall-Ely, 2017). When guilt appeals are too intense or are perceived as manipulative, individuals may develop defensive processes or coping strategies and the advertisement may be perceived as irritating (Cotte, Coulter, & Moore, 2005). The latter is again confirmed by Brennan and Binney (2010), who found that participants who were overwhelmed by guilt, were inclined to invoke self-protection rather than to change their behaviour.

Guilt appeals can thus be applied to increase message persuasion and behavioural intention, mediated by feelings of guilt. In the present study, it might contribute to people's behavioural intention to reduce their clothing consumption. The following hypothesis is proposed:

H4: People will experience higher feelings of guilt when they are exposed to an advertisement including a guilt appeal (as opposed to when they are exposed to an advertisement excluding a guilt appeal).

It will also be tested whether an advertisement including a guilt appeal will lead to increased feelings of moral obligation. As has been discussed before, a moral norm concerns an individual's perception that certain actions or situations are inherently wrong or right (Manstead, 2000, as cited in Arvola et al., 2008). Guilt appeals emphasize this notion by generating an emotional imbalance. Communication using guilt appeals evokes an ethical dimension to human behaviours and assist in regulating behaviours by steering them towards societal expectations and norms, thus evoking a moral obligation to act according to societal expectations (Chédotal et al., 2017). Therefore, the following hypothesis is stated:

H5: People will experience higher feelings of moral obligation when they are exposed to an advertisement including a guilt appeal (as opposed to when they are exposed to an advertisement excluding a guilt appeal).

2.7 The Interrelationship between Regulatory Focus Framing and Guilt Appeals

It was previously established that message persuasion to achieve behavioural change is most effective when the message recipient experiences regulatory fit, which subsequently leads to processing fluency (Cesario, Grant & Higgins, 2004). Guilt is a negative emotion, associated with eagerness to take actions to manage perceived stress (Duhachek, 2005). People experiencing feelings of guilt are therefore motivated to engage in behaviours aiming to fix the situation (Pounders, Lee, & Royne, 2017). Pounders, Lee, and Royne have related the coping mechanisms associated with guilt to regulatory focus theory, by stating that these coping mechanisms are congruent with a promotion-focused message, typically aimed at achieving a positive end-state. Promotion-framed messages highlight positive outcomes leading to increased feelings of eagerness, again consistent with action coping. Correspondingly, feelings of guilt are consistent with a promotion-focus framed message. They further suggest that "a guilt appeal paired with a promotion-focused message should result in greater behavioural intention" (p.39). In the present study, moral obligation and feelings of guilt are considered to be antecedents of behavioural intention, thus, it could be possible that the congruency not only positively affects behavioural intention, but also feelings of guilt and moral obligation. Hence, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H6: People's (a) feelings of guilt, (b) moral obligation, and (c) intention to reduce clothing consumption will be higher when an advertisement includes a guilt appeal combined with the message being promotion-focus framed, (as opposed to the message being prevention-focus framed).

2.8 The Mediating Effect of Moral Obligation and Feelings of Guilt

Finally, moral obligation and feelings of guilt have been previously identified as determinants of people's behavioural intention to perform altruistic behaviour, including the intention to reduce clothing consumption. Moreover, two commonly used strategies to increase message persuasion in social marketing have been discussed; regulatory focus framing and guilt appeals. Accordingly, the last hypotheses are as follows:

H7: The effect of regulatory focus framing on intention to reduce clothing consumption is mediated by a) moral obligation, and b) feelings of guilt.

H8: The effect of a guilt appeal on intention to reduce clothing consumption is mediated by a) moral obligation, and b) feelings of guilt.

2.9 Additional Influences on Intention to Reduce Clothing Consumption

Research focusing on antecedents of behaviour have disclosed that knowledge is essential for successful action (Frick, Kaiser, & Wilson, 2004). In the context of promoting proenvironmental behaviour, declarative environmental knowledge has been found to provide a valid antecedent of promoting pro-environmental behaviour. Declarative knowledge in this context entails an understanding of ecosystems and the processes within them, what can be done about environmental problems, and knowledge about the effectiveness of environmentally responsible actions (Frick, Kaiser, & Wilson, 2004). Based on its influence on proenvironmental behaviour, this construct will be included as a covariate in the present study and will be referred to as 'environmental awareness'.

2.10 Research Model

Based on the literature discussed above, the following research model is suggested to illustrate the relationships that are central to the present study (see figure 1).

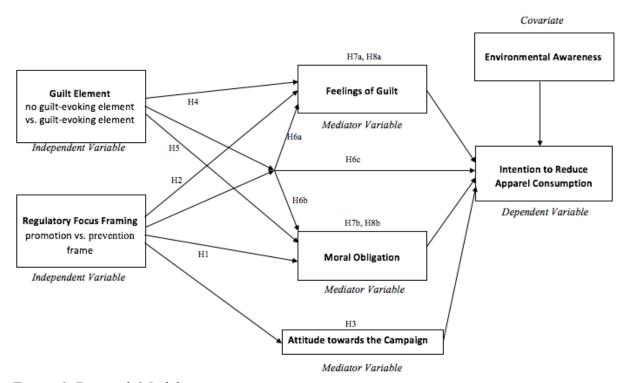


Figure 1: Research Model

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design and Stimuli

In order to test the eight hypotheses and the research model, a 2 x 2 between-subjects experimental design was implemented online. Two levels of *regulatory focus framing* (prevention-focus vs. promotion-focus) and *guilt appeal* (present vs. absent) were manipulated as independent variables. These two levels led to four experimental conditions (Table 1).

Table 1
Experimental Conditions

Experimental Condition	Regulatory Focus	Guilt appeal
1	Promotion	Yes
2	Promotion	No
3	Prevention	Yes
4	Prevention	No

3.2 Stimulus Material

The stimulus materials consisted of a fictional campaign advertisement built with the online graphic design software, *Canva*. The main aim of the campaign was to stimulate people to reduce their clothing consumption. To test the independent variables of guilt appeal and regulatory focus framing, four experimental conditions were created (see table 2).

All four conditions were in Dutch and contained three concurrent elements: the main slogan on the top of the design 'Verminder je kleding consumptie' (transl.: 'Reduce your clothing consumption'), an image of a pile of discarded clothing, and on the bottom of the design a short explanatory text on the impact of the clothing industry on the environment.

3.2.1 Regulatory Focus Framing

The argument why reducing clothing consumption is necessary was manipulated by regulatory focus framing, in order to establish whether promotion or prevention focus framing is most effective in persuading people to reduce their clothing consumption. In half of the conditions, the argument was oriented towards a positive outcome and promoting the maintenance of the earth (promotion frame). In the other half of the conditions, the argument was oriented towards not attaining a negative outcome and preventing environmental damage (prevention frame).

3.2.2 Guilt appeal

In order to test whether guilt appeals are effective in persuading people to reduce their clothing consumption, half of the conditions included a guilt appeal and half of the conditions did not. Guilt is evoked when an individual experiences (anticipated) failure to adhere to personal, moral, or social norms (Tangney et al., 1996), and therefore the guilt appeal was framed as 'Jouw overmatig shoppen vernietigt de aarde' (transl: 'Your excessive shopping is destroying the earth').

Table 2
Stimulus Material



3.3 Pre-test

To examine the effectiveness of the two manipulations in the stimulus materials, a pre-test was conducted.

