



BACHELOR THESIS

Fill the gap:
The factors influencing people
with an ethical mindset to still buy
non-ethical fashion

Anna Wehring
S2171066

Faculty of Behavioural, Management & Social Sciences (BMS) /
Communication Science

EXAMINATION COMMITTEE
Dr. Mirjam Galetzka

25th June 2021

UNIVERSITY OF TWENTE.

Abstract

Nowadays, the trend of ethical consumerism is indispensable. However, although many people have an ethical mindset, they often do not translate their attitudes into purchasing sustainable products. This study aims to understand the so-called attitude-behaviour gap in the ethical fashion industry and studies reasons that keep people from purchasing sustainable fashion. Therefore, the research question is "*What are the factors influencing people with an ethical mindset to still buy non-ethical fast fashion?*" To uncover the hidden motives, a total of 18 quantitative interviews were conducted and analysed. The interviewees were reached through snowball sampling. The average age of the participants was 35,3 years ranging from 19 to 73. Ten participants were female, and eight were male. The results show that the most reasons people decide against ethical fashion are institutional factors such as the availability and economic factors such as the price. Contradictory to these findings but possibly in line with the attitude-behaviour gap, the motivation to purchase sustainable fashion was very high. Limitations of this study were that most of the interviews were held online due to the pandemic and that the diversity of cultures of the participants could be improved. The main recommendation for future research is examining the effect of culture on ethical purchasing behaviour because the influence of a national and an individual's culture in purchasing behaviour remains unexamined. Practical implications for companies, organisations, and schools fill the people's knowledge gap and educate them about the real-world consequences of their behaviour.

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1. Introduction

In today's society, ethical consumerism is more important than ever and present in everyone's mind. Six out of ten consumers want to reduce the negative impact on the environment by buying more sustainable. In the group that states that sustainability is essential for them, over 70% are willing to pay a premium for producing fair and sustainable (Haller et al., 2020). This shows that many people think that living sustainably has never been more critical than now. Sustainability has become the centre of attention in fashion organisations (Khandual & Pradhan, 2019). The fashion industry has a massive impact on the environment. Clothing production produces 8-10% of global CO₂ emissions (4-5 billion tons annually) (Niinimäki et al., 2020). The enormous consumption of water (79 trillion litres per year) contributes 35% (190.000 tons per year) of oceanic primary microplastic pollution (Niinimäki et al., 2020).

Another problem is that clothing production frequently occurs in developing countries, although consumption occurs mainly in developed countries, leading to extreme transport and logistic emergence (Niinimäki et al., 2020). Niinimäki et al. (2020) show countries where a garment-manufacturing supply chain occurs: China, the USA, India, Brazil, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Bangladesh, Vietnam and Turkey. Considering all the small steps and parts of the world where the clothing piece needs to be shipped and transported, the conclusion is that this is enormously environmentally harmful. Therefore, companies in the fashion industry are willing to focus on producing more sustainable and reducing their impact on the environment (Moretto et al., 2018). As a consequence of the extended supply chain, sustainable supply chain management gained more attention from scholars and practitioners (Turker & Altuntas, 2014).

"Fast fashion" describes how rapid fashion is available and how cheap retailers sell it (Bick et al., 2018). It also refers to the quick change of what is considered looking good and what is regarded as not looking fashionable, and how fast designs from the catwalk can move

into the stores (Bick et al., 2018). This is also connected to the consumers need for the latest collections and newest items. Brands like H&M from Sweden and Zara from Spain are the perfect example of fast fashion brands (Ferne et al., 2010).

Additionally, the working and payment conditions for the workers in the fashion industry are a problem. Large fashion companies have outsourced their production to countries with low wages and often non-existing environmental protection. The workers are exposed to forced child labour, prison labour and poverty (*Fixing Fashion: Clothing, Consumption and Sustainability*, 2019). Batista et al. (2018) state that the industry is seen as a sizeable productive chain. The working conditions exploit the people inhumanely that can be compared to "analogous to slavery". Similar to that, Miraglia et al. (as cited in Batista et al., 2021) identify the working conditions in the fashion industry as "contemporary slavery labour", which can be confirmed by a study from Batista et al. (2021) about the work in the fashion and clothing industry in Brazil.

Consuming ethically is a way to reduce the environmental impact of the fashion industry. Ethical consumption is connected to sustainable materials, fair conditions for the workers, and environmentally and socially responsible consumerism. Furthermore, sustainable fashion implies sustainable raw resources, for instance, bamboo, hemp, organic cotton and recycled synthetic fibres (Shen et al., 2012; Todeschini et al., 2017).

Ethically minded consumers are often concerned about environmental aspects, social influences, fair working conditions and animal welfare (Carrigan et al., 2004). Even though people are aware of the consequences of non-eco-friendly fashion, they still buy it. Besides, six out of ten consumers stated that they are willing to change their consumption behaviour to buy more ethically produced products (Haller et al., 2020). Consumers say that they want to consume ethically but behave oppositely. Research considers these behaviours as a gap between such concerns and actual consumption behaviours (Han et al., 2017). Hence, this gap

called the attitude-behaviour gap does not state why consumers decide against their mindset. For instance, consumers with an ethical philosophy still choose for buying fast fashion items, although they know what immense consequences their action has on the environment. A study by Futerra, 2005 as cited in Carrington et al., 2010) states that out of 30% of consumers who purchase ethically, only 3% do. Another theory that tries to influence consumer behaviour is the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991). The theory explains what an individual's intention is to perform a particular behaviour. Previous research has shown that the theory of planned behaviour helps explain and predict human's behaviour in organic food consumption or ethical fashion purchase (Arvola et al., 2008; Conner & Armitage, 1998; Robinson & Smith, 2002; Sparks & Shepherd, 1992). However, in predicting the attitude-behaviour gap, more factors need to be taken into account. For instance, factors such as the price of an item or the motivation of customers to change their habits. The hidden motives of the customers still need to be unravelled. Therefore, in-depth interviews are needed to get deeper insights into humans' behaviour. By performing qualitative interviews, this research will add new perceptions of customers to current insights. The goal is to get deeper insights, and through the open approach of interviews, new aspects can be discovered which are not yet mentioned in existing research.

This research aims to find out the hidden motives of the consumer, why exactly they decide to buy ethical fashion or why not, focussing on the attitude behaviour gap that states that consumers with an ethical mindset act against their values. Another side effect of the study could be to raise even more attention on ethical consumerism. A result could be that more think about their behaviour and may even change it to more sustainable consumption. To gain more insights into consumers behaviour, the following research question will be answered:

RQ: What are the factors influencing people with an ethical mindset to still buy non-ethical fast fashion?

A theoretical framework will be presented to create a foundation of knowledge to give insight into current knowledge on what drives ethical behaviour. The theory talks much about ethical behaviour but not so much about the hidden motives of the customers. Therefore, the qualitative method and the study's research design are explained, followed by a description of the participants in the interviews. After, the results are presented, followed by a discussion of the results and a conclusion. Finally, the study concludes in section 'Conclusion' with a summary of results, implications, limitations and further research suggestions.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Attitude-behaviour gap

Ethical behaviour is fundamental, but many people have an ethical attitude and do not implement this into actual behaviour. The difference between the consumers' attitude and consumption behaviour is the so-called "attitude-behaviour gap" observed by researchers (e.g., Boulstridge & Carrigan, 2000; Carrigan & Attalla, 2001; Carrington et al., 2010). The conceptualisation of the attitude-behaviour gap was developed based on the theory of planned behaviour by Ajzen (1991). Researchers have doubts if intentions, attitudes, and beliefs can influence an individual's behaviour. Virtually these intentions are often not turned into actions (Sheeran, 2002). Davies et al. (2012) state that 30% do not translate their mindset into actions from ethically oriented consumers. Papaoikonomou et al. (2011) explain consumers' behaviour as kind of unpredictable: "consumers behave in different ways under different circumstances, and their motivations vary. Hence, a whole variety of factors may intervene in the purchase process, from the moment the consumer receives the information about an ethical or unethical product, until the actual moment of purchase" (p. 79).

