# Why One Becomes a Responsible Consumer: The Creation and Maintenance of Responsible Consumption as a Self-Determined Personal Project

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## Abstract

*This paper aims to explain why responsible consumers develop favorable attitudes towards responsible consumption. More specifically, the main purpose of this paper is to explain the role that biography or life experiences play in the formation of the ethical obligation and subsequent responsible consumption-related actions. This paper used a qualitative methodology (Grounded Theory) appropriate for theory generation. By applying personal projects theory and self-determination theory to account for the results, we have found that the formation and realization of the project "responsible consumption" pass through different stages. These stages span from childhood to adulthood and each stage is characterized by key life experiences. We conclude that responsible consumers become so because their social environment has provided the nutriments for the development of a self-determined project — responsible consumption — oriented to intrinsic motives and autonomously pursued, and for its maintenance, by satisfying the three needs that according to self-determination theory are innate to individuals: competence, relatedness and autonomy.*

## Introduction

Much has been written about responsible consumption (RC hereafter) in different disciplines. However, RC is still missing an agreed upon denomination (it is common to see green consumption, environmental consumption, ethical consumption, sustainable consumption, political consumption with similar, but not identical, meaning). Likewise, there is not a common definition (Schaefer & Crane, 2005). In empirical papers, RC has been defined narrowly or broadly. Narrow definitions understand RC as the choosing of a brand/product by combining traditional criteria such as price and quality, with ethical criteria. This is a narrow definition because it does not include other forms of RC that do not consist of buying (e.g. voluntary simplicity). Additionally, the definitions of green or environmental consumption are reductionist because they do not contemplate other ethical criteria, such as respect for human rights. Finally, political consumption definitions (e.g. Micheletti et al, 2004) are also nar-

row: they understand that consumers' acts are oriented to altering systems or practices; whilst research suggests that RC is also a means of moral selving, i.e. of constructing oneself as a moral person (Dolan, 2005). These narrow definitions have been mostly used in papers from psychology or consumer behavior disciplines.

Broad definitions understand RC holistically, as a wide array of possible actions. A good example of a broad definition is that of Barnett et al (2005b, p. 29, following Howard & Willmott, 2001): "any practice of consumption in which explicitly registering commitment or obligation towards distant or absent others is an important dimension of the meaning of activity to the actors involved" (in a similar vein Connolly & Prothero, 2008; Mobley et al, 2010; Webster, 1971). This paper follows this view on responsible consumption, but adds another condition: the regularity in doing these practices (Stolle & Hooghe, 2004).

The perspective of RC we adopt here is in line with the main concern that triggers this research: the unsustainability of our system. This system is based on a selfish and individualistic view of the human being symbolized by the *homo oeconomicus*; a system that reasons in terms of money, ignoring the moral and environmental grounds of economic flows. A system, therefore, that has unlimited growth as the necessary condition to survive[2]. But, as it has been repeatedly stated since the beginning of the 70s, when the well-known report by Meadows et al. (1972) was published by The Club of Rome, the quest for unlimited growth in a finite planet is an illusion.

According to Harvey (2010), the economic capitalist system and its evolutionary trajectory is determined by the interdependency and co-evolution of diverse 'activity spheres'. Specifically, the author identifies seven: "technologies and organizational forms; social relations; institutional and administrative arrangements; production and labor processes; relations to nature; the reproduction of daily life and of the species; and 'mental conceptions of the world'" (Harvey, 2010, p. 123). These spheres are modeled by the quest for perpetual capital accumulation and its consequent acceleration in new product development and an expanding effective demand for these products. Such dynamics locks us in to an "iron cage of consumerism", as Jackson (2009) highlights recalling the expression coined by Max Weber. If we are part of an unsustainable society of consumers, it is worthy to analyze consumption. More specifically, it is relevant to study those individuals that within this system are trying to "escape" from the "iron cage". Those consumers are generally known as responsible consumers.

Much has been written on RC. The dominant theory to explain RC is the theory of planned behavior (Papaoikonomou et al, 2012). This theory posits that attitudes towards RC are the key antecedent of the intention to behave responsibly (Ajzen, 1985, 2001). However, this theory does not provide an explanation of why some consumers develop such an attitude and others do not. Some authors have shown that there is a key identity-related characteristic that influences this attitude: ethical obligation (Özçaglar-Toulusse et al, 2006; Shaw & Shiu, 2003, 2006). Yet, the fundamental question remains unanswered: why some consumers have this ethical obligation and other do not.

This paper aims to reveal what variables could explain that individual consumers develop favorable attitudes towards RC and carry out RC-related actions. At this point, it is necessary to clarify what is the dependent variable of this study: ethical disposition to RC (attitude) or RC-related actions (behavior). According to the aforementioned theory, attitudes are a good predictor of behavior, but, still, the terms cannot be used interchangeably. Considering the barriers that consumers find in order to live up to their attitudes (see a review in Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2010, and Papaoikonomou et al, 2012), this paper will focus on the disposition to responsible consumption. However, during the interviews, as explained below, they were also questioned about the RC-related actions they carried out[3].

By using a qualitative methodology (Grounded Theory), whose fundamental goal is theory generation, we found that responsible consumers have a strikingly similar biography: they have gone through similar experiences that they acknowledge have shaped their disposition to buy responsibly. Similar findings have been reported in studies of environmental sensitivity and environmental action (see Chawla, 1998, for a review on the significant life experiences research). Also, in research on RC, Zolfagharian (2006) found that adopting RC was influenced by the social environment and key experiences.

This paper extends the results of the significant life experiences research to a new domain: individual consumers. However, the focus is not to measure what experiences are mentioned more nor whether or not these counts coincide with the ones found in the research on significant life experiences. The main purpose of this paper is to enrich existing theory by structuring these experiences throughout a person¥s life and by explaining what these experiences have in common, and the role they play. We will do so by drawing on other theories: personal projects analysis and self-determination theory, respectively.

