

Identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Business and Economics, Macquarie University.

I certify that the work embodied in this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Undertaking this thesis has involved human intervention, for which approval was received from the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (Human Sciences and Humanities) with Approval Reference No. 5201600352 on 9 June 2016.

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Individuals increasingly use consumption to express identities in today's socially connected, wealthy and expressive societies. Similar to affluent consumers, subsistence consumers who live in poverty, also have strong desires to express identities through consumption but face difficulties doing so due to poverty and other related disadvantages in the subsistence marketplaces. In addition to economic poverty, low literacy levels and inadequate access to resources, subsistence consumers are also affected by unfavourable social power relations that create unique intersectional identities of multiple oppression. These complexities and tensions make identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers an important, yet under-developed area in consumption research.

This thesis is a qualitative study of identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers. Using in-depth interviews and focus groups, this study examines female consumers in Sri Lanka who either work or reside near apparel manufacturing factories. The thesis consists of three components. The first component of the study examines the multiple identities of subsistence consumers within key consumption situations and identifies external and internal factors that influence these identities. The second component narrows the focus of identity-based consumption by exploring how subsistence consumers' disadvantaged social power relations intersect and shape their consumption behaviours. The third component of the thesis looks at how social initiatives of business organisations influence identity-based subsistence consumption. The study considers two different social initiatives, one based on corporate social responsibility and the other on the principles of creating shared value, developed by two business organisations operating in subsistence marketplaces.

Results show subsistence consumers possess many identities, though only a limited number of identities influence their consumption. The strongest and most prevalent identities are based on family relationships. Others include social (e.g., friend, neighbour, unmarried

girl), work-related (e.g., employee, team member of social initiatives), religious (e.g., Buddhist, Catholic) and personal attributes-related (e.g., hard worker, carer) identities. In addition to these identities, this study also reveals six intersectional identities that work in tandem to create multiple oppression on subsistence consumers. Gender and social class related intersectional identities of being female, poor and uneducated reinforce each other to influence subsistence consumption. In addition to these three identities, participants also suffer from the intersectional identities surface from the socio-economic layer of subsistence society. As a result, identities of a single parent, rural villager and also being labelled as a 'garment girl', based on employment create a unique form of oppression in subsistence consumption.

Main factors that influence identity-based consumption are fourfold. First, the influence of family members impacts identity-based subsistence consumption due to the strong family orientation of subsistence consumers. The second factor is the psychological centrality consumers place on an identity. The female research informants' mother and daughter identities display strong psychological centrality. Disadvantaged social power relations and economic poverty are the third and fourth key factors that influence identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers of this study.

Three main disadvantaged social power relations influence the identities of the research informants. Being poor, uneducated and female interact to exert a compounded effect, limiting informants' product choice and payment options as well as negatively influencing their confidence in consumption decisions. As a result, subsistence consumers tend to avoid bargaining and do not seek additional information but instead resort to familiar options in consumption decisions which tend to be restrictive and at times, exploitative. Multiple forms of oppression arise from intersecting identities based on social divisions of a rural village girl and a single mother also influence subsistence consumption. These negative effects compound when the identity of being a garment girl intersects. Social stigma

associated with being a garment girl reinforces poverty, gender discrimination and lack of education. Subsistence consumers sometimes construct new identities to manage or comply with the negative effects of social power relations.

The two social initiatives investigated influence subsistence consumption in different ways. First, the shared value initiative assists subsistence consumers to counter the oppression created by disadvantaged social power relations through education and confidence building. Knowledge and confidence gained from the shared value initiative on aspects related to everyday consumption such as personal finances, healthy eating and nutrition empower women to reach their potential and help them fight against the influences of being poor and uneducated in society. The second initiative, the corporate social responsibility project mainly provides drinking water to communities that suffer from poverty and lack of access to water. Participants of this project indicate they help people in similar or worse social and economic situations to themselves. The non-reciprocal nature of this initiative reminds female participants of the value of giving, which enacts their religious identities and helps participants to accept and come to terms with disadvantaged social power relations as opposed to countering them like in the shared value initiative.

This thesis contributes to consumption scholarship by both extending identity-based consumption to subsistence consumers which is otherwise predominantly researched in developed markets. This study also integrates the concept of intersectionality in identity-based consumption to explore overlapping systems of disadvantages faced by subsistence consumers. The results also indicate that corporate management should consider the holistic nature of shared value initiatives over non-reciprocal social responsibility initiatives. Holistic social initiatives are important to build confidence and knowledge in subsistence consumption.

DEDICATION

To my younger brother Sandun for supporting me when it mattered most in this journey and my principal supervisor Cynthia for her guidance and patience in making this possible during the most trying times.

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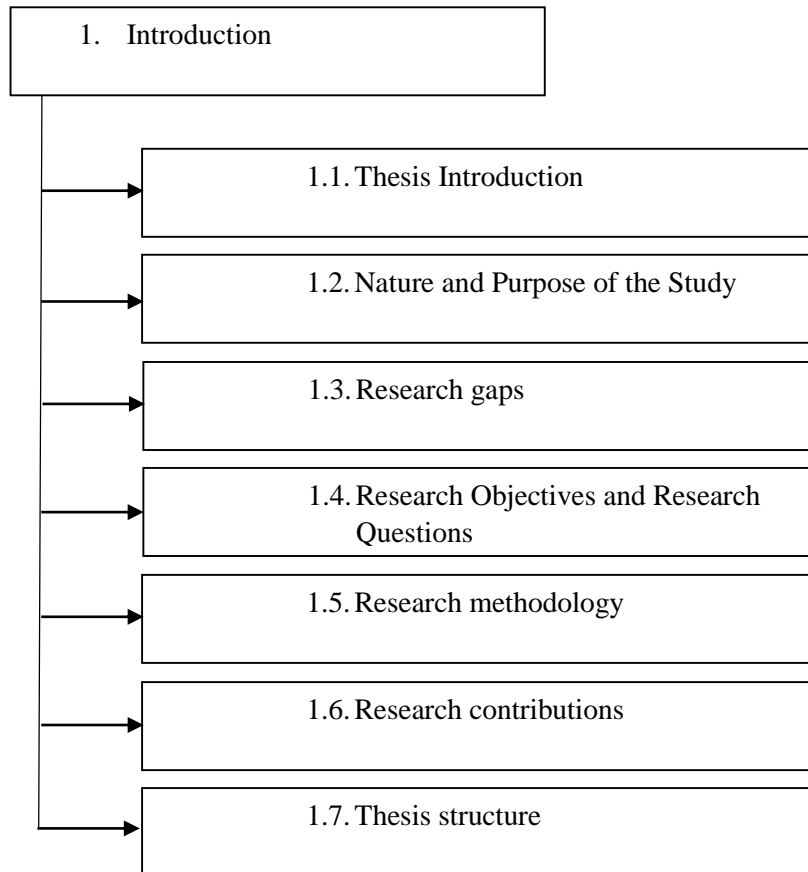
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1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter Roadmap



1.1. Thesis introduction

This study qualitatively examines the identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers and multiple, overlapping systems of disadvantages associated with subsistence consumption. The study further explores the influence of social initiatives by businesses operating in subsistence marketplaces in terms of identity-based subsistence consumption.

Consumers possess multiple identities that interact and compete with each other to influence everyday consumption decisions. For example, an individual's decision to move house involves multiple identities. Concerns about children's education (father identity), convenience of wife who has to drop children to school and travel to work (husband identity),

availability of an in-law accommodation for parents or for in-laws (identity of a son or a son-in-law), and proximity to own workplace (employee identity) are some of the identities that influence the decision of selecting a place to move. Consumers also use purchases and consumption as means of expressing their self and identities. For example, Ferrari sports cars and Gucci handbags are not purchased based on their functional value alone. Consumption decisions, therefore, are also based on consumer identities in addition to functional requirements.

Due to the critical role identities play in consumption decisions, there exists a substantial body of research on identity-based consumption. Research on identity-based consumption, however generally focuses on a single identity or an attribute of an identity overlooking the intersectional nature of multiple identities (Jones & McEwen, 2000; Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007). Focusing on a single identity leaves out the effects of how multiple identities consumers possess relate to each other in consumption situations (Burke, Owens, Serpe, & Thoits, 2003; Thompson & Loveland, 2015). While, there exist studies that examined multiple interacting identities (Fombelle, Jarvis, Ward, & Ostrom, 2012; Harmon-kizer, Kumar, Ortinau, & Stock, 2013), these studies, tend to neglect the interdependency and integration among consumer identities (Gopaldas, 2013). Studying multiple identities in an additive, cumulative manner does not acknowledge the influence of one identity on another (Sarno, Mohr, Jackson, & Fassinger, 2015). As a result, there exists a gap in research on how multiple identities a consumer possesses, relate to and impact each other in a consumption situation due to intersectional nature of identities.

The absence of a unified view on different perspectives on identities in consumption further highlights the significance of the proposed research. The more dominant perspective on multiple identities in consumption considers identities as being social (e.g. an Australian) or role-based (e.g. a doctor) with an external focus. There exists another perspective that considers identities to be personal (e.g. an honest person) with an internal/psychological

focus. In addition to these established perspectives, an intersectionality-based view on multiple identities emerges as another perspective on multiple identities in consumption. An intersectionality-based perspective focuses on the inherent unequal social power relations of consumer identities. Socially, rich consumers enjoy certain privileges that poor consumers don't (Liu, Pickett, & Ivey, 2007). The same privilege-disadvantage situation holds true for being a female or a minority race in a given context. These social differences are caused by the macro axes of social power (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Walby, Armstrong, and Strid (2012) use the term unequal social relations to describe the disadvantages certain social categories face due to differences in social power. Liu, Pickett, and Ivey's (2007) discussion on privileges of upper social classes, whites, straight individuals and men reflects the disadvantages faced by lower social classes, races of African origin, gays and females due to unequal social power relations. As Varman and Belk (2008) point out consumers' sense-making of disadvantages and deprivation they face are socially constructed based on their experiences in social power relations. The disadvantages caused by unequal social power relations are not the same for all social categories (Walby, Armstrong, & Strid, 2012). For example, being poor is associated with one set of social disadvantages, while belonging to a minority race is associated with another set of social disadvantages. According to an intersectionality-based perspective, the unique intersection of different identities creates positions of multiple disadvantages and influences consumption decision making. For example, multiple disadvantages and oppression experienced by a poor, black female cannot be compared with these different identities taken in isolation. External, internal and intersectional perspectives are all essential and relevant in identity-based consumption studies. The lack of a unified, holistic view that integrates these perspective emphasises the significance of the research gap highlighted in this study.

Moreover, most research on identity-based consumption is carried out in western, developed market economies as it is assumed that self-expressive, identity-based purchases

are mostly non-essential and associated with wealthy consumers (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2013). Contrary to this assumption, poor consumers also engage in identity expressive, non-essential consumption practices such as purchases of luxury goods at times (Subrahmanyam & Gomez-Arias, 2008; Gupta & Jaiswal, 2013). In fact, poor consumers enjoy identity expressive, non-essentials as much, if not more than the wealthy consumers (Karnani, 2009).

Poor consumers mostly live in emerging economies such as most South Asian and African countries and are also known as subsistence consumers or Bottom-of-the-Pyramid consumers. Prahalad (2012, p. 6) defines Bottom-of-the-Pyramid consumers as ‘people who live on less than US \$2 a day’ and estimated to be over 4 billion. These consumers live in subsistence marketplaces characterised by unique consumption practices and social relationships significantly different to that of formal marketplaces of affluent consumers (Webb, Tihanyi, Ireland, & Sirmon, 2009). Subsistence marketplaces are characterised by and often described with economic poverty, resource constraints and social disadvantages and exclusions (Venugopal & Viswanathan, 2017). Though these factors contribute to the present nature of subsistence marketplaces, the concept of subsistence marketplace is primarily about the inability and severe difficulty of consumers in meeting basic human needs. Subsistence marketplaces, therefore are more about the overall quality of life of consumers whose ability to meet basic needs are influenced by numerous factors including income, resources and social capital (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

Research on subsistence marketplaces looks at poverty from a multi-dimensional point-of-view as opposed to a reductionist approach (Venugopal & Viswanathan, 2017). Subsistence marketplaces are the social contexts created through the intersection of poverty and marketplaces (Viswanathan, 2017). Identity-based consumption in emerging economies is particularly complex due to the impoverished living conditions and inherent disadvantages present. Economic poverty (Prahalad, 2004) and the lack of cognitive and material resources (Weidner, Rosa, & Viswanathan, 2010) restrict poor consumers’ ability to engage in identity

expressive consumption. The conflicting nature of subsistence consumers' desire to engage in identity-based consumption and inability to do so due to poverty and other social disadvantages can have dire consequences with these consumers engaging in non-viable, unhealthy consumption behaviours. Businesses operating in subsistence markets face the challenge of deriving a profit from consumers who earn less than US \$ 2 a day, which can lead to unethical practices at times (Gupta & Srivastav, 2016). Understanding how subsistence consumers' multiple identities shape their consumption behaviours is particularly important in preventing the exploitation of their vulnerabilities.

This thesis focuses on gaining a deeper understanding of subsistence consumers' identity-based consumption. Identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers is an area that requires conceptual and empirical attention due to scant research present. This understanding is gained through exploring how multiple identities of subsistence consumers interact and influence in consumption situations (Gopaldas, 2013; Corus & Saatcioglu, 2015). Knowledge on identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers is imperative for both public and private organisations in their efforts to improve subsistence consumer well-being.

The empirical study focuses on two key areas of subsistence consumption. The first area focuses on the main factors that influence identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers. Identity influences are broadly categorised as external, environmental influences and internal, psychological influences. The intersectional nature of multiple oppression experienced by subsistence consumers is also considered a major external factor influencing subsistence consumption decisions. This is mainly due to disadvantaged social power relations prevalent in the subsistence marketplace that impact subsistence consumer identities, which in turn influence subsistence consumption. The second part of the study explores the influence of social initiatives by business organisations in subsistence marketplaces. Two social initiatives, with one based on shared value principles and the other a corporate social responsibility project, are investigated for this purpose. The two social initiatives selected

intend to improve subsistence conditions in general. This study focuses on the impact of these initiatives on identity-based consumption and overall consumer well-being of subsistence consumers.

1.2. Nature and Purpose of the Study

Consumers increasingly use consumption to project desired identities in today's highly visible and self-expressive societies. For example, as Escalas (2013, p. xv) questions "why would someone drive his Prius to work but drive his BMW to a blind date?" Many products and services individuals consume are decided based on hedonic and social considerations rather than utilitarian considerations. Consumers consider the brand name, model and colour when purchasing a car, even though these factors have no bearing on the functionality of the vehicle. The influence of multiple consumer identities, therefore, is a critical area of focus in consumption research. These multiple identities can be externally society-based social identities or internally constructed psychological-based personal identities. An individual who purchases an eco-friendly product based on her 'environmentalist' identity signals her values, qualities and attitudes (internal/personal), but may also purchase an expensive branded suit to project her 'senior executive' identity which is socially constructed (external/social).

In subsistence consumption, even basic needs often are not met due to severe resource constraints and other disadvantages in their living conditions (Weidner, Rosa, & Viswanathan, 2010). As subsistence consumers are economically poor individuals living with minimum living conditions, their living conditions are characterised by a lack of healthcare, sanitation, opportunities for education and substandard housing. These hardships leave less opportunity for subsistence consumers to engage in identity expressive consumption based on hedonic, non-essential motives. Subsistence consumers have to deal with the challenges of satisfying basic needs, and due to this challenge, non-essential and hedonic consumption is

assumed to be difficult or non-existent. As a result, subsistence consumers have received scant research attention, despite extensive research on identity-based consumption.

Nonetheless, expressing identities through consumption activities is not limited to rich and privileged consumers. Contrary to the popular notion that consumption decisions of the poor are based predominantly on functional aspects due to poverty, there is evidence that economically disadvantaged consumers increasingly engage in identity-based consumption activities (Moav & Neeman, 2012). For example, poor families in India spend unaffordable sums of money amounting to more than six times of their annual family income, and at times borrow with interest rates over 200 percent on wedding ceremonies (Bloch, Rao, & Desai, 2004). In South Africa, the poor borrow money equivalent of one year's income for a funeral of a family member (Moav & Neeman, 2012). Identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers is not limited to culturally influenced activities such as weddings and funerals, where the voluntary nature of consumption decisions can be questioned. Examples of poor consumers who receive social welfare funds from government purchasing flat screen televisions from welfare payments and numerous government proposals to ban purchasing luxury food items including lobster using food stamps in the US exemplify the voluntary nature of identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers (Bonazza, 2013; Hamilton, et al., 2014; Holley, 2016). The increase in identity-based consumption of the poor has been attributed to the wider availability of products, increased visibility in society through rapid diffusion of multimedia including social media, and better accessibility to broader markets through technology (Trujillo, Barrios, Camacho, & Rosa, 2010; Viswanathan & Rosa, 2010). Despite economic poverty and other inherent disadvantages, subsistence consumers do make self-expressive, identity-based consumption choices.

Identity-based consumption affects the overall consumer well-being of subsistence consumers who are resource constrained and socially disadvantaged. Subsistence consumption decisions based on identities carry important policy and business implications

for firms operating in subsistence marketplaces. The economic and social status of subsistence consumers create a challenging marketplace for businesses to operate in and derive profits. Business organisations that operate in subsistence marketplaces should also acknowledge the challenge posed by the intersectional nature of subsistence disadvantages and sustainability issues in these markets (Viswanathan & Sridharan, 2009). Multiple disadvantages experienced by subsistence consumers lead them to unique positions of compounded oppression and disadvantage. More businesses in subsistence marketplaces today operate both to make a profit and assist impoverished communities (London, 2008; London, Anupindi, & Sheth, 2010). Social initiatives of businesses operating in subsistence marketplaces attempt to address the disadvantage of subsistence consumers. Social initiatives such as shared value initiatives put in place by businesses can deliver social benefits and life-enhancing experiences for vulnerable consumers while being aligned with firm strategies.

1.3. Research gaps and importance of the research topic

One notable absence in subsistence consumption research is the attention on consumer identities. Similar to all other consumers, subsistence consumers possess and enact multiple identities that affect their consumption choices. For example, the choices made by a poor, young, single female are different from those of a poor, middle-aged, single mother with dependent children. Subsistence consumption needs are mainly shaped by resource and social constraints inherent to subsistence marketplaces (Chakravarti, 2006; Viswanathan & Sridharan, 2012). Extreme poverty and powerlessness in social and political hierarchies drive these constraints leading to the assumption of a homogeneous market of utilitarian value maximisers (Chikweche, Stanton, & Fletcher, 2012). The lack of economic resources and unfavourable social power relations intersect influencing how subsistence consumers see themselves which in turn impacts their identity-expressive consumption behaviours. Despite living in extreme poverty and unfavourable social power relations, subsistence consumers spend a substantial portion of their income on consumption practices that are non-essential

and identity-expressive (Üstüner & Holt, 2007; Blocker et al., 2013). For example, Asia's biggest slum, Dharavi in India, has one toilet per every 800 residents (Karnani, 2009), even though 85% of households own televisions and 21% have mobile phones (Prahalad & Hammond, 2002). Though these consumption examples contain functional aspects, Prahalad and Hammond's (2002) claim of "the poor often do buy luxury items" (p. 5) cannot be overruled. For example, consumption of chocolates is less functional as it is not often considered to satisfy the functional need, hunger. Misquitta and Rohwedder (2009) reported that more than half of Indian population have never tasted chocolate by 2009. But, in 2016, India surpassed China in the volume of chocolates sold (Petroff, 2017). Further, the chocolate sales in India approximately tripled over the decade up to 2017 indicating it is not only the growing middle class or the affluent class that enjoy branded chocolates (Petroff, 2017). Cadbury chocolate sales in India has been growing at a rapid rate and the fact that Cadbury has massively increased their advertising budgets in India are further examples of the poor's preference for consumptions that are not functional (Misquitta, 2009). These consumption practices do not help the efforts of public and private organisations to improve subsistence conditions through planned and informed consumption decisions. Fortune 500 companies in the United States and the United Kingdom alone spend US\$15.2 billion a year on initiatives to improve living conditions (Smith, 2014). These initiatives attempt to engage individuals and change their approach to consumption. It is, therefore, imperative to understand the mindset of subsistence consumers for such initiatives to achieve expected results. Nevertheless, research focusing on subsistence consumers' mindsets and multiple identities is an undeveloped area (Pauwels, Erguncu, & Yildirim, 2013).

Understanding subsistence consumption has significant implications for both improving subsistence marketplace conditions and advancement of subsistence identity scholarship (Pauwels, Erguncu, & Yildirim, 2013). Subsistence consumers face multiple disadvantages and possess cognitive and social vulnerabilities (Adkins & Ozanne, 2005; Viswanathan,

Gajendiran, & Venkatesan, 2008). Marketing practices can exploit these consumer vulnerabilities and disadvantages through poverty traps such as conspicuous consumption (Neeman & Moav, 2012) and social status concerns (Roth, 2014). Marketers are particularly encouraged to adopt exploitative practices due to the paradox of the substantial potential of the subsistence market of US\$1.2 to 5 trillion (Karnani, 2007; Subrahmanyam & Gomez-Arias, 2008) and inability to derive a profit from consumers whose income is as low as \$2 a day. This research develops a deeper conceptual understanding of the identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers to address this gap.

1.4. Research objective and research questions

Empirical studies on identity-based consumption extending to the unique context of subsistence marketplaces provide novel insights to businesses and policymakers in improving subsistence conditions. These insights are particularly important to businesses serving subsistence consumers to deal with competing goals of profitability and poverty alleviation. The objective of this study is to further examine subsistence consumers' multiple identities and influences on those identities that impact their consumption decisions. The research consists of a critical analysis of theoretical and conceptual literature and an empirical study.

The empirical study conducted in this research qualitatively examines the identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers. This study provides a holistic understanding of multiple identities and influences on these identities in the context of subsistence marketplaces. The empirical study further investigates the influence of social power relations and also the role social initiatives play in influencing consumption decisions which in turn impact the well-being of subsistence consumers.

To address the objectives of this research, there are three interrelated research questions.

- Research question 1 – What are the key internal and external factors that influence subsistence consumers' multiple identities in consumption situations?

- Research question 2 – How do social power relations influence subsistence consumers’ multiple identities and what is their impact on consumption activities and subsistence consumer well-being?
- Research question 3 – How do social initiatives based on corporate social responsibility principles and shared value principles influence subsistence identities in consumption?

The three research questions intertwine to provide insights into an important issue of improving subsistence conditions. First, research indicates that subsistence consumers engage in consumption behaviours based on identities which do not optimise their resources (Bloch, Rao, & Desai, 2004; Banerjee & Duflo, 2006). Instances such as conspicuous consumption habits and identity-expressive purchases can be harmful and lead subsistence consumers further into poverty. The first research question looks into the nature and key influences of identity-based consumption. Reasons for subsistence consumers to engage in these consumption behaviours vary, however, societal influence is considered as one of the most influential factors leading towards identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers. For example, Khamis, Prakash and Siddique (2012, p. 354) find low caste, poor consumers in India spend “significantly more” than high castes such as Brahmins where caste system in India is a society-based discourse. The second research question, therefore, investigates the influence of social power relations on identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers. Finally, upon investigating the nature and reasons of identity-based consumption on poverty, the study looks into the ways of improving subsistence consumption and in turn, subsistence conditions. Social initiatives of business organisations in subsistence marketplaces intend to improve the conditions of subsistence consumers and positively influence subsistence consumption. The third and final research question of this study, therefore, examines how social initiatives impact identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers.

1.5. Research methodology

This qualitative study is positioned within the constructivism inquiry paradigm in social research. In terms of ontological assumptions, this study adopts a relativist ontological stance with a subjectivist epistemology. The axiological assumptions of this study include the researcher's beliefs of value being socially constructed and the use of a mix of etic and emic approaches to determine value.

This study uses qualitative research methodology as the strategy of inquiry to answer the research questions. In terms of data collection methods, qualitative in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions are used in addition to the field notes of the inquirer. Data analysis is carried out using a thematic analysis that uses condensation, categorisation and narrative structuring of data to identify emerging themes. Informants for this study are female subsistence consumers in Sri Lanka employed or live in main garment export processing zone. Sri Lanka as an emerging economy suffered from a 30-year-old civil war, which ended in 2009. The GDP of Sri Lanka in 2009 was US \$ billion 42.06 (The World Bank, n.d.), less than even the third quarter revenue in 2017. Apple Inc. posted quarterly revenue of US \$ 45.4 billion for the third quarter of 2017 (Apple Inc., 2017). Despite an increase in economic activity in the post-war era, poverty remains a challenge with improvements required in critical areas such as education and health.

Female subsistence consumers aged 20 to 48 years were selected from two main groups. The first group were factory, production-line employees from the two largest apparel manufacturing businesses of Sri Lanka. The second group were subsistence consumers from the rural community who live near garment factories and are either unemployed or engaged in irregular, small-scale income-generating activities.

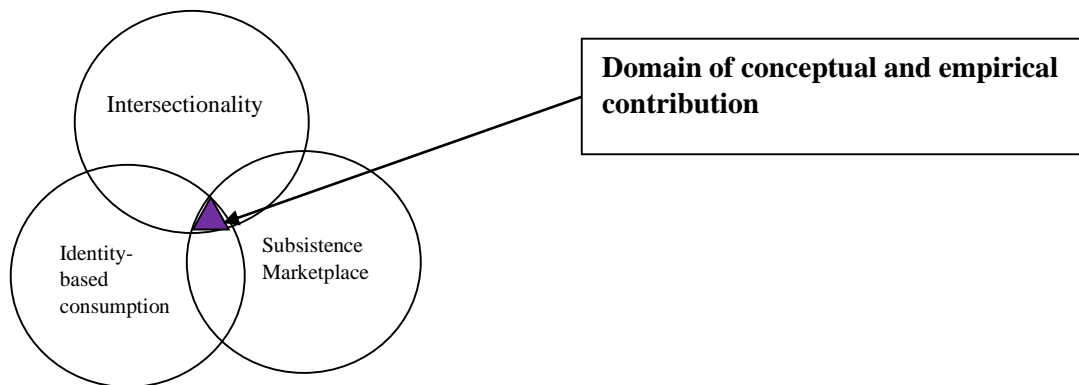
1.6. Research contributions

The study contributes to consumer behaviour scholarship by both a) extending theoretical streams of identity-based consumption and intersectionality in consumer behaviour scholarship and b) expanding the knowledge base of practitioners and policymakers on subsistence consumption to improve subsistence marketplace conditions. Figure 1.1 shows the unique domain of conceptual and empirical contribution of the study, which is an intersection of identity-based consumption, intersectionality and subsistence marketplace scholarship. The study also expands the academic understanding of the shared value in the context of subsistence consumption.

Regarding theoretical contributions, this study investigates and critically analyses dissimilar, yet related perspectives on identity influences in consumption to provide a unified, holistic view that explores identity-based subsistence consumption. In particular, the inclusion of the intersectionality perspective that incorporates the oppressive social power relations associated with the context of this study is useful for theory development in subsistence consumption scholarship.

Insights into identity-based subsistence consumption are also valuable in understanding poverty for policy development. In particular, insights into poverty traps such as conspicuous consumption (Moav & Neeman, 2012) and social status concerns (Roth, 2014) carry significant policy implications in the areas of consumer empowerment and consumer protection. Consumer protection measures need to be incorporated into consumer policy to prevent businesses exploiting the identity-expressive nature of uneducated or less informed consumers with low purchasing power. Business organisations use social initiatives such as shared value initiatives and corporate social responsibility projects to improve conditions and to eliminate exploitation in subsistence marketplaces. Research on consumer identities in shared value and corporate social responsibility initiatives, therefore, adds value to businesses, subsistence consumers and policymakers in subsistence economies.

Figure 0.1: Domain of conceptual and empirical contribution of the study



1.7. Thesis structure

This chapter introduces the research which includes the rationale, the research questions, the research methodology used, theoretical contributions of the study, and the overall structure of the thesis. This thesis is structured on six chapters as follows.

Chapter 2 Literature review - examines the identity-based consumption literature with a focus on subsistence consumers. Key areas of the literature review include consumer identities, intersectionality, perspectives on identity influences and social initiatives including creating shared value.

Chapter 4 Methodology - provides the rationale for the establishment of the inquiry framework of the study and the design of the study. The research design includes inquiry paradigm and assumptions of research, data collection methods, the context of the study, selection of informants and methods of analysis used to answer the research questions.

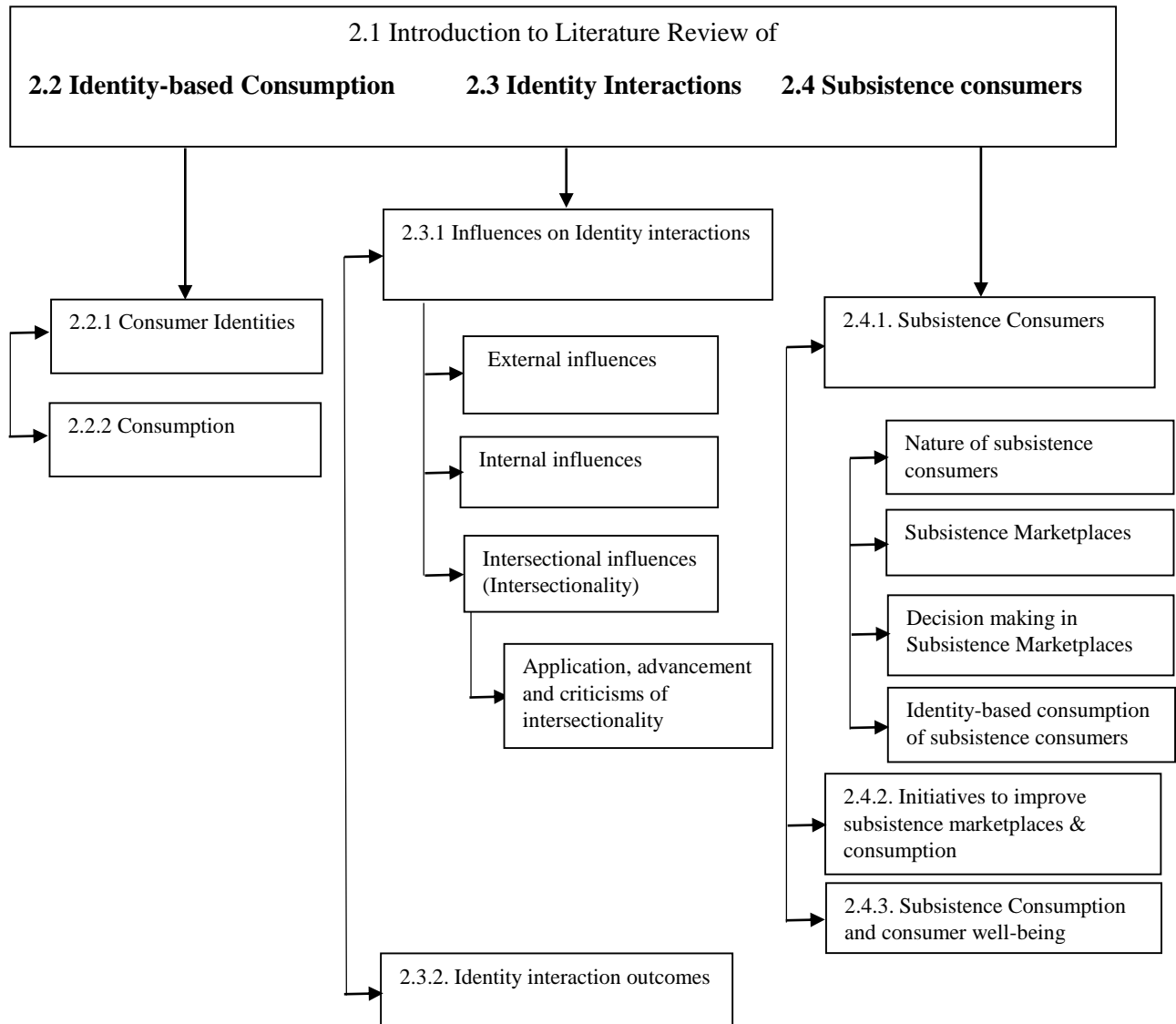
Chapters 5 Results - provides the results of the empirical study on identity-based consumption. The results of the three research questions are presented in separate sub-sections. The first section discusses the results on subsistence consumer identities and consumption influences, where the second section looks closely on one of the important

influences, social power relations. The last sub-section focuses on the influence of two social initiatives on identity-based subsistence consumption.

Chapter 6 Discussion and Conclusion - This chapter first provides a discussion of descriptive results of Chapter 5. The chapter then concludes the thesis with a summary of findings and the contribution to consumption scholarship and directions for future research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter Roadmap



2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature on the main domains of identity-based consumption, identity interactions and subsistence consumers. The review begins with consumer identities and identity-based consumption, highlighting the need to examine how multiple identities interact. This is followed by a discussion on the second domain, identity interactions. Literature review on identity interactions include three key influences on identity interactions: external, internal and intersectional with particular emphasis is placed on

intersectionality as a key factor that determines the effects of disadvantaged social power structures prevalent in subsistence marketplaces. Identity interaction outcomes are also considered and discussed under identity interactions. The review then turns to the topic of subsistence consumers which focuses on three areas: the nature of subsistence consumers and marketplaces, initiatives to improve the conditions of subsistence consumers by businesses and the impact of those initiatives on subsistence consumption and consumer well-being. .

2.2. Identity-based consumption

2.2.1. Consumer Identities

Reed, Forehand, Puntoni and Warlop (2012, p. 312) define identity as “any category label to which a consumer self-associates either by choice or endowment”. The term identity denotes both uniqueness as well as sameness where consumers prefer to be unique compared to others at times but also opt for inclusion at other time (Abrams & Hogg, 2010). Consumers identify themselves with limitless categories on a daily basis to construct interrelated, multiple identities that provide a sense of self (Reed, 2002). Who you are, or your sense of self, therefore, is a collection of underlying identities (Stryker & Burke, 2000). For example, a mother at home might also be a janitor at work, a labour-rights supporter in a political meeting, and a poor woman at the social welfare office. The multiple identities a consumer possesses constantly interact with each other, requiring consumers to engage in identity-congruent behaviours to manage these identities (White, Argo, & Sengupta, 2012).

Consumption is a key identity-congruent behaviour, through which individuals create (Escalas, 2013), preserve (Piacentini & Maller, 2004) and express (Husemann, Ladstaetter, & Luedicke, 2015) these multiple identities. These activities can vary from personal identity-driven behaviours such as charitable donations (Winterich, Mittal, & Aquino, 2013; Wang & Tong, 2015) to social identity-driven behaviour such as social media use (Saboo, Kumar, & Ramani, 2015). Even the most mundane consumption choices reflect something about who you are (Clammer, 1992), which highlights the role multiple identities play in consumption.

Key consumer behaviour theories, including symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934), principles of conspicuous consumption (Veblen, 1899), the theory of individual self-enhancement (Rogers, 1951), extended self (Belk, 1988) and consumption constellations (Solomon & Assael, 1987) support the claim that consumption in part is identity-based, not only based on utilitarian considerations. Regarding consumption as a social and a cultural act (Zukin & Maguire, 2004) further supports the identity-based nature of consumption.

Much of the research on identity-based consumption, however, focuses on a single dominant identity in a specific consumption situation (Thompson & Loveland, 2015) such as gender identity and brand choice (Neale, Robbie, & Martin, 2016), ethnic identity with consumption of healthy food (Oyserman, Fryberg, & Yoder, 2007), and volunteer identity with a non-government organisation (Bhattacharya, Rao, & Glynn, 1995). Focusing on a single identity disregards the effects of other identities related to that consumption situation. For example, researchers investigating the relationship between a consumer's 'poor' identity and their consumption of healthy food may miss the influence of other relevant identities. The other relevant identities may include cultural identity (e.g. vegans abstaining from animal products including dairy) and occupational identity (e.g. labourers requiring higher levels of protein and fat for heavy physical jobs). These additional identities intensify or moderate the relationship between identity and consumption. For example, an individual's 'poor' identity may limit the amount of money they spend on healthy food items which in turn may be strengthened by their cultural 'vegan' identity of abstaining from meat, fish and dairy products. The 'labourer' occupational identity, on the other hand, may diminish the relationship between the 'poor' identity and consumption of healthy food.

Even the research that includes an examination of multiple consumer identities tends to neglect the interdependency and integration among identities (Gopaldas, 2013). Studying multiple identities in an additive, cumulative manner does not acknowledge the influence of one identity on another (Sarno, Mohr, Jackson, & Fassinger, 2015). A deeper understanding

of poor consumers' identity-based consumption, therefore, requires a thorough consideration of how subsistence consumers' multiple identities come together and interact in consumption situations (Gopaldas, 2013; Corus & Saatcioglu, 2015).

2.2.2. Consumption

Consumption, defined as the search for, choice, acquisition, possession and disposal of goods and services (Hogg & Michell, 1996, p. 629), is a communicative act which is an integral constituent of self (Ger & Belk, 1996; Schembri, Merrilees, & Kristiansen, 2010). Consumers make a wide array of consumption decisions on a daily basis, according to their choice in a consumption situation.

Consumption decisions are based on both tangible or objective benefits as well as subjective emotional benefits (Havlena & Holbrook, 1986). As a result, there exists a variety of consumption types. A stamp or coin collector may engage in fixated consumption behaviour as an enthusiast (Sherrell, Burns, & Phillips, 2015), while a drug addict engages in compulsive consumption (Hirschman, 1992; Lee, Chang, Lin, & Cheng, 2014). Similarly, consumers engage in aspirational consumption as avid shoppers (Sheth, Sethia, & Srinivas, 2011), or conspicuous consumption activities in an attempt to enhance self-image as in their everyday consumption (O'cass & McEwen, 2004).

Consumer choice in marketing focuses on selection, consumption and disposal of market offerings (Bettman, 1998). Choice can be mainly based on hedonic or utilitarian values, but there are other drivers of choice too. A consumer might consider both values in a given situation (Dhar, 1999). The significance of choice varies with culture and what is normatively good in that context (Markus & Kitayama 2003; Snibbe & Markus 2005; Stephens, Markus, & Townsend 2007). Choice in a consumer decision making-situation may include choosing from alternatives, deferring the choice decision or not choosing at all. Sheth, Newman, and Gross (1991) argue consumption choice as a function of multiple consumption

values. Five consumption values - functional, conditional, social, emotional and epistemic values - influence the consumer in a given consumption situation. As per Sheth, Newman, and Gross, (1991), the contribution of these values differ in consumption situations and are independent of each other. Consumer choice is guided by the different choice models and strategies that exist, and consumption decisions are influenced by a variety of factors including consumer identities (Swait & Adamowicz, 2001). For a detailed description of different choice models see Appendix A. The focus of this thesis is on identity-based influences of consumption.

2.3. Identity interactions in consumption

The interaction of multiple identities in a consumption situation is a complex process that produces different outcomes. These outcomes include multiple identities co-existing (Balmer & Greyser, 2002), competing (Brook, Garcia, & Fleming, 2008) or one identity dominating the others (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Various situational, interpersonal, and internal factors influence the identity interaction outcomes in consumption. These influences are critical, although the exact dynamics of the multiple identity interaction process are yet to be established (MacLean & Webber, 2015).

2.3.1. Influences on identity interactions

In consumer identity literature, researchers argue that key influences on identity interactions come from either external social environmental factors or internal self-related factors. The external environmental influences come from social structures that make identities salient and activated based on the situational and interpersonal factors (Burke, 2003). The internal self-related perspective, on the other hand, focuses on how multiple identities interact within the internal self-verification process (Burke, Owens, Serpe, & Thoits, 2003). In addition, there is a third perspective based on the principles of intersectionality, whereby the interaction of multiple identities in a given situation creates a unique coordinate from the integrating or intersecting identities (Gopaldas, 2013). This

perspective focuses on social identities and the oppressive, dominant or discriminative effects produced by the unique coordinate of intersecting social identities.

External influences

The perspective based on external influences on identity asserts that the identity interaction outcomes in consumption depend on social, contextual influences, such as identity salience and priming (Forehand, Deshpandé, & Reed II, 2002). Identity salience is described as the probability of an identity being invoked in a social setting (Stryker, 2003) and identity priming is the act of using stimuli to activate identity (Tulving, Schacter, & Stark, 1982). These influences increase activation, association, accessibility and relevance of multiple identities (Reed II, 2004; Reed, Forehand, Puntoni, & Warlop, 2012). For example, the ‘poor’ identity of a female comes to the fore when she participates in a protest against a price increase of a basic good, even though she possesses multiple identities, such as a mother, wife and an employee. The activation of the ‘poor’ identity over the others is mainly due to situational influences (protest being for the poor and highlighting the economic poverty-related factors) and interpersonal influences (belonging to the ‘in-group’ of other poor individuals). This social identity-based perspective includes a broad spectrum of identity interaction studies, from early assertions of identity as reflections of interactions with social milieu (Cooley, 1902) to more contemporary emotion profiles (Coleman & Williams, 2013).

The theoretical base for the social identity-based perspective comes mainly from the roots of social psychology in consumer behaviour. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1982) and extended self (Belk, 1988) emphasise the social influence in identity construction and activation. Regarding empirical applications, the external perspective based on salience appears as the most dominant perspective with a broader application in consumer identity scholarship (see **Table 2.1**).

Both interpretive and positivist traditions recognise the social constructionism of consumer identities and the societal influence on identity interactions in consumption.

Interpretive research recognises consumers using the social meanings of goods to construct identities and self (Solomon, 1983; Thompson & Hirschman, 1995). Theoretically different streams of thought in relativist ontology, such as symbolic interactionism (Solomon, 1983), consumer culture theory (Holt, 2002) and theories of ideological compatibilities (Askegaard & Arnould, 2005) support the social influence on identity interactions. Interpretive research on consumption also recognises the discourses of power in society (Foucault, 1984; Frank, 1995; Thompson, 2004). Interpretivists hold the view that some identity categories are inherently more powerful than others, yet acknowledge the situational impact on identities, including social discourses of power. As Thompson (2004) points out, discourses of power direct the thoughts and actions within which identities are positioned. For example, some castes and creeds are inherently privileged, while others are deprived. The rationale behind these privileges and disadvantages lies in discourses of social power (Thompson, 2014), which has yet to be fully explored in the social identity-based perspective.

Table 2.1: Key empirical research in social and contextual influences on consumer identities

Research area	Author(s)/ Year	Main theories used	Key premise
Consumer-Brand Identification	Lam, Ahearne, Hu, & Schillewaert (2010)	Social identity theory	Brand switching can be a result of social mobility between brand identities.
Customer-Company Identification	Bhattacharya & Sen (2003)	Social identity theory and theories of organisational identification	Customers identify themselves with company identities to aid defining their identities and self.
Moral identity	Winterich, Mittal, & Aquino (2013)	Self-verification theory	The effectiveness of the recognition of the charitable behaviour depends on two attributes of moral identity: internalisation and symbolisation.
Lifestyle branding for identity signalling	Berger & Heath (2007)	Identity signalling perspectives	Consumers separate themselves from the dominant cultures and identities to signal their desired identities.
	Chernev, Hamilton, & Gal (2011)	Theories of brand association and self-expression	Even though consumers express identities using brands, their desire to express identities (self) can be satiated with self-expressive brands.
Identity integration	Epp & Price (2011)	Customer-company goal integration principles	A qualitative study on companies integrating customer goals both collective and relational.
Salience and moral identity	Aquino & Reed (2002)	Social identity theory and theories in social cognition	Association among moral identity, moral cognitions and behaviour in terms of self-importance to propose a definition of moral identity.
	Reed II, Aquino, & Levy (2007)	Theories of moral behaviour and behavioural decision theory	Organisations use moral identity of the consumers in company-consumer identification. It is argued consumers with high self-important moral identity perceive devoting time as self-expressive and vice versa.
Social identity threat and dis/associative responses	White, Argo, & Sengupta (2012)	Social identity theory and theories of social rejection	A consumer's response to identity integrated products of a company can be associative or dissociative as a result of social identity threat.
Consumer identity and self-affirmation	Townsend & Sood (2012)	Self-affirmation theory and interpersonal judgement theory	Consumers build/enhance self/identities based on products with high aesthetic values as opposed to other superior products attributes such as functionality, brand and hedonic related.
Identity threat and social closeness	Ward & Broniarczyk (2011)	Social identity theory, self-verification theory and self-perception theory	Despite consumers generally purchasing products in line with their identities, in gift giving, consumers purchase products that display values and attributes against their identities. The motive behind purchasing identity incongruent gifts is the desires of the gift receiver.
Contextual priming of self-identity	Kettle & Häubl (2011)	Theory of affordances and principles of self-identity	The signature of consumers is an identity prime that activates aspects of personal identity.
Identity association and learning	Mercurio & Forehand (2011)	Models of memory and social identity theory	Advertising is used to activate consumer identities in marketing. However, the effectiveness of identity activation depends on the consumer memory, where strongly, moderately and related unrelated identities providing differing encoding and retrieval levels.

Internal influences (personal identity-based perspective)

The personal identity-based perspective asserts that identities are ordered in a relatively stable hierarchy, constructed on the psychological attachment of one identity in relation to another (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). This perspective focuses on the psychological centrality of multiple identities instead of the contextual influences (Rosenberg, 1979), and arranges multiple consumer identities in a hierarchical way that separates the identities into two categories: central and peripheral (Harmon-Kizer, Kumar, Ortinau, & Stock, 2013). Based on the importance that consumers place on identities, known as identity centrality (Settles, 2004), consumers organise multiple identities with central identities given importance and commitment over peripheral identities. For example, a poor consumer with a central ‘mother’ identity places a greater importance on what to feed her children over purchasing cosmetics, which is more important to her peripheral ‘young lady’ identity.

The theoretical roots of the hierarchical perspective come from psychological influences of identity centrality. Identity centrality determines the position of an identity in the hierarchy of importance to the individual (Rane & McBride, 2000), based on the criticality they place on the identity (Stryker and Serpe 1994; Settles 2004). Identity centrality also agrees with the psychological principle that asserts memory as the fundamental building block in identities (Reed II & Forehand, 2016). The personal identity-based perspective, therefore, argues for stable, long-term categories and identities (Wheeler, DeMarree, & Petty, 2008) that display temporal stability (Markus & Kunda, 1986), resisting social influences. For example, an Islam devotee may reject non-halal food despite significant social influences from friends. Though social influences prime the consumer’s ‘mate’ identity, his religious identity that abstains from consumption of non-halal food is higher and central in the hierarchy, rationalising and sustaining his rejection. Finally, amid subtle differences, similar concepts such as identity centrality, identity prominence, and identity importance refer to the enduring subjective value of an identity to an individual (Brenner, Serpe, & Stryker, 2014) in the personal identity-based perspective.

Even though identity centrality principles do not reject salience of identities, the key distinction is the enduring relative importance a consumer places on an identity (Stryker & Serpe, 1994) and the level of consciousness. Unlike centrality, identity salience is a context-based enactment of an identity over other competing identities (Rane & McBride, 2000; Stryker & Serpe, 1994) rather than being part of a consumer's consciousness (Rane & McBride, 2000). For example, a teacher dealing with a student's misconduct activates her teacher identity due to contextual cues (identity salience). However, her 'mother' identity, with no situational primes, comes to the fore (identity centrality based prominence), forcing her to deal with the student more like a mother dealing with her child than a strict disciplinarian.

Similar to the social identity-based perspective, the personal identity-based perspective also fails to fully incorporate the structures of social power. The theoretical underpinnings of the social identity-based perspective place a greater emphasis on the internal control of identities over external factors (including social discourses of power), which rationalises the omission of social power structures. For example, in the consumer emancipation view (Thompson, 2004), consumers reject commoditised identities imposed on them by the marketplace and create their own meanings for these idealised identities (Holt, 2002).

Despite differences, the social identity-based and the personal identity-based perspectives are not mutually exclusive. For example, both perspectives recognise contextual influences (of the social identity-based perspective) and indexing (of the personal identity-based perspective). In addition, the limited consideration of social power structures in both perspectives forms the basis of the third perspective, based on the principles of intersectionality.

Intersectional influences

The third category of identity influences focuses specifically on inherent power structures in social identities. Adapted from gender and critical race studies, this view takes into account the societal power structures in studying multiple identity interactions. For example, being in economic poverty, being uneducated and being female have inherent disadvantages in society, which impact consumer identities. These subsistence consumer identities interact and influence each other in consumption situations, leading to multiple disadvantages in subsistence markets. Known as intersectionality, this nature of identity axes overlapping and affecting each other in consumption situations should be investigated to understand how subsistence consumption identities influence consumption decisions (Gopaldas, 2013; Corus & Saatcioglu, 2015).

Intersectionality deals with unique social coordinates created as a result of intersecting social axes, identity structures and categories such as social class, gender and race, which are occupied by individuals in society. The nature of these unique social coordinates of intersecting multiple categories is shown by golfer Tiger Woods introducing himself as a ‘Cablinasian’, a term representing his Caucasian, Black and Indian (native American) identities (Josselson & Harway, 2012).

Legal scholar Kimberle Crenshaw (1989; 1991) is credited with coining the term intersectionality. Although the term intersectionality was not used, the simultaneous existence and overlapping of identities and categories were acknowledged many years ago (Giddings, 1985; Hancock, 2007). For instance, Mohanty’s (1988) claim of western feminist discourse being neither singular nor homogenous, the multiple consciousness introduced by King (1988) and Glenn’s (1985) article titled ‘The intersection of race, gender and class oppression’ are proposals and discussions of intersectionality without using the terminology. Numerous scholars (Anzaldua, 1987; Collins, 1991; Davis, 1981; Hooks, 1984; Lorde, 1984; Moraga, 1983; Sandoval, 1991; Smith, 1983; Spelman, 1988) echo these sentiments both

within and outside the fields of gender and critical race. These discussions on intersectionality extend the boundaries of the concept as well as the confusions associated with rapid expansion and advancement.

Application and advancement of intersectionality

Intersectionality as a concept is not confined to gender and critical race.

Intersectionality encompasses a broad spectrum from a simple content specialisation in populations with intersecting identities to a research paradigm (Hancock, 2007). At the most abstract level, intersectionality principles are considered a possible integrator between the inherently incommensurable research paradigms of positivism and constructivism with concepts like embodied cognition (Shapiro, 2011; Leitan & Chaffey, 2014) and grounded cognition (Barsalou, 2008). Being at the two contrasting extremes of shared understanding of reality, positivism considers an objective reality independent of individuals, whereas constructivism argues for a constructed reality where individuals are constructors (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2013). However, intersectionality's potential to investigate the possible intersection and interplay of these paradigms is considered in the fields of research of embodied cognition and grounded cognition. Embodied cognition comprises an array of diverse theoretical fields (Shapiro, 2011) to investigate the integration of divergent philosophical traditions (Leitan & Chaffey, 2014). On the other hand, grounded cognition stresses the interaction between numerous discrete aspects such as perception, action and environment as multiple means of grounded cognition (Barsalou, 2008). Intersectionality is also considered an analytical tool of differences (Jordan-Zachery, 2007), an epistemological perspective (Hancock, 2007; McCall, 2005; Shields, 2008) and a notion that subjectivity is constituted by mutually reinforcing vectors of race, class and sexuality (Nash, 2008).

Criticisms of intersectionality

Intersectionality's evolution as a concept and expansion across disciplines provides recognition and currency in both theory and practice (Collins, 1991; Gopaldas & Fischer, 2011; Hancock, 2007; McCall, 2005). However, due to the nature of the concept, which runs

across disciplines and involves multiple structures and the complex interplays between them at social axes, intersectionality attracts substantial criticism too. Intersectionality is criticised as a non-specific theoretical approach (Davis, 2008; Prins, 2006) which is vague (Ferree, 2009; Lombardo, Meier, & Verloo, 2009), complicated and ambiguous (Brewer, Conrad, & King, 2002; Davis, 2008; Jordan-Zachery, 2007; McCall, 2005; Nash, 2008; Staunaes, 2003). Choo and Ferree (2010) consider intersectionality as an open-ended concept, while Davis (2008) calls intersectionality an unrealised theoretical buzzword.

These criticisms arise from various aspects of intersectionality. For example, intersectionality attempts to study the interconnected and overlapping nature of categories of difference. These categories can be an identity, a structure or a discourse (Christensen, 2011). However, due to intersectionality's origin, nature and applications being almost entirely focused on identity, most scholars define intersectionality as an analytic approach to identity, leaving the other forms of categorisation. Also, Carbin and Tornhill (2004) note that intersectionality does not address the reciprocally influenced, mutually constituted social categories. This critique even challenges the metaphor of crossroad intersections used to describe intersectionality (Carbin & Tornhill, 2004). According to Carbin and Tornhill (2004), if intersectionality is about two different paths crossing each other and then continuing their separate ways, it does not reflect the above mentioned mutually constituted social categories.

In terms of definition, there are considerable variations in the same discipline and field of study. As shown in Table 2.2, the majority of the definitions are from the field of gender studies, where intersectionality is most applied. Regarding the discipline of social sciences where it is gaining currency, lack of agreement and missing aspects of intersectionality definition are still evident. The variations in intersectionality definition confirm Nash's (2008) assertion that the definition of intersectionality is inherently ambiguous. Ambiguities at such fundamental levels affect the way research is conducted, including research methodologies.

Table 2.2: Intersectionality definitions by field of study/discipline and scope

Author (Year)	Definition/ Description	Field of study (Discipline)	Scope of the definition
Crenshaw (1989; 1991)	A provisional concept linking contemporary politics with postmodern theory in mapping the intersections of race and gender. Intersectionality denotes the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of black women's employment experiences	Gender and Critical race (Legal studies)	A concept on interactions of multiple categories
(Phoenix, 2011)	Intersectional analysis explores intersecting patterns between different structures of power and how people are simultaneously positioned – and position themselves – in multiple categories, such as gender, class and ethnicity	Gender (Psychology)	Analytical tool of multiple categories and structures of power
(Browne & Misra, 2003)	The dynamic and interdependent matrices of privilege and disadvantage that affect labour market outcomes across social locations	Labour markets (Sociology)	Matrices of privilege and disadvantages
(McCall, 2005, p. 1771)	The relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations	Gender (Sociology)	Multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations
(Davis, 2008)	The interaction (among) categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power	Gender (Sociology)	Interaction of categories of difference
(Hancock, 2007)	Intersectionality refers to both a normative theoretical argument and an approach to conducting empirical research that emphasises the interaction of categories of difference	Gender politics (Political science)	Interaction of categories of difference
(Acker, 2006, p. 443)	Mutual reproduction of class, gender and racial relations of inequality	Gender (Sociology)	Mutual reproduction of categories of inequality
(Mahalingam, 2007)	Interplay between the person and social location that is situated in relation to other locations in a web of power matrix	Cultural studies (Social psychology)	Interaction between individuals and intersections

Intersectionality originated to conceptualise both universality and particularity (Gopaldas, 2013), though the similarities are often overlooked with the heavy emphasis on differences. Also, Lorde (2007) stresses the inclusion of the multiplicatively privileged as the focus is almost entirely on the multiplicatively oppressed. Apart from limiting the

applications, these issues impact the means of application, such as methodology, as mentioned above.

Methodologies to study intersectionality are complex, and as a result, methodological approaches are limited (McCall, 2005). The multiple categories and dimensions involved in an intersectionality study increase the level of complexity. Regarding multiple categories, Chang and Culp (2002) pose critical questions. What intersections are the major considerations of intersectionality research and how many should be considered? The theoretical possibility of creating an endless number of categories in intersectionality makes empirical research difficult, especially by variable-oriented researchers (Hancock, 2007). The belief that gaining more explaining power of a category over the rule of parsimony (Hancock, 2007) is looked down upon in pragmatic research approaches is also an issue in the empirical application of intersectionality.

When it comes to dimensions, acceptance of static conceptualisation of identity is debated and challenged in intersectionality research. The static conceptualisation of identity recognises traditional identity categories, providing a stable base for research design. Also, identity politics supports unitary category and stability over dynamic construction for the argument that these categories bind people into a political group based on a uniform set of experiences (Hancock, 2007). Nevertheless, the anti-categorical approach of McCall (2005), which Hancock (2007) refers to as intra-category diversity, rejects the categorisation altogether due to differences existing within a category. Hancock (2007) uses the term “tremendous variation” to highlight this. However, intersectionality maintains new forms of categorisation as opposed to the total abolition of categorisation (Hancock, 2007). This agrees in principle with the process centred approach of Choo and Ferree (2010), the constructionist perspective of (Prins, 2006) and the inter-categorical approach of (McCall, 2005).

In addition to these main issues, there are further criticisms and problems in intersectionality methodologies. One issue is the claim that intersectionality focuses only on

categories and ignores categorisation (Hornschied, 2009). For example, intersectionality focuses on different races without adequate attention on the process of racialization or on effects of disadvantaged genders without focusing on the process of gendering. Despite successful counter-arguments for this at a conceptual level, this ignorance of process calls for methodological advancements in intersectionality to reflect the process. Also, (Nash, 2008) highlights the lack of knowledge and clarity on how to study simultaneous multiple positions in intersectionality principles. This is due to lack of proven methods and methodologies for studying multiple subject positions. Therefore, studies on methodological approaches in intersectionality are limited in number and inconsistent and wayward in nature (McCall, 2005) due to all these issues and confusions.

Choo and Ferree (2010) analyse intersectionality in studies of inequality and propose three styles of understanding of intersectionality: group-centred, process-centred and system-centred. The group-centred approach treats intersections as locations (street corners where age and gender meet). This approach assumes social processes intersect and cross any other and have multiplicative effects at those junctions, but these processes do not transform as a result of the act of intersecting (Crenshaw, 2001). The process-centred approach takes into account the processes that intersect with others, in addition to the intersections. For example, how gender gets transformed in its substances due to interactions is considered in this method. This approach requires analyses above the individual level and consideration of the context. Considering the entire system including intersections, processes and the make-up of processes, as intersectionality holds more validity in theory, despite practical difficulties and appropriateness in different contexts. This system-centred approach departs from the approach of considering only the main, basic effects.

The impact of methodological issues directly limits empirical studies of intersectionality. Even in highly relevant, earliest-to-adapt fields such as political science, intersectionality is yet to gain recognition as a research paradigm (Hancock, 2007). The lack

of application of intersectionality holds true for other fields such as social sciences and humanities (McCall, 2005). There are considerable attempts to provide clarity and answer these criticisms in intersectionality literature across disciplines including proposing methodological frameworks and other non-empirical work on intersectionality methodology, where the work of McCall (2005), Prins (2006) and Choo and Ferree (2010) stands out.

2.3.2. Identity interaction outcomes

In consumption situations, some identities conflict with one another (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Avery, 2012), become consistent with one another (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) and are highly accessible, while others are less accessible (Forehand, Deshpandé, & Reed II, 2002) and are more relevant to a given context than other identities (Visser & Mirabile, 2004; Stokburger-Sauer, Ratneshwar, & Sen, 2012). For instance, a poor mother's choice to buy a relatively expensive chocolate her child likes may encounter conflicts between her 'poor' and 'parent' identity (conflict). However, her decision to give up smoking is consistent with both her 'poor' and 'parent' identities (consistent). These identity interactions result in different outcomes that directly impact consumption decisions.

These varied outcomes can be organised into three main categories: manifestation, competition and collaboration. In manifestation, one identity may prevail over the other identities. For example, a consumer with small children decides to buy a safer car (Volvo brand) over a sports model of another brand. In this instance, her 'parent' identity manifests over her 'sporty' identity. In competition, identities conflict with one another. A dual citizen who migrated to their country of choice a long time ago may find it difficult to support one country wholeheartedly when the two countries battle in a world cup final in rugby football. However, in collaboration, identities harmonise with each other to provide a strong consumption signal. For example, purchasing an organic food product that costs three times the average market price may be influenced by the 'healthy', 'classy' and 'green' identities of a consumer, where all identities collaborate with no conflicts. These outcomes are influenced

by a number of factors including personal, social and situational influences. A poor consumer who highly values his outgoing and friendly personality (personal), is surrounded by relatively wealthier friends (social) and has just received pay (situational) may decide to entertain his friends despite having more serious financial commitments as the sole breadwinner of the family. Therefore, identity interactions that shape consumption are a key area of research in identity and consumption scholarship (Harmon-Kizer, Kumar, Ortinau, & Stock, 2013), despite being at an embryonic stage that requires attention (Ramarajan, 2014).

2.4. Subsistence consumers

Nature of subsistence consumers

*“An average of 25,000 children under five are still dying **each day**, mostly from causes preventable with low-cost, proven interventions.” (UNICEF, 2010)*

On one hand, subsistence consumers face serious issues: 1.2 billion people out of the world population of 7 billion suffer from hunger, over 9 million people die of starvation a year (Lang & Rayner, 2002) and nearly 1 billion people in the world are deprived of access to life's most basic need, water (CharityWater, n.d.). Four billion poor people live on less than \$2 a day (Prahalad & Hammond, 2002), representing an unattractive market with few opportunities for profit generation.

“The poor in Rio de Janeiro have a total purchasing power of \$1.2 billion (\$600 per person)”
(Prahalad & Hammond, 2002)

On the other hand, estimations of the income size of the impoverished consumer market include figures as high as US \$13 trillion (Prahalad, 2004), indicating a lucrative market to focus on. The subsistence marketplace is where consumers and entrepreneur communities live at subsistence income levels (Sridharan, Viswanathan, Benton, & Shultz, 2014). The subsistence marketplace refers to transactional exchanges of consumers with survivalist consumption needs of low to extremely low income (Viswanathan, Sridharan, Ritchie, Venugopal, & Jung, 2012).

Despite research on subsistence marketplace gathering traction (Mai, Rahtz, & Shultz II, 2014), much of the literature largely focuses on and emphasises the importance of subsistence merchants (Viswanathan, Gajendiran, & Venkatesan, 2008; Hart, Simanis, & Duke, 2008). The emphasis on subsistence merchants is mainly due to the nature of the subsistence market, which has a very high interdependence among consumers and subsistence merchant sellers (Viswanathan, 2007), often requiring one-to-one interactions provided by subsistence merchants, and the number of subsistence merchants. It is estimated there are over 2 billion subsistence merchants (Rosa, 2012), which is more than half of the entire subsistence market even if based on the most conservative estimates of the size of poor markets at 4 billion people (Prahalad, 2004). Even Anil Karnani (2007a), a severe critic of the bottom of the pyramid – the proposition presided the subsistence marketing – suggests considering poor as producers and business partners to achieve subsistence marketing goals. The dependency of businesses on subsistence merchants to implement strategies effectively is well documented (Court & Narasimhan, 2010). This dependency includes assisting companies to develop products and services tailored to subsistence markets and also the design and implementation of the other elements of the marketing mix (Sheth, 2011). The increased attention on subsistence market merchants has resulted in major areas of subsistence consumer research being under-researched.

Subsistence consumer research primarily focuses on two areas: 1) the size, nature and characteristics of the subsistence marketplace (Blocker, Bradley, McMullen, Artz, & Simiyu, 2012; Viswanathan, Rosa, & Ruth, 2010; Sridharan, Viswanathan, Benton, & Shultz, 2014; Viswanathan, Sridharan, Ritchie, Venugopal, & Jung, 2012); and 2) issues faced in the subsistence marketplace (Elaydi & Harrison, 2010; Narayan, 2014; Viswanathan, Sridharan, & Ritchie, 2010; Chikweche & Fletcher, 2010). These streams are not mutually exclusive and are aimed at improvements in the subsistence marketplace, particularly in the areas of poverty alleviation and policy implications.

Research on the nature and characteristics of subsistence marketing focuses on areas such as performance of subsistence marketplaces (Blocker, Bradley, McMullen, Artz, & Simiyu, 2012) and characteristics of the marketplace such as resource scarcity, adaptation through networking, specialisation in social structures and external interventions (Ingenbleek, 2014) and size and relationships in subsistence marketing.

This thesis research focuses on issues consumers face within subsistence marketplaces. Subsistence consumers face myriad issues in their daily life. These can be issues inherent to subsistence marketplaces, such as inequality, or consumer behaviour related issues arising from the nature of subsistence marketing. Inherent issues such as inequality and inability to achieve economies of scale are of critical importance to subsistence marketplaces. Inequality increases instability, polarising society into an ‘us versus them’ mentality (Narayan, 2014). Therefore, research on inequality is important for both instrumental and intrinsic reasons (Narayan, 2014). Incentives by marketing organisations, loyalty, disassociation with organisations and brand preferences are the main areas of consumer response based research in subsistence marketplaces. The thesis research focuses on decision making process related issues.

Subsistence marketplaces

Subsistence marketplaces are the consumption-based social contexts of individuals and communities whose ability to meet basic needs is often challenged (Viswanathan & Rosa, 2007). The term subsistence denotes the quality of life of consumers whose abilities to meet basic needs are severely constrained (Viswanathan, Sridharan, Ritchie, Venugopal, & Jung, 2012). In a subsistence context, the term marketplaces is a concept based on subsistence consumption. This consumption-based nature separates subsistence marketplaces from the generic concept of market, which is based on offering a value proposition for external marketing organisations and also from other subsistence-related aspects such as subsistence farming, which is production-based (Venugopal & Viswanathan, 2017).

Subsistence marketplaces are characterised by both resource constraints as well as opportunities. Some of the key constraints in subsistence marketplaces include extremely low income levels and other non-financial related constraints such as lack of access to basic resources such as drinking water, inadequate information for decision making, little educational opportunities and absence of basic infrastructure (Maranz, 2001; Viswanathan, Sridharan, & Ritchie, 2010). In terms of disadvantages, social exclusion and unfavourable social power relations can be found in subsistence marketplaces (Laderchi, Saith, & Stewart, 2003). These disadvantages often result in subsistence consumers having to pay more for the same products in other markets, even though the ability to purchase these products is comparatively worse (Mendel, 2005).

Subsistence consumers are economically poor consumers who live below the extreme poverty line. Since Prahalad and Lieberthal's (1998) initial Bottom of the Pyramid (BOP) conceptualisation, academics have continued to debate the definition ranging from US\$1 to \$2 a day, the estimation of subsistence consumers ranging from 700 million to 4 billion, and the market potential ranging from US\$1.2 to US\$13 trillion a year (Cruz, Foster, Quillin & Schellekens, 2007; Karnani, 2007; Ravallion & Chen, 2011; Prahalad, 2004). Viswanathan and Rosa (2007) describe the term subsistence consumers as individuals who find meeting basic human needs a threat. Subsistence consumers often have to choose between purchasing and not purchasing, as opposed to choosing between brands (Viswanathan, Seth, Gau, & Chaturvedi, 2007), which makes the resource constraints that operate within subsistence marketplaces drastically different from formal, affluent markets (Webb, Tihanyi, Ireland, & Sirmon, 2009).

Many aspects of subsistence living remind the poor of their economic poverty status, which makes the subsistence consumer's 'poor' identity highly prominent in most consumption situations. Subsistence consumption is further constrained by reduced access to markets (Mendel, 2005); cognitive and social vulnerabilities (Adkins & Ozanne, 2005;

Viswanathan, Gajendiran, & Venkatesan, 2008); inadequate skills and confidence levels in consumption decision making (Viswanathan, Sridharan, & Ritchie, 2010); and lack of awareness about consumer rights (Viswanathan, Sridharan, Gau, & Ritchie, 2009). Facing these multiple disadvantages decreases subsistence consumers' self-esteem (Viswanathan, Rosa, & Harris, 2005) and increases their powerlessness (National Institute of Urban Affairs, 1988).

To combat these multiple disadvantages, subsistence consumers create strong personal and social networks as a way of compensating for the deficiencies in resources and lack of knowledge and education (Viswanathan, Sridharan, & Ritchie, 2010). Subsistence consumers are rich in social, family and relationship aspects (Viswanathan & Rosa, 2010). Research shows despite resource and other constraints, subsistence marketplaces are rich in social resources (Venugopal & Viswanathan, 2017). Subsistence consumers are resourceful and innovatively use their social resources to overcome some of the inherent disadvantages associated with subsistence marketplaces (Viswanathan, Sridharan, & Ritchie, 2010). For example, recommendations and information sharing from close-knit communities and strong social networks are used to reduce the risks associated with consumption decisions due lack of knowledge and education (Viswanathan, Gajendiran, & Venkatesan, 2008). They also have effective coping mechanisms and strong social, emotional and cognitive resources (Saatcioglu & Corus, 2014), and use social resources in a creative manner to overcome consumption constraints (Viswanathan, Rosa, & Ruth, 2010). Subsistence consumers also turn to subsistence entrepreneurs who customise market offerings and make purchasing personalised and highly interactional (Venugopal, Viswanathan, & Jung, 2015; Viswanathan, Gajendiran, & Venkatesan, 2008).

Despite having access to the bare minimum of resources for daily consumption, subsistence consumers engage in identity-based consumption practices, such as aspirational purchasing (Gupta & Srivastav, 2016). Research on identity-based consumption by the poor is

scant (Viswanathan, Roland, & Avinish, 2008), despite extensive research on the subsistence marketplace (D'Andrea, Ring, Aleman, & Stengel, 2006; Chikweche & Fletcher, 2010). Much of the research on subsistence consumption focuses on economic and utilitarian aspects of consumption, often disregarding consumer identities and ignoring social and psychological consumption measures. The lack of research on consumer identity and the mindset of the subsistence consumer (Pauwels, Erguncu, & Yildirim, 2013) presents an important knowledge gap in subsistence consumer scholarship. See Appendix B for details of the subsistence marketplace.

Another significant aspect of subsistence marketplaces is the influence of religion on everyday consumption. Religion impacts consumer behaviour and is used to predict consumer behaviour in marketing (MacInnis & Folkes, 2010). The impact of religion on consumption mainly depends on religious affiliation and religiosity. Religious affiliation is the different faiths consumers follow such as Christianity and Islam. The differences in nature and type of faith due to differences in religions influence the beliefs of consumers, which in turn, influence the consumption decisions. For example, modesty in clothing and consumption of pork are important considerations in Islam, while religions such as Hinduism promotes vegetarianism. Religiosity refers to the religiousness or the level of commitment to a religion by a consumer (Vitell, Paolillo, & Singh, 2005). Religious aspects such as attending church are considered manifestations of religiosity (Mokhlis, 2009). Church attendance was even considered as the most used single variable in measuring religiosity (Bergan, 2001). The degree of commitment to a religion influences consumption with the strictness or leniency with which a consumer views consumption practices. For example, modesty in clothing, consumption of pork-based food and being vegetarian depend on the religiosity as some Muslims consume pork, similar to non-vegetarian Hindus while some consumers are strict followers of rules in their religion. Also, the level of attachment to material possession also a strong influence in consumption. Research indicates that consumers and religions in Western

cultures favour self-enhancement which is linked with endowments and material possessions, while in Eastern cultures relationships and interdependence is favoured (Maddux, et al., 2010).

Decision making in subsistence marketplaces

Despite consumer behaviour being one of the most popular streams of research in marketing, research on understanding consumer behaviour in subsistence marketplaces is limited (Viswanathan, Gajendrin, & Venkatesan, 2008; Purvez, 2003). As a result, research on influences on subsistence consumer decision making has not been comprehensively discussed in existing literature (Chikweche & Fletcher, 2010), creating the need to advance research in the decision making of subsistence customers (Banerjee & Duflo, 2006; D'Andrea, Ring, Aleman, & Stengel, 2003). Issues in subsistence consumer decision making can be explored in a number of different ways. Consumption choice, consumer preferences, information processing and effects of alternatives are some of the areas that need more research overall.

Although a substantial field of marketing scholarship on consumer decision-making and consumption behaviour exists, transferring knowledge from general consumer research to the subsistence marketplace is complex. Subsistence marketplaces are far removed from ideal western markets where most approaches and models are tested. Unique challenges include subsistence consumers' lack of purchasing power and capabilities to take care of their own needs, and due to stable conditions in subsistence marketplace, the ability to pass well-rehearsed consumption strategies down through generations. Assumptions that the situation of subsistence consumers does not change and so it is futile to change subsistence conditions must be considered and challenged in research on consumer decision making and choice in poor markets (Trujillo, Barrios, Camacho, & Rosa, 2010). In addition to this Chikweche and Fletcher (2010) point out five main areas of influence on purchase decisions in subsistence markets as value and appeal of the offer, income and consumer spending, social networks,

environmental challenges and family role. Environmental challenges mentioned include corruption, lack of income, unemployment, hyperinflation, uncertainty, complexity and lack of control of day to day activities (Chikweche & Fletcher, 2010).

Identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers

Desire versus ability to express identities

With more and more choice available, consumers increasingly make purchases to project preferred identities, reject undesirable identities, and fulfil aspirational and conspicuous desires (Holt & Thompson, 2004; Ustuner & Holt, 2007; Cherrier, 2009; Castilhos & Fonseca, 2016). This identity-based nature of consumption applies to both affluent consumers and to subsistence consumers who live below extreme poverty lines. The poor do not restrict their consumption to small quantities of goods or low-quality products (Hartog, Staveren, & Brouwer, 2006). According to Karnani (2009), the poor enjoy non-essential items as much, if not more than, their more affluent counterparts, even when such purchases are not affordable or practical.

Through consumption consumers constantly construct (Ustuner & Holt, 2007), deconstruct (Cherrier & Murray, 2007) and manage interactions between the multiple identities they possess (White, Argo, & Sengupta, 2012). For subsistence consumers, the ability to express their identities through consumption is curtailed by factors such as economic poverty (Prahalad, 2004), lack of education and access to resources (Weidner, Rosa, & Viswanathan, 2010), and importantly unfavourable societal power structures (Saatcioglu & Corus, 2014). The conflict between desire and (in)ability makes identity-based subsistence consumption non-conventional (Weidner, Rosa, & Viswanathan, 2010), puzzling (Moav & Neeman, 2012) and complex.

Beneficial and detrimental effects of identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers

Identity-based consumption has both beneficial and detrimental effects on the overall well-being of subsistence consumers. The benefits include improved psychological well-being

among the impoverished through combating powerlessness and lack of voice (Viswanathan, Sridharan, & Ritchie, 2010). Detrimental effects commonly result from the misallocation of limited resources, such as when subsistence consumers make identity-based purchases they cannot afford, trapping them in a cycle of debt (Jaiswal, 2008). Research conducted in Nepal has shown that poorer consumers tend to have lower self-control, are susceptible to temptations and spend money to emulate their neighbours (Banerjee & Duflo, 2007). Such tendencies result in a substantial proportion of the poor's income spent on conspicuous consumption-related activities such as weddings, festivals, alcohol and tobacco, instead of more mundane essential consumption needs such as nutrition (Karnani, 2009).

2.4.1. Initiatives to improve subsistence marketplaces and consumption

Despite numerous efforts by governments, non-government organisations and businesses, nearly 650 million people still live under extreme poverty line only in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (The World Bank, 2016). Improving subsistence marketplace conditions, therefore, remains a priority for scholars and practitioners alike. While strategy, entrepreneurship, education, microfinance, marketing and consumption being considered as important areas to focus on, the accountability of improving subsistence conditions seems to lie with government and business organisations (Viswanathan & Rosa, 2010). Particularly, business organisations' role in alleviating poverty in subsistence marketplaces is highlighted with the initial business case for marketing to poor by Prahalad in his introduction to Bottom-of-the-Pyramid market (Prahalad & Hammond, 2002; Prahalad, 2004; Prahalad, 2012). The business case for BOP markets asserted multinationals in poor markets could simultaneously make profits and alleviate poverty (Kolk, Rivera-Santos, & Rufín, 2014). Means of achieving these seemingly conflicting goals remains debatable as there exists a number of different initiatives by business organisations targeting the subsistence consumers in the markets they operate.

Initiatives by business organisations

Though there is a consensus among businesses on their obligation to contribute towards improving society, methods are varied and diverse. Due to systematic unfairness and exploitation in subsistence marketplace, offerings to subsistence consumers should be value adding and non-exploitative in nature. At the same time, businesses should provide these offerings in a non-charitable manner that does not affect profitability (Santos, Lacznia, & Facca-Miess, 2015). This value creation has been discussed and tried in various forms including terms and concepts such as corporate philanthropy, corporate citizenship, sustainability and environmental responsibility, societal marketing, cause-related marketing, environmental marketing, enviropreneurial marketing, sustainable entrepreneurship, corporate social performance, corporate social responsibility and creating social value.

The notion that business organisations have an obligation to contribute towards the betterment of the society they make profits from has been fundamentally accepted and executed by many organisations. There has been substantial criticism of this fundamental idea with over 100 published articles criticising ethical and social responsibilities of business organisations in the period 2002 to 2005 (Rembert, 2005). Despite this criticism, the acceptance of this idea has increased with PricewaterhouseCoopers (2010) reporting that more than 81% of European companies produced Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) reports.

Of the number of different concepts and theories of social giving implemented and researched, Corporate Social Responsibility is the most popular and widely used. Even in Corporate Social Responsibility, applicability and application vary based on different factors and contexts (Laudal, 2011; Sobczak, 2010).

Corporate Social Responsibility

Even though Corporate Social Responsibility is the most widely discussed social giving concept, with over 81% of European companies producing Corporate Social Responsibility reports (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010), the concept has been criticised for numerous

shortcomings including the fundamental question of ‘what is Corporate Social Responsibility’ being blurred (Lantos, 2001). Taking into consideration these shortcomings, Porter and Kramer (2011) introduced a concept focusing on connecting societal and economic progress, called Creating Shared Value (CSV). This concept was presented as a superior alternative to CSR and has been getting increased attention in both the academic and corporate worlds.

Corporate Social Responsibility has been widely discussed and argued in both academic and practitioner literature and the Corporate Social Responsibility debate is over 100 years old (Carrol, 1999). The idea of Corporate Social Responsibility is complex with multiple and different perspectives and views (Vaaland, Heide and Grønhaug, 2007). Corporate Social Responsibility has been described as both a management concept as well a business system (Smith, 2011; Harwood et al., 2011). Although the central focus of Corporate Social Responsibility debate is in areas such as definition, legitimacy and motivation behind the concept, there is a lack of clarity on the nature of Corporate Social Responsibility itself. The lack of clarity with other issues related to key areas such as definition and legitimacy, makes comparing Corporate Social Responsibility with similar concepts a significant challenge.

Similar and subsumed concepts such as corporate philanthropy, corporate citizenship, sustainability and environmental responsibility, societal marketing, cause-related marketing, environmental marketing, enviropreneurial marketing, sustainable entrepreneurship, corporate social performance and creating social value are some of the key concepts to be considered. Even though there are clear factors separating concepts such as societal and social marketing from Corporate Social Responsibility, some ambiguity exists between concepts due to the imprecise nature of Corporate Social Responsibility, both as a concept and the definition. This problem gets broader and more complicated with arguments about how an organisation decides what is right, ethical and morally valuable for a society, questioning the right of an organisation to decide for society. Organisations’ societal marketing actions determining what

is ethical and socially valuable has been criticised as oligarchic and plutocratic which is ruled by a minority and the wealthy (Gaski, 1985).

Vaaland, Heide and Grønhaug (2007) argue that key challenges of Corporate Social Responsibility are threefold: the legitimacy of social responsibility, questionable corporate benefits and definitional ambiguity. These challenges pose challenges to organisations and researchers in Corporate Social Responsibility decision making.

Economists critique the legitimacy of Corporate Social Responsibility based on stakeholder expectations. Milton Friedman (1970) asserts that the only responsibility of a business is to make profits legally. Deviation from this to engage in Corporate Social Responsibility initiatives should be viewed as an inappropriate use of stakeholder money, questioning the legitimacy of Corporate Social Responsibility (Lal, 2003; Henderson, 2001). In terms of corporate benefits, Corporate Social Responsibility is criticised as a 'pet project' of senior executives' interests rather than organisational benefits (Keys, Malnight, & Van Der Graaf, 2009), benefiting the society with low or no benefits to the organisation (Masaka, 2008) and at times carried out due to social pressure on organisations (Aguilera, Rupp, Williams, & Ganapathi, 2007). Definitional ambiguity is considered the cornerstone for many theoretical and practical issues leading to ambiguity of the broader concept of Corporate Social Responsibility.

It is well documented that there is a wide array of definitions of Corporate Social Responsibility yet lack of consensus and consistency among proposed definitions is well evident (van Marrewijk, 2003). Carroll (1999) proposes a definition and at the same time recognises the ambiguity of it. The work of Bowen (1953), which is now considered the landmark of modern Corporate Social Responsibility literature, did not address the organisation's expectations and was challenged by concepts of Corporate Social Responsibility by academics such as Davis (1960) and many definitions afterwards. Dahlsrud

(2008) provides a detailed analysis of 37 Corporate Social Responsibility definitions that highlight these issues such as lack of consistency and acceptance and ambiguity. These issues merit further investigation into the academic thought of different definitions of Corporate Social Responsibility based on context (van Marrewijk, 2003).

Taking into consideration these shortcomings, Porter and Kramer (2011) introduced a concept focusing on connecting societal and economic progress, called Creating Shared Value (CSV). This concept was presented as a superior alternative to Corporate Social Responsibility and has been getting increased attention in both academic and corporate worlds.

Creating Shared Value (CSV)

Porter and Kramer (2011) defined shared value as policies and operating practices that enhance the competitiveness of a company while simultaneously advancing the economic and social conditions in the communities in which it operates. Creating shared value suggests businesses transform social problems in subsistence markets relevant to organisations into business opportunities (Crane, Palazzo, Spence & Matten, 2014). Dow Chemical's product line of canola and sunflower seeds for making cooking oils is their best selling product line underlining the profitability (Pfizer, Bockstette & Stamp, 2013). On the other hand, this product reduces food manufacturing costs for their customers, yielding more than twice as much oil per hectare as soybeans and with longer shelf lives, and offers a healthy choice with lower saturated fat than competing brands (Pfizer, Bockstette & Stamp, 2013). Recognition that social issues present market opportunities forced businesses to go beyond merely identifying customer needs towards a deeper understanding of underlying social conditions and methods to change them (Pfizer, Bockstette & Stamp, 2013).

Shared value is, however, criticised for lack of novelty, interpretation of similar concepts and inability to address critical issues. Sadowski (2011) argues Creating shared value is only a new terminology for Corporate Social Responsibility, and hence lacks

originality and novelty as a concept. Similarities between Corporate Social Responsibility, creating shared value and other similar concepts with substantial overlapping areas of them form the basis for this argument. Lack of depth and comprehensiveness of the concept is also an area of criticism of Shared Value. Porter (2002) proposed creating shared value as a new concept but is accused of being a not well thought out concept and having less impact compared to Porter's previous publications (Economist, 2011). Creating shared value does not address the more critical issues like bribery, human rights and corruption.

Despite criticism of creating shared value in terms of novelty of the concept, applicability in questionable social goods such as tobacco and agreement of value between parties (Crane, Palazzo, Spence & Matten, 2014), considering the nature of the subsistence markets, this concept holds promise in the area of alleviating poverty while making economic profits.

Shared value created in the subsistence marketplace takes many different forms and focuses on different aspects. Most shared value initiatives focus on issues faced by subsistence consumers. These issues can be either market related or consumer behaviour specific. Issues such as inequality and inability to achieve economies of scale pose unique challenges in subsistence markets. For example, inequality increases instability in subsistence markets, polarising society into 'haves and the have-nots' fault line, highlights the importance of addressing inequality for both instrumental and intrinsic reasons (Narayan, 2014). Creating shared value initiatives focused on consumer behaviour related issues attempt to add value by overcoming subsistence consumers' problems in the areas of consumption capabilities, product and service experience, consumer culture, influence of other marketplace forces and also more importantly, consumer choice (Blocker et al., 2013). Choice improves quality of life and enables individuals to get what they want in a given situation (Markus & Schwartz, 2010). Limitations in literacy, education, economic power and market knowledge prevent subsistence consumers from making informed and value maximising consumption choices,

which are fundamental to their well-being (Markus & Schwartz, 2010). Therefore, investigating the impact of creating shared value on consumption choices of subsistence consumers is of utmost importance for poverty alleviation and profitability.

2.4.2. Subsistence consumption and consumer well-being

Of the various categorisations of well-being, consumer well-being stands out as the most appropriate for marketing and consumer behaviour studies. Consumer well-being is a fundamental component of quality of life. The simplest link between consumer well-being and consumer quality of life is that higher level of consumer well-being leads to higher consumer quality of life and overall happiness (Sirgy, Lee, & Rahtz, 2007).

While consumer satisfaction is a function of consumer expectations and perceived quality and value, consumer well-being is defined as “a state in which consumers’ experiences with goods and services – experiences related to acquisition, preparations, consumption, ownership, maintenance, and disposal of specific categories of goods and services in the context of their local environment – are judged to be beneficial to both consumers and society” (Sirgy & Lee, 2006, p. 43). Consumption experiences that are beneficial for both consumers and society increase consumer well-being.

Most measures of consumer well-being are related to economics and are quantitative. The cost of living model measures the prices of goods and argues increased inflation reduces consumer well-being. The consumption equity model is a macro level model that looks at the total consumption of a country across multiple categories and assumes high consumption expenditure leads to high consumer well-being. There are a number of other models such as the shopping satisfaction model and possession satisfaction model.

The other alternative measurement is subjective well-being. Defined as an individual’s cognitive and affective assessments regarding their life satisfaction (Dener, 1984), subjective well-being is about an individual’s evaluation of various aspects of life including their life

satisfaction and personal goals (Diener, Sapyta, & Suh, 1998). Key seminal work in consumer well-being, with methodologies and methods used, is provided in Appendix C.

Subsistence consumers constantly struggle with aspirational consumption needs due to affordability reasons, typifying the ability versus desire tension unique to the subsistence context. For example, subsistence youth's desire to have at least a motorcycle and their economic status create identity conflicts between their 'poor' and 'young' identities. These identity conflicts are psychologically problematic (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002; Murray, 2002) to subsistence consumers, affecting their well-being.

2.5. Conclusion

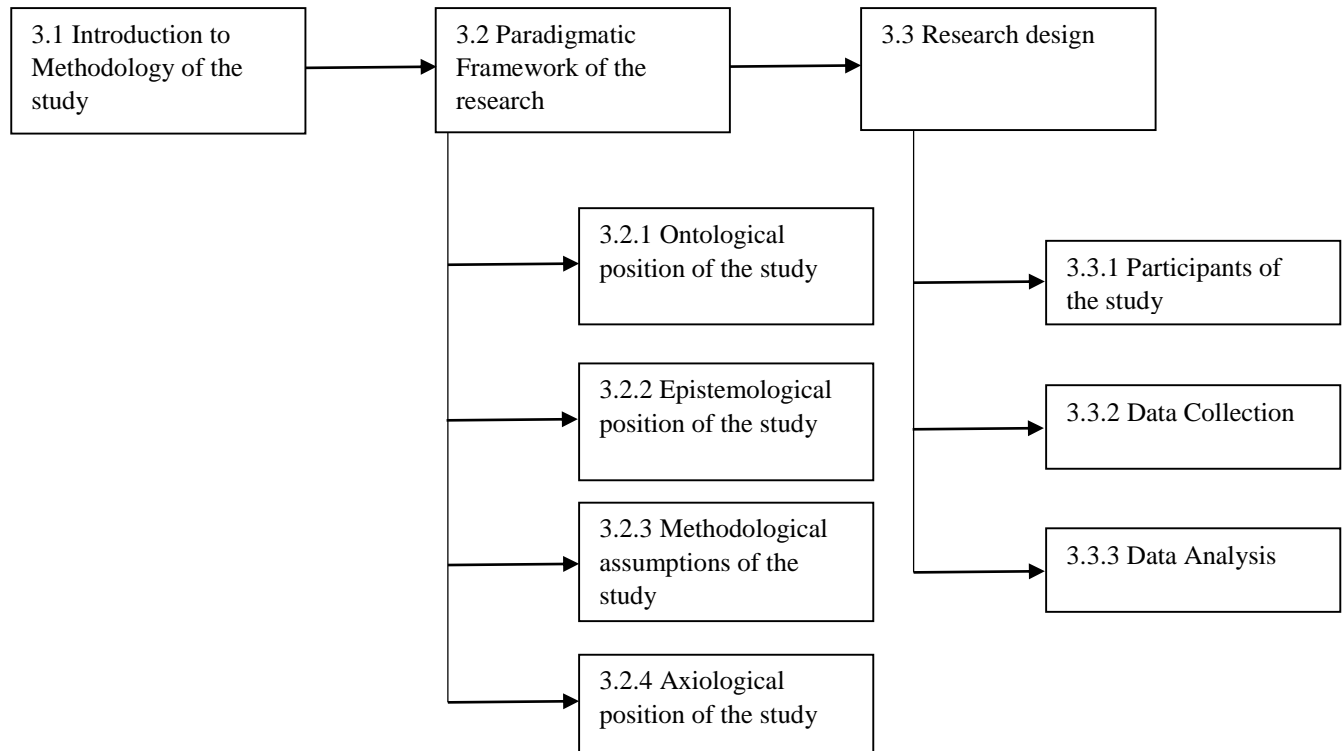
In summary, this chapter reviewed three key domains of literature, on which this study is built upon. These areas are consumer identities and identity-based consumption, intersectionality and subsistence consumers and marketplaces. The first key domain of research: consumer identities and identity-based consumption, is built on the overlap of consumer identity and consumption scholarship. The identity-based consumption literature was reviewed with a particular focus on what influences consumer multiple identities and identity interactions in consumption. The second key domain of research: subsistence marketplace was reviewed in terms of subsistence consumers, definition, marketplace conditions and more importantly, consumption of subsistence consumers. Finally, the concept of intersectionality, was reviewed from a conceptual and theoretical perspective of influencing the interactions of consumer multiple identities. Intersectionality appeared as the third perspective, in addition to the two established perspectives on identity influence in consumption, which are based on situational/interpersonal and internal factors.

In addition to the three main domains of research, this chapter provided a review of two other important areas that are critical in answering the research questions of this study. These two areas: social initiatives of business organisations and consumer well-being were reviewed

in the light of consumption and consumer identities. In social initiatives, the most widely used approach of corporate social responsibility and the more contemporary approach of creating social value were reviewed as influences on subsistence consumption.

3. METHODOLOGY

Chapter Roadmap



3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the research design, data collection and analysis methods and methodologies applied to answer the research questions. This study explores the identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers in terms of factors that influence consumer identities and consumption decisions. The study particularly focused on two key factors of influence, social power relations and social initiatives and their impact on subsistence consumption and well-being. This research was approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of Macquarie University with approval number 5201600352 on 9, June 2016. Particular emphasis was placed on ethics of this data collection as the informants represent a vulnerable community. (The university ethics approval is given in Appendix D).

This methodology chapter mainly divided into two sections. The first section describes the paradigmatic framework selected for the study and the rationale for selection. The paradigmatic framework includes ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions relevant to the research and also the axiological stance of the researcher. The second section details the research design and specific methods selected to collect data. This section is further divided into two sub-sections; participant information and data collection. The participant information sub-section describes the context participants were selected from and participant characteristics. The context of this research is explained in terms of suitability to the study in answering the research questions. The characteristics of informants include the socio-cultural and economic background of informants and the number of informants selected for each data collection method. The second sub-section, data collection, describes data collection methods and the sampling approach of the study. The two data collection methods of this study, in-depth interviews and focus groups are described in terms of rationale for selection and appropriateness while sampling section details the sampling frame and sampling methods selected with reasons behind selection explained. Finally, the chapter concludes with an overall summary of the research design of this study.

3.2. Paradigmatic framework

This section presents the paradigmatic framework of the research comprising the ontological position (Section 4.2.1), the epistemological position (Section 4.2.2) and methodological assumptions (Section 4.2.3) of the study. The paradigmatic framework also describes the axiological position (Section 4.2.4) of the researcher that relates to the concept of value of this study.

The paradigmatic framework details and justifies the researcher's positioning of this study within social research paradigms. Research paradigms are the shared beliefs amongst scholars of what constitutes meaningful research (Kuhn, 1962). These paradigmatic positions

rationalise the researcher's locating of the study within broader philosophical research paradigms. A paradigm is the set of beliefs that directs action in research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). This research adopts the constructivism inquiry paradigm where the inquirer's basic beliefs are shaped by relativist ontological stance and social constructionist/subjectivist epistemology. The adaptation of this inquiry paradigm is consistent with the objective of the research of understanding the identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers as the aim of constructivism inquiry is to understand and reconstruct what the researcher, informants and general public hold about the research topic (Lincoln, 1992). The methodology of a study emerges from ontological and epistemological assumptions (Morrow, 2007). Relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology of this study call for a qualitative, dialectical methodological approach. Regarding researcher's stance on value, this research takes a value-laden, emic axiological stance.

3.2.1. Ontological position of the research

The ontology of a research paradigm questions the existence and nature of reality in research. The existence refers to the "theory of being" (Bhaskar & Lawson, 1998, p. 5) of reality, while the nature of reality refers to the "philosophical assumptions of the nature of reality" (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Jackson, 2008, p. 60). The ontological stance of research as a theoretical construct provides vital philosophical assumptions about the nature and the structure of the society, research and the researcher (Sayer, 1992).

This research on consumer identities adopts a relativist ontological stance. Consumer identities are socially constructed (Sobal, 2017) and grounded in cultural categories (Cerulo, 1997). The relativist ontological stance is a proponent of constructivism inquiry paradigm. As Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 110) describe, in relativist ontology "realities are apprehend-able in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based". Hammersley (1992) describes social constructionism as a relativist stance with an anti-realist nature. Despite different forms of social constructivism such as contextual constructionism

which recognises an objective reality, social constructionism maintains a relativist position (Andrews, 2012). As opposed to reality being simply discovered, this ontological position believes that people create the reality and there exist multiple 'truths' (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Jackson, 2012). Relativist ontology informed by constructivist-interpretivist research paradigm believes in many realities constructed by informants and inquirer (Morrow, 2007). This ontological position should be distinguished from realist ontology that assumes independent existence of knowledge and social structures from what individuals believe (Willig, 2016). These two ontologies are more closely linked in research, despite being on the two opposite extremes in ontological position continuum, which gives rise to the widespread belief that these two ontologies are incommensurate (Willig, 2016). The rise of critical realism as an alternative paradigm that takes in to account scientific nature of realism and interpretive nature of relativism (Archer, 1982; Archer, Lawson, & Norrie, 2013; Little, 2016). For studies of socially constructed entities such as personality and attitude, however, an entirely relativist perspective is most appropriate (Willig, 2016). This study on consumer identities, therefore is best served with a relativist ontology. The relativist ontology must also be distinguished from nominalism and idealism, where there is a spectrum of possibilities about the reality from no truth to obscure truths. Both Reese (1980) and Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Jackson (2012) provide a detailed clarification of differences between ontological assumptions.

3.2.2. Epistemological position of the research

Epistemology connects the research and the inquirer regarding knowledge with the broad question of 'how we know, what we know'. Epistemological considerations include concerns about what constitutes knowledge, the theories of knowledge and the validity of knowledge (Blaikie, 2007). This knowledge includes both structured, procedural knowledge and commonly known things (Sayer, 1992), as well as beliefs, assumptions and practices

(Rescher, 2003). The answer to the question of what constitutes knowledge also depends on prior selected research paradigm and ontological considerations.

This research adopts the subjectivist epistemological stance, which is value-laden and context dependent. In subjectivist epistemology, the inquirer and the object of inquiry are known to be interactively linked to create the findings with the progression of the inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). As Blaikie (2007) points out, objectivism and subjectivism represent the two extremes of the continuum of epistemological stances. The subjectivist epistemological assumption refutes theory-neutral observational language claimed by objectivism (Johnson & Duberley, 2003). The subjectivist assumptions argue that the knowledge is relative to the view of the opinion holder or a group they are part of (Sayer, 1992). Constructivism research paradigm and relativist ontology reject the notion that reality exists outside and independent of human minds, as assumed in Objectivist epistemology (Moon & Blackman, 2014). Objectivist assumptions of an objective truth that is generalizable, empirically verifiable, empirically valid and independent of social connections and thought contradict the stance taken by constructivism and relativism (Crotty, 1998). Subjectivist epistemology's view of a pluralistic reality and knowledge constituent of human perception and understanding of reality situates well within the constructivist paradigm and relativist ontology selected for this research (Bruner, 1986; Moon & Blackman, 2014).

3.2.3. Methodological assumptions of the research

Research methodology is consistent with the theoretical, political and philosophical stance of the research, and their implications for the selection of research methods (Robson, 2011). Research methodology is the strategy of inquiry that guides the set of procedures (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Creswell, 2013) for the selection of techniques to acquire and analyse data to create knowledge in research. Research methodologies and subsequent methods of inquiry were selected in line with research purpose, objectives and research questions to maintain methodological congruence (Morse & Richards, 2002).

This research uses qualitative research methodology to answer research questions that are of exploratory nature. The selection of this methodology is consistent with the ontological, epistemological and axiological assumptions of this study. The qualitative research attempts to understand a phenomenon from an informant's point of view (Creswell, 2003). Data collections methods in qualitative methodologies such as in-depth interviews allow informants to explain their own experiences in a subjective manner (Seidman, 2006), enabling the researcher to understand the phenomenon in question from the viewpoint of the informant (Patton, 1980).

As this research is exploratory in nature as it seeks to gain insights into the interactions and influences of multiple identities of subsistence consumers, it uses a qualitative approach which is more appropriate for exploratory studies (Malhotra, 2010). This approach is particularly valid for substantial areas about which little is known, such as subsistence consumption, which Gau, Haeran, and Viswanathan (2012, p. 1683) find “underrepresented” in research (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Qualitative methodologies better reveal cognitive and affective biases of low-literate consumers (Gau, Haeran, & Viswanathan, 2012), an essential characteristic of subsistence consumers. Quantitative methodologies, in contrast, are driven by statistics and independent of the researcher, culture and context (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Adopting a qualitative methodology in this research over quantitative therefore is uncontested considering the research arena (social science), type of research (exploratory) and epistemological assumptions (subjective) (van Esch & van Esch, 2013).

3.2.4. Axiological position of the research

Axiology of a study deals with the concept of value in research. Heron and Reason (1997) introduced axiological assumption as a refinement to the analysis of research paradigms by Guba and Lincoln (1994) which focused mainly on knowledge, reality and truth, omitting value (Heron & Reason, 1997). The axiological assumptions of a study question “what is intrinsically valuable in human life, in particular, what sort of knowledge, if

any, is intrinsically valuable” (Heron & Reason, 1997, p. 277). The axiological stance of a research also addresses the nature of ethics related to the study and more specifically, what the inquirer believes as valuable and ethical (Killam, 2013). In research, the cultural and political values of the researcher affect how the researcher approaches the study and what they value in terms of results.

Etic perspective in research adopts an external approach based on the ethics and values of the researcher (Olive, 2014). Etic perspective, therefore, comprises structures and criteria outside of the context being studied (Willis, 2007). In contrast, emic perspective attempts to discover research participants’ meaning of the phenomena being studied (Willis, 2007; Yin, 2010). The value of both etic and emic approaches has been well acknowledged for a holistic understanding (Olive, 2014) and this study adopts a combination of both etic and emic approaches to form the axiological conviction of this study. The researcher who is also the sole interviewer of this study comes from a background of being a Sri Lankan citizen. The researcher was born in and has lived in the areas where the informants of the study live and has also worked in the garment manufacturing industry, where organisational informants were interviewed. These similarities make the view of the researcher important and call for an “experience distant etic perspective” (Pike, 1967; Abdul-Ghani, Hyde, & Marshall, 2011). Despite similarities, the researcher of this study differs from informants in terms of socio-economic background, cultural aspects and gender. The differences in researcher and the informants make the informants view important and call for an “experience near, emic perspective” (Pike, 1967; Abdul-Ghani, Hyde, & Marshall, 2011). Both etic and emic perspectives are necessary for a richer understanding of qualitative research, as (Geertz, 1983, p. 57) describes etic researchers as “awash in immediacies” while emic researchers are “stranded in abstractions and smothered in jargon”. Further, an entirely etic or completely emic method is not achievable in practical research and also non-viable (Gill & Johnson, 2002).

3.3. Methods and Research design

This section details the design of data collection for this study and divided into two parts, the informants and data collection methods. The first part, the informants describes the participants of this research in terms of their location/context, description, categories and number of participants in each category. The second part data collection describes two main data collection methods selected to answer the research questions. Two data collection methods selected for this study, qualitative in-depth interviews and focus group discussions are described in terms of the suitability to the study and data collection process. A research assistant was hired, who was an undergraduate student of the Sri Jayawardenapura University of Sri Lanka with the approval of the ethics committee for the tasks related to preparation and coordination of focus groups and qualitative interviews.

3.3.1. The participants of the study

Participant details

The study was conducted in Sri Lanka with female informants belonging to subsistence socio-economic background. Data were collected from three different groups of participants belonging to two main categories. Participants were initially divided as employed and community, where the employed participants were drawn from two large-scale multinational apparel manufacturing companies in Sri Lanka. These employed participants work mainly as entry-level garment sewing machine operators. The community group consisted of participants who are either unemployed or engage in unskilled or semi-skilled work on a day-to-day basis in the informal economy of the subsistence marketplace.

The research focused on female subsistence consumers. Females in this context experience additional disadvantages from unequal social power relations, a key element of this study. For example, discriminative practices in recruiting female workers in Sri Lanka (Ranaraja, 2013), typify the additional cultural, attitude and perception based constraints that women in general face due to gender (Gunatilaka, 2013). For example, primary school

education rates for boys and girls are at an equal level, while in secondary education, there are more girls than boys which indicates excellent access to education, a key factor in employment requirements (UNICEF, 2013). Women, however, comprise only 36 percent of the Sri Lankan working population (The World Bank, 2017). The unemployment rate for males remains at 2.9 percent, which is less than half that of females (Perera, 2015). Further, the reluctance of the Sri Lankan private sector to employ women in their workforce is well documented (Weiss, 2014). The discriminatory practices in female employment are not limited to lower level jobs in the employment hierarchy. For example, in the judiciary of Sri Lanka, only 27.27 percent of females work as opposed to 72.72 percent of males. This ratio does not improve in lower courts with only 20 to 25.2 percent of females employed (Dantanarayana, 2014). The story of 33-year-old female Wathsala Marasinghe reported on an Inter Press Service article typifies the nature of gender discriminatory practices in Sri Lanka. Despite being an undergraduate, Wathsala struggled to find employment and only managed to secure a job as a secretary of a small factory that paid her approximately USD 59 dollars per month of which roughly half was spent on commuting to work (Perera, 2015). Despite discriminative practices, The Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) shows that females headed 23.3% of Sri Lankan households in 2007 and there is no difference in terms of poverty between female-headed households and male-headed households at the national level.

In addition, the selected age group of 20-48 years represents the majority of the employees of the selected organisations and community. Further, research asserts that female's identities are greatly tied to consumption (Ustuner & Holt, 2007) was another consideration in selecting females for a consumption related study of an exploratory nature. Women utilise consumption of goods and related activities as their main resources for constructing identities, whereas men tend to focus on occupation-related and basic economic-related signals (Ayata, 2002; Durakbasa & Cindoglu, 2002; Ustuner & Holt, 2007).

The garment industry was selected for this study based on two main considerations. First, female workers account for 80% of the garment industry workforce in Sri Lanka and reported an exponential growth in females in Sri Lankan labour force (Institute of Policy Studies, 2007; Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka, 2009). The disadvantages garment industry females in Sri Lanka face due to unfavourable social power relations also increase the suitability of garment industry as the context of this study. Multiple publications of Peter Hancock and Ruth Prikett provide a detailed account of social stigmatisation and other disadvantages faced by garment industry girls in Sri Lanka.

The second reason for the selection of garment industry is due to the nature of social initiatives by businesses in Sri Lankan apparel industry. The social initiatives of garment factories in Sri Lanka is known for superior quality and high level of involvement with the community. Major apparel manufacturers in Sri Lanka invest a substantial amount of resources in social initiatives (sources withheld due to the display of company name). Sri Lankan apparel industry became a signatory to 39 conventions of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), and one of the companies selected for this study signed the Women Empowerment Principles developed by the United Nations (UN) women (sources withheld due to the display of company name).

The vast majority of participants in both employed and community groups displayed strong family orientation and hardworking behaviour characteristics. In addition to that, similarities were found across groups in terms of the demographic characteristic, age, where relatively younger participants showed more keenness for fashion and grooming. Table 3.1 provides a summary of participant characteristics for community group based on market segmentation bases (Beane & Ennis, 1987; Venter, Wright, & Dibb, 2015). Tables 3.2 and 3.3 provide the same for Factories A and B. For a detailed description of each participant, please refer Appendix E – Detailed Informant Information Tables.

Table 3.1: Summary of informants – Community Group

Group (Number of participants)	Characteristic variable	Information
Focus group 1 (6)	Demographic	All participants are married with children, 28-38 years (except one), unemployed (2 having informal, irregular work), education up to Ordinary level (except one)
	Geographic	All participants were from the suburbs close to garment export zone, where factories are located. Hometowns of two participants were rural villages
	Psychographic	High focus on children and their education. Low or no interest on fashion and grooming
	Behavioural	Extremely hardworking and regular religious activities
Focus group 2 (7)	Demographic	Four participants less than 28 years, unmarried, employed and educated up to secondary level and above. Two participants are married with children, unemployed and between 28-38 years
	Geographic	All participants were from the suburbs close to garment export zone. No information revealed on hometowns
	Psychographic	Some interest towards fashion and grooming
	Behavioural	Two mothers shared the extremely hardworking routines. The unmarried girls invested in education or entrepreneurial ventures
Focus group 3 (7)	Demographic	Varied age groups 28-44, married with children (except, one informant), most of them are engaged in irregular, small income earning activities. Low level of education
	Geographic	All participants were from suburbs close to garment export zone. Few were from rural villages came for work or after marriage
	Psychographic	High focus on children and their education. Low or no interest on fashion and grooming
	Behavioural	Extremely hardworking and multi-tasking due to additional responsibility of supporting household income
Individual in-depth interviews (8)	Demographic	Most informants were in 38-44 age group. All informants are married with one widow and one separated from husband. Unemployed or self-employed with irregular income earning activities. Low level of education
	Geographic	All informants were from the suburbs near the garment export zone. Hometowns of the informants were a mix of both the same area as living and rural villages
	Psychographic	High focus on children and supporting household income
	Behavioural	Extremely hardworking and multi-tasking due to additional responsibility of supporting household income

Table 3.2: Summary of informants – Factory A

Group (Number of participants)	Characteristic variable	Information
Focus group 1 (6)	Demographic	All participants are between 20-29 years of age, unmarried and studied up to at least grade 11. All have at least one sibling. Entry level employment (packing, machine operators etc.)
	Geographic	All participants are boarded in the factory hostel, except one who lives in a suburb close to factory, which is her hometown. All the other participants are from rural villages
	Psychographic	Concerned about the family. Despite young, less interest on fashion and grooming
	Behavioural	Utilize leave to visit family in rural villages or to spend time with family. Routine lifestyle except Sundays
Focus group 2 (6)	Demographic	Except one, all the other participants are unmarried. Age between 20-29 years with one 32 year old and one between 40-45 years. One team leader and the others at entry level employment (packing, machine operators etc.)
	Geographic	Participants are from a mix of rural villages or suburbs close to the factory. Participants are either boarded in factory hostel or live close to the factory
	Psychographic	Some (low) interest towards fashion and grooming
	Behavioural	Utilize leave to visit family in rural villages or to spend time with family. Routine lifestyle except Sundays
Individual in-depth interviews (9)	Demographic	Age varies from 23-46 years old. Mix of married and unmarried that include two widows. Education varied from grade 11 to university entry. Most are working at entry level factory floor jobs
	Geographic	All informants, except one (who is boarded in factory hostel) live near the factory. Their hometowns are either a town close to the factory or rural village far from the factory area
	Psychographic	High attachment to family and consider them as achievers
	Behavioural	Hardworking, routine lifestyle except Sundays

Location of the research

The research was conducted in Sri Lanka. World Bank highlights the low living standards and poverty in Sri Lanka with nearly 45% of the population living less than \$5 a day (The World Bank, 2017). This study was conducted in the suburbs and factories in close proximity of the oldest and largest the Free Trade Zone (FTZ) located near the Colombo International Airport. All participants were either boarded or living in the suburbs close to the FTZ. Majority of the participants were from rural villages where they later migrated to suburbs after marriage or for work. The community workers who are unemployed mostly migrated to suburbs near FTZ after marriage, while the garment factory workers cited employment as the main motivation for migration. Some participants were provided accommodation by the factories they work. The selected informants were rural/suburban, female subsistence consumers aged 20-48 years. These geo-demographic criteria were

selected based on the following reasons. First, the rural population of Sri Lanka is over 80% of the country's total workforce, representing the vast majority of the population (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka, 2016). The rural population is also evenly distributed among both the active and inactive economic population with over 79% and 80% respectively (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka, 2016). The incidence of poverty of households in rural areas of Sri Lanka is more than double that of urban poor households (Department of Census and Statistics, 2009), well-representing subsistence consumers.

Table 3.3: Summary of informants – Factory B

Group (Number of participants)	Characteristic variable	Information
Focus group 1 (6)	Demographic	One participant is in 40-45 age group. All other participants are between 28-38 years (except one). Mix of married and unmarried participants. One line leader and the rest are at entry level factory floor jobs. One degree holder and others up to secondary level education
	Geographic	All participants are either live near the factory (who are from that area) or boarded near the factory in private-boarding houses. Places
	Psychographic	Some (low) interest towards fashion and grooming
	Behavioural	Routine daily activities except Sundays
Focus group 2 (6)	Demographic	Varied age groups from 28-45. All participants are married with two widows. All are mothers with only one participant passing advanced level (grade 12) exams
	Geographic	All participants either live (with family) close to the factory or boarded near the factory. All participants are from rural villages, migrated either for marriage or employment
	Psychographic	Low to no interest towards fashion and grooming. High level attachment to family
	Behavioural	Routine daily activities except Sundays
Focus group 3 (5)	Demographic	Varied age groups 28-45. All participants are married. Low level of education with one participant with no school education at all. Participants are at entry level factory floor jobs
	Geographic	All participants are from suburbs close to garment export zone. Few are from rural villages came for work or after marriage
	Psychographic	High focus on family and children. Low or no interest on fashion and grooming
	Behavioural	Routine daily activities except Sundays
Individual in-depth interviews (8)	Demographic	Age varied with most informants in late 30s and 40s. Mix of both married and unmarried participants. Most of the participants studied up to grade 11 studies and Most informants are at entry level factory floor jobs
	Geographic	All participants either live (with family) close to the factory or boarded near the factory. All participants are from rural villages, migrated either for marriage or employment
	Psychographic	High focus on family and children. Low or no interest on fashion and grooming
	Behavioural	Routine daily activities except Sundays

3.3.2. Data collection

This study analyses the identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers with a subjectivist perspective and a qualitative methodology. The research used two data collection methods: in-depth interviews and focus groups. The study consisted of a total of 33 group and individual interviews with 74 participants belonging to three groups divided into two main categories. Eight focus group discussions were held across the three informant groups. These focus group discussions lasted between 65 minutes to 77 minutes and included 49 informants. These focus groups were followed by 25 in-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews that deeply investigated the themes that emerged from the focus group discussions. A total of 25 interviews were conducted which lasted between 38 minutes to 78 minutes. All interviews were audiotaped with a total length of recordings close to 28 hours. All interviews and focus group discussions were audio taped using two different recorders and the recordings were supplemented by extensive note taking prior, during and immediately after the interviews and focus groups. Interviews and focus groups were conducted in Sinhalese language and were transcribed into verbatim copies and translated into English with a transcript word count of over 240,000 and a translation of over 272,000 words. Translations were handled with emphasis given to meaning transference and acceptability that considered the cultural nuances. The translated files were then carefully analysed for emerging themes to answer the research questions. The statistical details of the data collection, transcription and translation processes are provided in Table 3.4 (For detailed data collection statistics, please refer Appendix F).

Table 3.4: Overview of the data collection, transcriptions and translations

No.	Group	Data collection type	Number of interviews	Number of participants	Length of the interviews (minutes) Min-max (average)	Transcription word count Min-max (average)	Translation word count Min-max (average)
1.	Factory A	Focus groups	2	12	65-69 (67)	7191-10317 (8754)	6184-12852 (9518)
2.	Factory A	In-depth interviews	9	9	21-58 (43)	2911-7058 (6157)	4119-11742 (7189)
3.	Factory B	Focus groups	3	17	67-71 (69)	8452-9085 (8800)	10673-11973 (11223)
4.	Factory B	In-depth interviews	8	8	21-65 (48)	3253-8908 (6362)	2157-10491 (6707)
5.	Community	Focus groups	3	20	62-76 (71)	8620-9980 (9467)	9900-14476 (11626)
6.	Community	In-depth interviews	8	8	34-77 (45)	4274-10271 (6259)	3369-13580 (7467)
Total			33	74	1674	228686	265658

Rationale for using selected data collection methods

Focus groups bring out differences between participants that help to understand a range of behaviours (Fern, 2001) and also highlight salient issues in the phenomenon being investigated (Gibbs, 1997; Stokes & Bergin, 2006). Considering the nature of this study that focused on everyday consumption experiences of subsistence consumers, use of focus groups defined as “a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment upon, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research” (Gibbs, 1997, p. 1) provide best insights that help answer research questions. Focus group discussions alone in practice are insufficient to provide a superior research outcome. Participants may feel social pressure causing over-claiming (Webb, 1995; Greenbaum, 2003) and the feeling of being restricted when among a crowd (Greenbaum, 1998) may limit the quality and validity of information (Stokes & Bergin, 2006). The use of in-depth interviews in addition to focus groups overcomes the issues mentioned with focus groups. As given in the definition, ‘an unstructured personal interview which uses extensive probing to get a single respondent to talk freely and to express detailed beliefs and feelings on a topic’ (Webb, 1995, p. 121), one-on-one qualitative interviews allow informants to express freely in sensitive and personal topics. Cassell and Symon (2004) argue in-depth interviews provide more depth, and

flexibility of inquiry. In-depth interviews are therefore considered as the most suitable method to understand the lived experience of informants (Patton, 1980). Interviews are the most employed data collection tool in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, focus group discussions that explore the phenomenon and in-depth interviews that further analyse these phenomena appear as the most suitable data collection methods resulting thematic analysis of the phenomenon for this study (Bryman & Bell, 2015). These two methods were assisted by field notes and supporting evidence collected by the investigator.

Focus groups

Focus group discussions covered both employed and unemployed groups. Focus group participants were recruited from the two largest apparel manufacturing companies and community. The participant selection process of the apparel manufacturing companies consisted of four steps. First, discussions were held with management to locate the manufacturing facilities where the implementation and involvement of social initiatives are high. This was particularly an important step in informant recruitment due to the scale of operations of the companies selected. The two companies selected for the study are the two of the largest businesses in Sri Lankan economy, apart from being the two largest apparel manufacturers in the country. Company A has 48 manufacturing facilities and over 79,000 employees, while Company B with 42 facilities and over 47,000 employees (sources withheld due to revealing company names). Since there are various types of social initiatives and different level of exposure by employees, these discussions ensured the manufacturing plants with highest employee participation and exposure for social initiatives were selected for suitable informant selection. The researcher selected all locations for the study and no input from factory management was sought in selecting participants. The next step was to provide employees maximum opportunity to be available for participant selection. This was achieved through the display of flyers and posters in the production lines and other common areas with the main researcher's mobile contact number. The fact that the participation is completely voluntary was re-iterated in every step of the participant recruitment. The third step of the

participant selection for focus groups involved pre-screening of the potential participants. This was achieved through preliminary questioning of employees who volunteered to participate. The questions investigated the level of exposure to social initiatives of the company and diversity of the participants in terms of age, varied consumption experience with diverse identities, and other geo-demographic factors (Please refer Appendix G for Screening Questions for Focus Group Discussion participant selection). Finally, the selected participants were divided into different focus groups based on similarities while ensuring diversity of identities displayed.

Participant selection for community focus groups followed a similar process. Notices were displayed in popular gathering places of the community members. These places included ‘Grama niladhari office’ (the office of the public official responsible for administrative duties in a given village), principal’s office of the main secondary school and other religious places where communities gather. The same pre-screening process and selection criteria of the employed groups were used to select the community focus groups too.

Focus group discussions were conducted in the meeting rooms of Factory A and Factory B for the employed group and in a community centre for the community group. Focus groups provided a diverse range of opinions quickly and a broader understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. The focus groups, as a less-structured inquiry method that offers flexibility to create knowledge in exploratory research (Stewart & Shamdasani, 2014), provided a range of consumption situations and key identities involved in selected consumption situations.

In-depth qualitative interviews

Qualitative interview participants were selected using the same posters and flyers as in focus groups. Initial insights gained from focus group discussions (prior to full analysis) were also used in the screening process to make sure the quality and relevance of the input from participants remain high. A special emphasis was placed on maintaining diversity and

meaningful exposure to the social initiatives. A total of 25 semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted that lasted an average of approximately 50 minutes with some interviews lasting over 70 minutes. The focus group participants were not used for one-on-one interviews. Qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted in individual discussion rooms of garment manufacturing factories for the employed participants. For community group, participant's residences and the office room of the 'Grama niladhari' were used. In all interviews, the complete privacy of the participant was maintained with no other individual present and the voluntary nature of participation re-iterated.

Sampling for data collection: focus groups and interviews

The data collection started with the focus group discussions, followed by in-depth qualitative interviews. Voluntary, non-probability, purposeful sampling was used to select the participants from three community groups for the two main categories, employed and community. The assistance from the selected business organisations for employed participants and the community representatives for the community group was used only to locate the factories and common gathering places for higher response rate. Criterion sampling was used to obtain the initial pool of potential participants, from which purposeful sampling was used to achieve the variation (Seidman, 2006) of identities and consumption situations.

A total of 5 focus groups were conducted with two employed groups from the selected organisations pseudo named Factory A and Factory B providing two and three focus group discussions respectively. The community group had three focus group discussions. This included a total of 49 participants for the focus groups which allowed for sufficient breadth of the issues to be explored and also for comparisons within and between the three selected segments (Asbury, 1995; Morgan, 1998).

The second stage, in-depth interviews consisted of 25 one-to-one interviews participants from the three groups: Factory A employees, Factory B employees and the community group. This number ensured sufficient information was gained to answer the research questions, with

a variety of information. While no definitive number is recommended in terms of qualitative interview sample size, 24-30 participants are anticipated to be sufficient to address the research aim of a study of this nature (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). Participants were incentivised for participating in the research both focus groups and qualitative interviews.

In focus group discussions, the ideal number of focus groups are determined when the moderator can anticipate what will be said next (Morgan, 1988). This generally takes three to four groups, although a more complex research requiring more (Asbury, 1995). With eight focus group discussions and 74 participants providing information therefore, allows sufficient breadth for the issues to be explored and for comparisons within and between three selected segments. For in-depth qualitative interviews, the number of participants should ensure that the amount of information required to answer the research questions and the variety of information is gained. The interviews stop once participants start to provide no new information that indicates saturation - which is the guiding principle of qualitative research - is achieved. While no definitive number is recommended in terms of qualitative interview sample size of 25 participants are sufficient to address the research aim of a study of this nature (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006).

3.3.3. Data Analysis

The purpose of qualitative data analysis is to transform data into meaningful findings (Patton, 2002). Data analysis for this qualitative study was based on thematic analysis as a categorising strategy. The lead researcher reviewed and categorised data into key themes under the supervision of an associate professor who is an experienced qualitative researcher and an associate supervisor who is a research academic. Thematic analysis is a qualitative analysis method that requires analysing the meaning of data, which need to be prepared and organised (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This preparation was done through condensing and

categorising the high volume of data into meaningful chunks. Meaning condensation is a useful data reduction method, where data is not becoming merely smaller, but into concise summaries (Basit, 2003). Upon condensation and categorisation, data was structured based on the broad themes emerged according to three research questions. Narrative structuring of data provides a coherent structure that helps analysis and interpretation of qualitative data (Silverman, 2006). The thematic analysis helped the researcher to develop unambiguous themes emerged from broad initial categories of data (Boyatzis, 1998). The themes emerged in this thematic analysis were the data patterns and/or underlying meaning of data pertaining to the research questions asked (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Appendix- H provides the thematic node hierarchy of data analysis of this study.

Interpretation of analysed data was carried out by using the ‘interpretation by interviewer’ approach from the five different approaches available for qualitative data interpretation (Kvale, 1996). Interpretation of qualitative data included contextualisation of participants’ responses with the theory and previous literature. The use of numbers in the form of counts, frequencies and magnitude was limited in this study as it contradicts the objective and outcome expected in a qualitative study (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, limited use of counts, frequencies and magnitude was done despite having a large volume of data and some level of acceptance for quantification of data in qualitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Throughout the process of data collection and analysis, emphasis was given to ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of the study. Use of methodological triangulation, word-to-word transcription, use of two different recorders to check accuracy and unclear words, multiple source translation from sworn translators and cross-checked initial samples with translation guidelines in translation process ensured the credibility and validity of the data analysis process. It should be noted that methodological triangulation in this study does not refer to the use of mixed methods. There are two types of methodological

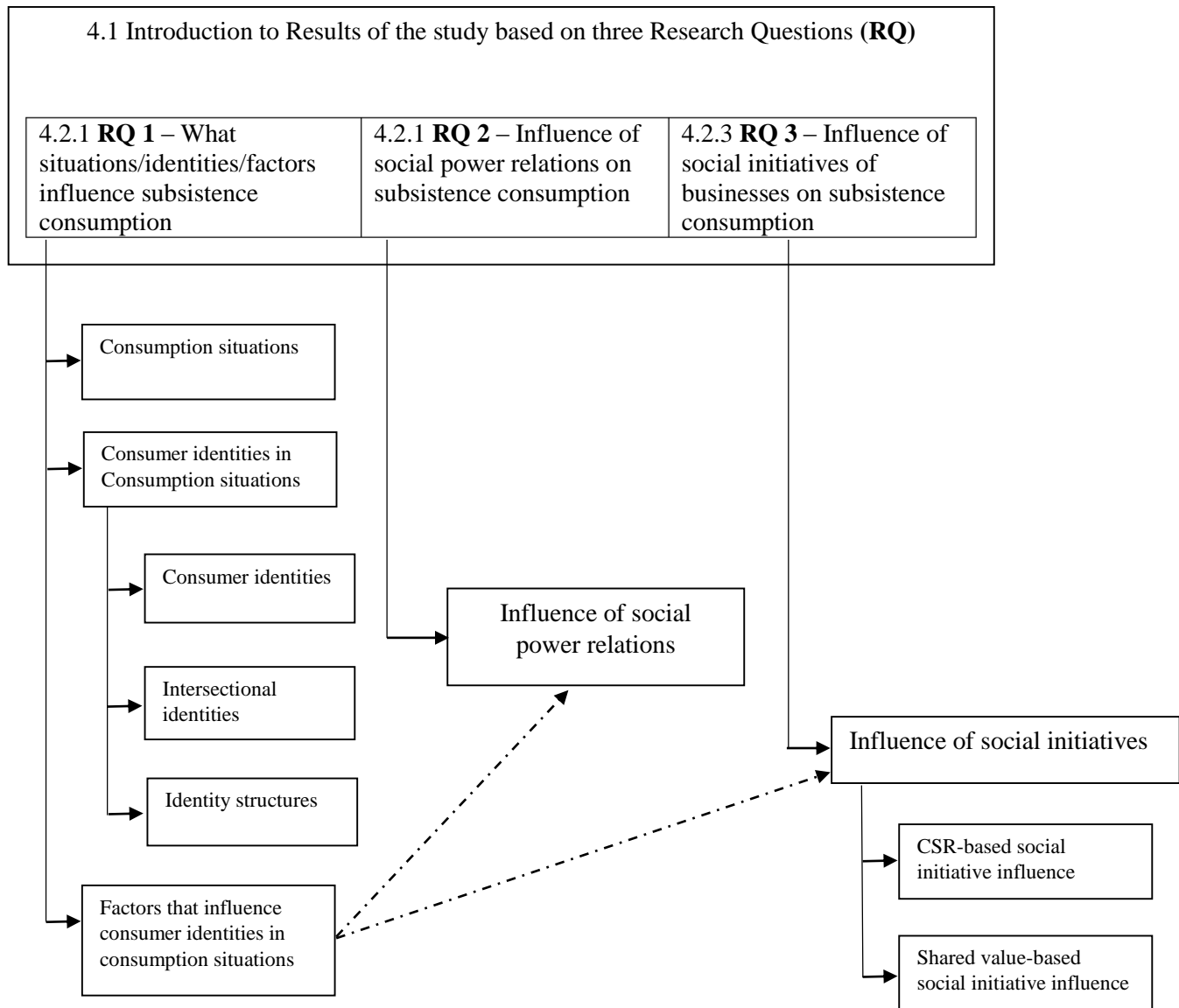
triangulation; across-method and within-method (Casey & Murphy, 2009). Studies that use within-method, employ two or more data collection methods either quantitative or qualitative, but not both (Bekhet & Zauszniewski, 2012). This study uses in-depth qualitative interviews and focus groups in addition to the field notes taken down by the main researcher.

3.4. Conclusion

In summary, this chapter described the paradigmatic framework and methodological approach adopted to answer the research questions of the study. This chapter provided details of the paradigmatic framework that included ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions and axiological stances adopted. The chapter then described the nature and details of the data collection carried out and concluded with a summary of the data collection process. Having discussed the research methodology of the study, the following chapter presents the analysis and results of the study and a discussion of findings.

4. RESULTS

Chapter Roadmap



4.1. Introduction

The results chapter describes the key themes/findings of this study on identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers. The results of the qualitative data analysis, conducted as per the methodological framework outlined in methodology chapter (Chapter 4) are presented in four main sections. The first three sections detail the findings of three research questions of this study followed by a summary of findings as the fourth section. The first

research question on what influences identity-based subsistence consumption is answered in three sub-sections. First sub-section presents the main consumption situations of subsistence consumers. Both everyday consumption situations and infrequent consumption situations enact different identities in subsistence consumers. Second sub-section finds multiple identities subsistence consumers enact in everyday and infrequent consumption situations. The final sub-section of research question one presents the main factors of influence in identity-based subsistence consumption as per the consumption situations and enacted identities in those consumption situations. The second research question examines the influence of intersectionality-based unequal social power relations in subsistence consumption. In answering the second research question, the most prevalent and impactful social power relations related to subsistence consumption are identified. The impact of these unequal social power relations on consumption decisions of subsistence consumers is then analysed. Finally, the findings pertaining to the third research question are presented in this chapter. The third research question focuses on a particular external influence, i.e. social initiatives by business organisations. To answer this question, two key social initiatives, a Corporate Social Responsibility project and a Shared Value Initiative from the two largest apparel manufacturing companies in Sri Lanka are analysed. The influence of these initiatives on identity-based subsistence consumption is discussed with a focus on subsistence consumer well-being as well. The chapter concludes with a summary of the findings with key insights developed and knowledge contribution from findings, which are theoretically grounded in consumption scholarship.

4.2. Key themes/findings from study

4.2.1. What influences the identity-based subsistence consumption

Different consumption situations enact different consumer identities relevant to that consumption situation. Consumer identities enacted in a consumption situation influence the consumption decision based on internal and external factors that influence the relevant

consumer identities in that consumption situation. Consumption situations relevant to subsistence consumers should be determined first to identify the relevant consumer identities, which in turn determine identity influences.

Consumption situations

Belk (1974, p. 156) defines a situation as ‘as something outside the basic tendencies and characteristics of the individual, but beyond the characteristics of the stimulus object to be acted upon’. The term ‘situation’ has a nuanced profile in research and is used interchangeably with terms such as context, environment and circumstance. This study therefore, investigated a variety of consumption objects such as food, educational activities, entertainment and religious consumption. These consumption situations, objects and practices were determined by qualitatively exploring the everyday routine activities, weekend and other non-routine activities and special occasion consumption situations. Informants described their everyday routine, weekend activities both routine and non-routine and also special and infrequent purchases and consumptions. The consumption situations investigated, covered the relevant theoretical bases of consumption by encompassing both consumption aspects and consumption types. Consumption aspects include structure (actions related to consumption object and interactions with people related to that consumption) and purpose (ends and/or means of consumption) of consumers (Holbrook, 1994; Cheetham & McEachern, 2013). Consumption types include consumption as an experience (e.g. emotional reaction of subsistence mother buying a television), integration (e.g. integrating consumption experience to identity of a proud Factory A employee who involved in a company social initiative), classification (build affiliation and distinction consumption, e.g. religious consumption activities of a subsistence female) and play (e.g. factory workers going on trips as a form of entertainment and making social connections) of consumers (Holt, 1995; MacCarthy, 2017).

The study on consumption situations revealed four different categories with similar consumption situations within category. These four categories comprise of the two pre-

determined categories of the study, employed group and the community group as well as two categories emerged as a natural split from the study, mothers and daughters. Different everyday routines (employed respondents going work versus community respondents being predominantly occupied with housework) and responsibilities (mothers with responsibilities of children and daughters focused on education/future) associated with these four groups created the differences everyday consumption of these four groups. Consumption decisions of the employed group further displayed slight variations based on the fact whether they were living with their families or boarded near factories with friends. The boarded employee subgroup included the factory accommodation provided by employers. In the community group too, consumption patterns differed based on whether the informant is unemployed or engaged in some type of income generating activity including supporting their husbands in their businesses/work. In addition to these groups and sub-groups, other distinct consumption situations related to consumers who were predominantly carers (taking care of disabled children, sick parents, paralysed husbands and consumer's own sicknesses) and single ladies (no family identities).

Consumption situations emerged in this study are mainly divided into five different types based on the main motivation behind these consumption situations. They are self-related, family-related, society-related, employment-related and other infrequent/unique consumption situations as the fifth type. Everyday consumption decisions of the participants are, therefore, mainly concerned about them (self-related), their families (family-related), the environment they live in (society-related) and their main income generating activities (employment-related). In addition to these four everyday routine consumption situations, ad-hoc, unique consumption decisions such as unexpected non-routine purchases create the fifth type. These consumption situation categories are further divided into sub-categories. For example, self-related consumption situations mainly concern about the subsistence consumer herself. Consumption situations related to self can be related to a consumer's health and well-

being, education and career, fashion/grooming related, entertainment/hobby related or even related to consumption activities driven by her religion. Table 4.1 lists the main consumption types and basic sub-categories of each consumption type.

Table 4.1 - Consumption types of subsistence consumers

Consumption type	Sub-category	Example	Frequently using identity groups
Self-related	Health and well-being related	<i>"There I had to work at night and it was not possible for me to continue since I have asthma"</i> Dars COI03, married, unemployed (irregular odd-jobs), 44 years old	Daughter, Employed,
	Fashion/grooming related	<i>"I wear makeup for a special occasion only. If not, I don't use make up daily. I use a cream daily but I'm cautious in buying grooming products which include bleaching"</i> Dili COF22, unmarried, private sector entry level employee, 24-34 years old	Daughter, Employed
	Education and career related	<i>"I am doing my External Degree from Kelaniya University. I'm awaiting my final year results...I came to this job to earn the money required to study for my university degree"</i> Tush FBF14, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 27 years old	Daughter, Employed
	Entertainment/hobbies	<i>"I am watching news as a hobby"</i> Chan COI08, married (a widow), unemployed, 44 years	Daughter, Employed
	Religious consumption activities	<i>"On Sunday mornings we go to church... when I return from church it is about 11 a.m."</i> Shee FBF31, married, machine operator at Factory B, 47 years old	Mother, Daughter, Employed, Community
Family related	Family members related	<i>"Today I bought one rice pack from shop for credit but in some days I have no money to give them (her children) to buy something for breakfast...Today morning I didn't have money to give so I have to find something for at least lunch. Usually I have money for only one rice pack so I give that for my two children and I am spending day without anything"</i> Dars COI03, married, unemployed (irregular odd-jobs), 44 years old	Mother, Daughter, Employed, Community
	Household work related	<i>"On weekdays mostly I prepare dishes I prefer and which are convenient for me...I don't ask from them (husband and son). I would just take whatever is available and cook them. I wouldn't worry about their preference much"</i> Ayes COF26, married, unemployed, 28-34 years old	Mother, Employed, Community

Table 4.1 - Consumption types of subsistence consumers (continued)

Society related	Community work related	<i>"For example I am involved with a social group along with 113 other women to aid each other to buy education material (books and stationary) for (poor) children. I'm also a member of the community welfare society (to give aid for funerals) which was established eight years ago. I have been appointed as the treasurer of that society so, most of my time is devoted to fulfil my duties as the treasurer."</i> <i>Mari COI02, married, unemployed (helps husband with the small bakery), 46 years old</i>	Employed, Community
	Friends and neighbours related	<i>"Most Saturdays we are working. If we are not working then I am going for shopping with friends to buy necessary stuff (implying for friends) ...but, I am normally I am not purchasing clothes"</i> <i>Prab FAO05, unmarried, machine operator of Factory A, 23 years old</i>	Daughter, Employed
Employment related	Commuting	<i>"...the first thing I do when I get in to the company transport is not taking that work pressure home (through reading books in bus) ...when I get down from the bus after reading a book he..he (smiles indicating the pressure is forgotten) ...I definitely do that whether I am going to work or coming back from work...anyhow, there are no dramas in the bus ...Even if there is, I just sit by myself and read my book"</i> <i>Kris FAO08, unmarried, machine operator of Factory A, 34 years old</i>	Employed
	Workmates related	<i>"Honestly speaking, they (other employees in the focus group) know that I love to have fun. Even if a song goes on air in the factory floor, I dance. If there is a company musical show, I don't keep quiet thinking that I am a mother. I dance before everyone else, when there is a song playing. Even when going on a company trip, I'm like that. How I eat, dress....I behave like a young girl!"</i> <i>Dami FBF15, married, line leader of Factory B, 38-44 years old</i>	Employed, Daughter
	Work-related/Company social initiative related	<i>"We practice there (athletics). I go at 6 a.m. or 5.30 a.m. I have to practice before it gets sunny around 6.30 a.m.... and then by 9 a.m. I go for work... when I come (to work), I am in sports gear"</i> <i>InoK FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old</i>	Employed
Non-routine/infrequent/unique consumption activities	N/A	<i>"...to redeem it (their house deed pawned to finance brother's wedding), as the days got closer, we put seetuwa (type of a raffle saving scheme amongst poor people)... now I think when the seetu (her turn in raffle saving scheme) comes.. I feel like getting a loan from someone"</i> <i>Nimm FBO02, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 36 years old</i>	Mother, Daughter, Employed, Community

Majority of consumption situations emerge from the study are similar across broad categorisation of four different groups employed, community, mothers and daughters. For example, seldom purchasing of clothes is common not only for unemployed participants who do not earn an income or mothers who are time poor but also for income earning employed participants and young unmarried participants too. Similarities in socio-economic backgrounds, level of education, personal and situational characteristics resulted in similar consumption situations in general. Dominant cultural aspects that encourage stereotypical behaviour for the poor and for females also act as a reason for similarities in consumption situations of four groups, despite having some variations in lifestyles of the participants in four groups. For example, employed participants of garment factories get two meals from the factory, uniform to wear and office transportation facilities. These facilities leave employed participants with less choice regarding what to wear and what to cook for the most part of their daily routine. Unemployed participants, on the other hand, need to cook more often and make more decisions on what they should wear. It should also be noted that these different groups are not mutually exclusive as there are employed mothers, community (unemployed) group daughter and other combinations of four groups. The categorisations of employed and community (predetermined) and mother and daughter (natural split from data) relate to consumption decisions taken playing one of these roles.

Four unique characteristics related to subsistence consumption situations emerged from the study in addition to the types and categories of consumption situations. Considerable religious consumption situations with a strong religious drive, lack of interest towards fashion and grooming, special meal preparation on Sundays and strong family orientation and influence on consumption are prominent in all different groups of this study. It should be noted that the concept of consumption in this study extended beyond typical rational and irrational purchases and use of goods and services. The study incorporated the experiential view of consumption of (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982), where consumption is also viewed

as related to emotional responses and sensory pleasure (Alba & Williams, 2013). The consumption related activities mentioned in this study, therefore, involve activities such as cooking and gardening which are of non-purchase nature.

Considerable religious consumption situations with a strong religious drive

Consumers' commitment to religion is a core aspect of identity (Cosgel & Minkler, 2004).

Religious consumption, therefore, is an important aspect of identity-based consumption.

Religious consumption norms influence the overall consumption habits of consumers (Cosgel & Minkler, 2004). For example, modesty in clothing found in Islam religion impacts the purchase and consumption of clothes for Muslims, while in Jewish dietary laws require followers to consumer kosher food. The influence of religion on consumption activities depends on the strength of religious belief and practices of consumers, also known as religiosity. Swinyard, Kau, and Phua (2001, p. 17) define religiosity as "the degree to which beliefs in specific religious values and ideals are held and practiced by an individual".

Participants of this study, from both employed group and community group display a high level of religiosity. The vast majority of the informants interviewed either go to the temple (Buddhists) or church (Christians) or carry out some religious activities at home including religious rituals and meditation. The religion influenced consumption activities included donations or helping others in their capacity, good deeds, modesty in clothing, restrictions in food items consumed and other religious rituals carried out either at their homes or religious places. Following statements from participants from both employed and community groups reflect the high level of religiosity of subsistence consumers in this context.

"I am very deeply rooted in religion. Due to the housework I don't get to go to the temple much but I make sure to definitely go on full moon poya days (important religious day for Buddhists in Sri Lanka that comes once a month)."

Chan COF35, married, unemployed lady who sews clothes as an income generator, 28-34 years old

Chan COF35 is a mother of two young children, who sews clothes at home for an additional income to combat poverty. She compromises visiting her parents on weekends to earn an extra income from sewing as she gets more work on weekends. She, however, mentions that she participates in religious ceremonies such as monthly full moon ‘poya’ ceremonies and also makes a point to send her children to all religious ceremonies organised by the nearby temple. These activities substantiate her claims of being ‘deeply rooted in religion’.

Kris FAO08, on the other hand, makes sure she goes to temple on at least two Sundays a month. In addition, she observes ‘Sil’, a special religious activity that requires a person to give up most pleasures including music, make-up, perfume and taking meals in the afternoon. In addition to that, she spends money despite being poor to give alms to the temple once every month. She sets aside a sum of money for something she calls ‘my religious duties’. Niru COF32 is of catholic faith and indicates her was involved with religious activities since childhood.

“I used to do a lot of religious work since childhood... well I was a part of the church choir and things like that. I participated in those frequently before getting married.”

Niru COF32, married, works as a servant in a house for 2 hours a day on a daily wage basis

As seen in above statements, strong religious drives are not limited to a single faith, but for both Buddhists and Christians. It should be noted that all 74 participants of this study in both focus group discussions and one-on-one in-depth interviews belong to these two faiths. This reflects both high percentage of over 70 percent Buddhists in Sri Lanka and also the nature of the suburbs where export processing zones of factories are located with a high percentage of Christians (Department of Census and Statistics SriLanka, 2012). Some participants either practice or co-exist with practices of both religions. These participants either converted to Buddhism from Christianity or vice versa or being married to a partner with the other faith. These participants also indicate strong religious ties with both religions.

One example is what COI02, who is of Christianity faith married to a Buddhist has to say about being religious.

“Something I firmly believe is any religion would only be a blessing for life, and would never become a burden for life. Regardless being a Buddhist or Catholic from both religions I receive a spiritual comfort to my life. So we don’t need to be depressed regarding things such as being poor or being rich”

Mari COI02, married, unemployed female, 46 years old

Another significant feature of religious consumption of subsistence consumers who are mothers is the involvement of children in religious activities and keenness to inculcate strong religious values in their children. The activities that encourage inculcating religious values in children include providing them religious education through Sunday school, getting children involved in religious rituals, going to Church or Temple on Sundays with children.

“On Sundays too, I must wake up early to take the children to Sunday school”

Gang COF36, married, unemployed, 28-34 years old

“Some Sunday evenings we go to the temple. There are small rituals every Sunday evening. So we take the children for those...on the other days well, my sister’s house is nearby to the temple. So I send my children there so that they can go and participate in the Bodhi pooja (a religious ritual of watering the secret Bo tree and chant gatha near Bo tree) ceremony. If I don’t have any work, and if my husband has gone to work, I make sure to participate as well.”

Chan COF35, married, unemployed lady who sews clothes as an income generator, 28-34 years old

“I drop my son to the Sunday school (for religious studies) and I go to church... I go to

church on Sundays... I pray at home...I pray in the night”

Niru COF32, married lady who works as a servant in a house for 2 hours a day on a daily wage basis

“...my husband’s mother keeps the lamp every day to the statue at my place...his mother, she goes to her daughter’s house during school holidays. Then I keep the lamp to the statue, or my eldest daughter does when I am busy.”

Chan COF35, married, unemployed lady who sews clothes as an income generator, 28-34 years old

Participants cite a variety of reasons for being involved in religious activities. These reasons include increased mental strength, calmness and focus (for example Kris FAO08), get help when in trouble through spiritual powers (for example Nadi FAO02 and Chat FAO06), managing finance and urge to consume non-essential items (for example SriK FAO04) and spiritual growth (for example Niro COF37). Following statements from participants details the benefits they believe to receive from being religious.

“I think that my mind gets stronger by meditation. My mind is calm and focused (due to meditation). I think it is valuable for every person to do meditation, whatever level he or she is in”

Kris FAO08, unmarried, machine operator of Factory A, 34 years old

“... I believe in Buddhism. I do good deeds and worship as best as I can. That is why I was able to recover...otherwise with I had got, I couldn’t even walk ten feet”

Nadi FAO02, unmarried, machine operator of Factory A, 42 years old

“The good things I’ve gained from Buddhism is uncountable. As they say the qualities of Buddha are infinite, the things I learnt from Buddhist philosophy are infinite and it led me to a

very simple lifestyle. If not, irrespective of how much we earn, it would be hard to manage.”

SriK FA004, widow, machine operator of Factory A, 46 years old

“...definitely (received lot of benefits by being religious) ...once my brother was very sick and he suffered from a hole in the heart. Everyone said he can't do the surgery finally he did a critical surgery and once the surgery was done only we got to know that he is missing with one ventricle. Surgery went for more than 7.5 hours and even doctors were saying that they are not sure about whether he would survive or not. Everyone who checked his horoscope was telling that we can't do anything to keep him alive. But I have always kept the faith on my religion and I never forget to do the daily observances and I always believed that nothing going to happen to him”

Chat FA006, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old

“spiritual growth (answering the question of what you gain out of going to church)”

Niro COF37, married, unemployed, 28-34 years old

In addition to the impact on everyday consumption decisions, religion affected some of the most crucial life decisions of the informants that embedded consumption situations. Getting married to a partner in a different religion, wedding reception to be a Catholic or a Buddhist function and the religion of their children were among the main consumption influences from religion. The decision to get married carries numerous consumption related activities and decisions such as planning a wedding, place of residence and consumption decisions related to children. Decisions related to marriage is another situation, where participants display high religiosity.

“But they (husband's family) insisted that I do (change my religion). Well my parents objected to it, so I explained to him and he understood that... and my mother always reminded that I cannot simply go away from the religion that my father follows”

Gang COF36, married, unemployed, 28-34 years old

The strong religiosity of subsistence consumers of this study is unique in this context for two main reasons. First, as mentioned in above and below quotes, they are unable to oppose requests to change religion for themselves or their children. Unlike in other contexts, subsistence consumers lack the power to resist these requests due to being uneducated, often unemployed or employed in a ‘not good’ jobs, economically poor and being socially disadvantaged. Second, the high religious commitment found in subsistence consumers helps them to come to terms with such situations resulting from their powerlessness and poverty.

“...because their (children’s) father is a Buddhist (reason to select Buddhism as children’s religion)...well he (husband) doesn’t prefer the children to convert into another religion...and I also didn’t (implying being adamant on not changing the religion or converting children in to Christianity)...well he doesn’t prefer that, he is keen on Buddhism”

Niru COF32, married, works as a servant in a house for 2 hours a day on a daily wage basis

“my husband asked me convert (to a Catholic from a Buddhist) if I prefer to. Otherwise, there is the option of keeping a mixed marriage, but I got married from the church once again... my parents did not like the fact that I converted... yes they were against the fact that I became a Catholic converting from Buddhism... I have four brothers. They were against it too”

Niro COF37, married, unemployed, 28-34 years old

As the above statements of participants indicate, they either strongly disagree or even if they have to convert or allow their children to adopt husband’s religion, it is done through a high level of reluctance. Religion-related consumption activities (for example purchasing needful for a religious ritual) or consumption activities influenced by religion (for example, what to cook) are a key area in subsistence consumption situations. These findings are consistent with similar research conducted in African slums on the effects of religion and social engagement on health, where findings indicate high religious involvement despite poor health outcomes (Kodzi, Gyimah, Emina, & Ezech, 2011).

Lack of interest towards fashion and grooming

Participants of this study display a lethargic attitude towards fashion and grooming related activities such as daily make-up. This is an interesting finding especially considering two reasons. First, females in general display a favourable attitude towards grooming/makeup (Korichi & Pelle-de-Queral, 2008) and all participants of this study are females. Second, young females are considered to be pro-fashion by nature (Morgan & Birtwistle, 2009) and all participants of this research are at a relatively younger age group of 20 to 48 years old.

Participants indicate two main reasons for lack of interest in and priority given to fashion and grooming. First and the most prominent reason they cite is the economic poverty. With participants who struggle to find money for their next meal (for example, participants such as Dars COI03 and Chan COI08) or having grown up children with no husband/partner and no job (for example, participants such as Anu COF14 and Cami COI05), fashion and grooming take low priority in consumption needs. For example, Chan COF35 who earns an irregular income by sewing clothes for other subsistence consumers in her neighbourhood, implied that the priority she gives to fashion and grooming reduced due to her low income. It is interesting to note that Chan COF35 is comparatively at a better financial status as her husband also earns an income.

“Well those things (grooming/make-up related activities) can be done when the financial situation is in a good state. A person who does a normal job cannot usually do those.

Generally my husband would bring some of these occasionally for me. Then only I would take care of myself (by using cosmetics). Whenever he takes me out for a wedding or something I use those, other than that I don’t use such things all the time... well, the salary he earns is not that enough (to spend for grooming and make-up)”

Chan COF35, married, unemployed lady who sews clothes as an income generator, 28-34 years old

ChanCOF35 mentions the salary her husband earns, which is the main income is not sufficient for her to engage in fashion and grooming related activities. SriyCOF33 is another participant similar to Chan COF35. Sriy COF33 engages in an irregular income earning, self-employed job of running a small, weekend butchery, while her husband also works. In addition to resonating Chan COF35's reason of low-income for lack of keenness for fashion and grooming, Sriy COF33 also mentions it is culturally inappropriate for mothers of grownup children to engage in fashion and grooming.

"...well, I also don't do those things (fashion and grooming) as my husband is a labourer.

Also, I have children who are schooling (indicating grooming and fashion is not an acceptable thing for mothers with grown up children) ...so I don't..."

Sriy COF33, married, runs a small butchery on weekends, 48 years old

Poverty as a reason for lack of interest in grooming and fashion is strongly held by young, unmarried participants who work for the selected garment factories. Following is the response received from RoshFAF15 when questioned on the preference for fashion and grooming in the first focus group discussion of Factory A. RoshFAF15 is an unmarried packing operator at Factory A.

Interviewer: So do you like fashion?

Rosh FAF15: Yes, but I don't have enough time to do fashion.

Interviewer: Do you use makeup?

Rosh FAF15: No (in a firm voice with a straight face)

The response of Person E indicates relatively young female participants like being fashionable/well-groomed, however, lack of financial resources prevent them. This preference and constraints are further evident with the instant support Person E received from the other participants on the same matter.

Price is the main factor, because of poverty we can't spend much money to cosmetics. So we purchase goods which are compatible for our salary.

Shya FAF12, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 20-29 years old

Person C: Same as her (Shya FAF12), I purchase those type of goods which suits to our salary. I consider the quality as well. I give money to my parents, brother and then save some in the bank. I manage the salary somehow.

Nadi FAF13, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 20-29 years old

Participants of this study consider purchasing clothes as a basic need instead of fashionable clothing. Not having enough money for basic clothing moves fashionable garments further from subsistence consumer requirements. Niro COF37 and Sash COF31 both purchase clothes only once a year and opt for cheaper options.

"Well, most of the time, we go shopping to buy something (clothes) only in December. Even then, I always go for what is cheaper."

Niro COF37, married, unemployed, 28-34 years old

"We go often in April...though we buy clothes it's by his salary that we do everything. Due to that at the end of everything we are short of money."

Sash COF31, married, unemployed, 31 years old

Both Niro COF37 and Sash COF31 select the cheapest period to buy clothes as Christmas special offers in December and Sri Lankan New Year in April. Cami COI05 on the other hand, buys clothes for her children on February or March by saving money for couple of months and keep it until new years' time to give her children.

"...even for the New Year...I will set aside some money for about two or three months from the money my husband gives us (separated husband makes a nominal payment for child support). I will collect it and then I will buy two pieces of clothes (for two children) in

February or March. I will collect the money and then buy those clothes and keep them (to be given on New Years' day)."

Cami COI05, single mother (husband separated), unemployed, 41 years old

Apart from financial difficulties, lack of time appears as the second most prominent reason for lack of interest towards fashion and grooming of subsistence participants in this research. For example, the third focus group discussion of the community group had seven participants. Out of the seven informants, one informant wakes up at 2 a.m. on weekdays and two others wake up at 4 a.m. The person to wake up latest also wakes up around 6 a.m. and all seven participants either expressed or implied lack of time to attend to general household chores and responsibilities as the reason for lack of sleep. Unmarried, employed participants are free from some daily household activities due to a number of reasons. Factories provide two meals at work and being unmarried these participants are free from immediate care related activities of family members. These unmarried factory employees however, find themselves too as time poor due to long weekly trips to visit family that can take up to 10 hours of travelling time one way.

Special meal preparation on Sundays

The fourth and final key finding in terms of subsistence consumption situations of this study is the special meal participants prepare on Sundays. All mothers involved in this study indicate the difference in their meal on Sunday, mostly a home cooked special meal or occasionally eating out. Apart from all mothers, even most young unmarried participants also indicate that they do something special on Sundays.

"...needful for our Sunday meals. For other days we buy things for the whole month. On Sundays it's different because it is a holiday...a rice (meaning fried rice), fish or meat. Well we eat meat only on Sundays... after church I prepare something special, since it is not like in the weekdays, but on Sundays the little one asks for something special. So I prepare some

special food or vegetable rice”

Niro COF37, married, unemployed, 28-34 years old

This is a result of extremely hardworking weekday routines as the vast majority of informants across the groups used to get up around 4-5 a.m. with a considerable number of participants getting up earlier than that. For the employed group, factories of the working groups operate on Saturdays. Majority of employed group participants who are from rural areas boarded near the factories or live in factory hostels visit their families on Sundays. Even the employed group participants from nearby suburbs do not have the time pressure on Sundays to cook something that requires less time. For community group of unemployed participants Sundays present the only opportunity for the week to be with all family members as husbands working in other six days and children having extra classes on Saturdays. The Sunday special meal therefore, involves purchasing ingredients and needful different to other days and spending a relatively higher amount of money for a meal than other days. Considering the subsistence nature of their living, spending a higher amount of money and more time cooking represent a significant finding in terms of subsistence consumption situations.

Strong family orientation and influence on consumption

One of the strongest themes emerged from the analysis is the strong family orientation of participants and the greater influence family orientation has on consumption decisions. Married participants with children organise the majority of consumption decisions around their children, while the unmarried participants consider their parents and siblings as their main focus in most consumption situations. There are only five participants who are married but do not have a child on their own. From these five participants, Chan FBO06 has an adopted son and displays similar family orientation to other mothers. Out of the remaining four, NimK FBO08 is expecting her first child in three months and FBF32 got married only six months ago. This leaves only two from seventy four participants, Shan FBF32 and Niro

FAO01 as having a different situation of being married with no children. Niro FAO01 is engaged and still finds her daughter identity driving her strong family orientation. Only Kath FBF35 who got married five years ago and with no children finds her family orientation is strongly influenced by her wife identity.

Strong family orientation driven influence on identity-based consumption emerged as one of the key factors of influence in identity-based consumption of subsistence consumer. Therefore, a detailed description of this factor is provided under the section of factors of influence in identity-based consumption. This is the reason behind providing only a brief explanation of this unique characteristic and also listing as the last of the four unique characteristics emerged.

In summary, informants displayed a high level of similarity in their daily activities and consumption situations. Key consumption situations of subsistence consumers are mainly of five key categories with the main four categories related to self, family, society and employment with non-routine, special consumption activities being the fifth. In addition to the main consumption situations, four key features of subsistence consumption situations emerged from this study. The first unique feature is the high level of religiosity driving religious consumption situations. These religious activities included direct religious consumption activities such as offering alms to monks and going to church and also an indirect influence of religion on consumption of food and clothing. The second feature is the low keenness shown for grooming and fashion as young females. Only, the young and unmarried females showed somewhat interest towards fashion and grooming, yet, it was at a low to moderate level. Informants cited various reasons including artificial nature of make-up and grooming, lack of time due to the busy lifestyle, poverty and lack of knowledge as reasons for lack of interest. Mothers amongst informants indicated being interested in fashion after becoming a mother is inappropriate and a waste of limited resources that could have otherwise being utilised on fulfilling children's needs. The third unique feature of

consumption situations is the preparation of a special, comparatively costly meal on Sundays for the family. Extreme busy lifestyles and lack of quality time spent as a full family drive the need for this consumption situation. The final key feature of consumption situations is the strong family orientation and influence on consumption decisions. The level of family orientation in some instances are higher than being concerned about own self and is common for all different participant groups. As strong family influence is discussed as one of the key influencing factors of identity-based consumption of subsistence consumer, only a brief explanation is provided under this section.

Consumer identities in subsistence consumption

Consumers construct and enact numerous identities in consumption situations. These multiple identities can be social or personal (Onorato & Turner, 2004; van Dick & Kerschreiter, 2016), stable/objective or fluid/subjective (Reed II, Forehand, Puntoni, & Warlop, 2012; Reed & Forehand, 2016). What identities consumers enact in a consumption situation depends on a number of factors, though a consumer can technically identify herself with all different identities she comes across in a given consumption situation. Identities that are relevant to a consumer or a situation (Berger & Heath, 2007; Chan, Berger, & Van Boven, 2012), associated with a positive stimuli (Angle & Forehand, 2016), salient in a given consumption situation (Arnett, German, & Hunt, 2003; Reed, 2004) or that help consumers to reiterate their preferred-self (Reed II, Forehand, Puntoni, & Warlop, 2012) stand a better possibility of being enacted in consumption situations. Based on these factors, consumers determine the importance of identities and enact important identities based on consumption situations.

Unique characteristics of subsistence marketplace context influence the identities that subsistence consumers construct in consumption situations. Viswanathan, Sridharan, and Ritchie, (2008) claim severe resource constraints and high level of market uncertainty that drives lack of control over everyday aspects as unique features of subsistence context. In

addition to that, low educational levels and restrictions in accessing information also create unique challenges to consumers in subsistence marketplace. This was evident with the responses of most participants who displayed high level of uncertainty and lack of knowledge in everyday consumption decisions.

Consumer identities emerged in consumption situations of subsistence consumers

Subsistence consumers in this study revealed a wide range of identities in differing consumptions situations. The study revealed 63 different identities participants enact in consumption situations. These identities either emerged strongly by at least one participant or emerged at a low strength, but confirmed by more than one participant. Other identities implied by participants in a tentative/unclear manner were not considered. Table 4.2 provides a detailed description of subsistence identities in consumption situations.

Table 4.2 Subsistence consumer identities in consumption situations

No	Identity	Main consumption situations	Identity type	Example /informant	Informant groups
1.	Mother	Family	Role	“I will have to answer I am really a <i>amm.</i> (about to say mother in Sinhalese)...a mother of two babies...that is the answer I have to give first” <i>Gaya COF11, married, unemployed, 28-38 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
2.	Daughter	Family	Role	“I live alone with my mother” <i>Prom COF34, unmarried, self-employed (making flower pots), 25 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
3.	Wife	Family	Role	“We always think about the family...husband, children...because we take care of them (implying too much)” <i>Cham COF16, married, Self-employed (irregular), 28-38 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
4.	Sister/Sibling	Family	Role	“(I am) the elder sister of two younger sisters...” <i>Nadi COF13, married, unemployed, 28-38 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
5.	Daughter-in-law	Family	Role	“When we live with my husband’s parents there are problems that occur.” <i>Chan COF35, married, unemployed lady who sews clothes as an income generator, 28-34 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
6.	Mother-in-law	Family	Role	“After that his mother came to our boarding room... then...we asked mother-in-law to take care of our son” <i>Lath FBO03, married, machine operator at Factory B, 44 years old</i>	Factory B and Community
7.	Sister-in-law	Family	Role	“I became a good daughter-in-law to his mom; and a good sister-in-law to his siblings” <i>SriK FAO04, widow, machine operator of Factory A, 46 years old</i>	Factory A and B
8.	Granddaughter	Family	Role	“Only my grandfather is there at home... grandfather is also working...but still I have to look after him” <i>Prab FAO05, unmarried, machine operator of Factory A, 23 years old</i>	Factory A

Table 4.2 Subsistence consumer identities in consumption situations (Continued)

9.	Niece	Family	Role	<p>“We have two unmarried Aunties (Sisters of our father) , on Saturdays I spend helping them”</p> <p><i>Chan FBO06, married, cutting operator at Factory B, 48 years old</i></p>	Factory B
10.	Adopted mother	Family	Personal	<p>“...more like a child (I took care my younger siblings). My younger sister was very small (when parents separated) and I had to specifically take care of her, especially since she was a girl. So I took care of their (both siblings) educational needs while doing my job.”</p> <p><i>Niro FAO01, engaged, machine operator at Factory A, 30 years old</i></p>	Factory A
11.	Aunt	Family	Role	<p>“At home I am closely associating with my elder sisters children because all of us in the family live in houses build in same land nearby to each other”</p> <p><i>Chan FBO06, married, cutting operator at Factory B, 48 years old</i></p>	Factory A and B
12.	Cousin sister	Family	Role	<p>“...my elder cousin’s children are also there...I make them milk tea and give them”</p> <p><i>Nadi FAO02, unmarried, machine operator of Factory A, 42 years old</i></p>	Factory A and B
13.	Sole breadwinner	Family	Social	<p>“yes its mine (family income), the full income for the house comes from me”</p> <p><i>Lali FBO01, married, machine operator at Factory B, 38-44 years old</i></p>	Factory B
14.	Housewife	Family	Role	<p>“I am a housewife too. I occupy myself with housework”</p> <p><i>Sriy COF33, married, runs a small butchery on weekends, 48 years old</i></p>	Community
15.	Single mother	Family, Social	Role	<p>“when I came here, I became a single parent”</p> <p><i>Sri FAO03, widow, machine operator at Factory A, 45 years old</i></p>	Factory A, B and Community
16.	Friend	Society	Social	<p>“I think I'm a good friend.”</p> <p><i>Shal COF24, unmarried, small boutique cashier, 27 years old</i></p>	Factory A, B and Community
17.	Girlfriend	Society	Social	<p>“about 6 years (the affair with the boyfriend)...normally we talk about everyday life...we have to become more stable”</p> <p><i>Nimm FBO02, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 36 years old</i></p>	Factory B

Table 4.2 Subsistence consumer identities in consumption situations (Continued)

18.	Poor	Society	Social	“...I have never done any bad things which are harmful to my character. Even how poor I am I never gone in walk in wrong path” <i>Dars COI03, married, unemployed (irregular odd-jobs), 44 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
19.	Unmarried girl	Society	Role	“I am unmarried. In my family there are 2 brothers, elder sister, mother, and father” <i>Chit FBF12, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 26 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
20.	Widow	Society	Role	“...my husband was also with us...but he passed away” <i>Tush FBF14, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 27 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
21.	Fiancé	Society	Role	“We carried on our relationship for about three to four years with their consent and got engaged last year” <i>Niro FAO01, engaged, machine operator at Factory A, 30 years old</i>	Factory A
22.	Divorcee	Society	Role	“He (her husband) lives separately sir. With his mother” <i>Sri FAO03, widow, machine operator at Factory A, 45 years old</i>	Factory A
23.	Neighbour	Society	Social	“It was very useful for our village that I bought a tank, lot of people used it. My mother said even recently neighbours have thanked us for that” <i>Dili FBO04, unmarried, machine operator of Factory B, 35 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
24.	Rural villager	Society	Social	“After that I went to my hometown with my two children... I went back to Alpitiya (rural area in down south of Sri Lanka) but it’s not an easy thing for us to go back to our home town after such incidents” <i>Dars COI03, married, unemployed (irregular odd-jobs), 44 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
25.	Sinhalese	Society	Social	“That means, we didn’t bring Tamil people into the village at all, because if we did there would be more problems when they live close to us, the Sinhala people” <i>Minu FAF26, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 20-29 years old</i>	Factory A and Community
26.	Employee	Employment	Role	“I come to work and do my job till nine in the night or till 4.30 p.m.” <i>Kris FAO08, unmarried, machine operator of Factory A, 34 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community

Table 4.2 Subsistence consumer identities in consumption situations (Continued)

27.	CSR/CSV team member	Employment	Role	“I helped in things like transporting papers and other essentials for those projects. Even though I never got the opportunity to help directly at where the project is being carried out, I offered my help within the factory premises for such projects” <i>Niro FAO01, engaged, machine operator at Factory A, 30 years old</i>	Factory A and B
28.	Boarder/Hosteller	Employment	Social	“There are rooms in the boarding house, I have a room there” <i>Demi FBO05, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 42 years old</i>	Factory A and B
29.	Radio presenter	Employment	Role	“I am actively participating (in debating) in a FM channel as a presenter” <i>Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old</i>	Factory A
30.	Dubbing artist	Employment	Role	“...but I am doing some dubbing activities...I have participated to ‘Mutuhara’ (Sri Lankan TV program) programs” <i>Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old</i>	Factory A
31.	Entrepreneur	Employment	Role	“I stitch clothes at home (as an income earning source) along with my housework” <i>Chan COF35, married, unemployed who sews clothes as an income generator, 28-34 years old</i>	Community
32.	Workmate	Employment	Role	“...in the lines (production lines)...there is no distinction between the QCs (quality controllers) and the line workers...they are like friends...we are always chatting...” <i>InoK FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old</i>	Factory A and B
33.	Women/Lady/ Young girl	Self	Social	“when I see a nice dress, it reminds me that I am a lady/female and I used to dress well and nice” <i>Gaya COF11, unemployed, married, 28-38 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
34.	Courageous lady	Self	Self	“Actually by being a women you need to be courage’s and you need to strong... I think I am strong and courageous women” <i>Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old</i>	Factory A
35.	Lady with dignity	Self	Self	“I like the creations which highlights women's dignity. I believe that a woman should have a dignity. I like one song which highlights that” <i>SriK FAO04, machine operator of Factory A, widow, 46 years old</i>	Factory A and B

Table 4.2 Subsistence consumer identities in consumption situations (Continued)

36.	Simple girl	Self	Self	“I am a very simple girl...I like to wear very simple clots, not much into stylish things” <i>Prab FA005, unmarried, machine operator of Factory A, 23 years old</i>	Factory A
37.	Avid reader	Self	Self	“...if not I used to read some books or papers in that spare time... as much as I can (I read)” <i>Chat FA006, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old</i>	Factory A
38.	Volunteer	Society, Employment	Social	“when I was going to school, I volunteered for everything... prefect (school prefect), this and that...I volunteered for everything” <i>Lali FBO01, married, machine operator at Factory B, 38-44 years old</i>	Factory B and Community
39.	Teacher	Self, Social, Employment	Role	“It is the mother who is mostly involved in teaching their children good values in order to bring them to a good standard within the society...” <i>Sash COF31, married, unemployed, 31 years old</i>	Factory A and Community
40.	Social worker	Society, Employment	Social	“I have done a lot of social service to tell you...truly...I really like to join things like that even in this company. I truly like doing social service” <i>Demi FBO05, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 42 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
41.	Trainer	Society, Employment	Social	“Everyone identified me as a different person who has good talents for training and convincing people” <i>Chat FA006, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old</i>	Factory A and B
42.	Athlete	Self, Society	Social	“(I did) athletics like running events” <i>Gang COF36, married, unemployed, 28-34 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
43.	Politician	Society, Employment	Social	“We have power, so but just because I do politics, I don’t bring political stuff into the workplace” <i>Nimm FBO02, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 36 years old</i>	Factory B
44.	Musician/Artist	Society, Employment	Social	“I had a lot of interest in the music side...I have been on stage... every year we do in December, and this time I have a hope of doing it” <i>Nimm FBO02, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 36 years old</i>	Factory B and Community

Table 4.2 Subsistence consumer identities in consumption situations (Continued)

45.	Carer	Society, Employment	Social	“I take care of her by giving her medicine and injections” <i>Niro COF37, married, unemployed, 28-34 years old</i>	Factory A and B
46.	Needlewoman	Society, Employment	Social	“I can do quite well on the sewing...I went for the all island competition and I got first place and I have got second place as well” <i>Kris FAO08, unmarried, machine operator of Factory A, 34 years old</i>	Factory A
47.	Buddhist/Catholic	Self, Society	Role	“I go to temple, but not on all 365 days a year...but I have a huge respect in my heart (for Buddhism)” <i>Subh FAO09, married, machine operator of Factory A, 30 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
48.	Uneducated	Self, Society	Social	“my education... actually I only studied up to grade two” <i>Dars COI03, married, unemployed (irregular odd-jobs), 44 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
49.	Educated	Self, Society	Social	“I am doing my External Degree from <i>Kelaniya University</i> . I m awaiting my Final Year results. To do a government job” <i>Tush FBF14, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 27 years old</i>	Factory A and B
50.	Dancer	Self, Society	Social	“...Even if a song goes on air in the factory floor, I dance. If there is a company musical show, I don’t keep quiet thinking that I am a mother. I dance before everyone else” <i>Dami FBF15, married, line leader of Factory B, 38-44 years old</i>	Factory B
51.	Sick women	Self, Society	Social	“...now I can’t see very well. My eyes are weak... It’s very difficult to thread a needle also” <i>Demi FBO05, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 42 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
52.	Roommate	Society, Employment	Role	“...normally having a chat with other roommates. Because we are working in different production lines. So we are having a chit-chat about things happened in different production lines” <i>Prab FAO05, unmarried, machine operator of Factory A, 23 years old</i>	Factory A and B

Table 4.2 Subsistence consumer identities in consumption situations (Continued)

53.	Pregnant lady	Self, Society	Role	“...before the conception of the baby, most of the time my husband is going there (to see his parents who do not approve their marriage)... We will see (whether the in-laws will change after seeing the baby upon birth)” <i>NimK FBO08, married, machine operator at Factory B, 38 years old</i>	Factory B
54.	Leader	Self, Employment, Society	Self	“Most of the time, my child's leader is me” <i>SriK FAO04, machine operator of Factory A, widow, 46 years old</i>	Factory A and B
55.	High achiever	Self, Society	Self	“I have been able to contribute towards those achievements... so I have achieved success and shown I have advanced” <i>InoK FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old</i>	Factory A
56.	Loner	Self, Society	Self	“I was unfortunate to be alone without anyone to take care of me” <i>Nadi FAO02, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 42 years old</i>	Factory A
57.	Counsellor	Self, Society, Employment	Social	“...but behind those smiles, there could be problems that they cannot share with anyone. In those instances, I should play my identity as a leader, as a counsellor” <i>SriK FAO04, machine operator of Factory A, widow, 46 years old</i>	Factory A and B
58.	Advisor	Self, Society	Social	“I am happy seeing that my advices made good impact on their lives...that time I am verifying that my decisions and advices are correct for them” <i>Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old</i>	Factory A and B
59.	Helper	Self, Society	Self	“A person who helps others and who lives while helping my children and my husband (how you describe yourself)” <i>SheR FBO07, married, machine operator at Factory B, 47 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community
60.	Student/Learner	Self, Society	Social	“Also I am still student who is proceeding with my education.” <i>Ushi COF21, unmarried, entry level government servant, 24 years old</i>	Factory A, B and Community

Table 4.2 Subsistence consumer identities in consumption situations (Continued)

61.	Jokester	Self, Society	Self	<p>“...even with girls in my line (production line), I am joking all the time. I would say something funny or at least poke them when I am passing them (laughs)”</p> <p><i>Subh FA009, married, machine operator of Factory A, 30 years old</i></p>	Factory A
62.	Hard worker	Self, Society	Self	<p>“I wake up at around 2:00 a.m. and my husband is involved in selling fish. I wake up at that time and send him to work. After that, I sleep for a while and wake up once again around 4:30 a.m. to send my daughter to school. I iron her clothes, prepare her food and send her off to school, come back home, feed my son and put him to sleep. Once he is asleep I do all my housework. After washing the clothes I start cooking for lunch at around 10:30 or 11:00 a.m. my husband comes home at around the same time and I prepare tea for him and make sure he has a snack. Then I help him to organise and arrange his work and we have our lunch at around 12: 30 and at about the same time I pick up my daughter from the van. I give both the children their lunch and put them to sleep...once they are asleep I do the rest of the housework and I cook for dinner also at the same time...”</p> <p><i>Niro COF37, married, unemployed female between 28-34 years of age</i></p>	Factory A, B and Community
63.	Unlucky girl	Self, Social,	Self	<p>“After four months of my husband's death, his youngest sister married a Hungarian man... In the wedding, my in-laws thought that I would bring bad luck to the new couple... She (mother-in-law) asked me to be away from the 'poruwa' (special podium for bride and the groom where rituals are performed) when they do the rituals. That struck me so hard”</p> <p><i>SriK FA004, widow, machine operator of Factory A, 46 years old</i></p>	Factory A

It should be noted that the identities given in Table 4.2 are organised according to the four main types of consumption situations (family-related, self-related, society-related and employment-related) that emerged in section above. For example, when a participant who uses a moisturising cream to take care of her skin is a self-related consumption situation, while using a deodorant to be used in workplace is an employment-related consumption situation. The criterion for the above identity selections comes from informants' statements that convey the enactment of a particular identity. For example, when a respondent mentions that she feels her child is her world and due to that fact she sacrificed her desire to purchase a dress she loves in place of something for her child, it enacts her 'mother' identity. As such, the participants' identities observed within the data are not simply demographic classifications, they are embedded within the individual's sense of self and are manifested through their behaviours.

These identities are further categorised according to identity type, which can be social, role or personal. The totality of a person or who he or she is a series of social and personal identities (Howard, 2000; Oyserman, 2001). The two main categories of identities therefore are internal/psychology-based personal identities and external/society-based social identities though an identity can be any category label a consumer associates him/herself (Reed, Forehand, Puntoni, & Warlop, 2012). Personal identities are individual specific attributes based on characteristics, traits and goals and not connected to a membership of a social group or relationship based (Oyserman, 2009). For example, an innocent girl or a courageous lady identity is enacted based on personal characteristics and traits of an individual as opposed to community-based social membership. Social identities are based on external contextual factors where a person becomes a part of a social group or plays a social role (Oyserman, 2009). It is vital to distinguish the differences between social and role identities as both are external influence-based and possess similarities. The theoretical base of differences in role

and social identities lie in the differences between identity theory (Stryker, 1980) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In identity theory, a person's identity is categorised in to a stable, classified world that is named as roles (Stryker, 1980). These roles are stable social structures (Stets & Burke, 2000), designated positions where meanings, expectations and performances are assigned to a given role (Burke & Tully, 1977; Thoits, 1986). In social identities, the two distinguishing factors of social identities from role identities are the people's view and knowledge of themselves as belonging to a group (Hogg & Abrams, 1988) and the social comparison process (Stets & Burke, 2000). Through social comparison, a person labels herself as belonging to the "in-group" or "out-group" based on contrasting categories such as rich or poor. Role identities on the other hand are described as the self-definitions individuals assign to themselves based on the social roles they occupy in society (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995).

It is important to note that a given identity in Table 4.2 can belong to more than one of social, role or personal identity types. For example, being a leader can be of personal identity type as the participant enacts her leader identity using personal attributes (I think I am a leadership material). Leader identity of a participant can also belong to employment related (I have been appointed as a line leader to take care of operators in this sewing line) role identity type or even social (I am the president of welfare society of our village) based on consumption situation. The categorization of identity type in this study therefore, is based on what context, the participants enacted these identities. As a result, some identities that can be categorised under different identity types are not listed. For example, the lazy person identity belongs to both self-related and society-related consumption situations. Some participants personally think they are lazy (for example, saying "I am a lazy person, so I just buy it from the shop than preparing at home") or the society provides indicators (for example, participants saying "my friends tell me I can do better if not for my laziness"). There is also a possibility to categorise the lazy person identity under employment too, in case of a participant receives a

warning for not being active enough or a supervisor scolding the employee of being lazy at work. However, since employment-related situations did not surface the lazy person identity in this study from employed participants, lazy person identity has only two categories, personal and employment.

In addition to the basic consumption identities, the other significant finding in terms of subsistence identities are the emergence of intersectional identities relevant to subsistence consumption context.

Intersectional identities in subsistence consumption

Findings of this study reveal six prominent identities that come together to form challenging intersectional identities with unique social coordinates. These identities include: being female, poor, uneducated, single mother, a ‘garment girl’ and a village girl. There are other identities with social privileges and disadvantages participants mentioned in addition to these six main identities. The combinations of these six identities create a wide variety of intersectional coordinates for informants of this study creating complex intersectional identities. In its absolute terms, these are the main identity coordinates that create intersectional identities for the informants of this study. For example, belonging to a religious minority (i.e., a Christian in a Buddhist country) or an ethnic minority (i.e., a Tamil in a Sinhalese majority country) do not specifically influence participants in consumption situations. There are participants who had to change their religion or had to get married on a ‘*poruwa*’ (Sinhalese tradition) being a Christian. But, the main social influences in those decisions came from being a female (e.g., females ought to listen to the husband-to-be since he is the male), poor (e.g., females do not have money, therefore have no say in how the wedding should be organised) or even uneducated (e.g., females’ perceived lack of knowledge sidelines their concerns and rights). Table 4.3 provides a description of the six key identities that come together to form multiple intersectional identities and their relevant social disadvantages.

Table 4.3 Six prominent identities that provide the basis for intersectional identities in subsistence consumption situations

Prominent identity	Example	Social power relations	Other identities
Poor	<p><i>“Yes...they look at the person's face and decide on his/her looks...if he will buy or not”</i></p> <p><i>Ushi COF21, unmarried, entry level government servant, 24 years old</i></p>	Financially rich consumers have greater social power in consumption situations in terms of better choice and greater decision making power. Specifically in purchase situations, the rich believes to be getting better customer service and better recognition as a customer	Female, Uneducated, garment girl, rural villager
Female	<p><i>“...I think my husband should be a little bit higher than the women. I generally don't go neck to neck with his things. I have respect for him. I don't try to be equal to him”</i></p> <p><i>InoK FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old</i></p>	Male consumers get more social power as the privileged gender in most household consumptions situations including everyday consumption as well as decisions critical to a person's future such as getting married. There are number of privileges exclusive for men in culture including access to some religious places	Poor, Garment girl, Single mother, village girl
Uneducated	<p><i>“I am sad (what she feels about not being able to get educated)... I feel it, when I work here... when I am working, I truly feel it. If I could go back to school, I would do it”</i></p> <p><i>Demi FBO05, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 42 years old</i></p>	Social power relations of being educated is linked with having knowledge to make informed consumption situations and social acceptance. Subsistence consumers therefore, generally get advice from people they believe to be more knowledgeable and also recognise the power of social acceptance of educated and are keen on getting their children educated.	Poor, Village girl
Garment girl	<p><i>“People think that our character is not good... There is a mind-set (unfavourable) in the society, for garment girls”</i></p> <p><i>Shya FAF12, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 20-29 years old</i></p>	Social stigma of being a 'garment girl' deals with a specific situation of being considered as having a bad character as a girl. Easy targets for sexual favours, easy to deceive as the other intersectional identities of being rural and uneducated also multiply the stigma of being accused of having a bad character.	Female, Poor, Uneducated, Village girl
Single mother (Widow, separated)	<p><i>“There are men asking for sexual favours. They ask, how do you stay like this? Can you control your feelings being alone (a single mother)? They help us with those intentions in their minds too”</i></p> <p><i>Cami COI05, single mother (husband separated), unemployed, 41 years old</i></p>	Single mothers in subsistence societies are conceived as having lack of independence, thus requiring the support of a male. This unfavourable social power relation is multiplied by being poor (with no husband/partner's income) and being the inferior gender (female)	Female, Poor
Rural villager/village girl	<p><i>“We all are from small towns. We all have a fear in our mind, as we are living alone here. Society always tries to let us down”</i></p> <p><i>Nadi FAF13, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 20-29 years old</i></p>	Village girl image is associated with no sophistication and knowledge (uneducated) as unfavourable social power structures in society. In addition to that having to move to a city for a living adds the unfavourable social power associated with being poor as well.	Poor, Uneducated, