

Contents

<i>List of Plates</i>	vii
<i>List of Figure and Table</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	x
1 Introduction <i>Kate Soper and Frank Trentmann</i>	1
Part 1 Retrieval	17
2 Civic Choices: Retrieving Perspectives on Rationality, Consumption, and Citizenship <i>Mark Bevir and Frank Trentmann</i>	19
3 Consumption and Politics in Twentieth-Century China <i>Karl Gerth</i>	34
4 Sartorial Manoeuvres in the Dusk: Blue Jeans in Socialist Hungary <i>Ferenc Hammer</i>	51
Part 2 Talk and Action	69
5 Consuming Without Paying: Stealing or Campaigning? The Civic Implications of Civil Disobedience Around Access to Water <i>Bronwen Morgan</i>	71
6 The Banality of Consumption <i>Matthew Hilton</i>	87
7 'Public Connection' and the Uncertain Norms of Media Consumption <i>Nick Couldry, Sonia Livingstone and Tim Markham</i>	104
8 The Moral Force of Consumption and Capitalism: Anti-slavery and Anti-sweatshop <i>Michele Micheletti</i>	121

Part 3 Prospects	137
9 Exit <i>Homo Politicus</i> , Enter <i>Homo Consumens</i> <i>Zygmunt Bauman</i>	139
10 Consumer Citizenship in Post-national Constellations? <i>Michelle Everson and Christian Joerges</i>	154
11 Sustainability, Well-Being and Consumption: The Limits of Hedonic Approaches <i>John O'Neill</i>	172
12 'Alternative Hedonism' and the Citizen-Consumer <i>Kate Soper</i>	191
<i>Notes</i>	206
<i>Index</i>	235

1

Introduction

Kate Soper and Frank Trentmann

Consumption today is an established part of political life, perhaps more than ever before in human history. Its sphere of influence ranges from ethical consumerism in civil society to the fostering of 'choice' in government policies, all the way to a micropolitics of everyday life, for example a person's purchase of a Fairtrade product or the pursuit of a simpler, less-resource-intensive lifestyle. What does it mean to be a consumer for our role as citizen? Is consumption itself a dimension of citizenship? Wherever we look, these questions have moved to the forefront of public debate. Choice and desire, our material lifestyle and use of things are at the heart of the discussion about well-being, happiness, and sustainability.

What is surprising, therefore, is how little serious attention the literature on citizenship has accorded to the diverse practices, values, and objects involved in consumption. Texts on citizenship have plenty to say about citizens in relation to the state, nationality, rights and freedoms, the equality of sexes, and the environment, but consumption tends to receive short shrift. If it figures at all, it is as an awkward topic quickly passed over. The consumer appears only as an individuated figure of a neo-liberal world of markets challenging the citizen.¹ The consumer here is located within the domain of the market, distinct from that of the state and its citizens.

Conversely, the enormous boom of interest in consumer culture in the last two decades initially developed largely in isolation from questions of citizens and their political institutions. Spectacle and image, taste and identity, these were at the forefront of enquiries into how consumption was remaking modernity. Consumption in this conception might at times offer individuals a way to resist and retreat from mainstream politics, for example through the creation of subcultures and transgressive identities that challenged conventional norms and lifestyles.² But in this limited sense it could be said to have sponsored a new kind of personal politics, the connections to citizenship more generally were left implicit.

This theoretical divide between public (citizenship) and private (consumption), however, always had difficulty accounting for the advancing

complexity of consumer cultures. In recent years, it has been visibly challenged by a whole range of social, cultural, and political developments. At both local and global levels, consumption has become a principal source of political engagement for many citizens, in campaigns for better working conditions, animal welfare, and global fair trade. Consumerism, too, has spurred discussion about the appropriate balance between market and non-market systems of provision, and, most fundamentally, about the nature of the 'good life' and of our obligations to present and future generations.

These recent developments invite us to place consumption and citizenship in a shared framework of analysis. This is the main aim of this volume. We ask about their interaction over time, giving due attention to different traditions in the past, to the dialogue between the two in rhetoric and practice today, and to possible combinations in the future.

This collection of essays is designed to broaden the terms of debate, to allow for a more nuanced and wide-ranging consideration of the ways in which consumption and citizenship shape each other. It extends the ideological frame of reference to think about how different traditions of citizenship and consumption have come together. It gives greater consideration to the variety of consumption practices and norms. And, finally, it looks above and below the level of the state to include local and global spheres of politics. Together, these perspectives highlight the diversity of consumption and its political dynamics. The essays, therefore, do not postulate a singular model. Rather they have been chosen and organised as a set of pathways, giving the reader a chance to engage with diverse political traditions, to ponder on the political implications of different consumption practices, and to reflect on competing visions of the place of consumption in the good life.

The currently dominant debate, at least in Western Europe and North America, has been in terms of a sharp divide between community and choice. Most often, citizenship and consumption have been located on opposite sides of a divide between public and private. In part, this constellation reflects the impact of neo-liberalism in the 1990s, with its strategies of privatisation and consumerisation of public services. For its champions, a market mechanism like choice promises to empower citizens as consumers and make public services more efficient and accountable. For its critics, choice stands condemned as an individuating ploy that would further erode people's already thinning engagement with the public world, destroying citizenship in any meaningful sense of the world.³

In the last decade, amidst concerns over growing political apathy, these two sides of the debate have tended by their nature to reinforce each other. This confrontation has been especially pronounced in Britain, where consumerism became a litmus test for competing world views and policies. For the New Labour government, contemporary society had become a consumer society, a transformation that amounted to a historic caesura with a more producer-oriented welfare state model of the 1945 settlement. Public services and

public life needed to adapt to a more consumerist outlook. Citizens, it argued, wanted choice. The government's role was to break down paternalist hierarchies and encourage citizens to become more demanding, assertive, and informed. Critics, by contrast, blamed consumerism for promoting individualisation, a selfish and materialist culture of spend-now worry-later which undermined people's sense of civic belonging and their ability to care for present and future generations. Bringing the mentality of shopping to public services threatened to convert public hospitals and schools into virtual supermarkets. These broader fears are well captured in Chapter 9 by Zygmunt Bauman in this volume. Consumption, in this view, is somehow less authentic than other social activities. It is seen as solitary and wasteful. And its rise is connected to a decline of politics: a once-shared public domain administered by the state shattered into little shards of life politics individually run by consumers themselves. Consumerism leaves behind a void.

Such anxieties about consumerism are, it should be stressed, not without their precedents. They do not arise only in response to a recent era of affluence and the new type of 'consumer society' that emerged in the decades after the Second World War. Behind them lies a far older clash of beliefs, anxieties, and prejudices. Fears of what consumption might do to a political community and to the public good are as old as consumption itself.⁴ Anxieties have found expression through a variety of ideological traditions – from conservatism and Protestantism to Marxism.⁵ Their core values, however, can be traced to one particular tradition of citizenship: republicanism. It provides a source for much contemporary communitarianism and post-Marxist disaffection with commercial society. Looking back to an ideal citizen in ancient Athens and Rome, the republican vision of citizenship regained prominence in early modern Europe. Citizenship here was an all-encompassing identity (although one, of course, restricted in practice to a male elite). It involved active participation in the affairs of the community, its defence, laws, and government.⁶ Citizens were in principle free and equal. They bore arms and literally had a stake in the country. A true citizen was a soldier, councillor, landowner, and father rolled into one. Republican virtue and self-government were fit for small political communities like city-states and republics. This view of citizenship could not deal with a rapidly expanding world of goods and commerce in the eighteenth century. Material riches and temptations, along with new demands for political inclusion, put to the test the republican idea of virtue with its vision of active citizenship.