Grounded Theory (hereafter GT) was the main methodology used for this study. This inductive methodology is appropriate when research focuses on an unexplored issue or is attempting to shed new light or offer a novel perspective on an already-examined issue (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This is precisely the case here: the influence of life experiences has

been studied in another domain, but its role to explain why sustainable consumers develop a favorable attitude towards RC has been unexplored. GT is also useful when analyzing social processes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This is the object of our research here, since consumption should be understood as a basic social process (Glaser, 1978). Moreover, the study of sustainable consumption is prone to the emergence of the desirability bias (Mohr, 2001; Marchand & Walker, 2008; Newholm & Shaw, 2007: van Doorm et al., 2007), which may jeopardize the validity of findings. Inductive methodologies may minimize this risk (Papaoikonomou et al, 2012), since they overcome the barriers of conscience and desirability, and permit the analysis of both verbal and non-verbal communication.

GT has frequently been used to study consumer behavior, when a more interpretative role on the part of the researcher is needed to accomplish the main goal of GT: "to abstract the data and to think theoretically rather than descriptively" (Goulding, 2000). This is the main feature of GT: it is used to generate theories, not to test them. In GT, the goal is to allow the key variables influencing a phenomenon to emerge and to explain the relationships among them; moreover, the aim of GT is "to put together categories in new, rather than standards, ways" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 49). The theories produced are based on the data found and applied exclusively to the conditions surrounding the study; there cannot be an implicit or explicit attempt to generalize the results (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

GT has two fundamental principles: bracketing out and constant comparison. The main distinctive feature of GT is "its commitment to 'discovery' through direct contact with the social world studied coupled with a rejection of a priori theorizing" (Locke, 2001: 34). This rejection requires that researchers' preconceived ideas be "bracketed out" (Locke, 2001: 46). Following the suggestions of several authors (Locke, 2001; Punch, 1997; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), the literature was reviewed at the outset, in order to acquire the conceptual apparatus necessary for the performance of the analysis; during the analysis, to help refine emerging categories; and following the analysis, in order to contrast the validity of the findings and to better account for them. In GT, researchers do not have a theory and try to prove it (Strauss & Corbin, 1990); the theories this study draws upon were used to account for the findings, and not a priori selected. The conclusions of the review of the literature are included in the Results sections, rather than in the typical Background or Literature Review section, since this is the role that the literature plays in GT: it serves to validate the emergent categories (Locke, 2001).

# Methods

The key steps in the implementation of the methodology (sampling, interviews, and analysis) are explained below.

## Theoretical sampling

In theoretical sampling, researchers typify behavior and not people (Glaser, 1978). Following Strauss and Corbin (1990), we contacted potential interviewees by placing advertisements in places and at sites frequented by sustainable consumers, either physical sites such as restaurants, NGOs, and stores, or virtual sites, such as Facebook profiles and websites of RC organizations. This procedure for reaching potential interviewees has been used by other researchers in this field (Carrigan et al, 2004; Cherrier, 2005; Valor, 2007). In order to identify more specific profiles (e.g., male, older than 50, religious), we used the so-called snowball method.

Also, in theoretical sampling the principle of similarity with the principle of dissimilarity should be balanced (Locke, 2001; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The principle of similarity was achieved by interviewing only responsible consumers. All our interviewees perceived themselves as such and that is why they responded to the call. We did not limit the definition of RC in any way, nor did we provide a priori list of forms of behavior as examples of those of a "responsible consumer". This sampling criterion is similar to that in previous works (Hollenbeck & Zinkahn, 2006; Marchand & Walter, 2008; Papaoikonomou et al, 2011; Shaw & Shiu, 2003, 2006; Young et al, 2010).

Out of the 30 interviewees, four (#7, 16, 17, and 22) were anomalies or negative cases: they were unable to report a RC-related action beyond "recycling", or occasional fair trade or organic buying. Also, interviewees # 13 and 14 acknowledged being responsible consumers in the past, but not at the time of the study. None of them actually responded to the call. The reason they were interviewed is that they were suggested by other participants. Several authors (Locke, 2001; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) suggest including these outliers or negative cases in order to better ground the theory.

Interviewees varied in age, sex, academic background, income, life-cycle stage, and religion (The Appendix shows a brief description of each interviewee). We interviewed thirty consumers, but saturation was reached on the 12th interview. We continue interviewing in order to examine whether local context influenced the results, and in order to include different profiles in the sample. Approximately half of the interviews took place in Madrid (17) and the other half in Cataluña (6), the Basque Country (5), Valencia (1) and Andalusia (1). All interviews were face to face apart from the last two, which were by telephone, since saturation had been reached and the purpose was to validate the proposed categories.

## Interviews

A semi-structured questionnaire was used. It was slightly modified and adjusted as the study progressed until saturation point was approached. As Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest, questions were oriented to actions and processes. The interview started with broad questions (socio-demographic and psychographic description of interviewees, their goals, and their beliefs on what good life is). Next, the interview moved, if the topic had not arisen before, to find out what kind of RC-actions interviewees carried out. Finally, we asked them what led them to carry out these actions and why RC was important for them.

Each interview, which consisted of a single face-to-face meeting (except the last two), lasted between one and three hours. The interviews were carried out in pairs (following Neuman, 1994) and followed the principles of existential phenomenology in order to make the interviewees as self-reflexive as possible, since this has proven useful to minimizing the social desirability bias (Cherrier, 2005). With the same goal, the interview focused on past behavior and on specific actions that would be considered "responsible" by the interviewee (Wagner, 1997). To minimize the recall bias, Wagner's (1997) guidelines were followed.

## Analysis

During the analysis, the procedures established for this methodology were applied (Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Each interview was transcribed immediately in its entirety and analyzed prior to conducting the following interview. Each transcript was examined thoroughly and coded line by line on the margins of the transcript (open coding). These codes were then grouped in categories (axial coding). The coding paradigms suggested by Strauss (1987) were applied so as to better define categories.

The reliability of the study can be assured by the consistency among codifiers (initial coincidence was 95%). Differences were resolved by re-analyzing the data and refining the categories. Validity is ensured by comparing the literature and by the use of quotes that support the analysis.

## Results

The theory emerging from the data could be summarized as follows. First, RC could be understood as an example of a personal project. The formation and realization of personal projects pass through different stages, from inception to termination (Little, 2001); yet, in the interviews another stage emerges that we have labeled 'grounding'. These stages span from childhood to adulthood; each stage is characterized by key life experiences. These experiences will form the path leading to the creation of a favorable attitude to RC. As aforementioned, research on life experiences have also found that biographical episodes were key to explain environmental sensitivity and the undertaking of environmental projects such as becoming an environmental educator or a member of an environmental organization (Chawla, 1998, 1999). More specifically, this line of research has found that family, educators, experiences in nature, friends, and literature are some of the key experiences mentioned by environmental educators. We have found similar experiences among responsible consumers.