In the pre-test, 10 respondents, recruited via convenience sampling, were exposed to one of the four experimental conditions that varied in terms of a guilt appeal being absent or present and the message being promotion- or prevention-framed. In order to check the regulatory focus framing manipulation, the respondents were first presented with four semantic-differential statement pairs (see table 3). An example of such a differential statement pair is

"This campaign aims at the maintenance of the earth" versus "This campaign aims at the prevention of environmental damage". The participants were then asked to indicate which of the two statements fit better to the campaign they had just seen, indicating this through marking one of five points for each pair of statements. The four statements were derived from Higgins' theory of regulatory focus. Higgins (2002) suggests that a promotion focus is associated with positive outcomes, advancements, aspirations, and accomplishments. Contrarily, a prevention focus is associated with negative outcomes, protection, safety, and responsibilities.

To check for the guilt appeal manipulation, the respondents were then presented with three semantic-differential statements pairs (see table 4). For instance, one of the statement pairs was "This campaign contains an element that evokes feelings of guilt" versus "This campaign does not contain an element that evokes feelings of guilt". They were again asked to indicate which of the two statements fit better to the campaign they were just exposed to. Once again, they put a mark on one of five points for each of the three statements.

Both the regulatory focus framing and guilt appeal manipulations showed differences between the two groups. Yet only the regulatory focus framing manipulation revealed a statistically significant difference. However, a plausible reason for the insignificant result can be the small sample size (Johnstone, 1990) or the fact that the respondents viewed both manipulations at the same time, which could have affected the perception of the guilt appeal. Therefore, both the regulatory focus framing and guilt appeal manipulations were maintained for the main study. It should be noted that the manipulation check was solely present in the pretest, and was not incorporated in the main study.

3.3.1 Manipulation Check - Regulatory Focus Framing

To substantiate the manipulation of regulatory focus framing, the respondents were exposed to one of the four campaign designs. Subsequently, they were asked to rate four times which of the two statements (see table 3) fit better to the campaign they had just been confronted with. They indicated this through marking one of five points for each pair of statements (1 = promotion / 5 = prevention). The selected statement which measured the perception of a promotion focus was 'This campaign aims at the maintenance of the earth'. On the opposite side of the dimension was the statement measuring the perception of a prevention focus, which was 'This campaign aims at the prevention of environmental damage'.

An independent-samples t-test was executed and revealed a statistically significant difference between the two groups (M_{prom} = 2.20, SD= 1.79, M_{prev} = 4.40, SD= .05, t(8)= 2.60, p= .03). The significant difference between the promotion and prevention condition indicates a successful manipulation. Accordingly, the manipulation was maintained for the main study.

Table 3
Semantic-differential statement pairs measuring the perception of regulatory focus framing Question: Welke van de twee uitspraken past beter bij de campagne die je zojuist hebt gezien? (Which of the two statements do you think fits better to the campaign you just saw?)

Promotion Focus	Prevention Focus
Deze campagne heeft als doel het behouden	Deze campagne heeft als doel het
van de aarde (This campaign aims at the	voorkomen van milieuschade (This
maintenance of the earth).	

campaign aims at the prevention of environmental damage). Om kleding consumptie te verminderen, doelt Om kleding consumptie te verminderen, deze campagne op iets positiefs (To reduce doelt deze campagne op het voorkomen van clothing consumption, this campaign aims at iets negatiefs (To reduce clothing something positive). consumption, this campaign aims at something negative). De campagne communiceert een hoopvolle De campagne communiceert een visie (This campaign communicates a hopeful verantwoorde visie (This campaign vision). communicates a responsible vision). De campagne roept gevoelens van streven op De campagne roept gevoelens van (This campaign evokes feelings of aspiration). verplichting op (This campaign evokes a sense of obligation).

3.3.2 Manipulation Check - Guilt Appeal

After the respondents rated the four statements to check for the manipulation of regulatory focus framing, the respondents were also asked to rate three times which of the two statements fit better to the campaign they had just been confronted with. Thus, these three statements related to whether the guilt appeal was absent or present (see table 4), and respondents put a mark on one of five points for each pair of statements (1 = present / 5 = absent). The chosen statement measuring the perception of a guilt appeal was 'This campaign declares that excessive shopping is destroying the earth'. On the contrary, the statement measuring the perception of a guilt appeal being absent was 'This campaign does not declare that excessive shopping is destroying the earth'.

An independent samples t-test was executed, but did not reveal a statistically significant difference between the two groups (M_{pres} = 1.40, SD= .55, M_{abs} = 2.60, SD=1.34, t(8)= 1.85, p= .22). Although the means of both the guilt appeal being absent and present varied, the difference was not significant. The most plausible reason for the insignificant result is the small sample size (Johnstone, 1990), and therefore the manipulation was maintained for the main study.

Table 4
Semantic-differential statement pairs measuring the perception of a guilt appeal.
Question: Welke van de twee uitspraken past beter bij de campagne die je zojuist hebt gezien?
(Which of the two statements do you think fits better to the campaign you just saw?)

Guilt appeal present	Guilt appeal absent
Deze campagne verklaart dat overmatig	Deze campagne verklaart niet dat overmatig
shoppen de aarde vernietigt (This campaign	shoppen de aarde vernietigt (This campaign
declares that excessive shopping is	does not declare that excessive shopping is
destroying the earth).	destroying the earth).

Deze campagne bevat een element dat een gevoel van schuld oproept (This campaign contains an element that evokes feelings of guilt).

Deze campagne bevat geen element dat een gevoel van schuld oproept (This campaign does not contain an element that evokes feelings of guilt).

principe hebt overtreden (This campaign implies that you have violated a moral principle).

Deze campagne impliceert dat je een moreel Deze campagne impliceert niet dat je een moreel principe hebt overtreden (This campaign does not imply that you have violated a moral principle).

3.4 Research Procedure

The previously mentioned manipulations were incorporated in a fictional campaign created with Canva, an online graphic design software. Subsequently, the questionnaire was built with the survey tool *Qualtrics* (see Appendix B).

Participants were recruited via non-probability convenience sampling through requests sent via WhatsApp, Gmail, or personal social media accounts such as Instagram and Facebook. The target population recruited consisted of participants between the age of 18 to 25.

The participants were invited to participate in an online study about communication practices related to clothing purchase behaviour by clicking through a link provided by the researcher that was sent to them via WhatsApp, Gmail, or other social media accounts. After they confirmed their participation in the study through informed consent, they were asked to fill in several socio-demographic questions and a few questions concerning their clothing consumption behaviour. The first part of the questionnaire then measured one covariate (environmental awareness). Subsequently, through randomization the participants were presented with one of the four campaign designs, encompassing the experimental conditions. Following the exposure to the stimulus manipulations, the participants proceeded with the second part of the online questionnaire containing the dependent variable measures.

3.5 Research Sample

The research sample consisted of 161 Dutch-speaking participants, who were recruited via nonprobability convenience sampling through requests via WhatsApp, Gmail, or personal social media accounts such as Instagram and Facebook. Participants who fell out of the age category of 18 to 25 or indicated another nationality than Dutch were excluded from the study, which lead to a downgrade of 183 to 175 participants. Furthermore, participants who did not complete the survey by answering all given questions, were excluded from the dataset leading to a final research sample of 161 participants.

The research sample had a mean age of M=21.91 (SD=1.81). The majority of the research sample, 119 participants, identified as female (73.9%), whereas 42 participants identified as male (26.1%). The participants reported an already high dispositional environmental awareness on a scale of one to five with a mean value of M=4.23 (SD=.66). Table 5 presents more details on the distribution of participants' demographic characteristics per condition.