The more transnational and fluid forces of consumption and commerce ran directly counter to the organising principles and mentality of republican citizenship with its organic social and territorial outlook. Public spirit and action, it appeared, required austerity. Jean-Jacques Rousseau was typical in his admiration of the simple lifestyle of Roman citizens. The desire for new goods, their trade, and their growing importance in peoples' lives, all these seemed to him to explode the organic identity of the republican citizen into

many smaller competing identities. The acquisitive spirit, he feared, could encourage the pursuit of more personal pleasures and fulfilments rather than participation in public life. This new, more commercial society promoted a more privately accented understanding of freedom rather than virtue – citizenship now came to have less to do with active involvement and more with virtual representation by vote and parliamentary assembly. Politics, in the liberal tradition, was about guarding individuals' freedom from the state as much as about giving them the freedom to be active in the state.

This eighteenth-century watershed, between republican virtue and liberal freedom, has been the defining moment for modern debates about consumption and citizenship. Arguably, at least in Europe and the United States, these two traditions continue to provide protagonists with their main vocabularies in debating whether consumption is good or bad for public life. For those in the communitarian tradition, consumption is less authentic, its engagements more superficial, fluid, and less real than a simpler, more earthy, and anchored involvement in the community. Consumers are driven by self-interest, a set of motivations that limit reflexivity, social accountability, and public engagement, if they do not exclude them altogether. The yearning for material comfort and 'physical gratification', Alexis de Tocqueville warned in the 1830s, made Americans 'restless in the midst of abundance'. The prospect of new possessions made people lose their 'self-restraint' and 'lose sight of the close connection that exists between the private fortune of each and the prosperity of all'.⁷ De Tocqueville hoped that religion and a democratic spirit might contain the corrosive force of materialism. Critics of mass consumption have regularly voiced similar anxieties about the need to protect communal life against the restless, selfish, and privatising force of materialism – and continue to do so in our own times.⁸ For neo-liberals, by contrast, choice is an instrument of freedom that releases the individual citizen from the hierarchical, paternalist influence of the welfare state, and makes public bodies more accountable to the wishes of the people.

This is not the place for a technical investigation of how consumerist reforms of public services have worked out.⁹ What deserves emphasis, however, is how narrow and self-limiting these terms of debate have become. The dualism between community and choice has been one important feature of the history of this subject, but it has not been the only one. There are other fruitful ways of looking at the relationship between consumption and citizenship.

This volume suggests three correctives. First, it offers a more open-ended, ecumenical approach to traditions of citizenship and consumption. Republicanism is not the only tradition of citizenship. A consideration of the place of consumption in civic life needs to give consideration to other traditions of citizenship.

Second, we take a broader look at the material, social, and institutional terrains of consumption. Communitarianism has offered an ideological

critique of consumption rather than a description of consumption in everyday life. Much of it focuses on shopping as individuating, but consumption involves a diversity of practices, norms, and systems of provision – from eating out to taking a bath, from basic goods to conspicuous consumption, and from public swimming pools to private gyms. Anthropological, sociological, and historical research has shown how buying and using things is also a resource for shared identity, communication, and social practice; commercial and caring relations often complement each other.¹⁰ Even shopping can be less self-centred than its reputation.¹¹ Consumption is not just a market phenomenon. It is also shaped by laws and institutions that deserve greater attention than they have received in studies in consumer culture.

A final, and related, corrective, therefore, is to look above as well as beneath the nation state. The republican tradition was preoccupied with small political communities. Yet, consumption has many transnational dynamics. Today, it is shaped by international organisations like the World Trade Organisation and the European Union as well as by individual states. This supranational realm is also shaped by civil society. International consumer movements have played a historic role in this widening sphere, from transatlantic boycotts of slave-grown sugar two hundred years ago to Fairtrade movements in recent years. To approach the subject with a simple dichotomy between state and market, where people are either citizens or consumers, risks missing the mediating domain of civil society, which with its own networks of activism and normative processes of deliberation overlaps with both.

Traditions

There is no self-evident reason to adopt this tradition of citizenship as a natural starting point of enquiry. In fact, to do so is to overlook the diversity of citizenship traditions. Putting these back into the story shows how consumption has also nurtured civic life at key moments in modern history.

Other languages of citizenship flourished alongside republicanism. These have included more authoritarian models of obedient subjects (Hobbes) and projects of fusing national and civic identity (the nation state), but there have also been traditions that have been less exclusively state-centred and more open to the contribution of civil society.¹² In this latter view, plural identities are far less of a problem than in the other traditions. Citizenship, here, is about living with difference. Political power is not anchored in the state but shared between government and non-governmental organisations, and it is this overlapping arrangement that protects citizens from despotism. Politics, in other words, comes from below as well as from above.

The communitarian critique of consumerism sits uneasily alongside the historical record of the growth of civil society with increasingly vocal and active citizens in the modern period. It was, arguably, no coincidence that civil society expanded alongside consumption in the transatlantic world of

the eighteenth century. Civil society was nurtured by sociability. Sociability, in turn, was nurtured by the spread of new consumer goods (china, cutlery, tea, and sugar), new public spaces of consumption (coffee houses), and new media consumption (novels and newspapers). To what degree this new culture of consumption ever really produced a deliberative public sphere in Jürgen Habermas' famous account is debatable.¹³ What is clear, however, is that it opened up new social spaces for women and encouraged new networks of clubs and associations – 'nurseries of democracy' as Tocqueville famously called them. We do not need to idealise the democratic practices of these new bodies – some were exclusionary, others were rife with conflict. What matters here is to recognise that the spread of consumption coincided in important ways with emerging challenges to social hierarchies, and thus contributed to a considerable expansion of the social terrain of citizenship. Communitarian attacks on consumerism sometimes forget the extent to which Republicanism was inward-looking, patriarchal, and socially exclusive. The relevance of this tradition of active citizenship is doubtful in a more global age of large-scale organisations and democratic mass politics.

A more pluralistic perspective on consumption and citizenship suggests the dangers of contrasting simple 'passive' and 'active' modes of public engagement. In the nineteenth century, liberalism and radicalism did indeed champion new, more representative types of citizenship, but these also continued to encourage active forms of civic engagement at the local level.¹⁴ Rather than distracting from civic life, consumption in fact helped to energise it in fresh ways. Most directly, liberal and radical politics generated a new sense of consumer rights. Political battles over Free Trade and local provision of water, gas, and other services generated a new identity of the consumer. Far from being a private, self-seeking, identity, this consumer became fused with the citizen: a citizen-consumer, who had rights to be heard and consulted. Attention to this particular 'consumer' identity of the citizen may have marked an infringement of the organic, landed unit of the citizen in the republican tradition, but for the majority of people it meant a greater voice and inclusion in the body politic than ever before. Initially, the consumer was a male, middle-class point of reference of the local taxpayer, but the universal gravity of the new identity was impossible to contain. The consumer interest became the public interest and, as such, also became a source of legitimation for groups formally excluded from citizenship, like women and many members of the working class. At the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, social movements on both sides of the Atlantic invoked the language of the 'citizen-consumer' in battles over political emancipation and social equity. Indirectly, too, the expansion of commercial spaces, like department stores, opened up public spheres and communication for women in unprecedented ways. Consumption was a conduit for citizenship more than a check upon it.¹⁵

This volume adds to this revisionist literature by expanding the scope of citizenship and civic traditions further to include non-European traditions of citizenship and the material politics in socialist societies as well as progressive ideals of choice in liberal democratic societies.

Choice has been at the heart of the current debate over consumerism and stands as a symbol for the individualist and economic working of the market. Most scholars working in the humanities and social sciences, including some economists, have turned away from 'choice' as a satisfactory unit of analysis, emphasizing instead the role of habits and routines, socially embedded values and preferences, and institutions and systems of provision in shaping consumption. There is a risk, however, of throwing the baby out with the bathwater. As Mark Bevir and Frank Trentmann show in Chapter 2, 'choice' did not always have the individualist and materialist associations it later acquired in mainstream economics, after the Second World War.¹⁶ For the fathers of modern liberal economics, like Alfred Marshall in the late nineteenth century, choice went hand in hand with altruism and a commitment to a civil society of self-governing citizens. Choice, too, was at the centre of John Dewey's progressive democratic vision in inter-war America – as a mode sponsoring constant reflection and re-evaluation in everyday life, choice helped people to develop personal ethics and social awareness, critical for a full civic life. In reclaiming choice for civic consumption we need, it is true, to be open to the ways in which the choices of some frequently pre-empt or diminish the choices available to others. We need to acknowledge that people's choices in the present might bring short-term satisfaction but reduce their own well-being in the future; and we need also to recognise the co-option of consumption choices within market relations and the ways these come to define the norms of the 'good life' itself.¹⁷ But it is certainly not necessary to start out with a sharp divide between individual choice and civic life. Liberal and democratic societies developed alternative traditions of choice and citizenship that deserve recognition.

These alternative traditions are a reminder that even within Europe and the transatlantic world it is problematic to presume one tradition of citizenship as a natural starting point to think about consumption, or to presume a natural progression from rights and liberties to participatory citizenship and then to social citizenship, made famous by T. H. Marshall. The transatlantic world always contained competing traditions of citizenship, some more symbiotic with consumption, some more antagonistic. The contrast becomes even starker when we look beyond republican and liberal Europe. In China, the sequence has been the reverse of Marshall's progression. A notion of social rights developed prior to a political sense of liberty and civic participation. The rights of citizens were intimately tied to the interests of the state. Citizenship, a concept introduced towards the end of the Qing dynasty, here concerned rights, but they were rights given by the state to the individual to enhance the

power of the state, not inalienable rights protecting the individual from the state. As Karl Gerth emphasizes in Chapter 3, this tradition had fundamental implications for the ways consumption was politicised in the course of the twentieth century.¹⁸ Consumption, and consumer movements aiming at the boycott of alien products, became a vehicle of nation-state building. Consumption was not a 'private' but a 'public' affair. As Gerth suggests, the legacy of this patriotic appropriation of consumption continues to be felt to this day.

It is not only in capitalist democracies that consumption is politicised. Indeed, it could be argued that it has a more extensive and complex political role in the lives of people in societies that seek to limit and regulate commodity culture or overcome it altogether. Particular commodities can become symbols of freedom, both of personal self-expression and of a potential critique of public hierarchy. In the 1960s–1970s, it was jeans perhaps more than any other commodity that symbolised this dual function. The sartorial politics of jeans, therefore, offer a convenient case study to test how public and private norms of consumption became embodied in the material politics of everyday life. As Ferenc Hammer shows in his contribution, the arrival of jeans prompted a whole series of complex and contradictory responses by public authorities, parents, and socialist firms.¹⁹ Jeans were not just symbols of resistance. Wearing jeans could challenge authority, but acquiring jeans might also necessitate collusion with an uncle or a family friend sufficiently wellplaced with the regime to obtain them in the first place. The socialist regime, in turn, developed a pragmatic approach to the new world of youthful goods and desires, appropriating jeans as a sign of Hungary's cultural openness and economic modernity. By the 1970s, the government had a manufacturing agreement with Levi Strauss. Politically, jeans were migrating. Initially a sub-cultural form, it became incorporated in the regime's own cultural politics of power.

Norms and practices

If goods are politically mobile and flexible, easily travelling across a public/private divide, their movements in everyday life and political discourse are also a reminder that consumption is ultimately about process and practices not just signs or representation. Of course, there are connections between the two – if we were not made aware of a new technological product, for example, and did not have money or access to it, we would not be able to use it. But our practice of consumption is not exhausted in the act of purchase or the signs of advertising, even if these usually play a mediating role. Consumption is a social practice. It has to do with using things, and is not simply about commodities as such.

A shift in perspective from object to practice entails looking differently at a fundamental question: what is consumption for? Alongside Marxism and

Marxist-inspired critics, most notably the Frankfurt school, the second most influential critique of consumerism's impact on community and public virtues is that of writers who have targeted its conspicuous nature and status-oriented function. Today associated with Thorstein Veblen's path-breaking *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, published just over a century ago, and with Pierre Bourdieu's study of *Distinction* (1979), but located in far deeper and long-standing moral anxieties, this approach emphasises the socially wasteful role of consumption in reinforcing and recreating social hierarchies. Instead of contributing to social cohesion and well-being, consumption becomes a wasteful and self-defeating quest to keep up with the Joneses, leading to a spiral of ever-bigger houses, cars, and yachts.²⁰

Once more, to avoid misreading, we are not arguing that consumption has nothing to do with status competition. Yet we perhaps also need to look at its significance and its impact on civic culture in a wider historical context. Writing two hundred and fifty years ago, in the midst of an earlier wave of expanding consumer culture, Adam Smith suggested that the alternative could be worse. People, by nature, he argued, were vain and yearning for distinction, so it was far better they poured their energies into collecting and showing off with objects than, following feudal custom, into building up a retinue of retainers.²¹ Possessing things was preferable to possessing people. As Smith in effect acknowledges here, gratification of *amour propre* is an important aspect of human satisfaction, and some conduits for its expression will always be sought. But these do not necessarily have to involve possession of either goods or persons, and a major concern for us today must be how to provide for the pleasures of display and distinction in socially just and sustainable ways. That said, we should also not overstate the centrality of status consumption in people's lives. Individuals with means to do it may on occasion buy a Ferrari or a yacht or go to Monte Carlo to keep up with the Joneses, but for the majority of people at most times consuming has little to do with 'luxury fever'. A lot of consumption is ordinary and mundane, not conspicuous – listening to the radio over breakfast, taking a bath, commuting by car or train, gardening and doing home improvement, watching one's favourite sport team, and surfing the net. All of these, of course, are influenced in the forms they take and the instruments they use by market provision, and they all have their specific environmental impacts. But if viewed purely as practices, these consumption activities are about people performing certain tasks with the help of things. Some of these activities will indeed have implications for status or can be appropriated for status-seeking purposes. But, if there is a dynamic driving them, it is about accomplishment and the pursuit of competences and habitual pleasure and comfort rather than signalling superior status to the rest of society.

Sociologists of practice have in recent years made considerable progress in unravelling the practices involved in such consumption activities as eating, bathing, and driving.²² The main focus has been on the rhythms and evolution

of these practices, how they come together, change, and (sometimes) die. At first sight, this may look esoteric. What is so interesting about how people shower? But such practices, of course, become hard-wired into the material, technological, and institutional make-up of our societies, and understanding lifestyle changes involves a knowledge of their evolution. Similarly, we need to focus more on habitual and ordinary consumption and identify the implications of different practices for civic life and public engagement.