Do these experiences have something in common? By applying self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000), we conclude that the experiences at each of these stages provided the nutriments for the satisfaction of competence, autonomy, and relatedness,; the three psychological innate needs of individuals according to this theory (Grouzet et al, 2004).

By combining both streams of literature, we will propose that consumers become responsible because their social environment provides the nutriments for the development of intrinsic motivation, self-regulated behavior, and the satisfaction of the three psychological needs throughout their lives.

### RC as a self-determined personal project

Personal projects are defined as "an extended set of personally relevant action" (Little et al, 1992, p. 502). Also called 'personal strivings', 'identity projects' or 'life tasks' (Harré & Bullen, 2010), they are all part of PACs (personal action constructs), a unit of analysis used in motivational research. PACs are considered an overarching category that resolves "the person-situation debate in psychology" (Little, 2006, p. 1236). ). It is proposed that PACs are a unit of intermediary analysis between the study of values and objectives and of personality traits (Little, 2001, 2006). The fact that personal projects are an overarching category is presented as the main advantage of this construct, since this "allows the investigator to examine cognitive, affective, behavioural, and contextual features of everyday action with the same assessment instrument" (Little, 2008, p. 1250). Using personal projects as the unit of analysis would allow overcome the difficulties in separating attitude from behavior in studying RC.

Personal projects may be of varying scope and time span (Little et al, 1992) and may receive different names according to the level of abstractedness at which they are defined and their recurrence (Little, 1999). This level of abstractedness is defined individually: for some, RC could equate to a simple action (e.g. buying fair trade coffee), but others define it more strictly in terms of goals (e.g. achieving a system change by consuming responsibly). It is for this reason that we term it 'personal project', since these are defined as a middle-level. In addition, although RC is a recurrent project (and this makes it closer to a "personal striving"), we will use

the label 'personal project' as these are "characterized by a high degree of ecological contingency" (Little, 1993, p. 162; see also Little et al., 1992, 2001).

> For me this isn't like a religion. It's a lifestyle, a life choice. (PI28)

> It's a way of living your life, of focusing your life. (PI20).

RC fits in the definition of a core project. Core projects are regarded as foundational, self-defining projects and called core projects. Other studies have also concluded that for consumers RC is a way of expressing and building their own identity (e.g. Barnett et al, 2005; Newholm & Shaw, 2007). Our interviewees regarded RC as a core personal project, partly due to its connections with other higher-ranked goals: political or moral. Consumers do not follow one single goal when they begin this project. Basically, two large goals can be distinguished: political and moral. Political consumers aim at transforming the system, i.e., at changing economic, political and social practices or structures. This motivation has been acknowledged by many authors (e.g. Barnett et al, 2005a, b) and it is considered the central motivation in the literature of consumer politics and political consumption (Micheletti et al, 2004; Bendell, 2000; Klintman, 2006, 2009).

> I don't do it to be true to myself; I do it because of my conviction that I'm helping out my most immediate social surroundings, that I'm fostering a particular economic model. (PI18)

> For me, sustainable consumption is the practical part of all those things we've tried to change, for so long (...) it's trying to make real changes at a personal and collective level (...) it's a part of another project (...) how to integrate the theory with the practice so that the project is credible. (PI21)

However, we did find consumers who engage in RC with the aim of constructing themselves as a virtuous person. We call this segment of consumers 'moral selves', following Allahari (2000, in Dolan, 2005).

> Trying to be true to yourself. I don't think that this is going to lead to change at the macro level... I doubt that. I do it more for myself, because I know the consequences (...) If it [RC] happened at a collective level, then it might serve to change something. But I do it at an individual level. I wouldn't put myself forward to give talks, I don't like doing it like that (...) I don't think that you're going to change the world by wearing a T-shirt that was

> made in a certain way. I don't think it's like that. (PI19)

> It's something inside that comes from my education, from my religion, from my social environment, from what I've been taught, from my values, because I have to be true to myself. For me, that's essential. I think that you have to give meaning to your life. That's what it is, giving meaning to your life. (PI11)

We understand that RC should be analyzed as a personal project for three reasons. First because the interviewees understand RC not as a chain of discrete actions (e.g. buying fair trade products, buying organic products, boycotting companies), but rather as a group of interrelated actions.

> It's all one single thing. It something you do because you are who you are. (PI26)

Second, the project is stable but flexible at the same time. Therefore actions that have been included in the plan may be modified (by adding new ones, eliminating old ones, modifying the way in which they are carried out), both circumstantially, so they can be adapted to the conditions of a specific time, or more generally, so that the change is extended through time.

> I've been through stages. When I worked in the NGO, I refused to buy Nike, or any product which I'd understood had... anything socially or environmentally wrong with it, and I was a lot more strict about it. To social and environmental considerations, I added local ones. Why would I buy fair trade honey made in Chile if I can buy it from here? You can find honey products in the mountains outside Madrid. That's where I'm conflicted. What's better? In the end, I went for the local over fair trade because there are environmental factors relating to transportation. (PI9)

Moreover, this is a long-term project, not short-term: the consumer does not expect to achieve her/his objectives immediately.

> I'm doing it much worse than I hope to be doing it in ten years time, if everything goes well. (PI19)

Finally, each consumer has his or her own combination of actions; even though the plans of different consumers may overlap, they are not identical. It can be observed that they share a favorable attitude towards the welfare of the planet, the people and the animals, even though the attitudes towards specific practices may vary. Moreover, the same forms of behavior do not necessarily derive from the same beliefs.

Personal projects are typically characterized along five

dimensions, namely, meaning, structure, community, efficacy and stress. Personal projects vary along these dimensions, from mid to high; this variation reflects individual differences. First, as explained above, RC tends to be high in self-identity (meaning) (Little, 1999), which leads to the conclusion that RC as a personal project plays a self-expressive function, as it has been found by other studies (e.g. Barnett et al, 2005; Newholm & Shaw, 2007).

A second feature of personal projects is structure, that is, the individual's control over the project, which is strongly linked to the degree of coherence between intrapersonal projects. Again, we have found differences among individuals regarding the level of fit between RC and other personal projects.

> In the end, it's about how you live. When you're working, you may not be able to consume so responsibly. But I had an indefinite work contract, an eight-hour day, with good money and so on, and I came here to work a half day. I can cut costs, but I also have more time to do things which are important to me. That's responsible consumption. It's not... in other words, in the end it's a life choice. (PI27)

> Sometimes I can go and so I try not to be radical and not drive myself mad. If I go to a McDonalds a couple of times a year, well, I go. (PI5)

Also, personal projects vary according to the support expressed by the consumer's significant groups (community). Here, again, there are differences: some find strong support from their groups and some are met with suspicion or encounter clear opposition.

> I normally see two reactions [when he explains that he is a vegan], a joke (...) or a confession: "I don't eat that much meat". OK, people, I'm not asking for an explanation, I'm not asking whether or not you eat meat, I don't need a justification... my partner and I, we don't talk about it, but we feel it, we feel like we're a nuisance to people. (PI6)

> [Referring to whether being a vegan caused problems in his social life]: my friends, when they come round, already know what they're going to eat and when we go to their houses for a meal they also know what they have to serve us (...) I don't feel pressure, or the need to explain, or anything like that. Moreover, at my age, I shouldn't have to give explanations or ask for permission at all. That's normal. You have to be as natural as you can. (PI4)

Finally, personal projects can be more or less effective and stressful. The dimension of effectiveness is relevant for the characterization of the RC projects of political consumers, while stress is more connected with moral consumers. Again, there are individual differences in the appraisal made of these dimensions.

> I'm often frustrated, frustrated at not having done more or that people... Man! You can do a lot, a real lot of easy-to-do things, but it doesn't mean that we all have to head to the countryside, to the farm. One of the interesting things about these transition movements is that they're easy, simple tools that everyone can use at home. Right? So yes, sometimes I get tired of saying "Man! There are so many things we could do that we're not doing." (PI8)

Self-determination theory (SDT) posits that if individuals pursue intrinsic goals that are autonomously chosen, satisfaction or well-being will follow. This occurs because what they posit are that the three innate needs of individuals are met: autonomy, competence, and relatedness (for a longer explanation of SDT, see Ryan & Deci, 2000).

RC should be understood as a self-determined personal project, since it pursues intrinsic motives; such as community feeling, spirituality, or affiliation (Grouzet et al, 2005). The previous discussion on the goals pursued by sustainable consumers, political, or moral evidences that they are intrinsic and not extrinsic. Klar and Kasser (2009), in a study of activism and well-being, also found that the pursuit of intrinsic motives, i.e. the pursuit of the welfare of others, increased well-being, as predicted by SDT.

We have also found evidences of satisfaction of the three psychological needs. Competence is the feeling of being secure and effective in one's actions. Evidence of this need comes in the dedication of time to developing a critical conscience and to discovering ways of nourishing the personal project of responsible consumption.

> Nobody has to put on a loincloth in Madrid to save the world, but our actions, however small they may be, are still actions. Our actions are useful for something, and they affect our surroundings (...) I believe that one can change things. (...) I read in a book that one of the acts in which you are truly free to choose is in the act of buying. (PI9)

Relatedness is the feeling of belonging and of being valued by others. There is evidence of the fulfillment of this need in the interviewees.

> (...) trying from the position of my business project, integrating or not integrating... that's what it's moving towards, but it's more the idea of being able to

*help other people, to bring together other collectives, to foment sustainable consumption, to do it at a social level. The project is more aimed at sustainable consumption, more aimed at local and national issues, and at the promotion of that kind of consumption amongst people who share communities. (PI8)*

Autonomy should be understood as integrity, as the integration of interpersonal and intrapsychological goals.

I think of myself as a man who is totally committed and true to his own ideas. (PI4)

Satisfaction is defined here, following SDT (Ryan & Deci, 2000) as the psychological well-being experienced as the result of realizing basic psychological needs. Meeting these needs is essential for individual growth and vitality. But as Ryan and Deci affirm, although satisfaction of these needs is necessary in order to maintain action, it may not necessarily be the explicit purpose of this action to satisfy the needs.

*I do it because I feel good doing it, and because it enriches me. It's my little grain of sand. (PI9)*

*I'm happy to have taken a decision, to have carried it to its ultimate consequences and to know that it works. It's a pact I made with myself. Give yourself a year, that year you're going to eat vegetarian and you're going to follow some rules, if the project doesn't work out, then just drop it. Every day, you'll cook and you won't eat precooked foods. A series of rules that you set yourself. I feel very fulfilled. (PI1)*

## Stages in the formation of RC

According to Little (2001), personal projects go through four stages: inception, planning, action, and termination. We have found a fifth stage, which we have labeled 'grounding'. In this stage, the conditions necessary for the later adoption of self-determined project appear; in the subsequent stages,

RC is actually adopted. Therefore, we argue that the formation of a responsible consumer takes place over one's lifetime. In each stage, individuals must encounter certain experiences that would provide the nutriments to pursue such a self-determined project. Some of these elements have been mentioned in previous work on RC. For instance, Zolfagharian (2006) identifies catalysts which facilitate a change from passive to active behaviours: family and formal or informal self-education; relevant life experiences and specific events; and travel and making new friends, although they were not systematised. Figure 1 summarizes the stages and the experiences at each stage, emphasizing how these conditions provide the nutriments for the maintenance of SC.

## Grounding

At this stage, parents play a fundamental role in fostering self-determined behavior, oriented to intrinsic motives. Interviewees attribute their values and life goals mostly to their parents.[iv] Although their parents were not responsible consumers in a strict sense of the word, they taught final values, habits and instilled beliefs of responsibility towards others and towards the environment. This will be the basis of the subsequent formation of the ethical obligation towards RC. This responsibility has been called awareness of biosphere consequences and awareness of social consequences (Stern & Dietz, 1994) and is considered by these authors as the link between values and attitudes in RC.

*When I was small, just imagine, my mother, I always remember this, my mother's been dead now for 30 years, every Christmas Eve she would say "poor animals, can you imagine the thousands of animals that will die tonight". That's what my mother said. It's in my genes. (PI4)*

*The person who had the greatest influence on me was my father. Not as far as responsible consumption is concerned but in the way you look at things*

| | Grounding | Inception | Planning | Action maintenance | Termination |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Environmental condition | Parental styles | Religious groups NGOs Group/social norms External sources of information | Work mates, recreational groups, and family. | Real or virtual support community | Lack of support groups |
| Role played by the groups | Intrinsic motives as unconscious life goals | Internalization/integration of values: consciously and autonomously accepted as life goals System information providers | Action information providers: cognitive empowerment (modeling) | Consequences information provider: emotional empowerment | |
| Condition to advance to the next stage | Satisfaction of the three psychological needs: competence, autonomy and relatedness | | | | |

**Figure 1.** Summary of findings

Table 1. Significant experiences reported by interviewees

| Interviewer # [marked with * negative cases] | Parental styles | Participation in religious groups in the past | Experiences in nature | Member of NGOs | Past supportive groups | Stays in another country | Supportive groups at the moment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | X | | | X | X | X | X |
| 2 | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| 3 | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| 4 | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| 5 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 6 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 7 * | | X | X | X | | | |
| 8 | | X | X | X | | X | X |
| 9 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 10 | X | X | | X | X | | X |
| 11 | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| 12 | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| 13 ** | | X | | X | X | | |
| 14 ** | | X | | X | X | | |
| 15 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 16 * | | X | | X | | | |
| 17 * | | X | | X | | | |
| 18 | X | X | | X | X | X | |
| 19 | X | | | X | | X | X |
| 20 | X | | X | X | X | | X |
| 21 | X | | X | X | X | | X |
| 22 * | | | | X | | | |
| 23 | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| 24 | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| 25 | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| 26 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 27 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 28 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 29 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 30 | X | X | X | X | | | X |

(*) Negative cases    (**) Terminated projects

*and the way you act. He was a geologist and he was very aware of many things. He thought about saving energy. When we moved to a detached house he intended to install some solar panels when they didn't even exist in Spain. (PI9)*

These teachings will be internalized[v] and assumed as part of a person's own identity. In this internalization of values, the influence of other groups (e.g. religious groups) as well as parents' will become fundamental. According to SDT, this self-determined behavior is maintained as long as the three needs are satisfied. We find evidence of this satisfaction at their family: consumers' parental style fosters competence, autonomy and relatedness.

*They always treated us equally, trying to be fair. My father is always very consistent in what he does. He's a very reasonable person and he thinks a lot. And that influences you in some ways. (PI19)*

*My parents taught me to love myself. They gave me freedom and they made me be responsible. "Here's your pocket money. It's up to you what you spend it on."(PI20).*

*My family, a very good, warm and independent place, a big family, we get on very well, we see each other a lot... [What did your parents teach you?] order, discipline, punctuality, respect. (PI25).*

**Inception**

Individuals contemplate the possibility of undertaking a particular project or course of action. It is accepted that at this stage "the most extensive array of influences occur" (Little, 2001, 511). The same is observed in the case of responsible consumption: it is strongly influenced by family, religious groups, recreational and inspirational groups and/or other external sources (e.g. readings, films, lectures). These groups will contribute to the internalization/integration of values (a necessary condition for a self-determined behavior) and they will provide information about the system, which is also a necessary, though not sufficient, cognitive influence on the development of ethical obligation.

Several experiences contribute to the further internalization of values. For instance, taking part in religious activities may reinforce an intrinsic orientation. However, most responsible consumers have normally ceased practicing a religion and become involved in NGOs and/or political activities. The participation in these groups also reinforces the internalization of values.

*I've was brought up to be a Catholic. My mother is super-religious and my father wasn't, was, but isn't now. But my mother has always been a practising Catholic and brought us up that way. When I was small I went to mass, I took my first communion, confirmation etc. until the moment arrived that I stopped going. (...) But well, my upbringing was Christian I think being brought up a Christian has influenced me a lot in the values that I have and how I see the world. There's no doubt about that, but I'm not a practising Christian. (PI2)*

In addition, at this stage, individuals receive information about the system, that is, about environmental and social problems. Exposure to, and the processing of, this information is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for the development of RC: it has to be complemented by information about action and consequences (McEachern & Warnaby, 2008), information which will be acquired in further stages.

*When I realised what was going on I started look into things and gradually that was how ...I got into this world (...) I was 14. When you realise what's going on around you and that you can be on top of what's happening.. (PI24)*

This exposure to system information occurs

(1) as a result of participation in NGOs and other civil society organizations (e.g. volunteers, boyscouts). Identification with NGOs will be maintained and may be so strong that working for an NGO becomes a career goal. That is why belonging to an NGO has been found in Spain to be the best predictor of responsible consumption (Sampedro, 2003; Valor & Carrero, 2010).

*I've been a member of Greenpeace for 12 years. It was something that I said to my mother: "I want to join Greenpeace". It's something that I've always had in mind. (PI8)*

*I've also been a member of Amnesty International for a year and a bit  ehhh and I've just joined Ecologists in Action. Because my partner and I have been debating between Greenpeace and Ecologists in Action and after six months we've decided on Ecologists in Action. But in my free time I'm also active in the assembly movement because I believe that they stand for exactly what I have been looking for. (PI10)*

(2) as a result of having direct experiences with nature. Experiences with nature have been identified by other authors as a key life experience to studies of environmental sensitivity (Clayton, 2003; Chawla, 1999). McEachern & Warnaby (2008) have also found that living in a rural environment tends to make people more likely to buy healthy and ecological meat.

*When we were small, my grandfather used to take my cousins and me to the countryside (...). Maybe seeing how the countryside was being destroyed was where my concerns started. I remember things from when I was little ... I saw things happening that other people didn't see, like people putting up a fence or whatever. I'd be about ten or so. Maybe that's where it started. (PI3)*

*The baby partridge was in its death throes and I stayed there with it until the poor thing died. I was accompanying it. And ever since then, I've been very clear about it (PI4)*

(3) as a result of exposure to social groups whose group norms are intrinsic oriented (e.g. stays in other countries; group of friends).

*For me the big change came when I started here at university. It was here that I realised there were other realities in addition to the one I'd been living in. That really opened my eyes. The whole thing*

*about the economy and how it functioned was a discovery for me. What had most effect on me was my first two years at university. It was a gradual process, but I think that what most affected me as a consumer was what happened at that time. It taught me a lot. I would say it was when I was around 19 or 20. (PI18)*

*So last year and for the last two years I've been in Palestine and there people do their shopping in little shops and what I tried to do there was not to buy products from Israel. I mean, to boycott Israel because I really identify with the Palestinian cause and Ramala is full of products from Israel and I tried to buy products from Palestine and , if not, from other Arab states.(PI2)*

## Planning

At this stage, consumers have to decide how to carry out their personal project. Here, information about action is key: the main difference between responsible and non- responsible consumers is not that the former know more about the problems (system information) but rather that they know more about the solutions (action information) (Frick et al, 2004).