2.2 Theory of planned behaviour

Icek Ajzen first introduced the theory of planned behaviour in 1991 to explain human behaviour concerning their beliefs and intentions. The g attitude and personality traits are connected with human behaviour but need to be distinguished from other influences that are spontaneous and instant decisions and factors (Ajzen, 1991). Ajzen explains planned behaviour as a predictor that investigates and finds out what an individual intends to perform a specific behaviour. The theory states that the attitude toward the behaviour, the subjective norm, and the perceived behavioural control are all connected. Every part is influencing the human's

intention, which in the end shapes the definite behaviour. To sum up, the more powerful an intention is to perform a behaviour, the more likely is the actual performance (Ajzen, 1991).

The different variables of the theory of planned behaviour are behaviour, norm and beliefs, which all form an individual's intention (Figure 1). Ajzen explains the different variables on his website, starting with the first, behavioural beliefs: "A behavioral belief is the subjective probability that the behavior will produce a given outcome or experience." (Ajzen, 1991). This leads directly to the attitude toward the behaviour, which can be explained as the degree to which an individual rates their performance positive or negative. The following variable are the normative beliefs and are described by Ajzen as the perceived behavioural expectations of important referent people in the social environment of the individual in combination with the motivation to meet these expectations. The normative beliefs are directly linked to the subjective norm, which is the perceived social pressure that comes with a behaviour. The last variable that influences an individual's intention are control beliefs. "Control beliefs have to do with the perceived presence of factors that may facilitate or impede performance of a behavior" (Ajzen, 1991), this leads directly to the perceived behavioural control, which refers to an individual's awareness of their ability to perform a particular behaviour. Thus, all these variables combined shape the intention of a person.

Ajzen added a more recent TPB model where he included 'actual behaviour control' (Figure 1). Thus, an action depends not only on the human's intention to perform a specific action but also on a sufficient level of behaviour control, which refers to "the extent to which a person has the skills, resources and other prerequisites needed to perform the behaviour in question "(Ajzen, 1991).

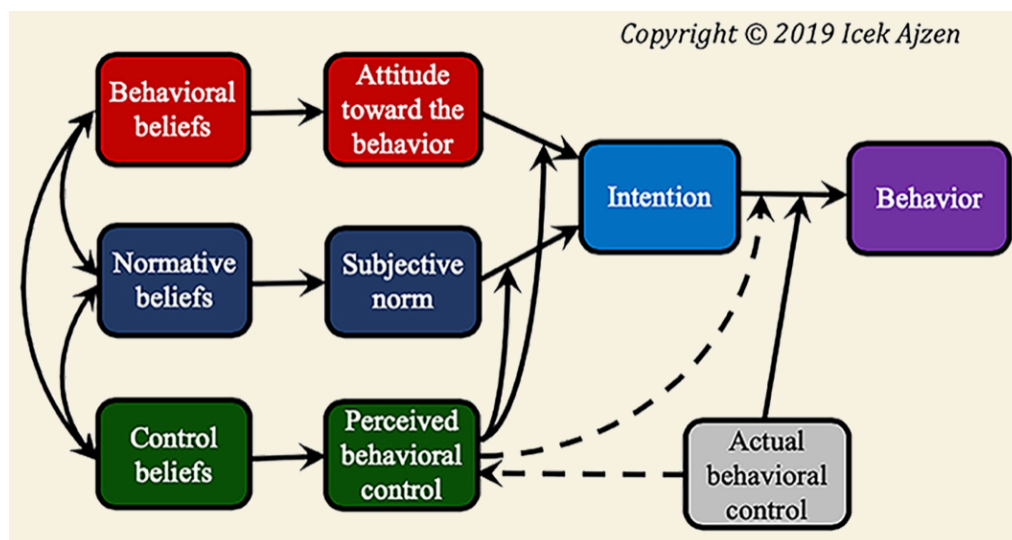
Over the years, the model has been extended by several researchers. While investigating the consumption of organic food products, Robinson & Smith (2002) added perceived self-identity, which is associated with an individual's self-concept and can also be linked to their

personality (Sparks & Shepherd, 1992). Organic food product consumption is closely linked to the purchase of ethical fashion, and therefore relevant. Another addition, closely connected to ethical consumerism, was included by Arvola et al. (2008) and took the moral attitudes toward purchasing organic food into account. Other researchers approve this assumption and agree that moral attitudes can be used as an addition to predict behaviour in the theory of planned behaviour (Conner & Armitage, 1998).

These two additions, which will be explained in the next section, can be used to study the influence of behaviour in fashion. Other determinants of human actions are needed to describe human behaviour when it comes to fashion consumption. Together with the theory of planned behaviour, these determinants try to influence customers' decisions and influence an individual from the inside (internal) and the outside (external) and will be used and clarified later in this study.

Figure 1

Theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 2006)



2.2.1 Perceived self-identity

In literature, there is an enormous discussion if self-identity is influencing behaviour or not.

Self-identity refers to an individual's self-concept and can also be linked to their personality

(Sparks & Shepherd, 1992). Robinson and Smith (2002) showed no correlation between self-identity and intention to buy sustainable food. Robinson and Smith studied whether self-identity and other factors influence intention to purchase sustainably produced food. They found out that self-identity did not influence intention because the attitude and belief values, which are other researched variables, have "adequately accounted for measures of self-identity" (Robinson & Smith, 2002).

In contrast, other researchers hypothesise that self-identity would reflect and affect attitudes (Biddle et al., 1987; Charng et al., 1988). For example, Sparks & Shepherd (1992) showed that students' rating and description of themselves and whom they think they are influencing their preferences and choices towards consuming organic vegetables. Therefore, according to Sparks and Shepherd, perceived self-identity can be used to influence human behaviour. In addition, Biddle et al. (1987) showed that students who describe themselves as someone they like to be and students who want to achieve a specific career that requires college describe themselves as hard-working, ambitious, and intelligent. The same case can be translated to consumers that want and are willing to buy more sustainable clothes but, in reality, do not change their behaviour. Instead, they may describe themselves as being green and that they only buy sustainable products. Based on these contradictory findings, it can be concluded that in most studies about whether self-identity is a good influencer of human behaviour, it is stated that perceived self-identity can be used to influence human behaviour. However, the question remains whether it is also crucial in explaining why people do not always act according to their attitudes, which is described by the attitude-behaviour gap. Therefore, further exploration is needed.