If there has been one culprit that has been blamed more than any other for the public disengagement in 'consumer society' it has been television. Television has been blamed for everything from dumbing down to the erosion of associational life; both theses have been subjected to equally strong critiques.²³ But while we know a good deal about programming, advertising, and viewing hours, we know far less about the impact that watching television has on people's sense of themselves as members of the public and on their sense of public connection. This is the aim of enquiry in Chapter 7 by Nick Couldry, Sonia Livingstone, and Tim Markham.²⁴ Media consumption, they show, is a quintessential consumption practice. For most people, it is one of the most habitual parts of everyday life. To understand it, we need to look at the details of the routine. What they find runs counter to the dominant story of public apathy or growing disengagement with national issues. Most people watch the news as a matter of habit. They remain concerned about national issues more than about local or international ones. In the United Kingdom, Internet use has remained less salient than in the United States. Watching television has not made people feel disconnected. Rather, people feel connected to public life but feel they are ignored by politicians or lack the opportunity to put their concerns into action. In other words, the much-decried decline in civic action and political engagement may have less to do with consumption *per se* and more with the erosion of opportunities for political intervention.

Even when the sociological focus is on the everyday practices of consumption, and its more mundane pursuits, it is important to recognise the wider economic and political structures by which these practices are shaped, and to which they are responding. If markets, as Michelle Everson and Christian Joerges (following Kare Polanyi) remind us in this volume, are always socially embedded, the cultures of consumption are likewise always influenced and, in many ways, constrained by the market context. For Bauman, this has indeed resulted in a heightened political apathy and erosion of the space of citizen action and republican concern. In the 'liquid modern' society, he argues, the gratifications of private consumption have been all too successfully substituted for the more onerous responsibilities of citizenship, and it is only in the ephemeral 'swarms' of World Cup patriotism and suchlike that we are witness to any manifestation of collective behaviour in a society otherwise given over to excess, waste, deception, and absorption of all dissent and resistance.

Other contributors to this book, however, would reject the implication that affluence has finally put an end to the politics of consumption. Rather, as conflicts over needs and necessity played a critical role in widening the arena of popular politics, from boycotts and riots in the run-up to the American War of Independence and the French Revolution in the eighteenth century to battles over Free Trade in Great Britain and fair prices in the United States in the early twentieth century, so today, they would argue, ordinary consumption remains a vital source for political action.²⁵ If few people in the North fight over 'the cheap loaf' these days, many certainly continue to agitate over water, utilities, housing, food safety, and pollution.²⁶ In Chapter 6, Matthew Hilton highlights the contribution of ordinary, 'banal' consumption to a pragmatic form of international consumer politics in the 1970s and 1980s.²⁷ The new form of consumer-testing agencies, first pioneered in the United States in the inter-war years before becoming an established feature across the globe, has mostly come in for criticism as actively feeding a more self-centred materialist culture bent on acquiring ever-faster, cheaper, and better goods. As a movement, consumerism, in this view, was actively complicit in reducing politics from a public-oriented to a private-centred affair. As Hilton shows, this is at best a partial view and ignores much of the political work performed by consumer agencies especially in international politics. It was often testing activities that first catapulted problems with products and market failures into the arena of politics. Consumer protection concerned questions of life and death, from baby food to unsafe cars, from healthcare to housing. The third wave of consumerism was about the poor, impoverished, and excluded, as much as about the well-fed middle classes with their shiny white consumer durables.

The spill-over from issues and campaigns relating to consumer protection on safety and pricing to the broader ethical concerns with the conditions of manufacture of goods sets the context for Michele Micheletti's presentation of the contemporary anti-sweatshop movement as directly comparable to earlier campaigning for the abolition of slavery.²⁸ There are parallels in the scandals and abuses suffered in both cases, she suggests, as also in the reliance of both on cheap labour to provide readily affordable goods to Western consumers. In both cases, too, she argues – in a dialectics of optimism much at odds with Bauman's pessimism – capitalism encouraged the sensibility that has revolted against these outrages, and has thus itself created the conditions of humanitarian dissent to such types of exploitation.²⁹

Consumer movements are not progressive in and of themselves, and we must guard against creating pure or ideal types; groups supporting the abolition of slavery did not have a problem with Empire as such, and there were 'buy empire goods' campaigns as well as radical and social justice movements.³⁰ In general, however, Micheletti's argument raises interesting questions about the defining features and ideological commitments of the market economy, and the extent to which neo-liberalism today might be said to have

exceeded or offended against these. In a context where deregulated global capitalism blocks legislation against sweatshops as a barrier to free trade, humanitarian concern for this contemporary form of slave labour must look elsewhere for representation or political take-up. It is in this context that campaigners have appealed to the accountability of consumers for the exploitative practices involved in the production of their commodities (a fostering of global solidarities theorised in the so-called 'social connection model of political responsibility').³¹ Where this has happened, movements of consumer resistance forged through communicative action (consciousness raising and opinion formation) take on a more openly contestatory role.

Comparable concerns with the fluid and shifting boundaries between consumption and citizenship in the global context today lie at the heart of Bronwen Morgan's engagement with the complex relations between law and civil disobedience actions over provision and access to water.³² The focus here is on a new type of 'political consumerism' of payment boycotting, or 'disloyal exit', where we have unusual consumer behaviour implicating what it is to 'act as a citizen' or display republican virtue. Drawing on studies of protests in South Africa and New Zealand, Morgan shows how illegal moves to secure vital needs can count as legitimate acts of 'political consumerism' (and may seek, and even find, defence in human rights law and other jurisdiction) while simultaneously confounding ideas about what is 'proper' to the exercise of lawful and responsible citizenship. In the case of normal 'ethical' consumption, where consumers choose to pay for an alternative product, the 'tacit' cultural contract of exchanges is secured and routinely observed. But this contract breaks down where no alternative choice of an essential product is available or affordable. As Morgan says, civil disobedience from this angle challenges the link between consumption and production on much more structural terms than law-abiding ethical consumption (although, as Micheletti and Soper both indicate, the latter might come over time to have that effect), since it demands a say in drawing the contours of the political community in which production and consumption take place. From this optic, we need to understand the boundaries between citizen and consumer as intimately caught up in the drawing of a number of others, notably those between consumer/criminal and consumer/subject of human rights.

Some similar issues, we might note, are raised in respect of critical mass bike-rides and illegal protests against road and airport expansion in the United Kingdom and other countries in Europe. Clearly, these are not directly comparable to protests over a provision that is, like water, essential to life, but they are often motivated by a sense of the foreclosing of choices for the future and by concern for the promotion of forms of consumption that may ultimately have significant impact on the quality of life of future generations. Social norms are also clearly operating in their case to determine the propriety of certain consumer conducts, to create 'insiders' and 'outsiders', and to pose

questions about whether the protesters should be regarded as delinquents or as representatives of civic virtue.