*I've always been quite aware of environmental issues and to be honest what I didn't think was that I could do something and now I know that there are more views about energy consumption at home or a personal commitment as regards what you eat(PI1)*

*It's all a question of what you know, to know or not to know... it's not a question of being a saint or a sinner, it's a question of doing the right thing and, in a way, winning little battles at a personal level. (PI6)*

This information comes from social groups, either groups to which one belongs (e.g. friends) or inspirational groups (e.g. NGOs). Personal sources are vital and the examples observed in significant others exert the strongest influence at this stage. Other sources (Internet, books, etc.) will be more important in the action stage. Consequently, we posit that social groups at this stage play a key role in contributing to the cognitive empowerment of consumers.

*Now on the Internet. Before mostly by word of mouth, the pamphlets that appeared at the beginning. ...because I had a group of friends who started to be vegetarians, vegans ... and they started to give us pamphlets and we started to find out what was happening with food, the mistreatment of ani-*

*mals ... that happened at the same time as the mad cows...I became aware of the issues...and what we were eating, what society was giving us. I was a vegan for two years. Now I'm a vegetarian, but, for example, I eat fish if I know it's come from the port ... (PI24)*

*Well, the group always gives you information, they are always going to influence you in one way or another (...) Just knowing certain people with certain lifestyles, with ways of life that attract me and are like a model for me. Then to have that model and to see how certain people can live in a certain way inspires me and influences me. It's not that there's this person who is a model but that you just meet people who are doing things in a certain way and you say "Hey! I like that." I think it's a way of doing things (PI2).*

Yet simple observation of an action does not lead to immediate adoption. As RC is a self-determined behavior, there must be a process of internalization or the action will no longer be autonomous and, hence, will not contribute to satisfaction of the three psychological needs (Ryan & Deci, 2000). In this process of internalization, the individual may modify the original action to accommodate it to their identity and self-schemata. Yet the influence of others is significant since the set of actions included in the project are largely dependent on the actions observed which, in turn, depend on the groups the individual is a member of.

*I've actually got some vegetarian friends, and I spend a lot of time with them and the way they lived seemed very difficult because it seems to require consumption habits that require you to be very well informed, if you don't eat meat or there are specific options that you have to choose. And a year and a half ago I saw some five minute talks that are on CED, a forum for talks on the Internet and they're people from different backgrounds, scientists, politicians, people from the world of culture and there was one talk called "week day vegetarian" that I really liked, very practical and it says well I'd like to be a vegetarian but I can't because I don't have the right eating habits and it says you can change your food (habits) from Monday to Friday and at the weekends if you don't know how to cook either you go to eat at a friend's house you shouldn't worry so much and in the end...(PI1).*

*Yes although at times you're more affected by certain things than by others or maybe you empathise more with some things than with others. And so for*

*me, when I was doing the project thing in the con-
sumers' cooperative in the community in Ramala, I
was maybe more aware. And when I went to the
shop maybe I noticed more and in others it didn't
seem so important to me. So I think it depends on
the moment, you go back, and if you're involved in
something maybe you give that more priority.(PI2).*

Exposure to different cultural/group norms could accelerate
the process of internalization: it is remarkable that 16 inter-
viewees recognize that having spent time in countries where
RC is more developed was a key influence in the undertaking
a RC project.

*It's simple evolution. It's best to expose yourself to
other kinds of habits. For example, living in Spain I
always followed the same routines, but when I
moved to Germany, I recall that one of the first
things that most struck me was that some people
took out their rubbish in a container, without a bag,
and then they threw it into another container. And I
thought to myself, that's filthy. My language teacher
sometimes invited me round for dinner and when we
were peeling things we put them into a container
and then into another container. (IP1)*

*I was in England when I started to have a con-
science about these issues. In the rest of Europe
they're always one step ahead in these matters. And
in Germany I also saw that they're a long way
ahead in these things, even nine years ago. When I
came back here, it felt like a small town. (IP10)*

**Action maintenance**

A key element if a project is to be maintained is the abil-
ity of individuals to motivate themselves/ to continue in the
project (Little, 2001). According to SDT, responsible con-
sumers will be motivated to pursue this project as long as
they derive satisfaction of needs. As explained above, we
have found evidence that RC allows individuals to satisfy
these needs, with resulting satisfaction or subjective well-
being. Also, the more meaningful, structured, supported, effi-
cacious, and non-stressful, the more likely that the project
will be maintained.

Again, social groups have an influence on the continua-
tion the project of RC for a twofold reason: they may foster
or hinder the structure of the project (degree of control over
it or coherence among personal projects) and they also con-
dition the support for a project. Both elements will affect the
effectiveness and the stress associated with the project.

Achieving structure or coherence across one's personal
projects is a fundamental condition for RC to be maintained.

There is evidence that consumers seek this structure in order
to gain control over projects. Their profession and leisure ac-
tivities should be understood as a means to obtain greater co-
herence and control, so that their project network is oriented
to intrinsic motives, aligned with their core values, and aimed
to fulfill the same goals attributed to RC (achieving changes
in the system or constructing oneself as a virtuous person).

*I worked in an investment ...I helped companies to
avoid paying tax, to go to tax havens ... and now
I've gone over to the other side. To protest. They
should pay all their taxes. And tax havens should be
done away with. It was all because I did a course on
social responsibility that was run by the Observato-
ry for Social Responsibility ... I saw what they did
and I liked it more than what I had been doing.
(PI25).*

Participation in political activities deserves special attention.
Political orientation has been consistently found to be a key
predictor of RC, being more associated with left-wing ide-
ologies (Mobley et al, 2010; Roberts, 1995; Antil 1984; Web-
ster, 1975), as has been confirmed in this study: all of the par-
ticipants consider themselves to be on the left. However, the
interviewees in this study manifest their disappointment with
political activity: they do not identity with a political party
(with the sole exception of EQUO, a political party created
by civil society organizations, whose leader is the former di-
rector of Greenpeace Spain).

*(...) a bit sick of the politicians that we have, no?.
The truth is it's easy to criticise if there aren't any
solutions but I'm a bit ... also tired of the subject of
politics. (...) More than a political party, I consider
myself to be centre-left. (PI7)*

Nevertheless, responsible consumers take part in political ac-
tivities, by voting, participating in trade union activities, or
by taking part in assembly-based movements (15M). They
also use political strategies to impact on the market: sending
letters and demands to governments and companies, cyberac-
tivity, or supporting campaigns in social networks. These po-
litical activities are frequently pursued autonomously, on the
individual's initiative, although they may also join in collec-
tive actions.

*But ever since we've been able to vote in Spain I've
always voted for options that take account of this
point of view, badly or well, with more or less cred-
ibility, believing more or less in what they say but
well, working to be credible and sociable. And now
in these turbulent times in Spain, for me, EQUO
[the environmental party, created by the former di-*

*rector of Greenpeace Spain] is the strongest option available. I'm collaborating with them, obviously. (PI4)*

*I'm the Jiminy Cricket of Business. I'm always writing to companies, every time I see a campaign. To the media, Letters to the Editor. And I'm trying to do it more and more in my immediate environment. I do it verbally, in the blogs that I participate in... they're forums rather than blogs. I trust word of mouth. I believe in that a lot. Adding the first drop of coloured ink ... we aren't conscious of how important that is. Of how important it is to companies that we attack their reputation. And I think we have to make use of the technical expertise that we have to attack them where it hurts...and on top of that it's free, so you have to take advantage of that. (PI18)*

Another condition for the maintenance of a project is efficaciousness or perceived effectiveness. Perceived effectiveness has been shown to be a key predictor of the intention to behave responsibly (e.g. Carrigan, et al, 2004; Dimitrova & Krystallis, 2010; Tucker, 1980; Uusitalo & Oksanen, 2004; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2005; Webster, 1975). Consumers who perceive their projects are effective are less prone to use neutralisation strategies and justifications to account for their non consuming responsibly (D'Astous & Legendre, 2008).

Yet, in the interviews, only political consumers allude to effectiveness, whilst moral consumers refer to stress as the main source of dissatisfaction with their project (the role of emotions in the maintenance or termination of RC has been explored in Valor et al., 2012).

*It's very difficult to put into words but it's a sensation that, in English, means you're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't. It's a sensation, I don't know, it's very difficult to explain, at the end of the day you finish a bit ... you think that you're doing the right thing but doing the right thing means doing the wrong thing taken all together. It's like raising the first stone knowing that... (PI6)*

A key condition for an increase in perceived effectiveness is information about the consequences of one's actions. The more and better information consumers receive about these consequences (De Pelsmacker & Janssens, 2007) the more efficacious their project is seen to be, which contributes to maintenance of the project.

*(In response to being asked about effectiveness) Yes, yes. Because people see that you do what you say you're going to do and maybe they're not used to that. Yes, obviously it has an impact and apart from that I know this is going to last because there's no*

*alternative, I have to be convinced. It's an act of intelligence because people see that it's a movement, if people see that people are active and are sure of themselves, acting with confidence and conviction, and they don't impose themselves (...) This is the future. There's no other way forward (...) This is a revolution that's in progress (...) Sooner or later we'll get there. The later we do, the more some will suffer and the worse time we'll have of it. We have to wake up. (PI23)*

Cognitively, there is an increase in the sources of information: as consumers gain competence and autonomy, they learn and use other sources. Also, as consumers begin taking part in virtual or real communities of responsible consumers, these share information with them.

*I look at the company's web page. I look to see what the organisation I'm a member of is saying. I also look to see what the unions are saying (I'm also a member of a union). I look at what the NGOs are saying. And often it's nothing. So I have a look at forums, blogs, with friends...even informal conversations. There's no channel, they're not specialised blogs, they're chats with friends that I've got in many places. It works well, when there isn't a lot of information I rely on their personal impressions. I turn to sources close at hand, members of my family, close friends. (PI18)*

However, as consumers become more acquainted with the RC, they gain competence and can autonomously find this information. The key role of the groups at this stage is to offer emotional empowerment, although not all interviewees need the same amount of emotional support (see Merino et al., 2012, for a typology of sustainable consumers). Emotional empowerment has been found to be the key to the maintenance of RC in other papers (Ozcaglar-Toulusse et al, 2006; Shaw et al, 2002, 2000, 1999; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2005).

*I had a friend who introduced me to these ideas. She now happens to live in Avenida de América. Because if you're alone and your friends have no interest you'll feel like an oddball. But I've always had her support.(PI5)*

*I have a special friend and we tell each other everything. You can't imagine how good it is to have someone to talk to who's on your wavelength. (PI30).*

*My partner feels the same as me. And so he's been able to help me get more into this because he helps me. (PI8)*

So having a reference group is fundamental for consumers: a group where they can meet people with the same interests and with whom they can share their frustrations and information about available alternatives. This fact is also observed by Cherrier (2007) in her analysis, based on the theory of the new social movements, of the formation of a group identity for the simple life movement: the existence of specialised web pages, distribution lists, social networks, etc. constitutes an important virtual connection which allows people with different social and cultural identities to interact freely on the basis of their concerns, beliefs, and values (p. 329).

**Termination**

Some projects last a lifetime; others are terminated. RC could be terminated when it no longer provides satisfaction of the psychological needs; this occurs when the social environment does not provide the nutriments that would help maintain the project. When consumers experience strong and enduring conflict among their own personal projects or when their groups' personal projects, RC becomes less meaningful, less structured and effective and more stressful; therefore, consumers tend to give up (the reasons for the termination of RC as a personal project have been explored by Valor et al., 2012).

*What happens is that I have more social conscience than other people, especially here in X, which is generally consumerist or whatever. What's true is that I'm not an extremist, you know? (...) At the start, I was a little bit, but not anymore. Or maybe we've become a bit like that ourselves, like the others, I don't know... but I think that there are people who are much more committed in other neighborhoods, definitely! (..) I'd like to do more, but because I see I can't, I've been doing it for many years, but I just couldn't do it anymore, so I said, That's enough! Since then, I've been fine. I think I've brought a cycle to an end. (PI14)*

*Well, I've made something like a Gauss curve. At the start I had no social conscience, then I had more, and now I'm less, for the reasons I explained before, which are that we're a bit more relaxed in this sense. (PI13)*

## Conclusions

This paper has tried to advance a theory concerning the biographical influences on the formation of a favorable attitude towards responsible consumption. Ortega y Gasset said that "I am I and my circumstances". To understand RC, it is essential to focus on the "circumstances;" that is, the biographies of individuals, since their identities as responsible consumers are strongly influenced by their circumstances. Previous work on significant life experiences (see a review in Chawla, 1998) has also revealed striking biographic similarities among those environmental concerned and environmental activists. This paper has found that responsible consumers mention similar experiences.

However, the main purpose of this paper was to explain the role that these experience play in the formation of the ethical obligation and subsequent adoption of responsible consumption-related actions. By applying personal projects theory and self-determination theory, we conclude that responsible consumers become so because their social environment has provided the nutriments for the development of a self-determined project — responsible consumption, oriented to intrinsic motives, and autonomously pursued, and for their maintenance, by satisfying the three innate needs, according to the SDT: competence, relatedness and autonomy.

The experiences consumers had played different roles in the creation and maintenance of RC: they help in the internalization/integration of values (grounding stage); they act as a system information provider (inception stage); they are a source of cognitive empowerment — action and consequence information provider (planning stage), and a provider of emotional empowerment (maintenance stage). Therefore, this paper has tried to enrich the research on significant life experiences, by studying another domain (responsible consumers) and by systematizing how these experiences influence RC and how they occur throughout life.

This paper opens a promising and fruitful avenue for research and action. First, since this paper was aimed at theory generation (but not theory testing), future studies should be carried out in order to test the theory advanced here. As mentioned in the Introduction, the methodology used does not allow generalizing results. Further studies should test whether similar findings are reached in other cultural settings. Also, future studies should test whether these experiences are different among responsible and non-responsible consumers. The method of this study allows us to conclude that the interviewed responsible consumers' biography is similar, but not that non-responsible consumers would have a different biography. In relation to this, it would be worth examining whether individuals with a similar biography have undertaken RC as a personal project or not; they could pursue other self-determined projects. Explaining why is the case, if that is the case, is another suggestion for further research. More research should be done on how parents can provide the conditions for the future development of self-determined projects, including responsible consumption. In addition, the 'nature or nurture' debate naturally arises. For if

self-determined parents raise self-determined children, one may reasonably wonder whether there are genetic influences on RC.

The findings of this research highlight key hubs for RC: family, religious groups, civil society groups, and political groups. They also highlight the importance of action-related information, rather than problem-related; specifically, modeling should be used to foster RC. Campaigns should demonstrate specific behaviors that can be easily adopted by the consumer and integrated into his or her daily habits. However, it is not a question of providing a list of recommended behaviors, but rather of demonstrating how consumers put these behaviors into practice. The providing of a model should be the basic tool for cognitive empowerment. Finally, campaigns should be oriented to emotionally empower consumers, since providing emotional support is a key element in the fostering of RC.

## Acknowledgements

## Endnotes

1  cvalor@upcomillas.es
2  See, for example, the exhaustive historical revision carried out by the Naredo (2003) to explain the economic origins of the present ecosocial crisis.
3  In the stream of research on significant life experiences (Chawla, 1998) the same problem has arisen: while some have studied the influence of biography on environmental sensitivity (attitude) others have focused on environmental behavior (e.g. becoming an environmental educator), which cast doubts on the comparability of results. Given that interviewees do not differentiate between attitudes and behaviors one may wonder if making this distinction is important. By conceptualizing RC as a personal project, the distinction blurs, since personal projects are an overarching category, interplay of personality, values, attitudes, and behavior. This will be explained in the Results section.
4  Only one of the respondents, that was not a negative case, said that she had not been influenced in this way in her family and that it had actually been of a materialistic/hedonistic type. However, she admitted that the family of her husband, with whom she was actively working towards sustainable consumption, was different. *In my house they couldn't care less about all of this. I'm the odd one. They call me 'Herbs' (...) [talking about her husband] The truth is that in his house he, his mother has always gone a lot to health-food shops and places where you can get alternative foods (IP18).*
5  According to Ryan and Deci (2000), the difference between integrated motivation and intrinsic motivation is that the former is instrumental (do something to achieve something else), whilst in the latter the goal of the behavior is the activity itself. We could argue that political consumers exhibit an integrated motivation, since they use RC

as a means of bringing about a change in the system, while for moral consumers, RC could be an end in itself. However, the difference between the two processes is deemed irrelevant by the authors, since both of them result in self-determined behavior.

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*Appendix.* Brief description of participants

| Quote | Age | Gender | Lives with partner? | Children | Studies | Belongs to an NGO? | Country of origin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 37 | Male | No | 0 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 2 | 39 | Female | No | 0 | University | No | Spain |
| 3 | 34 | Male | No | 0 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 4 | 65 | Male | No | 0 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 5 | 32 | Male | No | 0 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 6 | 42 | Male | Yes | 0 | University | Yes | USA |
| 7 | 39 | Female | No | 0 | University | No | Spain |
| 8 | 31 | Female | No | 0 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 9 | 34 | Male | No | 0 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 10 | 31 | Female | Yes | 0 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 11 | 28 | Male | Yes | 0 | University | Yes | France |
| 12 | 67 | Male | No | 2 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 13 | 43 | Female | Yes | 3 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 14 | 44 | Male | Yes | 3 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 15 | 45 | Male | Yes | 3 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 16 | 43 | Female | Yes | 3 | University | No | Spain |
| 17 | 50 | Male | Yes | 3 | Secondary | No | Spain |
| 18 | 49 | Male | Yes | 2 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 19 | 29 | Male | No | 0 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 20 | 26 | Male | No | 0 | Secondary | No | Spain |
| 21 | 35 | Female | Yes | 2 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 22 | 37 | Female | No | 0 | University | No | Spain |
| 23 | 35 | Male | Yes | 2 | University | Yes | France |
| 24 | 30 | Female | No | 0 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 25 | 43 | Female | No | 0 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 26 | 44 | Female | No | 0 | University | Yes | Italy |
| 27 | 28 | Female | With friends | 0 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 28 | 41 | Female | Yes | 2 | Secondary | Yes | Bosnia |
| 29 | 42 | Male | Yes | 2 | University | Yes | Spain |
| 30 | 31 | Female | Yes | 0 | University | No | Spain |