2.2.2 Moral attitudes

Moral attitudes can be described as "positive self-rewarding feelings of doing the right thing

"(Arvola et al., 2008, p. 443). Arvola et al. (2008) argue that organic food purchases are motivated by the expected consequences for the individual and others. Furthermore, consumers often connect the purchase of an organic and sustainable product to the feeling of good conscience and responsibility for their family's health, which can therefore be classified as a moral decision situation (Arvola et al., 2008). Besides Arvola et al., other researchers state that moral norms, personal norms, or moral obligations can also be used to explain or predict behaviour in the theory of planned behaviour (Conner & Armitage, 1998). Studies where the relationship between behavioural intentions and moral implications were examined, such as abuses against the trust, lying, or doing something helpful for other people or being solitary, indicated that in 9 out of 11 studies, intentions were affected by moral norm (Conner & Armitage, 1998). To continue, the question arises why moral attitudes do not always explain actual behaviour. This needs to be further explored using a qualitative research method, which focuses on the hidden motives of the customers.

2.3 Determinants of ethical decision making

Wiederhold and Martinez (2018) use the conceptual model developed by Kollmuss & Agyeman (2002), which divides determinants that affect ethical behaviour in internal and external factors. External factors influence human behaviour from the outside, such as availability and the budget. The external factors are divided into different elements (e.g., institutional, economic, social and cultural factors). Internal factors can be described as individual's knowledge and their mindset about ethical fashion. The internal determinants are divided into different categories (e.g., motivation, environmental knowledge, locus of control, attitudes, and values). Together with the earlier mentioned perceived self-identity and moral attitudes, these factors will influence human behaviour in this study.

2.3.1 External factors

The external factors that influence human behaviour in decision-making are institutional factors, economic factors, and social and cultural factors.

2.3.1.1 Institutional factors

The infrastructure influences ethical behaviour and if ethical fashion is generally available for an individual. In this case, the infrastructure refers to the availability of sustainable products and whether purchasing these products is comparable to buying non-ethically. If the range of ethical offers is limited, it is challenging to purchase fashion produced sustainably (Wiederhold & Martinez, 2018). Fast fashion is often immediately available. Because of the availability, consumers with an ethical mindset often purchase unethical brands (Papaoikonomou et al., 2011). Additionally, consumers regularly do not buy products related to extra effort, which means they need to visit another shop or go to another city. In this case of the prediction of sustainable behaviour, the product's availability is more important than the persons' mindset about ethical fashion (Grimmer & Woolley, 2014).

2.3.1.2 Economic factors

Economic factors are mostly related to the price. The costs and the availability of money are high when making a decision. Suppose people make decisions whether to buy a product or not. In that case, they habitually think of the tremendous benefits for them, which means they ignore the environmental impact of their purchase and focus more on the low price because the price plays a significant role in decision making (Balderjahn, 2013; as cited in Wiederhold & Martinez, 2018; Bray et al., 2011). Additionally, Bray et al. (2011) state that even if a product is produced environmentally friendly, but consumers do not feel or see the difference to an unethically produced product, they will continue buying unethical products because they do

not understand the reason for the higher price. Furthermore, to buy sustainable items, the price and the quality should be comparable to what customers usually purchase (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002). If the price of a product does not fit into the customers budget, it is unlikely that purchase takes place, even though the item is produced ethically.

2.3.1.3 Social and cultural factors

The next factor that influences human's behaviour in ethical decision making is the cultural and social environment. The national culture has a massive impact on the ethical consumption behaviour of consumers because each country sees ethics differently (Bucic et al., 2012). Bucic et al. (2012) researched to find out to what extent culture influences consumption. They compared one developed country with one developing country. Australia is a wealthy, industrialised, sophisticated, and economically advanced country, and in contrast, Indonesia is a very populated and economically developing country. The results show that price, quality, and convenience are the commonest drivers for purchase for Australian millennials. However, in Indonesia, people primarily focus on quality, brand and convenience. This shows the difference in consumption behaviour in different countries and cultures. Another influencer of ethical decision making is demographical characteristics, which influence twofold: particularly young consumers emphasise the importance of brand image rather than buying ethically, and the acceptance among peers when wearing a brand that is currently trendy (Carrigan & Attalla, 2001; Wiederhold & Martinez, 2018).

2.3.2 Internal factors

Internal factors influence human's behaviour and decision making as well. The factors are the following: motivation, attitudes and values, environmental knowledge and locus of control.

2.3.2.1 Motivation

Another influencer of the final purchase is the motivation of the consumer to buy ethical and sustainably even though it implies changing purchasing plans. Wiederhold and Martinez (2018) link this concept to brand loyalty, which means that trustworthy consumers are less likely to leave a brand, even if they do not produce ethically, because moving to another brand is connected with too much effort. If people favour a brand, they ignore and fade out negative characteristics such as the production circumstances and only see the good in a brand called information processing bias (Ahluwalia et al., 2000). Another influencer that can be connected to motivation is the habit of an individual, which is the behavioural routine that everyone is developing unconsciously. (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002) argue that habit has a strong negative influence on whether a person is buying sustainable products or not. If the habits of consumers are not to be mindful about where a product is produced, under which conditions and with which resources, it is hard to change their behaviour and buy ethically.

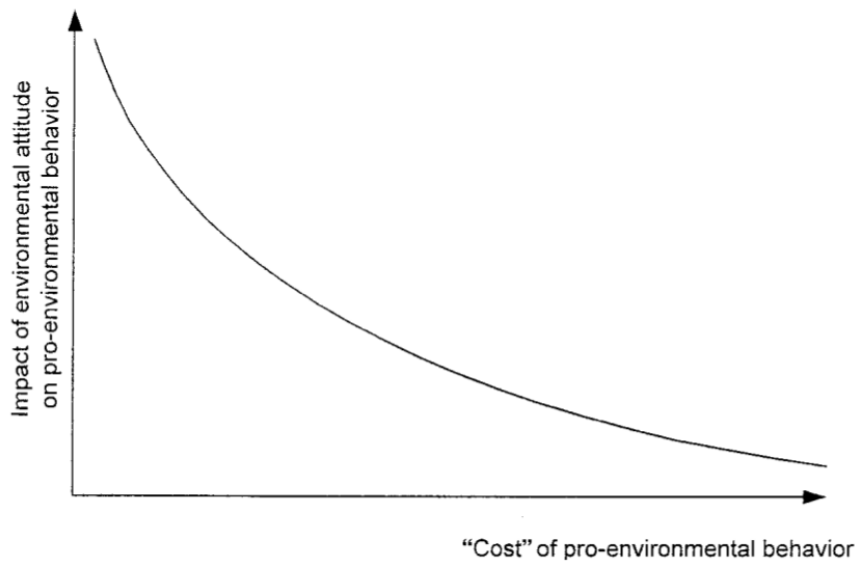
2.3.2.2 Attitudes and values

Another determinant of ethical consumption connected to the theory of planned behaviour is attitudes and values. As mentioned before, the TPB is a predictor that finds out what exactly an individual's intention is to perform a particular behaviour. Attitudes and values towards a specific topic play a significant role in the final behaviour. Attitudes are characterised by positive or negative feelings towards a specific topic. The conflict between an individual's attitude about ethical consumption and their actual behaviour, to which the attitude-behaviour gap refers to as well, can be explained by the low-cost high-cost model of pro-environmental behaviour (Figure 2) (Diekmann & Preisendörfer, 1992). This model states that the higher the 'costs' of pro-environmental behaviour are, the lower the impact of environmental attitude on pro-environmental behaviour. The 'costs' are linked to effort and time that needs to be spent

when behaving ethically (Wiederhold & Martinez, 2018). According to the low-cost high-cost model, consumers behave ethically when they have the least 'costs' that come with it. Another factor influencing human consumption behaviour is time pressure and information overload (Carrigan & Attalla, 2001). Consumers often do not have time, hurry, and need their articles as fast as possible. This leads to not buying ethical products because it takes too much effort to check where a product is produced and if the materials are sustainable. Information overload refers to the variety of products and brands available on the market, resulting in the consumer's overextension. The consequence is often the ignorance of ethical aspects while focusing on other attributes such as price (Carrigan & Attalla, 2001).