Looking ahead: Global challenges and perspectives

Such issues connect with broader ones concerning the spatial and temporal relations and responsibilities of the 'consumer-citizen' in the contemporary 'global' world. As production has become dominated by transnational corporations and thus relatively removed from the legislation of national governments, it has brought about new conditions, both constraining and enabling, on the exercise of consumer politics. The power of transnational giants to set the agenda on modes of production and consumption has been hugely extended, particularly within the neo-liberal economic regime of recent decades; but so, too, has their dependency on continued consumer spending, brand loyalty, and insatiability in an era in which consumers, at least in the richer societies, have become both more knowledgeable and more concerned about the social and environmental impacts of their own 'consumerist' affluence. At the same time, in the post-Cold War period, we have seen the emergence and development of new forms of civil society in Central and Eastern Europe, the growth and expansion of the European Union itself, and significant evolution and complexification of transnational institutions, protocols, and legal processes. All this has had significant impact on the forms and terrain in which a citizenship dimension of consumption might be exercised and on the range of its possible accountability. Whereas, traditionally, the citizen aspect of consumption had proceeded from (and been associated with) a territorially defined community or nation state, this conception no longer applies, or is at best partial. A key question is how far the less routinised and more parochial bonds cemented through particular consumer protests and campaigns can be translated into more far-reaching and effectual forms of transnational agency. In this connection, Morgan suggests that the law can have positive impact in furnishing courts and tribunals that amplify and help to legitimise consumer protests, thus enlarging the space for the political participation of ordinary citizens in policy making.

The law, however, as Everson and Joerges point out in their contribution, is a social institution or system that is invoked in the pursuit of various and often-conflictual interests and agendas on consumption, and subject to many tensions between its more purely procedural functions and its more material, or socially integrative roles.³³ What is more, as markets, political systems, and consumers have broken free from national communities to act upon regional and global stages, so have the legal encounters with the consumer grown evermore numerous and complex. Today, for example, law is not only expected to ensure that the practices of consumption adhere to ethical standards or issue in 'good' normative institutions, but also immensely complicated and hampered in any such tasks by the de-politicisation of the global

market and the regulatory frameworks introduced to guarantee free trade and commercial choice. And this is especially so in cases where the safety, morality, and social rationale of marketing specific products or processes remain highly contested. The quality of these tensions and the predicaments posed for lawyers are illustrated by reference to the recent decision of a WTO Panel on the conflict between the United States and the European Union on import restrictions placed on Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs). Although in this case, Everson and Joerges argue, it is relatively clear that the global legal order has allowed itself to be colonised by the logic of ‘sound science’ in its encounters with the consumer, this situation may itself change over time if ‘enabled’ consumers become more vociferous than before in demanding a political re-structuring of the market.

Already an influence on consumer responses in this respect, the environmental impact of consumption is likely to play an even more critical role in the future. Environmental considerations are clearly very much at issue in the building of transnational solidarities and promotion of cosmopolitan democracy. They are also already shifting and complicating the parameters of thinking about the ‘citizen–consumer’ coupling. For example, new questions are posed in this context about the criteria of civic ‘altruism’ and the definition of the ‘caring’ consumer. It may be true that the conventional picture of the ‘selfish’ consumer is confounded in the evidence that consumers are hugely concerned with the welfare of family and friends, and that their consumption in this sense takes place as part of a ‘caring’ ethic. But the ‘altruism’ of a parent who buys expensive brand trainers to please their child must be distinguished from that of those who inconvenience themselves (for example, by refusing to fly) for the sake of the larger public good. What is more, even the most ordinary or routine forms of consumption, such as driving, are now complicit in environmental degradation – and may be no more innocent in this respect than more spectacular or ostentatious consumer behaviour. Quite often, in fact, it is the more unconscious and everyday ‘forms of life’ that preclude the imagining and development of more sustainable alternative sources of pleasure and fulfilment.

Questions about such alternatives, the quality of the ‘good life’, and the possible agents of any redirection of consumption along more sustainable routes move to the centre in the contributions from John O’Neill and Kate Soper.³⁴ Both authors write in awareness of the current debates about the ways of countering environmental degradation and the trust that has been placed in science and technology to offer a corrective for this. In both cases, however, the focus is less on how to sustain the ‘consumerist’ lifestyle than on the quality and conditions of the ‘good life’ itself, and how these might be better secured through altered work and life priorities and differing patterns of consumption. O’Neill’s point of departure is the claims of the recent hedonic research and the so-called ‘happiness’ economists such as Layard that increasing life satisfaction does not entail increased levels of consumption.³⁵ Sympathetic

though he is to the general suggestion that well-being involves much more than high levels of material consumption, he is also sceptical of the subjective bias in the assessments of the hedonic tradition, and he himself favours instead a more objective Aristotelian approach. The eudaimonic tradition, he argues, offers a more satisfactory account of citizenship across generations, and thus provides a surer basis for understanding – and assuming – commitments to those yet to be born. The problem today, however, is that the market imperative towards increased labour mobility and the production of non-durable articles has undermined social and material continuity and thus discouraged the provision of the kind of human and environmental goods associated with this vision of the ‘good life’. O’Neill, however, is at the same time sensitive to the very considerable difficulties of constructing any such communal identity and continuity in ways that are consistent with respect for individual autonomy and independence.

Here, then, we have a temporal register of the dilemma or debate between liberal and communitarian tendencies, and one that connects to issues raised by other authors about how to sustain the civic potential of consumer agency across the dispersed and disaggregated activities of individual consumers. Addressing the issue from a different angle, Soper theorises the ways in which emergent forms of disaffection with the ‘consumerist’ lifestyle and revisions of thinking about the ‘good life’ may now be providing a distinctive rationale for adopting more civically oriented attitudes to consumption. The egoism or self-interest of the consumer may in this sense already comprise for some (and potentially for many more in the future) an interest in consuming in a more collectively sensitive and environmentally friendly fashion. ‘Alternative hedonist’ responses on this account – and Soper insists she is hypothesising a possible form of political evolution rather than predicting it – could therefore in coming decades reinforce, and even trump, other pressures for the promotion of more sustainable consumption. The moral and material dissatisfactions generated by the affluent lifestyle itself would then acquire a definite political dimension and contribute to other grounds surveyed in this volume on which consumption has come to figure as a ‘level’ or space of resistance to the dominance of corporate capitalism.

It will be clear from this introductory survey that the perspectives on citizenship and consumption included in this volume are diverse in their coverage and message. As indicated earlier, the primary aim here is to provide a forum for an expanded and more nuanced debate rather than to prescribe its terms or defend a paradigm of thinking in this complex area. Such links as there are between contributors are therefore of a fairly general kind: a concern to develop a more qualified view of the relations between ‘citizen’ and ‘consumer’ and to explore the political potential (if any) of the often complex concerns, duties, motives, and pleasures caught up in contemporary consuming. For some the priority is to correct simplistic and historically distorting theories of the inherently private and ‘selfish’ consumer, and/or to challenge

the traditions of citizenship that have most usually been opposed to consumption. The 'citizen-consumer' here figures as a hybrid to be unpacked in order to discover a more ramified understanding of both consumption and politics than is offered in much economic and social theory. For others, the interest in the actual or potential 'civic' dimensions of consumption is linked to the erosion of other sources of political empowerment and contestation in the globalized era, and consumption here figures as a site of newly emerging forms of social and environmental responsibility and political agency. Most contributors here, however, despite their different levels and types of engagement are sensitive to the current 'fluidity' and normative complexity of the coupling of two concepts so long viewed as opposed. They recognise, that is, how readily the rhetoric of the 'citizen-consumer' lends itself to projects of privatisation and disempowerment, even as they seek to retain the term as a more positive tool of analysis of some emerging and relatively under-theorised aspects of consumption. Most would accept, too, that the current dependency of the globalized economy on the promotion of a 'consumerist' way of life that is at once so closely associated with 'freedom and democracy' and at the same time so socially and ecologically damaging is emerging as a significant source of tension for our times. In this context, the various perspectives opened up in this volume offer a timely engagement with currently evolving forms of opposition and synthesis between citizenship and consumption.