Table 5
Distribution of participants' demographic characteristics per condition

			Conditions				
	•	1	2	3	4	N	%
Gender	Female	37	30	25	27	119	73.9
	Male	7	11	11	13	42	26.1
Age	18	2	2	3	4	11	6.8
	19	1	1	0	1	3	1.9
	20	4	4	3	2	13	8.1
	21	8	6	14	13	41	25.5
	22	13	10	5	9	37	23.0
	23	6	7	4	4	21	13.0
	24	6	8	3	4	21	13.0
	25	4	3	4	3	14	8.7
Education	VO	15	12	15	11	53	32.9
	MBO	4	2	1	3	10	6.2
	HBO	12	8	5	11	36	22.4
	WO	13	19	15	14	61	37.9
	Other	0	0	0	1	1	0.6
Environ- mental	Mean	4.24	4.31	4.25	4.11	4.23 (M total)	
Awareness						(111 10111)	
Total		44	41	36	40	161	100,0

3.6 Measurements

The measurement instrument consisted of questions measuring the participants' sociodemographic characteristics, their clothing consumption behaviour, the covariate environmental awareness, their attitude towards the campaign, and manipulated stimulus materials.

The majority of the items were measured on a five-point Likert scale, with 1 being "fully disagree" and 5 being "fully agree". *Attitude towards the campaign*, as an exception was not measured using this scale. In order to measure the instrument's reliability, the constructs' Cronbach's Alpha values have been measured. To ensure the variable's reliability, Cronbach's Alpha must be at least $\alpha = .70$.

Feelings of Guilt

To measure participants' feelings of guilt, the scale comprised six items derived from research by Coulter and Pinto (1995): guilty, ashamed, bad, irresponsible, uneasy, and upset. Thus, after seeing one of the four manipulations, participants were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert scale

(1 = fully disagree, 5 = fully agree) to what extent they felt the aforementioned emotions. The Cronbach's Alpha of this construct was α =.90 (items = 6).

Moral Obligation

The scale measuring moral obligation consisted of four items, derived from a study by Cheung and Chan (2000). Participants were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = fully disagree, 5 = fully agree) whether they experienced feelings of moral obligation. Examples of the items include "After seeing this campaign, I think that reducing my clothing consumption conforms to my moral principles" and "After seeing this campaign, I feel the moral obligation to reduce my clothing consumption". The Cronbach's Alpha of this construct was α =.89 (items = 4).

Intention to Reduce Clothing Consumption

The construct measuring intention to reduce clothing consumption comprised four items. Two examples of statements that were included are "After seeing this campaign, I have the intention to reduce my clothing consumption in the future", and "After seeing this campaign, there is a large chance that I will reduce my clothing consumption in the future". The other two items were identical as the two aforementioned ones, only negatively stated. After reverse coding the negatively framed items, the Cronbach's Alpha of this construct was α =.89 (items = 4).

Attitude towards the Campaign

The scale measuring the attitude towards the campaign comprised five semantic-differential items, partially derived from previous research by Nan (2006). For instance, paired items include "Not Interesting/Interesting" and "Incredible/Credible". Participants were asked to rate the campaign by putting a mark on one of five points along each dimension. The Cronbach's Alpha for this construct was α =.78. After removing the item "Unpleasant/Pleasant", the reliability scaled up to α =.79 (items = 4).

Environmental Awareness

The construct measuring participants' environmental awareness comprised eight items. An example of the items is "The clothing industry is responsible for a large part of the world's CO2 emissions". The Cronbach's Alpha for this construct was α =.77. After removing four items from the construct, the Cronbach's Alpha scaled up to α =.86 (items=4).

4. RESULTS

4.1 Correlations between the Dependent Variables

Prior to conducting analyses to test the hypothesized effects, a correlation analysis of the measurement variables was conducted. Table 6 demonstrates the results of the Pearson's Correlation between the measurement variables. Feelings of guilt positively correlated with moral obligation (r = .78, p < .01), as well as with intention (r = .47, p < .01). Likewise, moral obligation positively correlated with intention (r = .66, p < .01). Attitude also positively correlated with feelings of guilt (r = .38, p < .01), moral obligation (r = .45, p < .01), and intention (r = .27, p < .01).

Table 6

Pearson's Correlation between variables

	Feelings of Guilt	Moral Obligation	Attitude	Intention
Feelings of Guilt	1.00			
Moral Obligation	.78*	1.00		
Attitude	.38*	.45*	1.00	
Intention	.47*	.66*	.27*	1.00

Note: * significant at .01

4.2 Main Effects

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with two fixed factors including guilt element and regulatory focus framing was performed to reveal potential relationships between the manipulated and dependent variables, while controlling for the covariate environmental awareness. Wilk's Lambda was used to ascertain whether the MANOVA tests were statistically significant.

The results of the MANOVA test (see table 7) revealed that there were no statistically significant differences between the independent variables (guilt element and regulatory focus framing) and the dependent variables (feelings of guilt, moral obligation, intention, and attitude towards the campaign), after controlling for environmental awareness. Moreover, the interaction between guilt element and regulatory focus framing did not yield a significant difference on the dependent variables. The covariate environmental awareness, however, did yield a statistically significant result on the dependent variables, F(4, 153) = 4.83, p < .05.

Table 7 *Multivariate tests*

	Λ	F	p
Environmental awareness	.89	4.83	.00*
Guilt Element (GE)	.97	1.33	.26
Regulatory Focus Frame	.99	.06	.99
(RF)			
GE * RF	.99	.17	.95

Note: * significant at .05

Based on these results, it can be concluded that there is a significant effect of the level of environmental awareness among the participants on the dependent variables. Moreover, the outcome of the between subjects test is presented in table 8.

Table 8

MANOVA analysis of guilt element and regulatory focus framing, with environmental awareness as a covariate, on the dependent variables

Independent	Dependent	F	p	η2
variable	variable			
Environmental	Feelings of Guilt	13.04	.00*	.08
awareness	Moral Obligation	18.42	.00*	.11
(covariate)	Attitude	2.26	.13	.01
	Campaign			
	Intention	11.03	.00*	.07
Guilt Element	Feelings of Guilt	4.36	.04*	.03
(GE)	Moral Obligation	3.44	.07	.02
	Attitude	.01	.94	.00
	Campaign			
	Intention	1.85	.18	.01
Regulatory Focus	Feelings of Guilt	.02	.89	.00
Frame (RF)	Moral Obligation	.02	.90	.00
	Attitude	.06	.81	.06
	Campaign			
	Intention	.01	.93	.00
GE * RF	Feelings of Guilt	.15	.70	.00
	Moral Obligation	.10	.75	.00
	Attitude	.39	.54	.00
	Campaign			
	Intention	.05	.82	.00

Note: * significant at .05

4.2.1 The Main Effects of Regulatory Focus Framing

It was hypothesized that regulatory focus framing would have an effect on the dependent variables. More specifically, it was expected that a prevention frame would lead to increased feelings of guilt and moral obligation, as opposed to a promotion frame. These increased feelings of guilt and moral obligation would, in turn, increase intention to reduce clothing consumption.

The MANOVA test (see table 8) did not yield any statistically significant effects of regulatory focus framing on the dependent variables. Moreover, no clear differences appeared in the means of the dependent variables of the promotion-framed campaign, as opposed to the prevention-framed campaign (see table 9). The results did not indicate a clear difference in the mean of feelings of guilt for the promotion frame (M = 2.81, SD = .11), and the prevention

focus frame (M = 2.79, SD = .11). Neither reported moral obligation in the promotion frame (M = 3.10, SD = .12) differed significantly from the prevention frame (M = 2.99, SD = .11). Accordingly, hypotheses H1 and H2 are not supported.

Table 9
Descriptive statistics for Regulatory Focus Framing on the dependent variables

	Promotion Frame		Preventio	n Frame
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Feelings of Guilt	2.81	.11	2.79	.11
Moral Obligation	3.10	.12	2.99	.11
Attitude	3.33	.11	3.43	.10
Intention	3.15	.18	2.98	.12

4.2.2 The Main Effects of Guilt Appeal

As stated in the theoretical framework, it was hypothesized that the presence of a guilt appeal would have a positive effect on the dependent variables *feelings of guilt* and *moral obligation*.

Although the multivariate test did not show a statistically significant effect on the dependent variables (see table 7), the between subject effects indicated a statistically significant effect for the guilt element on feelings of guilt (see table 8). The participants who saw the campaign including a guilt appeal indicated higher feelings of guilt (M = 2.97, SD = .12), than in the condition without a guilt appeal (M = 2.70, SD = .10) (see table 10). Therefore, hypothesis H4 is supported.

The guilt manipulation did not have a statistically significant on moral obligation (see table 9), although a positive trend in means was observed in moral obligation when the guilt appeal was present (M = 3.19, SD = .12), versus when the guilt appeal was absent (M = 2.90, SD = .11) (see table 10). However, the difference in means was not statistically significant, and therefore, hypothesis H5 is not supported.

Table 10

Descriptive statistics for Guilt-Element on the dependent variables

1 3		1		
	Guilt E	Guilt Element		Element
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Feelings of Guilt	2.97	.12	2.70	.10
Moral Obligation	3.19	.12	2.90	.11
Attitude	3.39	.11	3.37	.10
Intention	3.05	.12	2.83	.11

4.2.3 The Interaction Effect of Regulatory Focus Framing and Guilt Appeal

An interaction effect was hypothesized for the independent variables guilt appeal and regulatory focus framing on the dependent variables *feelings of guilt, moral obligation,* and *intention*. More specifically, it was expected that a campaign with a guilt appeal combined with the message being promotion-focused would yield the highest reported feelings of guilt, moral obligation, and intention to reduce clothing consumption, as opposed to the other conditions.

However, the MANOVA analysis did not reveal a statistically significant interaction effect on the dependent variables (see table 8). The highest means for feelings of guilt and moral obligation, however, were visible for the condition with the guilt element and the message being promotion-framed. Nonetheless, since these results were insignificant, hypothesis H6a, H6b, and H6c are not supported. Table 11 provides more details on the descriptive statistics for the interaction of regulatory focus framing and guilt appeal.

Table 11

Descriptive statistics for the interaction of Regulatory Focus Framing and Guilt Element

		Guilt element		No Guilt	element
	_	Promotion	Prevention	Promotion	Prevention
Feelings of guilt	M	2.98	2.95	2.75	2.81
	(SD)	(.17)	(.15)	(.15)	(.15)
Moral obligation	M	3.20	3.18	3.00	2.81
	(SD)	(.18)	(.16)	(.16)	(.15)
Attitude	M	3.23	3.55	3.44	3.31
	(SD)	(.17)	(.15)	(.14)	(.14)
Intention	M	3.15	2.96	2.81	2.84
	(SD)	(.18)	(.16)	(.16)	(.15)

4.3 Mediating Effects of Moral Obligation, Guilt, and Attitude

As was stated in the theoretical framework, two mediating effects were hypothesized. It was hypothesized that the effects of Regulatory Focus Framing and Guilt Appeal on *intention* were mediated by a) *moral obligation*, and b) *feelings of guilt*. In addition, the effect of regulatory focus framing on *intention* is hypothesized to be mediated by the variable *attitude*.

It should be noted that the MANOVA analysis did not yield any statistically significant effects for Regulatory Focus Framing on the variables *moral obligation*, *feelings of guilt*, and *attitude*. Nor the effect of Guilt Appeal on *moral obligation* was statistically significant. The conditions for mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986) are hereby not met. Accordingly, hypotheses H3, H7a, H7b, and H8a cannot be supported, as there are no effects to be mediated.

Guilt Element, on the other hand, did have a significant effect on *feelings of guilt*, and *feelings of guilt* did yield a statistically significant difference on *intention*, meeting the two conditions of mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986). In order to test this mediating effect (H8b), a mediation analysis was conducted applying version 3.5 of Hayes PROCESS macro extension for SPSS.

4.3.1 The Mediating Effect of Feelings of Guilt

It was hypothesized that a campaign including a guilt appeal would affect participants' intention to reduce their clothing consumption through higher feelings of guilt. The mediation analysis revealed a significant indirect effect of the guilt appeal on participants' intention through feelings of guilt, b = .14, BCa CI [.02, .28]. As the direct effect is not significant, feelings of guilt are fully mediating the relationship between guilt appeal and intention to reduce clothing consumption (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Accordingly, hypothesis H8b is supported (see figure 2).

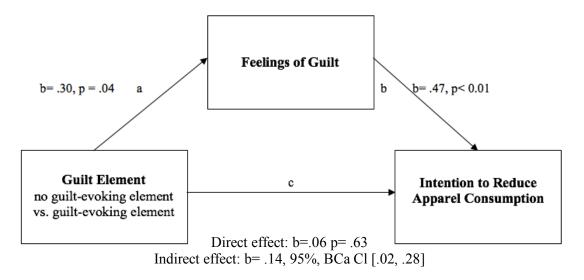


Figure 2: Mediating effect of Feelings of Guilt on Intention

4.4 Additional Analysis

Although not included in the hypotheses, an additional analysis was conducted in order to explore the interrelationship between feelings of guilt and moral obligation (Culiberg, 2014). A mediation analysis revealed a mediating effect of feelings of guilt on intention through moral obligation.

4.4.1 The Mediating Effect of Moral Obligation

The correlation analysis (see table 6) demonstrated statistically significant correlation effects between the dependent variables. In order to test for any mediating effects, a mediation analysis was conducted applying version 3.5 of Hayes PROCESS macro extension for SPSS. The mediation analysis revealed a significant indirect effect of feelings of guilt on intention through moral obligation, b = .59, BCa CI [.41, .74]. The direct effect is not statistically significant and therefore, moral obligation is fully mediating the relationship between feelings of guilt and intention to reduce clothing consumption (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Figure 3 provides more information on this effect.

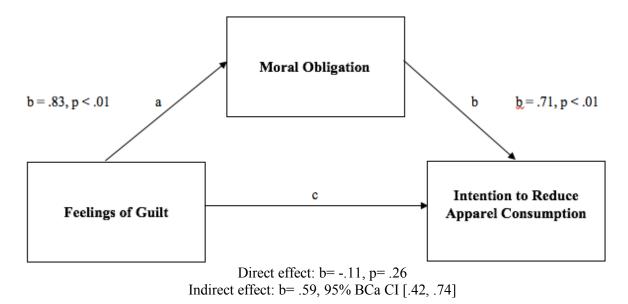


Figure 3: Mediating effect of Moral Obligation on Intention

4.5 Overview of the Results of the Tested Hypotheses

Following these results, an overview of the tested hypotheses based on the statistical analyses performed is provided (see table 12).

Table 12
Overview of the results of the tested hypotheses

No	Hypothesis	Results
H1	People will experience higher feelings of moral obligation when they are exposed to an advertisement framed in prevention-focus (as opposed to when they are exposed to an advertisement framed in promotion-focus).	Not supported
H2	People will experience higher feelings of guilt when they are exposed to an advertisement framed in prevention-focus (as opposed to when they are exposed to an advertisement framed in promotion-focus).	Not supported
Н3	The effect of the campaign's regulatory focus on the consumers' intention to reduce their clothing consumption is mediated by their attitude towards the campaign.	Not supported
H4	People will experience higher feelings of guilt when they are exposed to an advertisement including a guilt appeal (as opposed to when they are exposed to an advertisement excluding a guilt appeal).	Supported
Н5	People will experience higher feelings of moral obligation when they are exposed to an advertisement including a guilt appeal (as opposed to when they are exposed to an advertisement excluding a guilt appeal).	Not supported
Н6	People's (a) feelings of guilt, (b) moral obligation, and (c) intention to reduce clothing consumption will be higher when an advertisement includes a guilt appeal combined with the message being promotion-focus framed, (as opposed to the message being prevention-focus framed).	H6a, H6b, H6c: Not supported
Н7	The effect of regulatory focus framing on intention to reduce clothing consumption is mediated by a) moral obligation, and b) feelings of guilt.	
Н8	The effect of a guilt appeal on intention to reduce clothing consumption is mediated by a) moral obligation, and b) feelings of guilt.	H8a: Not supported
		H8b: Supported

5. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Only little research has been done on the employment of social marketing in order to stimulate people to reduce their consumption, more specifically, clothing consumption. Therefore, the aim of this study was to scrutinize the effects of regulatory focus framing combined with guilt appeals being absent or present, on people's feelings of guilt, moral obligation, and subsequently, their intention to reduce their clothing consumption. Particularly, this study aimed at providing practical implications on the effectiveness of regulatory focus framing and guilt appeals for social marketeers or campaign designers aiming to achieve behavioural change.

5.1 Discussion of Results

5.1.1 The Effects of Regulatory Focus Framing

Based on previous research, it was hypothesized that an advertisement framed in prevention focus would lead to higher feelings of moral obligation, as moral obligations are activated when people perceive that something they value is under threat (Van Dam & De Jonge, 2015). Simultaneously, a prevention frame was hypothesized to evoke feelings of guilt, because prevention-focus framing emphasizes the failure to adhere to certain norms (Tangney et al., 1996).

Against expectations, regulatory focus framing did not have a statistically significant effect on any of the dependent variables. The campaign framed in prevention-focus did not lead to increased feelings of guilt, nor did it increase feelings of moral obligation. On the contrary, although no significant effects were found, there appeared to be a trend in higher means for the dependent variables feelings of guilt and moral obligation for the campaign framed in promotion-focus. However, as these differences were statistically insignificant, no inferences can be made based on these results.

A possible explanation for these findings is that the sole use of a prevention frame may not be sufficient to cause a distinct change in participants' feelings of guilt and moral obligation. Individuals differ in their self-regulatory focus; whereas some individuals are predominantly promotion-focused, others are predominantly prevention-focused (Higgins, 2002). Subsequently, a prevention frame will have little effect on participants with a chronically predominant promotion focus, which could explicate the lack of findings. A further explanation for the lack of findings could be that the participants engaged in elaborate cognitive processing while completing the questionnaire. It has been suggested that the effectiveness of message framing is highly dependent on an individual's cognitive processing state, and that negative (or prevention) framing is likely to be effective when an individual is in a low cognitive processing state (Shiv, Edell, & Payne, 1997). Accordingly, the prevention frame might not have been persuasive if the participant was in a high cognitive processing state for the duration of the study.

It was further hypothesized that attitude would mediate the relationship between regulatory focus framing and intention to reduce clothing consumption. The campaign used in this study promoted a positive end-state, which would lead to a more favourable attitude towards the campaign when it would be framed in promotion-focus (Higgins, 2000).

Nonetheless, the results did not demonstrate an effect of regulatory focus framing on attitude, nor did it have an effect on intention. This finding can be attributed to the two modes of thought, amongst others proposed by Kahneman (2011). Kahneman distinguishes between two modes of thought; System 1 and System 2. The intuitive System 1 operates quickly, automatic, implicit and without voluntary control. The rational System 2, on the other hand, operates slower, effortful, and is more likely to be consciously monitored and controlled. This study incorporated a series of questions concerning participants' attitudes towards the campaign and their reported emotional response to the campaign. Hence, this study was limited to the participants' explicit attitudes, which could be reported and consciously controlled (Kahneman, 2011). Yet, Kahneman's dual-process theory suggests that people also form implicit attitudes through the intuitive System 1 which cannot be consciously controlled. Thus, it could be the case that the regulatory focus framing manipulation did not affect participants' attitude towards the campaign as they relied on the rational System 2 for the duration of the study, yet the manipulation might have subconsciously affected their attitude through System 1.

In short, the manipulation of regulatory focus framing did not have an effect on the participants' feelings of guilt, moral obligation, attitude towards the campaign, and intention to reduce clothing consumption. It could be implied that regulatory focus framing might not be a strong persuasive tool for stimulating an increase in reducing clothing consumption among adolescents. On the other hand, it could also be that the manipulation incorporated in the present study was not strong enough to yield any effect on the dependent variables among the participants.

5.1.2 The Effects of Guilt Appeals

The aim of this study was to investigate the difference in effectiveness between a campaign including a guilt appeal and a campaign without a guilt appeal. It was hypothesized that a campaign including a guilt appeal would lead to increased feelings of guilt and moral obligation. A guilt appeal is expected to lead to increased feelings of guilt among the participants as it evokes "the realization that one has transgressed a moral, social or ethical principle" (Wolman, 1973, as cited in Coulter & Pinto, 1995, p. 697). In addition, a guilt appeal is also hypothesized to lead to increased feelings of moral obligation by creating an emotional imbalance, and subsequently, assisting in regulating behaviours by steering them towards societal expectations and norms (Chédotal et al., 2017).

The results of this study revealed that a campaign including a guilt appeal indeed led to increased feelings of guilt among the participants. Moreover, the results demonstrated a mediating effect of feelings of guilt on intention to reduce clothing consumption. It indicates that a campaign including a guilt appeal might be more effective in generating behavioural intention to reduce clothing consumption through evoking feelings of guilt, than a campaign without a guilt appeal. These findings are in line with previous research by Brennan and Binney (2010), who suggest that guilt appeals generate an emotional imbalance, which can subsequently be rectified by engaging in the required behaviour aiming to fix the situation. By creating discomfort through guilt appeals, it is anticipated that people will feel motivated to act to decrease the feeling of psychic discomfort. This finding provides further evidence for a plethora of mood repair theories, suggesting that individuals are oriented to the maximization

of positive affect, and the minimization of negative affect (Gendolla, 2000) and will aim to repair their negative mood or state when feeling bad.

However, the results seem to contradict research conducted by Coulter and Pinto (1995). Based on a quantitative study, Coulter and Pinto suggested that a moderate-level guilt appeal would be most effective in finding a balance between obtaining consumers' attention and eliciting a palatable level of feelings of guilt. On the other hand, a high-level guilt appeal that attacks the recipients' self or his actions supposedly results in anger and irritation. Yet, the present study did attack the recipients' actions by means of a guilt appeal and, as mentioned above, indeed led to increased feelings of guilt. Moreover, there were no significant differences in moral obligation and attitude towards the campaign between the two conditions.

Nevertheless, the results of this study cannot be interpreted with absolute certainty, as a manipulation check was not included in the main study, hence the effects found cannot be attributed to the manipulation.

5.1.3 The Effects of the Interaction between Regulatory Focus Framing and Guilt Appeal
An interaction effect between the two manipulations of regulatory focus framing and guilt
appeal was hypothesized. Based on research by Pounders, Lee, and Royne (2017), it was
assumed that a campaign with a guilt appeal combined with the message being promotion-focus
framed would lead to higher intentions to reduce clothing consumption.

Contrary to expectations, the results of this study did not demonstrate an interaction effect for regulatory focus framing combined with a guilt appeal on intention to reduce clothing consumption. A slight upward trend was observed in intention to reduce clothing consumption for the campaigns that contained a guilt appeal. Moreover, the campaign framed in promotion-focus combined with a guilt appeal yielded the highest mean on intention to reduce clothing consumption. However, as these effects were insignificant, no inferences can be made based on these results. Further research is needed in this specific area to examine the observed differences found between the present study and the study of Pounders, Lee, and Royne (2017).

A possible explanation for these findings is the lack of effects found resulting from the manipulations of regulatory focus framing and guilt appeal. Regulatory focus framing and guilt appeal did not yield significant effects on the majority of the dependent variables, and thus could explain the lack of effects found for the interaction. When regulatory focus framing and guilt appeals separate cannot affect participants sufficiently, it could be that the combined manipulation does not have an impact either.

5.1.4 Additional Findings

Environmental awareness was included in this study as a covariate, as it has been identified in the literature as being an antecedent of pro-environmental behaviour (Frick, Kaiser, & Wilson, 2004). The results of this study revealed that participants who possess high environmental awareness not only have increased feelings of guilt and moral obligation after seeing the campaign, they also reported higher behavioural intention to reduce their clothing consumption.

These findings are in line with previous research by Frick, Kaiser, and Wilson (2004) who found that pro-environmental behaviour can partly be explained by the possession of declarative knowledge, which means having an understanding of ecosystems, environmental problems, and knowledge about the effectiveness of environmentally responsible actions. When

taking into account environmental awareness, it could be implied that the campaign manipulation elements did not have the expected effects as behavioural intention was most likely influenced by the participants' dispositional environmental awareness, and not by the manipulation elements.

Although the effect of environmental awareness on intention was small, the findings should not be underestimated because the effect is considered to be indirect and possibly mediated by other variables (Kaiser & Fuhrer, 2003). It might be interesting for further research to include such mediators when testing for the effects, to better understand the role of environmental knowledge in explaining pro-environmental behaviour.

In addition, the effect of feelings of guilt on intention appeared to be mediated by moral obligation. This finding is line with research by Onwezen, Antonides, and Bartels (2013) who previously established that feelings of guilt cause individuals to behave themselves in a way that is in line with their personal norms, hence moral obligation. Further research, however, is needed to examine the interplay of feelings of guilt and moral obligation on behavioural intention to reduce consumption.

5.2 Theoretical Implications

The current study provides several theoretical implications. First of all, the results support the findings of previous studies with respect to the use of a guilt appeal in advertising. The findings of this study not only suggest that guilt appeals are indeed effective in generating behavioural intentions to reduce clothing consumption, but they also offer a possible explanation of why this is the case. Namely, the evoked feelings of guilt generate a moral obligation, which in turn increases behavioural intention. The latter finding therefore challenges research conducted by Onwezen, Antonides, and Bartels (2013) who implied that it is moral obligation that evokes feelings of guilt and not the other way around.

The findings also challenge research by Coulter and Pinto (1995) by implying that a high-level guilt appeal does increase feelings of guilt and subsequently, is able to generate behavioural intention. This contradicts with Coulter and Pinto's research in that a high-level guilt appeal does not necessarily result in anger and irritation, hereby hindering its ability to generate behavioural intention.

Although this study did not uncover main effects for regulatory focus framing, the present research suggests that regulatory focus framing, more specifically a prevention focus frame, might not be a strong enough tool in generating behavioural intentions. The present study also implies that measuring the effectiveness of regulatory focus framing is difficult and perhaps needs a stronger manipulation to be able to affect behavioural intention than currently applied within this study.

5.3 Practical Implications

In addition to the theoretical implications that this study provides, the findings also yield practical implications. First of all, the findings indicate that a social marketing advertisement generates higher intentions to reduce clothing consumption when a guilt appeal is present that criticizes the recipients' current consumption behaviour, in comparison to when a guilt appeal

is absent. This implies that reminding people of their failure to adhere to a certain norm, evokes feelings of guilt and subsequently stimulates people's intention to engage in the required behaviour in order to relieve their emotional discomfort. Thus, the use of a guilt appeal could be of interest to social marketeers aiming for social or behavioural change.

The results further suggest that people's dispositional environmental awareness is already a likely indicator of pro-environmental behavioural intentions. It could therefore be suggested that a social marketing campaign mainly aiming at raising awareness of environmental concerns could already be sufficient in achieving the desired behavioural change.

5.4 Research Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

This study is limited to the used methods and gathered data that need to be taken into account when interpreting the findings. Important limitations will be discussed next.

Although a manipulation check was included in the pre-test, one of the main limitations of this study is the absence of manipulation check questions in the main study. Manipulation check questions are "a valuable means of assessing the robustness of experimental results in studies based on subjects' attention to treatments, for instance, treatment frames presented in survey experiments" (Aronow, Baron, & Pinson, 2019, p.572). These questions were needed in order to establish whether the independent variables had been manipulated correctly and to ascertain that the participants understood the manipulations of regulatory focus framing and the guilt appeal. Due to the lack of these manipulation check questions, it could not be established whether the manipulations were recognized as intended, making this a considerable limitation of this study.

A second important limitation of this study is the fact that participants were aware that they were partaking in an experiment and were asked to thoroughly review the stimulus material. Hence, it is plausible to assume that the participants were highly involved and consciously processing the campaign. However, in real life situations, advertisements or campaigns are generally processed with low involvement (Krugman, 1965). The level of involvement in which people process information affects the persuasiveness of various types of communication (Petty & Cacioppo, 1983). Therefore, further research could conduct a comparable study under real-life circumstances.

The constructs' internal consistency was measured solely by calculating the Cronbach's Alpha's for each separate construct. No factor analysis was performed, hence it could not be established whether the constructs were discriminating amongst one another, in which case constructs intended to measure separate variables, only measured one variable. The reliability of the scale applied in this study could thus be questioned. For future research, it might be suggested to perform a factor analysis to determine the dimensionality of the scale (Gliem & Gliem, 2003).

A further limitation of this study lies in the socio-demographic data of the participants. There appeared to be an unequal distribution of gender, age, and education in the sample. As stated in the methodology section, the majority of the participants were females, young, and highly educated, which could have affected the overall results. Furthermore, the respondent characteristics were distributed unequally among the four conditions, which could have led to

variations in the dependent variables, rather than the manipulations itself. Therefore, future research should not only aim for a more balanced distribution of respondent characteristics in the sample, but also among the conditions.

As the present study only focuses on regulatory focus framing and guilt appeals, it might be interesting for further research to include more independent variables into the model. For instance, image valence and the type of image portrayed in a campaign have been previously established to affect communication effectiveness. Chang and Lee (2009) have studied the effects of image valence (positive vs. negative) in charity advertising, but it might also be compelling to investigate the effects of image valence in the context of social marketing aiming to reduce clothing consumption.

6. CONCLUSION

The present study builds forth on research concerning the effectiveness of the usage of regulatory focus framing and guilt appeals in order to stimulate people to reduce their clothing consumption. The main question underlying this research was as follows: 'To what extent do regulatory focus framing and guilt appeals affect behavioural intention to reduce clothing consumption?' By means of a 2 (promotion vs. prevention) x 2 (guilt appeal vs. no guilt appeal) between-subjects experimental design implemented online, the effects of the two manipulations were tested.

In the present study, a guilt appeal has proven itself effective in evoking feelings of guilt, which subsequently, as a mediator, stimulates intention to reduce clothing consumption. It should be noted, however, that due to the lack of a manipulation check, inferences based on these results should be made with caution. Furthermore, the guilt appeal did not have a significant effect on the remaining dependent variables.

No statistically significant effects were found for the regulatory focus framing of the message on any of the dependent variables feelings of guilt, moral obligation, intention, and attitude towards the campaign. Moreover, no effects were found for the interaction between regulatory focus framing and the use of a guilt appeal on overall intention to reduce consumption. This finding could be attributed to the lack of effects found for the independent variables separately.

To conclude, the main findings for this study are that feelings of guilt might be evoked when a campaign contains a guilt appeal, which could subsequently generate intention to reduce clothing consumption. Nonetheless, generally no difference in attitude or intention was found between the use of a promotion frame or a prevention frame, nor for a guilt appeal being present or absent.

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8. APPENDICES

Appendix A: Literature Log

Table X
Search Actions and Results

Nr.	Date	Database	Action & Terms	Results
1	13/03/2020	Scopus	"social marketing" AND "consumption reduction"	5
2	13/03/2020	Google Scholar	"social marketing" study	179.000
3	19/03/2020	Google	environmental impact of the fashion industry	444.000.000
4	19/03/2020	Scopus	"fashion industry" AND environment	197
5	20/03/2020	Scopus	"image valence"	23
6	22/03/2020	Scopus	"ethical fashion" AND demand	8
7	24/03/2020	Google Scholar	"social marketing" Netherlands	14.400
8	25/03/2020	Scopus	"ethical consumption"	515
9	31/03/2020	Scopus	"theory of planned behaviour" AND environment	823
10	06/04/2020	Scopus	guilt AND "pro-environmental behaviour" s	27
11	11/04/2020	Google Scholar	"message framing" "social marketing"	2050

Appendix B: Questionnaire

Regulatory Focus Framing & Guilt Appeals in Social Marketing

Start of Block: Default: Informed Consent

Q1 Informed Consent Beste deelnemer, Hierbij wil ik je uitnodigen om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek voor mijn bachelor scriptie Communication Science aan de Universiteit Twente. Dit onderzoek behandelt communicatiepraktijken gerelateerd aan de consumptie van kleding. Het invullen van de enquête duurt circa 5 minuten. Jouw deelname aan dit onderzoek is volledig vrijwillig. Zonder opgaaf van redenen kun je weigeren deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek of je deelname voortijdig afbreken. Gegevens worden anoniem verwerkt en worden onder geen enkele voorwaarde aan derde partijen buiten dit onderzoek verstrekt. Alle gegevens worden secuur opgeslagen en zullen vernietigd worden na afronding van het onderzoek.

Dit onderzoek is goedgekeurd door de Ethische Commissie van de faculteit Behavioural, Management, and Social Sciences van de Universiteit Twente. Mocht je vragen hebben over jouw rechten als deelnemer of meer informatie willen opvragen, kun je contact opnemen met de Ethische Commissie via:ethicscommittee-bms@utwente.nl Voor meer informatie of opmerkingen over dit onderzoek kun je te allen tijde contact opnemen met: Onderzoeker: Mirthe Schutter (m.r.schutter@student.utwente.nl)Begeleider: dr. A.D. Beldad PhD (Ardion) (a.d.beldad@utwente.nl)

O Door dit vakje aan te vinken, verklaar ik ouder te zijn dan 18 jaar, ik het bovenstaande gelezen heb en ermee akkoord ga vrijwillig deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek. (1)
End of Block: Default: Informed Consent
Start of Block: Block 1: Demographics
Q2 Geslacht
O Vrouw (1)
○ Man (2)
O Anders (3)

χ⇒

Q3 Leeftijd
▼ 18 (18) 99 (99)
Q4 Nationaliteit
$\bigcirc \text{NL-J-vl-v-J-}(\cdot) (1)$
O Nederlands(e) (1)
O Anders (2)
O5 Hooget geneten enleiding (afgerend)
Q5 Hoogst genoten opleiding (afgerond)
O Voortgezet Onderwijs (1)
○ MBO (2)
○ HBO (3)
○ WO (4)
O Anders (5)
End of Block: Block 1: Demographics
Start of Block: Block 2: Clothing Consumption Behaviour
Q6 Hoe vaak schaf je nieuwe kledingstukken aan?
○ Wekelijks (1)
O Maandelijks (2)
O Enkele keren per 6 maanden (3)
○ Enkele keren per jaar (4)
O Minder vaak (5)

Q7 Waar koop je het vaakst kleding?
Online (1)
O High street (Zara, Mango, H&M, etc.) (2)
O Boetiek (3)
○ Tweedehands / vintage winkel (4)
O Anders (5)
Q8 Wat doe je met kledingstukken die niet meer aan je verwachtingen voldoen?
O Ik gooi de kledingstukken bij het afval (1)
O Ik breng de kledingstukken naar een textielcontainer (2)
O Ik repareer de kledingstukken (3)
O Ik verkoop de kledingstukken (online / offline) (4)
O Ik breng de kledingstukken naar een tweedehands winkel (5)
O Anders (6)
Da co Droots
Page Break ————————————————————————————————————

Q9 Geef aan in hoeverre je het eens bent met de volgende uitspraken.

(, 0000 mm on o	Volledig mee oneens (1)	Enigszins mee oneens (2)	Noch eens / Noch oneens (3)	Enigszins mee eens (4)	Volledig mee eens (5)
Ik koop kleding omdat ik het nodig heb. (1)	0	0	0	0	0
Ik koop kleding omdat ik graag de nieuwste trends in de mode volg. (2)	0	0	0	0	0
Ik koop meer kleding dan dat ik nodig heb. (3)	0	0	0	0	0
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kleding uit duurzame materialen bestaat. (4)	0	0	0	0	0
Ik vind kwaliteit in kledingstukken belangrijk. (5)	0	0	0	0	0
Ik geef de voorkeur aan nieuwe kledingstukken. (6)	0	0	0	0	0
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kleding duurzaam geproduceerd is. (7)	0	0	0	0	0

End of Block: Block 2: Clothing Consumption Behaviour

Start of Block: Block 3: Environmental Awareness

Q10 Geef aan in hoeverre je het eens bent met de volgende uitspraken

	Volledig mee oneens (1)	Enigszins mee oneens (2)	Noch oneens / Noch eens (3)	Enigszins mee eens (4)	Volledig mee eens (5)
De kledingindustrie is verantwoordelijk voor een groot deel van 's werelds CO2 uitstoot. (1)	0	0	0	0	0
Er worden vervuilende stoffen geproduceerd tijdens de productie van kleding. (2)	0	0	0	0	0
De productie van kleding verbruikt veel water. (3)	0	\circ	0	\circ	0
Het verven van kleding kan zorgen voor lucht- en watervervuiling (4)	0	0	0	0	0
Het overgrote deel van kledingstukken kan gerecycled worden. (5)	0	0	0	0	0

Q11 Geef aan in hoeverre je het eens bent met de volgende uitspraken

	Volledig mee oneens (1)	Enigszins mee oneens (2)	Noch oneens / Noch eens (3)	Enigszins mee eens (4)	Volledig mee eens (5)
Ik ben me bewust van de impact van de kledingindustrie op het milieu (1)	0	0	0	0	0
Ik voel me schuldig als ik nieuwe kledingstukken koop omdat ik me bewust ben van de impact op het milieu. (2)	0	0	0	0	
Ik pas mijn kleding consumptie aan omdat ik me bewust ben van de impact op het milieu. (3)	0	0	0	0	

End of Block: Block 3: Environmental Awareness

Start of Block: Block 4: Condition 1 (Promotion / Guilt)

Q12 Bestudeer grondig de volgende campagneposter en ga dan door naar de volgende vraag.

VERMINDER JE KLEDING CONSUMPTIE

& HELP DE AARDE TE BEHOUDEN



Jouw overmatig shoppen vernietigt de aarde.

De kledingindustrie stoot meer CO2 uit dan internationale vluchten en zeevaart gecombineerd. Het produceert 10% van de koolstofemissies van de mensheid, is de op één na grootste verbruiker van 's werelds watervoorziening, en vervuilt onze oceanen met microplastics.

Q13 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Block 4: Condition 1 (Promotion / Guilt)

Start of Block: Block 5: Condition 2 (Promotion / No Guilt)

Q14 Bestudeer grondig de volgende campagneposter en ga dan door naar de volgende vraag.

VERMINDER JE KLEDING CONSUMPTIE

& HELP DE AARDE TE BEHOUDEN



De kledingindustrie stoot meer CO2 uit dan internationale vluchten en zeevaart gecombineerd. Het produceert 10% van de koolstofemissies van de mensheid, is de op één na grootste verbruiker van 's werelds watervoorziening, en vervuilt onze oceanen met microplastics.

Q15 Timing First Click (1) Last Click (2) Page Submit (3) Click Count (4)

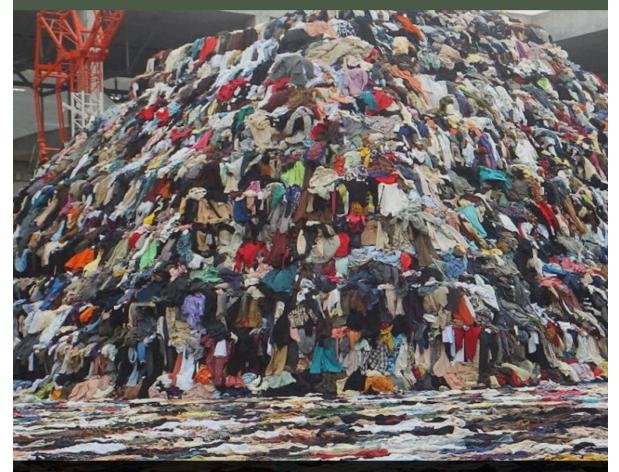
End of Block: Block 5: Condition 2 (Promotion / No Guilt)

Start of Block: Block 6: Condition 3 (Prevention / Guilt)

Q16 Bestudeer grondig de volgende campagneposter en ga dan door naar de volgende vraag.

VERMINDER JE KLEDING CONSUMPTIE

& HELP MILIEUSCHADE TE VOORKOMEN



Jouw overmatig shoppen vernietigt de aarde.

De kledingindustrie stoot meer CO2 uit dan internationale vluchten en zeevaart gecombineerd. Het produceert 10% van de koolstofemissies van de mensheid, is de op één na grootste verbruiker van 's werelds watervoorziening, en vervuilt onze oceanen met microplastics.

Q17 Timing
First Click (1)
Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

End of Block: Block 6: Condition 3 (Prevention / Guilt)

Start of Block: Block 7: Condition 4 (Prevention / No Guilt)

Q18 Bestudeer grondig de volgende campagneposter en ga dan door naar de volgende vraag.

VERMINDER JE KLEDING CONSUMPTIE

& HELP MILIEUSCHADE TE VOORKOMEN



De kledingindustrie stoot meer CO2 uit dan internationale vluchten en zeevaart gecombineerd. Het produceert 10% van de koolstofemissies van de mensheid, is de op één na grootste verbruiker van 's werelds watervoorziening, en vervuilt onze oceanen met microplastics.

Q19 Timing First Click (1) Last Click (2) Page Submit (3) Click Count (4)

End of Block: Block 7: Condition 4 (Prevention / No Guilt)

Start of Block: Block 8: Measurements

Q20 Na het zien van deze campagne...

	Volledig mee oneens (1)	Enigszins mee oneens (2)	Noch oneens / Noch eens (3)	Enigszins mee eens (4)	Volledig mee eens (5)
voel ik mij schuldig. (1)	0	0	\circ	0	0
voel ik mij beschaamd. (2)	0	\circ	\circ	\circ	\circ
voel ik mij slecht. (3)	0	\circ	\circ	\circ	0
voel ik mij onverantwoordelijk. (4)	0	\circ	\circ	0	\circ
voel ik mij ongemakkelijk. (5)	0	\circ	\circ	\circ	\circ
voel ik mij ontdaan. (6)	0	\circ	\circ	\circ	0

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Q21 Na het zien van deze campagne...

	Volledig mee oneens (1)	Enigszins mee oneens (2)	Noch oneens / Noch eens (3)	Enigszins mee eens (4)	Volledig mee eens (5)
ervaar ik een morele verplichting om mijn kledingconsumptie te verminderen. (1)	0	0	0	0	0
denk ik dat het egoïstisch is mijn kledingconsumptie niet te verminderen. (2)	0	0	0	0	0
denk ik dat het verminderen van mijn kledingconsumptie overeenkomt met mijn morele principes. (3)	0	0	0	0	0
voel ik mij schuldig als ik mijn kledingconsumptie niet verminder. (4)	0	0	0	0	0

Q22 Na het zien van deze campagne...

	Volledig mee oneens (1)	Enigszins mee oneens (2)	Noch oneens / Noch eens (3)	Enigszins mee eens (4)	Volledig mee eens (5)
heb ik de intentie om mijn kledingconsumptie te verminderen in de toekomst. (1)	0	0	0	0	0
is de kans groot dat ik mijn kledingconsumptie zal verminderen in de toekomst. (2)	0	0	0	0	0
heb ik geen intentie om mijn kledingconsumptie te verminderen in de toekomst. (3)	0	0	0	0	0
is de kans klein dat ik mijn kledingconsumptie zal verminderen in de toekomst. (4)	0	0	0	0	0

Page Break ———

Q23 Ik vind deze c	ampagne					
	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	
Niet interessant	0	0	0	0	0	Interessant
Onplezierig	\circ	\circ	\circ	\circ	\circ	Plezierig
Onaantrekkelijk	\circ	\circ	\circ	\circ	\circ	Aantrekkelijk
Slecht						Goed

Page Break -

Ongeloofwaardig

Geloofwaardig

Q24 Ruimte voor eventuele opmerkingen
indien je geen opmerkingen hebt, klik dan op het pijltje om deze enquête te voltooien)
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End of Block: Block 8: Measurements