Figure 2

Low-cost high-cost model of pro-environmental behaviour (Diekmann & Preisendörfer, 1992).



2.3.2.3 Environmental knowledge

If a consumer wants to make a suitable decision, it requires a complete understanding of all settings and circumstances of the situation (Sproles et al., 1978). If the goal is that customers buy sustainable fashion, they must know about the benefits for the world. Studies show that

only a few people know what sustainability means and how it is characterised (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). People nowadays often perceive their knowledge through media, which is an essential source of information (Carrigan & Attalla, 2001). However, it frequently leads to confusion because "consumers are often confused and overwhelmed by existing information due to the availability of abundant and accessible information." (Wiederhold & Martinez, 2018, p. 422). If people are confused and know too little information, they are not able to make responsible decisions. Bray et al. (2011) state that customers experience that brands only tell that they produce sustainable and ethical to improve their business in, for instance, raising awareness, increasing their profits, and validating higher prices for products. Consumers are not sure what is the truth and what not. Therefore they avoid brands that are in the press for their unethical behaviour because it seems more uncomplicated than looking for ethical alternatives by themselves (Bray et al., 2011).

2.3.2.4 Locus of control

The final determinant of ethical consumption behaviour is the locus of control, which refers to consumers thinking that their purchase does not make a difference (Bray et al., 2011). People with a high external locus of control think that there is no alteration or shift of the world if they buy an ethical product or not (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002). They instead think that only the mass of people or individuals with more power can make a difference (Wiederhold & Martinez, 2018). Locus on control is directly linked to the perceived behaviour control of the theory of planned behaviour because behaviour control refers to the ease of purchasing a specific product (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). Vermeir and Verbeke (2006) call this phenomenon the perceived consumer effectiveness (PCE), "which is the extent to which the consumer believes that his efforts can contribute to the solution of the problem" (p. 175). If a consumer perceives a high

PCE, it is more likely that a positive attitude is translated into actions, and a sustainable purchase occurs.

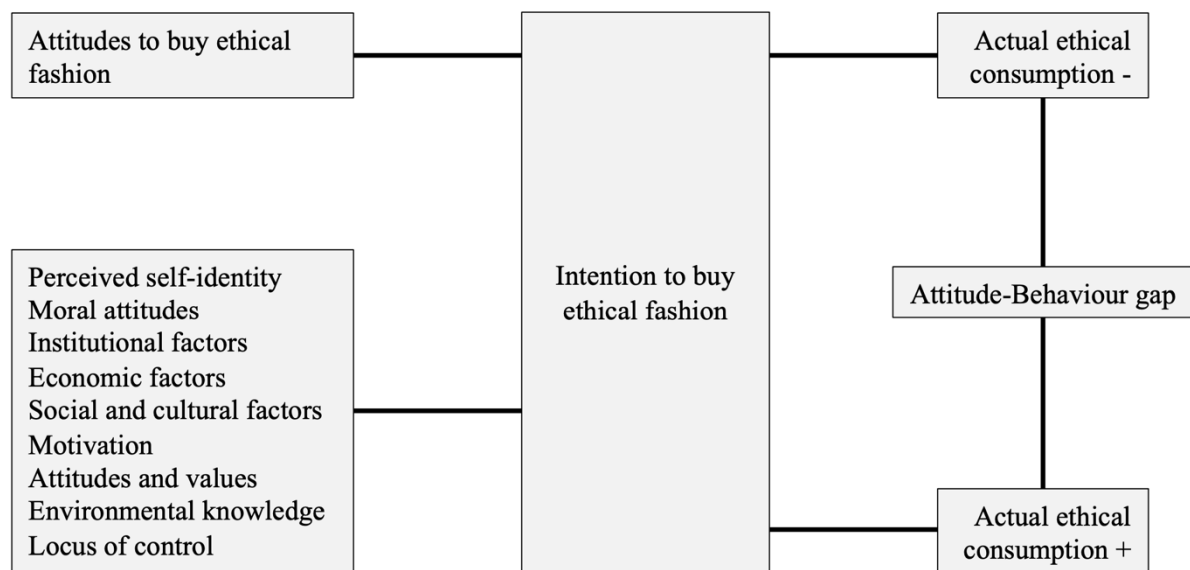
2.4 Conclusion and research model

To sum up, all the different determinants influence the decision-making process of consumers. Together with the moral attitudes and the perceived self-identity from the theory of planned behaviour, the determinants of ethical decision making are institutional factors, economic factors, social and cultural factors, motivation, attitudes and values, environmental knowledge and locus of control. The concept of locus of control is linked to the theory of planned behaviour, the actual behaviour control. Locus of control also refers to a person's ability to think that their action matters and helps solve the overall problem and actual behaviour control from the theory of planned behaviour.

As can be seen in the research model (Figure 3), these determinants influence the intention to perform a specific behaviour. This intention acts now as a stimulus for the actual ethical consumption. The before mentioned attitude-behaviour gap mediates between the actual ethical consumption. This gap is explained and researched by this paper. Why do people with a generally positive mindset towards ethical consumerism do not translate their attitudes into actions? The attitude-behaviour gap defines this problem but does not explain why people decide to buy non-ethical fashion in the end. Why do the before mentioned factors not always translate to ethical consumption? This remains relatively unexplored. That is where this research adds value to existing literature. It observes in-depth views and opinions from individuals through qualitative interviews to find hidden motives for purchasing sustainable and ethical fashion.

Figure 3

Research model



3. Methodology

3.1 Procedure and sample

In order to present in-depth answers to the research question and give insights into the hidden motives that influence the behaviour of fashion customers, a qualitative methodology approach was carried out. Qualitative methods are an excellent technique to discover in-depth views, behaviour and opinions of individuals and learn more about the attitude-behaviour gap (Boeije, 2010). To realise that, semi-structured interviews were used to observe the participants (Interview questions can be found in the appendix). In qualitative research, many methods can be used for data collection. While participant observations enable the researcher to participate in the participants' everyday life, qualitative interviews allow a closer understanding of the participants' views and opinions (Boeije, 2010). This study aims to understand the hidden motives of the consumer and get insights into their beliefs, views and experiences. Therefore, qualitative interviews are suitable for explaining consumers' behaviour and the attitude-behaviour gap in an ethical fashion.

3.2 Sample composition

The target group focused on various ages to get various answers and insights into different behaviours and thoughts. The study focussed not only on the age group of, for instance, 18-25 years because this would generate unilateral results. Many people in the age group of 18-25 are students, and therefore economic factors are probably the main reason they are not purchasing ethical fashion. With different age groups, people with different social status and income are participating in the study. The only exclusion criterium was that the participants at least heard of ethical fashion and can give a minor definition of what it represents. To find participants that fit into the target group, snowball sampling was used. With this method, 18 participants were recruited. It was of importance that the participants are slightly informed about ethical

fashion. In addition to that, care has been taken to ensure that the distribution between men and women is equal and that the participants' age distribution is equal. The average age of the participants was 35,3 years ranging from 19 to 73. Ten participants were female, and eight were male. Most of the participants were German but also found out if culture influences the behaviour. One English, one American, one Greek, one Italian and one Dutch participant took part in the interviews. To ensure a relatively representative sample composition for the target group, people were chosen that differ from each other, with a different educational background. The sample consisted of nine students, two editors, a principal, a bank assistant, a mayoral, a retiree, a clerk and two merchants.

3.3 Data collection

The used data collection method was semi-structured interviews in a neutral setting, primarily online due to the pandemic. The participants were primarily contacted via email, where a time for the interview was discussed, and the interview took place on the established video platforms such as zoom.us, FaceTime and Skype. The study was introduced to the participant, and all information regarding anonymity and the right to refuse to answer a question or quit the whole interview was told. After the participants' permission, the audio recording started. The interviews lasted for about 15-30 minutes each and were transcribed into written text for the analysis. The interview started with questions about age, job, nationality, highest education and gender. After that, 16 interview questions were asked about consumption behaviour and ethical fashion. In table 1 and the appendix, the interview questions are presented. To create a clear link to the determinants of ethical decision making from theory, the connection is presented in the table. The interview started with general questions about fashion consumption such as "where do you usually buy clothes?" and "Based on which criteria do you decide what you buy? / what is important for you?". The interviewee was then asked to explain sustainable

fashion. Next, the definition of ethical fashion was being told to the participant. The interview ended with two questions that directly addressed the attitude-behaviour gap: "If there are any, what are the reasons for you not to buy sustainable?". The last question asked for recommendations to make ethical consumption more attractive for everyone.

Table 1

Interview questions

Demographics	Interview questions	Link to determinants of ethical decision making
How old are you?	How often do you buy new clothes in a month (on average)?	
What is your job?	Where do you usually buy clothes?	
What is your highest education?	Where do you find inspiration for new clothes?	
What is your gender?	Based on which criteria do you decide what you buy? / What is important for you?	Economic factors, Institutional factors, Attitudes and values
Where do you come from?	What do you think is sustainable fashion?	Environmental Knowledge
	Would you consider yourself as being well informed about ethical fashion?	Environmental knowledge, Perceived self-identity
	If you would know more about ethical fashion, would you buy more sustainable?	Perceived self-identity, Motivation, Moral attitudes
	How would you describe a brand that is only selling sustainable fashion? What do their products look like?	Economic factors
	If you would find out that a brand is not producing ethically, would you still buy their products?	Moral attitudes, Locus of control, Motivation
	Do you know any brands that produce ethically, with fair conditions for their workers and environmentally friendly?	Institutional factors
	If you are shopping in the closest city – suppose without corona – do you know where to get sustainable clothes?	
	Another effect of fast fashion is that clothes are only worn one season and then being thrown away. In your opinion, what can be done to reuse those pieces?	Motivation
	How do you dispose of your old clothes?	Motivation
	Would you describe yourself as being an ethical consumer?	Perceived self-identity
	If there are any, what are the reasons for you to not buy sustainable?	Institutional factors, Economic factors
	In your opinion, what needs to be changed to make ethical consumerism more attractive for everyone?	Social and cultural factors, Locus of control, Moral attitudes, Environmental knowledge

3.4 Data analysis

After collecting the data from the interviews, the qualitative data was analysed. For this purpose, all interviews were transcribed. The analysis can be done using coding. Coding "[...]" is the process by which segments of data are identified as relating to a more general idea" (Boeije, 2010). Thus, qualitative coding data helps to structure data, finding patterns and interpreting results.

Next, it has to be decided whether inductive or deductive coding will be used. Inductive coding concentrates on developing a codebook while analysing and coding the interviews. On the contrary, when using deductive coding, a pre-existing codebook is going to be used. For this research, the deductive method was chosen, where a general codebook was developed based on the findings and determinants of consumer behaviour of the theoretical framework.

The coding process is divided into three main coding steps: open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In the first open coding process, all data has to be segmented, which can be defined as disbanding the data into fragments that seem to be in one group (Boeije, 2010) and developing general codes and apply them to the transcripts. In this study, the general codes are based on the determinants from the theoretical framework (Perceived self-identity, Moral attitudes, Institutional factors, Economic factors, Social & cultural factors, Motivation, Attitudes & values, Environmental knowledge and Locus of control). These nine codes are supplemented with two subcodes, positive and negative. Positive factors describe a situation where the participant is talking about the good sides of, for example, motivation. For example, the participant is mentioning that they are highly motivated to purchase ethical fashion. This will then be coded as being positive. On the other hand, if a participant is talking about economics and says that ethical fashion is too expensive, it will be coded as negative.

The next step, axial coding, follow the first round of coding. In this phase, the data is analysed a second time and connections are made between existing categories (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Finally, the codes are tested whether they are applicable. While doing so, it was noticed that sub-categories "positive" and "negative" are missing. Positive economic factors, for instance, mean that the participant is saying positive things about the price. In contrast, when coding negative economic factors, negative comments are made. For example, a participant rates the price of ethical fashion as too high. So additionally, several other codes are added (Quality of clothes, Persistence, Actual ethical consumption, Mentioning of sustainable brands, Fashion item consumption/ month, Inspiration and Fashion ability, the codes are defined through a sub-code that can be found in the final codebook (Table 2).

To complete the coding process, the last step was selective coding. The outcome was a complete coding scheme, where 16 codes with sub-codes help to analyse the data. To ensure that the findings are reliable, a second coder coded 10% of the data independently from the first coder. As a result, the Cohen's Kappa for the overall intercoder reliability is .72. This value states that the analysis outcomes are reliable. All the code's reliability were analysed individually so that each code has its own Cohen's Kappa. However, some codes received a relatively low value. Mainly perceived self-identity (.5) and institutional factors (.66) were less reliable. Therefore, the codebook was re-evaluated, and the definition of perceived self-identity and institutional factors was adjusted in order to achieve a more defined codebook. Subsequently, 10% of the data was coded by two coders once more after the adjustments, which increased Cohen's Kappa (.83). Furthermore, perceived self-identity and institutional factors showed a sufficient level of reliability. Hence, it was decided to analyse the rest of the data with the final codebook (Table 2).

Table 2*Final codebook*

<i>Code</i>	<i>Sub-codes</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Example</i>
1. Perceived self-identity	1.1 Positive 1.2 Negative	Self-identity refers to the self-concept of an individual, their rating and description of themselves and who they think they are.	"I would consider myself well informed. Yes." "Would you consider yourself well-informed about ethical fashion? P: No"
2. Moral attitudes	2.1 Positive 2.2 Negative	Moral attitudes can be described as positive self-rewarding feelings of doing the right thing.	"Child labor is a subject where I would say: That's not possible." "If you find out that a brand is not producing ethically, would you still buy their products? P: Probably yes."
3. Institutional factors	3.1 Positive 3.2 Negative	The infrastructure and availability of sustainable products and if the easiness to purchase these products is comparable to buying non-ethically products.	"If you're shopping in the closest city supposed without corona, do you know where to get sustainable clothes? P: Yes, I do" "No, I don't know where to buy sustainable fashion in the city."
4. Economic factors	4.1 Positive 4.2 Negative	Economic factors are mostly related to the price and the budget of an individual.	"It would be better to sell clothes more expensive, because you would then shop much more consciously." "The price is important to me. I have the feeling that it is incredibly high for sustainable clothing."
5. Social & cultural factors	5.1 Positive 5.2 Negative	Social and cultural factors are related to the environment of a customer, their family and cultural background that is influencing their purchase decision.	"The attitude has to change, so that you take it more seriously. This is a social problem."
6. Motivation	6.1 Positive 6.2 Negative	The motivation of the consumer to buy ethical and sustainably even though it implies changing purchasing plans. It is also connected to the habit of consumers.	"I do my best, I think there is still a lot of room up there, I am already aware and pay attention to it." "Comfort and habit. That I had good experiences with unsustainable fashion and then I buy it again."
7. Attitudes & values	7.1 Positive 7.2 Negative	Attitudes are characterized by positive or negatives feelings towards a specific topic. It also refers to the 'costs' that come with a purchase and are linked to effort and time that needs to be spent when behaving ethically.	"No, I wouldn't buy products that weren't made ethically."
8. Environmental knowledge	8.1 Positive 8.2 Negative	It refers to a full understanding of all settings and circumstances of sustainable fashion. How much do the participants know about sustainability?	"I would consider myself well informed. Yes." "Perhaps we need to educate more about the unfair working conditions."
9. Locus of control	9.1 Positive 9.2 Negative	Locus of control refers to consumers thinking that their purchase does not make a difference or that his personal efforts can contribute to the solution of the problem.	

Additional codes

10. Quality of clothes	10.1 Fast fashion - Good quality 10.2 Fast f. - Bad quality 10.3 Sustainable f. - Good quality 10.4 Sustainable f. - Bad quality	Describes how good/bad the quality of an item is and if the interviewee is talking about fast fashion items or sustainable pieces.	
11. Persistence	11.1 Timeless clothes 11.2 Trendy clothes that are “in” for one season	The interviewee is mentioning that clothes can be worn through every season and for years. Or in contrast, pieces can only be worn one season.	“Yes, they have to increase the quality” “I would say that these are clothes that are designed for the long term, the workmanship is high quality.” “I need to be convinced that the sustainable shoe would be just as good as the brand that I'm used to.” “I think sustainable fashion are probably things that are designed to be used longer, so that is not seasonal goods, you don't follow trend items.” “this ‘one season wearing’ is problematic”
12. Actual ethical consumption	12.1 Second hand 12.2 Reusage of clothes	How the interviewee disposes old clothes.	“Probably I sell them, actually my girlfriend sells them for me.” “If they are no longer as good, just for reuse, then cleaning cloths are made out of them. But don't throw it in the garbage.” “Patagonia.”
13. Mentioning of sustainable brands		If the interviewee is mentioning a sustainable brand.	
14. Fashion item consumption/ month	14.1 Less than 5 14.2 More than 5	How often and how many items the participant buys every month on average.	“Less than less than one thing. One thing every three months.” “I would say 10 items per month.”
15. Inspiration	15.1 Social media 15.2 From brands (online & offline) 15.3 From social environment	Where the participant gets their inspiration to buy new clothes.	“Instagram and Pinterest.” “On the websites of fashion manufacturers.” “I see people at the uni. There's a lot of people who are more into fashion that I might steal ideas off.”
16. Fashion ability	16.1 High fashion 16.2 Unstylish	Describes if an item looks fashion or not.	“There are brands, their products look very often stylish” “I always associate sustainable fashion with a kind of unfashionable clothing.”

4. Results

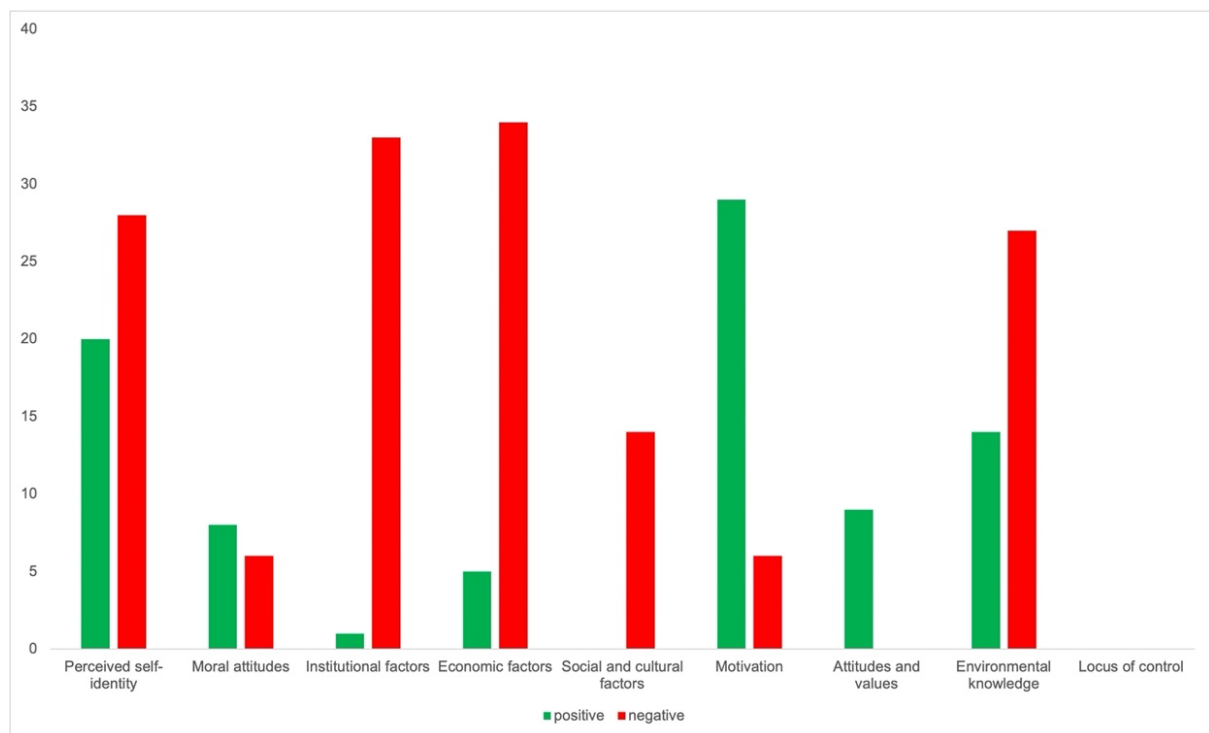
In this section, the principal results concerning ethical fashion consumption are presented. The difference between the perception is divided into positive and negative factors of each determinant of ethical consumption to analyse the outcomes. The results are presented in seven sections for the most frequent issues mentioned by the participants. They are arranged from the factor mentioned the most to factors that are less important in the interviews.

4.1 General overview

The participants mainly mentioned five arguments and focused on positive and negative perceived self-identity, negative institutional factors, negative economic factors, positive motivation and negative environmental knowledge (Figure 4). Topics that were less or not mentioned are both positive institutional factors and economic factors and the positive sides from social and cultural factors. Negative arguments for attitudes and values and positive and negative arguments for the locus of control are not mentioned. In general, the arguments for ethical consumption are primarily negative. To sum up, institutional factors and economic factors are the main reasons why the participants do not consume ethically, although their motivation is high.

Figure 4

General frequencies



4.2 Economic factors

In the interviews, the participants mainly talked about economic reasons why they do not consume ethically. As can be seen in figure 4, the arguments were primarily negative. In general, almost every participant points out the importance of the price when deciding what to buy. Most of the participants are just not willing to pay more for sustainable fashion. They cannot afford to spend more money. For example, this participant: "The price is important to me because I have the feeling that it is incredibly high for sustainable clothing."

Cheap clothes cannot be produced ethically and sustainably for most of the participants. One participant state this: "Quite cheap things, I am assuming they are not sustainable because they are made somewhere in Southeast Asia under terrible conditions." In addition to that, another participant believes that ethical fashion has to be more expensive and that people just have to be willing to spend more money: "Yes, ethical clothing has to be more expensive, that

is just the way it is. I cannot ethically produce a T-shirt for 8€. That is just not possible. Because a t-shirt has to cost just 25€. So, if you want to shop ethically, you have to spend more money. I cannot lower the price so I can sell ethical goods. That is not possible. That is contradictory. It is and remains more expensive because it is more expensive to produce. You have to get society to spend more money on it." To sum up, one participant suggested focusing on producing ethically in a cheaper way so that more people can afford to buy sustainable fashion: "Finding a cheaper way to source materials with still being ethical because much ethical fashion is more expensive."

4.3 Institutional factors

For the participants, institutional factors are crucial when thinking about ethical fashion consumption. A big issue is that ethical fashion is often not as readily available as fast fashion. One participant is mentioning that for her, it is much easier to purchase fast fashion items: "It is just easy, Fast Fashion is just much more tangible, much closer and even if I then somehow see on Instagram how then someone posts his outfit directly with a swipe up link, I can just buy it right after. That is cheaper. It is just easier." Additionally, people do not know where to get ethical fashion. Almost all participants answer to the question if they know where to get sustainable fashion in the closest city, a "no". To sum up, for the participants, buying ethical fashion is connected with too much effort compared to buying fast fashion. One participant, among others, describes this: "and it just also simply involves more effort by the searching."

4.4 Motivation

The participants' motivation in the interviews to purchase ethical fashion was very high. Approximately half of the participants stated that if they find out that a brand is not producing ethically, they will not continue buying their products. The other half was not sure and said that

it depends on the situation and to which degree the brand is not producing ethically: "If there were serious misconduct, I would stop buying. If it is still acceptable, I would probably keep doing it." The motivation concerning second-hand shopping and the reuse of old clothes was also very high, as can be seen in this citation: "I try to throw as little as possible into the residual waste, everything that can still be used in any way is then being used in other ways if it is second-hand or making cleaning rags out of old t-shirts." Another participant says something comparable that the old clothes are not being thrown away: "By actually recycling things in some way. So, by making something new out of the fabrics. Maybe not clothes, but something else but that you just do not throw them away."

If the participant would buy more ethically if they would know more about ethical fashion, the answers to the question were almost every time a "yes". This participant explains why: "Probably yes because you just know better where to find something like that and. Nevertheless, in general, it is difficult because many things are just extremely expensive. Furthermore, sometimes you just cannot agree on that." To sum up, the motivation is high, but there are still factors that prevent people from buying ethical fashion.

4.5 Perceived self-identity

With the questions "Would you consider yourself as being well informed about ethical fashion?" and "Would you describe yourself as being an ethical consumer?" the participants were asked to describe their relationship towards ethical consumerism. The results are contradictory because no connection can be seen between perceived self-identity and another factor, for example, motivation or attitudes and values. Although, there is a slight tendency that the participants' perception of themselves is rather negative. Some participants would describe themselves as being not well informed about ethical fashion: "No, I would say, that I pay more

attention to it than other people, but if I were to call myself an ethical consumer, I would say that I only buy sustainably and I do not."

The analysis showed that there were positive self-perceptions from the participants as well. For example, some participants would say that they are well informed about ethical fashion, and they have enough knowledge to be a sustainable customer: "Would you describe yourself as being an ethical consumer? P: Yes, I would. Yes, I would."

One participant showed a significantly positive perceived self-identity. For example, the answer to where she finds inspiration for new clothes was: "Oh, I have enough imagination, too. I do not need anybody to inspire me." This shows how confident and positive this participant perceives herself.

To sum up, the answer to questions about whether the participants would describe themselves as an ethical consumer or consider themselves as being well informed about ethical fashion was almost from every participant a "no".

4.6 Additional results

The codes that were added after the first round of coding showed relevant results as well. On the one hand, topics like the *timeless persistence of sustainable fashion* were mentioned in the interviews. For instance, this participant describes that ethical fashion is designed to be worn more than just one season: "I think sustainable fashion or clothing are probably things that are designed to be used longer, so that is not seasonal goods, you do not follow trend items, but maybe they are also things that are needed in the long term and are designed accordingly." On the other hand, participants describe ethical fashion as not fashionable, which can be a reason for deciding against sustainable fashion: "I always associate sustainable fashion with a kind of unfashionable clothing."

Another frequently mentioned topic was fashion consumption. For example, 16 out of 18 participants buy less than five items per month, and only two participants buy more than five items per month. Additionally, in the interviews, one question was about the inspiration for new clothes. Especially the young participants said that they mostly get their inspiration from social media sites such as Instagram and Pinterest. In addition, the participants between 35 and 75 often mentioned websites from particular brands or magazines as a source of inspiration.

The code from the additional codes that were used most frequently is actual consumption – second-hand. Many participants mentioned that they are already selling clothes from online second-hand stores, while other participants often buy clothes from either online or offline second-hand shops. One participant tells what he is planning to do with the old clothes that he does not wear anymore: Right now, I still have a big suitcase, where all the clothes are in it, but I want to put it online in the future on Vinted to sell them or I just ask around friends if they want to have them."

5. Discussion

This research is about the attitude-behaviour gap in ethical fashion consumption and tried to get insights into the hidden motives of consumers and their consumption behaviour. The discussion operates, therefore, as an interpretation of the results. After that, it will be examined if the research from existing literature in the theoretical framework can be confirmed or not. Next, the limitations of this study will be addressed, followed by recommendations for future research, followed by practical implications. In the end, everything will be summed up in conclusion.

5.1 Main findings

Reiterating the research question of what factors influence people with an ethical mindset to still buy non-ethical fashion, this research discusses the meaning of the results. It takes a look back at the findings in the literature. Firstly, it should be stated that the participants expressed much motivation to consume ethically. The literature already predicted that motivation strongly influences consuming behaviour (Wiederhold & Martinez, 2018). However, their behaviour does not reflect their motivation because they still find reasons not to buy ethical fashion, which is in line with the attitude-behaviour gap mentioned in the literature (Davies et al., 2012; Papaoikonomou et al., 2011).

The main reasons are the price and the availability. Several authors assume that economical factors play an important role when deciding whether to buy ethically or not can be confirmed (Wiederhold & Martinez, 2018). Because fast fashion is more straightforward accessible, the choice often falls on non-ethical fashion. When analysing the results, it is clear that the main reasons are economic factors such as the price and institutional factors such as availability. This was also predicted by literature. For instance, Papaoikonomou et al. (2011) state that availability is a common reason people with an ethical mindset often buy non-ethical

fashion. The factor price is possible the most substantial influence on the decision making of consumers. People seem to ignore the fact that a product is being produced ethically if the price is low (Bray et al., 2011). These findings that at first seem contradictory make sense when looking at the theory. The attitude-behaviour gap shows that people with a positive attitude towards ethical fashion consumption often do not translate their high motivation into actions (Carrington et al., 2010).

Perceived self-identity was added to the existing determinants from theory based on the theory of planned behaviour. Robinson and Smith (2002) claim that the perceived self-identity does not influence the intention and therefore the consuming behaviour because the attitude and belief values, which are other researched variables, have "adequately accounted for measures of self-identity". In contrast, other researchers assume and endorse the opposite (Biddle et al., 1987; Charng et al., 1988; Sparks & Shepherd, 1992). The interviews confirmed this assumption because the self-identity of the participants influences their consumption behaviour. The study showed that the participants self-identity, which was a small amount more negative than positive, could be reflected in their consumption behaviour. This means that the participant expressed more negative than positive comments about how they see themselves. People that had a negative self-identity also had more reasons not to buy ethical fashion. This showed through expressions like that the participant would not rate themselves as being ethical consumer. For the consumers, this is a reason not to buy ethical fashion. On the other hand, participants who perceived themselves as ethical consumer expressed higher motivation and are likely to purchase sustainable fashion.

Moral attitudes are the second factor that influences human behaviour that was added to the determinants based on the theory of planned behaviour. In general, comments about the moral and norms of participants are less expressed than other. When connecting the results to the existing theory, it can be concluded that moral attitudes do not function as an influence of

human behaviour, at least not in fashion consumption. The participants barely mentioned something that can be connected to their moral attitudes. Arvola et al. (2008) say that organic food purchases are motivated by the expected consequences for the individual itself and others. This cannot be confirmed by the study results since the participants did not talk about their moral attitudes. Sometimes statements, such as their willingness to buy fashion produced by child labour, can be repatriated to their moral attitudes and mindset. This can correlate with the factor of the missing knowledge about the social and environmental impacts. If customers knew about the consequences of their behaviour, they might act differently. This is where education should focus on.

One factor from the literature that could not be confirmed is the locus of control, which is connected to actual behaviour control from the theory of planned behaviour. Bray et al. (2011) state that people are more likely to buy a sustainable item if they know that their purchase makes a difference and helps to solve the problem. The participants did not talk about whether their actions help or not to solve the problem. If the number of participants would be enlarged, this may change. When looking for reasons that this topic did not occur in the interviews, the degree of education of the participant could be of importance. The participants mostly had a bachelor's degree or are currently enrolled at a university to get a bachelor's or master's. If taking participants without a university or similar education, the results could change.

Overall, the results are aligned with the literature previously read, although there are some minor differences, such as the factor of the locus of control. Nevertheless, the main predictions were confirmed, such as the economic factors and the institutional factors.

5.2 Limitations

This study used semi-structured interviews to gain insights into the in-depth attitudes and views of the participants. This way, the participants could talk freely about their opinions, values and experiences. However, since almost all interviews were held online, it was sometimes not easy to interpret the statements from the interviewees. Occasionally, the internet connection got lost, which exacerbated the communication between the researcher and the participant. Therefore, it would have been nice to conduct all interviews in person.

Another part that could have been solved better was the culture that was examined. In the theoretical part, it was written that culture plays an important role when consuming ethically. However, one English, one American, one Greek, one Italian, and one Dutch participant took part in the interviews. This raises whether cultural variety and diversity are sufficient to represent different cultures and investigate whether culture influences purchase decisions. Additionally, because the culture was not mentioned in the interviews, it was not included in the codebook. Next time, cultural diversity should be more taken into account. It can be interesting to learn more about the cultural differences that influence consumer behaviour for future research. Of course, the differences between countries and their cultures are of interest, but individual culture differences can also be explored. This could be done by interviewing more participants (50+) to compare their motivation and aims. In the interviews, especially questions that relate to the culture of the participants should be asked.

5.3 Recommendations for future research

This research draws two directions for future research to explore. One direction is the effect of culture on the decision to consume ethically or not. Because culture was not thoroughly investigated in this study, it would be interesting to study if it affects consumer behaviour. A more extensive study can do this with more participants. It would be interesting to study the

effect of the international culture differences on ethical decision making. In addition to that, individual cultural differences are another factor that remains unexplored. This can be done by conducting a study with many people from one country with different social and educational backgrounds. This study can be done in several countries to highlight the differences between the cultures.

Another factor that could be explored further is what needs to be changed to make ethical consumerism more attractive. Is it more than just the availability and the price? What is expected from the people to be changed by brands, government or themselves? This can be explored by a study using a quantitative research method and asking why people decide to buy something.

5.4 Practical implications

The future practical implications for organisations and companies are concentrated in two directions. On the one side, availability is a huge problem for customers when thinking about ethical fashion. To solve this problem, the fashion industry needs to focus on the locations of their shops. On the other hand, it has to be as easy to get ethical fashion as fast fashion. The people must know where to get pieces that are produced sustainably. This can be achieved through advertising. The goal is that ethical fashion moves forward in everyone's mind, which can be accomplished through daily confrontation with the topic. Customers need to see the advertisements everywhere, online and offline, and on every kind of media. This will give the result that people constantly think about ethical fashion.

On the other side, the knowledge gap needs to be filled. People do not know enough about the impacts of fast fashion on the environment. Many participants expressed that they would buy more conscious and sustainable if they knew more about ethical fashion in the interviews. This knowledge can be achieved in different ways. Firstly, schools need to teach

about consumer behaviour, the consequences and the environmental and social importance. Children should know about consumption and the consequences of buying fashion that is not produced sustainably. Secondly, companies or the government can also enlighten people about ethical fashion by showing advertisement campaigns. This would result in filling the knowledge gap of the people. This can help solve the problem since many participants stated that they do not know enough about ethical fashion. Therefore, they struggle with buying sustainably.

5.5 Conclusion

To conclude, the attitude-behaviour gap in ethical fashion consumption is still a problem, where brands and customers need to be aware of. The main factors that influence the attitude-behaviour gap are institutional factors. The availability is a big problem in the ethical fashion industry. It needs to be focused on that everyone can purchase sustainable clothes without driving 200 km. The customers have to find websites that sell ethical fashion as fast as they find websites that sell fast fashion. Economic factors are still enormous because the broader population is still unwilling or cannot spend more money on clothes produced ethically. Quantity stands over quality, but shouldn't it be the other way around?

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7. Appendix

7.1 Interview Questions

Demographics:

1. How old are you?
2. What is your job?
3. What is your highest education?
4. What is your gender?
5. Where do you come from?

Interview:

1. How often do you buy new clothes in a month (on average)?
2. Where do you usually buy clothes?
3. Where do you find inspiration for new clothes?
4. Based on which criteria do you decide what you buy? / What is important for you?
5. What do you think is sustainable fashion?

Tell the interviewee the definition of ethical fashion:

Ethical consumption is connected to sustainable materials, fair conditions for the workers, and environmentally and socially responsible consumerism. Sustainable fashion means no child labour, health and safety at work and living wages, as well.

6. Would you consider yourself as being well informed about ethical fashion?
7. If you would know more about ethical fashion, would you buy more sustainable?
8. How would you describe a brand that is only selling sustainable fashion? What do their products look like?
9. If you would find out that a brand is not producing ethically, would you still buy their products?
10. Do you know any brands that produce ethically, with fair conditions for their workers and environmentally friendly?
11. If you are shopping in the closest city – suppose without corona – do you know where to get sustainable clothes?
12. Another effect of fast fashion is that clothes are only worn one season and then being thrown away. In your opinion, what can be done to reuse those pieces?
13. How do you dispose of your old clothes?
14. Would you describe yourself as being an ethical consumer?
15. If there are any, what are the reasons for you not buy sustainable?
16. In your opinion, what needs to be changed to make ethical consumerism more attractive for everyone?