Index

- 9/11, 201–2
- activism, 10, 98, 117–19
 see also civil disobedience; political consumerism
- Aczél, György, 59
- Adbusters, 94–5
- Adorno, T.W., 32, 90
 Dialectic of Enlightenment, 89
- ‘advanced liberalism’, 29–30
- agency, 73, 76–7, 86, 101–2, 198–205
- agency, situated, 27–33
- Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT), 166, 167
- Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS), 166, 167, 168, 170
- Alinsky, Saul, 134
- Almond, G., 109
- ‘alternative hedonism’, 15, 195–205
- altruism, 14, 191–7
- American Home Economic Association, 24
- Amnesty International, 93
- anthropology, 19
- Anti-Privatization Forum, 81
- anti-slavery movement, 11–12, 121–3, 126–9, 130, 132, 133–6
- anti-sweatshop movement, 11–12, 121–6, 129–36
- apathy, political, 10, 139–40
- Arendt, Hannah, 89, 100–1, 186, 188–90
 The Human Condition, 188
- Aristotle, 174–5, 176, 178, 185
- Auckland Water Pressure Group (AWPG), 74, 75, 78
- Australia, 46
- Bagnall, G., 104
- Bahro, Rudolf, 200
- Bakhtin, Mikhail, 150
- banality
 of consumption, 11, 87–103, 104
 of evil, 88, 100–1
- Barnett, C., 196
- Barr, Meredydd, 77–8
- Baudrillard, Jean, 90, 92
- Bauman, Zygmunt, 10, 11, 42
- Beck, Ulrich, 201
- beliefs, 28, 30
- Bellow, Saul
 Herzog, 87
- Benn, Tony, 114
- Bentham, Jeremy, 147, 174
- Beszélő, 67
- Bevir, Mark, 7
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 92, 95
 Distinction, 9
- Bové, José, 94
- Bowling Alone* (Putman), 107
- boycotts, 73–4, 94, 127–9
- ‘Branded Hand, The’ (Whittier), 127, 128
- Bright, Penny, 84
- Buda Youth Club, 64–5
- Burget, L.
 How to behave?, 57
- Butler, Joseph, 192
- BuyBlue.org, 135
- Campbell, Colin, 104
- Canada, 46
- capitalism
 global capitalism, 123–5, 134–5, 203–5
 and humanitarianism, 11–12, 121–36
- Carlyle, Thomas, 22
- Carson, Rachel, 97
- China
 citizenship in, 7–8, 34–9, 42
 Clothing Law, 40
 Communist Revolution, 48–9
 consumerism in, 41–3
 consumption in, 8, 38–50
 Marxism in, 46
 National Products Movement, 8, 31, 38–50, 95
 rights in, 36–8
 in World Trade Organization, 49

- China Can Also Say No* (Qiang, Zangzang, Bian), 49
- China Consumers Association (CCA), 37–8
- China Made* (Gerth), 37, 38
- choice, 19–33
 and agency, 76
 and civil disobedience, 73–6
 and civil society, 7
 and communitarianism, 19–20, 26
 and consumerism, 7, 19–20, 26
 deliberation about, 25–6, 27
 and ethics, 7, 24–6
 and everyday life, 26–7
 and 'market populism', 142
 and neoliberalism, 4
 and rationality, 20, 26–31
 vs. community, 2
- Christian Social Union (CSU), 23
- citizen-consumer, 6, 15–16, 21–2, 31, 81–3, 157–9
- citizenship
 and agency, 73
 in China, 7–8, 34–9, 42
 and civil society, 5–6
 and consumption, 1–16
 and environmentalism, 190
 and ethical consumption, 135–6
 intergenerational, 15, 182–90
 and liberalism, 4, 6
 and media consumption, 105–6, 119–20
 and non-government organisations, 93–100
 and popular culture, 106
 public domain of, 87–8, 102–3
 and republicanism, 3–4
 and rights, 7–8, 36–8
 traditions of, 4, 5–8
- civic culture, 109
- civil disobedience
 and choice, 73–6
 and the citizen-consumer, 81–3
 and community, 76–7
 and ethical consumption, 12, 71–2
 and law, 12, 78–83
 and transnational relations, 83–5
 and water politics, 71–86
- civil rights movement, 46
- civil society
 and anti-sweatshop movement, 129–32
 and choice, 7
 and citizenship, 5–6
 and consumption, 5–6, 21–3, 30–3
 and neoclassical economics, 21–3
 and transnational relations, 5
- civilization, 146–9
- Clothing Law, 1912, 40
- Cohen, Lizabeth, 93–4
- Commerce Act, 78
- communication, 105
see also internet; media consumption
- communitarianism, 4–6, 19–20, 26, 28, 33
- community, 146–50
 and agency, 76–7
 and civil disobedience, 76–7
 and consumption, 188–90
 intergenerational, 186–90
 and land, 186–7
 vs. choice, 2
- consistency, 27–8
- Consumentenbond*, 96
- consumer education, 24
- Consumer Guarantees Act, 78
- consumer protection, 11, 13, 37–8, 96–100, 102–3, 123–4, 154, 158, 164–71
see also ethical consumption; law
- consumerism, 2–3, 11
 anti-, 94–5
 in China, 41–3
 and choice, 7, 19–20, 26
 and deception, 10, 152–3
 and desire, 152–3
 and dissent, 10, 151
 and gratification, 194–8
 as a negative force, 88
 political, *see* political consumerism)
 sovereign-consumer, 155–7
 swarms of consumers, 10, 150–3
 and waste, 10, 153
- Consumers' Association (CA), 96, 98
- Consumers' Association of Penang (CAP), 97, 98, 99
- Consumers International, *see* International Organisation of Consumers Unions (IOCU)
- Consumers' Research, 96
- Consumers Union, 96
- consumption
 and agency, 73, 101–2, 198–205
 banality of, 11, 87–103, 104
 in China, 8, 38–50

- and citizenship, 1–16
- and civil society, 5–6, 21–3, 30–3
- and community, 188–90
- diversity of, 5
- and environmental issues, 14–16, 172, 190
- ethical, *see* ethical consumption
- and law, 13–14, 154–71
- and liberalism, 6
- media, *see* media consumption)
- and motivation, 191–8, 204
- and nationalism, 38–50, 95, 201–2
- practices of, 8–13, 22–3, 92
- private domain of, 1–2, 11, 87–8, 102–3, 106–8
- production of consumers, 142–3
- and production, 199–200
- and self-interest, 15, 191–8
- and sociology, 92
- and status, 9
- and sustainability, 172, 190
- and values, 201–4
- and well-being, 14–15, 172–81
see also choice; consumerism
- cooperative movement, 22, 31–2, 95–6
see also ethical consumption
- Couldry, Nick, 10
- crafts, 187
- Crow, Carl, 44
- cultural contracts, 74
- cultural governance, 59–61, 65
- culture, popular, 89–90, 106, 127

- Dahlgren, Peter, 109
- Dai Jinhua, 50
- Dean, Jodi, 144
- Debord, Guy, 89–90
- deception and consumerism, 10, 152–3
- Delors Commission, 163
- Deluca, Tom, 140–1
- democracy, 33, 142–5, 143–5
- Deshpande, Satish, 91
- desire and consumerism, 152–3
- Dewey, John, 7, 25–7, 105, 120
- Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Horkheimer and Adorno), 89
- Dickson, Bruce, 35
- Ding Shihe, 34
- Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (Rousseau), 192

- dissent and consumerism, 10, 151
- Distinction* (Bourdieu), 9
- Douglas, Mary, 22
- Douglass, Frederick, 127
- du Gay, P., 104
- Durkheim, Emile, 29

- Economic Problems of the Family (Kyrk), 24
- economics, neoclassical, 20–4, 192–3
- Eichmann, Adolf, 101
- elections, voter turnout at, 139–40
- Elias, Norbert, 148
- Eliot, T.S., 186
- Elster, Jon, 120
- Embeddedness, *see* social-embeddedness of markets
- ‘enabled-consumer’, 159–60
- environmental issues
 - and citizenship, 190
 - and commodity labelling, 46
 - and consumption, 14–16
see also ethical consumption
- Environmental Protection Agency, 99
- Epicurus, 174–5, 190
- Equiano, Olaudah, 127
- Eriksen, M., 143
- ethical consumption
 - alternative hedonism, 195–205
 - and anti-slavery movement, 128–9
 - banality of consumption, 94–5
 - and citizenship, 135–6
 - and civil disobedience, 12, 71–2
 - and economics, 23
 - fair trade movement, 5, 94, 129, 196
 - and motivation, 195–8
see also consumer protection; cooperative movement; humanitarianism
- ethics and choice, 7, 24–6
- European Food Safety Authority (EFSA), 164–5
- European Union (EU), 155, 159
 - and GMO, 14, 166–71
 - legal integration, 161–5
 - White Paper on Completion of the Internal Market, 163
 - White paper on Governance, 163
- Everson, Michelle, 10, 13–14
- evil, banality of, 88, 100–1

- fair trade movement, 5, 94, 129, 196
see also anti-sweatshop movement
 Fazal, Anwar, 97
 Federal Energy Administration, 99
 Federal Trade Commission, 99
 food safety, 164–71
 Foucault, Michel, 28
 France, 45–6
 Frank, Thomas, 142, 143
 Frankfurt School, 89
 free trade, 12, 21, 31, 166
 Freud, Sigmund, 146
 Frey, B., 172, 174, 175
 Furedi, Frank, 141
- Galbraith, J.K., 22, 46
 Gandhi, Mohandas, 43, 95
 Gandy, Oscar, 115
 Garrison, William Lloyd, 127
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 166
 generations
 and citizenship, 15, 182–90
 and community, 186–90
 genetically modified organisms (GMO), 14, 155, 165–71
 Germany, 32–3
 Gerth, Karl, 8
 China Made, 37, 38
 global capitalism, 123–5, 134–5, 203–5
 globalisation, 13–16
 anti-, 94–5
 and law, 13–14, 155, 165–71
 vs. local culture, 91
see also transnational relations
 GMO, *see* genetically modified organisms (GMO)
 Goldman, Merle, 35, 37
 good life, 2, 14–15
see also hedonism, alternative; well-being
 governance in the EU, 163–4
 governmentality, 29
 gratification and consumerism, 194–8
 Greece, 98
 Greenpeace, 93
 Gronow, Jukka, 92
 guilds, 187
 Guiliani, R., 201
 Gurney, Peter, 95
 Guy, Jo, 76
- H & M, 124
 Habermas, Jürgen, 6, 155
 Habits, *see* practices
 Hammer, Ferenc, 8
 Happiness, *see* well-being
 Haraszti, Miklós, 59
 Harvey, David, 91
 Health Action International (HAI), 97
 Hebdige, Dick, 90
 hedonic research, 14–15, 172–81
 hedonism, alternative, 15, 195–205
 Hegel, Georg, 105, 187
 Phenomenology of Spirit, 192
 Heidegger, Martin, 151
 Henkel, 32
Herzog (Bellow), 87
 Hilton, Matthew, 11, 73
 'hindutva', 91
 Hirsch, F., 180
History of Everyday Things, A (Roche), 92
 Hobbes, Thomas, 192
 Hobson, J.A., 192
 Holland, A., 190
 Holyoake, G.J., 31–2
 Home Economics movement, 24
 Horkheimer, M., 90
 Dialectic of Enlightenment, 89
How to behave? (Burget and Kovácsvölgyi), 57
Human Condition, The (Arendt), 188
 humanitarianism, 11–12, 121–36
see also ethical consumption
 Hume, David, 192
 Hungary
 cultural governance in, 59–61, 65
 jampec, 54–7, 64
 jeans in, 8, 51–3, 54–68
 negative consensus, 53–4
 pop music in, 61, 64–5
- identity, national, *see* national identity
 India
 'hindutva', 91
 swadeshi, 42, 95
 information, 143–5
see also internet
 International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN), 97
 International Organisation of Consumers Unions (IOCU), 96–7, 99–100

- internet, 111, 114–15, 143–5
 Isherwood, Baron, 22
- Jacobson, Dan, 85
jampec, 54–7, 64
 jeans
 in Hungary, 8, 51–3, 54–68
 and meanings, 52
 and power, 51–2
- Jevons, W.S., 21, 25
 Joerges, Christian, 10, 13–14
- Kádár, János, 52, 57, 60, 61, 65
 Kahneman, D., 27, 172, 175, 177, 178, 183
 Kang Youwei, 36
Kangaroo, The (Ksombolyai), 66–7
 Kennedy, Helena, 119
 Kennedy, John F., 96, 158
 Kentucky Fried Chicken, 49
 Keynes, John Maynard, 22
 Klein, Naomi, 94
 No Logo, 202–3
 Korea, 95
 Kovácsvölgyi, S.
 How to behave?, 57
 Kracauer, Siegfried, 151
 Ksombolyai, János
 The Kangaroo, 66–7
 Kyrk, Hazel
 Economic Problems of the Family, 24
 Theory of Consumption, 24–5
- labour, mobilisation of, 15, 186–8
 land and community, 186–7
 Lane, R., 172
 Lasn, Kalle, 94
 law
 and the citizen-consumer, 157–9
 and civil disobedience, 12, 78–83
 and consumption, 13–14, 154–71
 and the enabled-consumer, 159–60
 EU legal integration, 161–5
 and globalisation, 13–14, 155, 165–71
 and the sovereign-consumer, 155–7
 see also consumer protection
- Lawson, Mark, 141
 Layard, R., 14, 172, 180
 League for Independent Political Action, 26
 Leno, Jay, 133
 Levi Strauss Co., 8, 52
- Liang Qichao, 36
 liberalism, 4, 6, 29–30
 see also neoliberalism
 life-satisfaction, *see* well-being
 liquid modernity, 10, 144–6, 149–53
 Little, Jenny, 140
 Livingstone, Sonia, 10
 local culture vs. globalisation, 91
 local reasoning, 20, 26–31
 see also rationality
 Longhurst, B., 104
 Lucretius, 182
 luxury, 88
- Macdonalds, 94
 Malasia, 97, 98, 99
 Malinowski, Bronislaw, 29
 Manqele, Christina, 71–2, 82
 Marcuse, Herbert, 28, 32
 One-Dimensional Man, 89
 market populism, 142
 markets, 2, 10, 142–5, 161, 165, 171
 Markham, Tim, 10
 Marshall, Alfred, 7, 20–4, 26, 192–3
 Principles of Economics, 21
 Marshall, T.H., 7, 35, 36, 109
 Marx, Karl, 46, 178, 187, 192
 Mathiesen, Thomas, 153
 meanings and jeans, 52
 media consumption, 10, 104–20
 access issues, 111
 and citizenship, 105–6, 119–20
 habits of, 114, 115
 and the internet, 111, 114–15
 practices of, 115
 and public connection, 106–20
 survey of, 107–20
 and values, 110, 112–13
- Metrowater, 72, 79
 Micheletti, Michele, 11–12, 73, 204
 Mill, John Stuart, 22, 179, 192
 Miller, Daniel, 94, 192, 203–4
 mobilisation of labour, 15, 186–8
 Morgan, Bronwen, 12, 13
 Morris, Meaghan, 90, 91
 motivation, 191–8, 204
- Nader, Ralph, 98, 203
 Unsafe at Any Speed, 98
 Nagel, Thomas, 192

- narratives of well-being, 184–6
 nation building, 148–9
 National Consumer Council (NCC), 98
 National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 99
 national identity, 43–4, 45–6
National Product Monthly, 40
 National Products Exhibition, 1928, 41
 National Products Movement, 38–50
 nationalism, 38–50, 95
 see also patriotic consumption
 Nazism, 32–3
 Neef, Max, 181
 negative consensus, 53–4
 neoclassical economics, 20–4, 192–3
 neoliberalism, 2, 4, 19, 33
 New Labour, 2–3
 New Zealand, 72, 75–81, 84
 NGOs, *see* non-government organisations (NGOs)
 Ngwane, Trevor, 84
 Nike, 131, 133
No Logo (Klein), 202–3
 non-government organisations (NGOs), 93–100
 Nozick, R., 181
 Nussbaum, Martha, 176
- Occupational Safety and Health Administration, 99
 Ogden, Suzanne, 35
One-Dimensional Man (Marcuse), 89
 O'Neill, John, 14–15
- Page, Ben, 74
 Parsons, Talcott, 153
 patriotic consumption, 8, 31, 38–50, 95, 201–2
 Pattie, C., 117
 Pearson, H., 192, 193
 Peretti, Jonah, 133
 Perry, Elizabeth, 35
 Pesticide Action Network (PAN), 97
Phenomenology of Spirit (Hegel), 192
 Pillay, Brandon, 77
 Pithouse, Richard, 81–2
 Polanyi, Karl, 165, 171, 186
 political agency, *see* agency
 political apathy, 10, 139–40
 political consumerism, 12, 83, 128–9, 132, 135, 141–2, 204
 see also ethical consumption
 pop music, 61, 64–5
 popular culture, 89–90, 106, 127
 Porritt, Jonathan, 180, 181
 Redefining prosperity, 172
 post-structuralism, 89–90
 Power, Peter, 170–1
 practices
 of consumption, 8–13, 22–3, 92
 of media consumption, 114, 115
 of public connection, 108–9
Principles of Economics (Marshall), 21
 private/public split, *see* public/private split
 production
 of consumers, 142–3
 and consumption, 199–200
 prospect theory, 27
 public connection, 106–20
 public/private split, 1–2, 11, 87–8, 102–3, 106–8
 Putnam, Robert, 113
 Bowling Alone, 107
- Quakers, 126, 131
- radicalism, 6
 Rahman, Meena, 98
 Rajnák, László, 65
 Ramonet, Ignazio, 143
 Ramsey, F., 183
 Ratcheting Labor Standards (RLS), 125–6
 rationality, 20, 26–31
 Rawles, K., 190
 Reddy, Shanta, 76, 80
Redefining prosperity (Porritt), 172
 Renan, Ernest, 148
 republicanism, 3–4, 6, 195
 Rheingold, Howard, 115
 Ricardo, David, 192
 rights, 6, 7–8, 36–8
 see also citizenship; consumer protection
 Roche, Daniel
 A History of Everyday Things, 92
 Rorty, Richard, 27, 153
 Rousseau, Jean-Jaques
 Discourse on the Origin of Inequality, 192

- Ruskin, John, 22
 Ryle, M., 200
- Sarin, R., 175
 Sartre, Jean-Paul, 151
 Savage, M., 104
 Scharpf, Fritz W., 162
 Schatzki, Theodor, 108
 self-interest, 15, 191–8
 Sen, A., 176, 177, 178
 sign-values, 90–1, 92
 Silverstone, Roger, 105
 Simon, H.A., 27, 28
 situated agency, 27–33
 slavery, anti-, *see* anti-slavery movement
 Smith, Adam, 9, 133, 187, 192
 social contracts, 74
 social-embeddedness of markets, 161, 165, 171
 social justice, *see* humanitarianism
 sociology
 and choice, 19
 and consumption, 92
 and rationality, 28–30
 Solon, 175, 185
 Soper, Kate, 12, 14, 15
 South Africa, 71–2, 74–5, 76–7, 79–81, 84
 sovereign-consumer, 155–7
 SPS, *see* Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS)
 status, 9
 Stutzer, A., 174, 175
 surveys
 of happiness, 172–81
 of media consumption, 107–20
 sustainability, 14, 172, 190
 see also environmental issues; ethical consumption
swadeshi, 42, 95
 swarms of consumers, 10, 150–1
 sweatshops, 21–2
 anti-sweatshop movement, 11–12, 121–6, 129–36
 Szabad Nep, 54–6
- Taylor, V., 82
 TBT, *see* Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT)
- television, 10
 see also media consumption
 Testing, *see* consumer protection
 thalidomide, 158
Theory of Consumption (Kyrk), 24–5
Theory of the Leisure Class, The (Veblen), 9
 time and hedonism, 183–90
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 4, 6
 Touraine, Alain, 106, 115, 116
 Townsend, James, 39
 traditions, 4, 5–8, 29
 transnational relations, 5, 13–16, 83–5
 Trentmann, Frank, 7, 82, 193
 Tversky, Amos, 27
- UNESCO, 74, 75
 Ungváry, Rudolf, 63
 United States
 consumer protection in, 98–9
 consumerism in, 155–7
 ethical consumption in, 95
 and GMO, 14, 166–7
 United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS), 131
Unsafe at Any Speed (Nader), 98
 utility-maximisation, 28
- values, 110, 112–13, 201–4
 Veblen, Thorstein
 The Theory of the Leisure Class, 9
 Verba, S., 109
 Voltaire, 192
 von Böhm-Bawerk, Eugen, 23
 voter turnout, 139–40
- Wakker, P., 175
 Walras, Léon, 21
 Warde, Alan, 92
 Warhol, Andy, 150
 waste, 10, 153
 water politics, 12
 and civil disobedience, 71–86
 in New Zealand, 72, 75–81, 84
 in South Africa, 71–2, 74–5, 76–7, 79–81, 84
 Water Pressure Group, *see* Auckland Water Pressure Group (AWPG)

Weber, Max, 28, 29, 156, 159, 160

Weil, S., 187

welfare state, 158–9

well-being

and consumption, 14–15, 172–81

intergenerational, 182–90

narrative of, 184–6

see also alternative hedonism

Whittier, John Greenleaf

‘The Branded Hand’, 127, 128

women

and boycotts, 128

consumer leagues, 30

home economics movement, 24

voting rights, 21

Wong, R. Bin, 36

World Trade Organization (WTO), 14, 49,

102, 155, 159, 165–71

Young, Iris Marion, 125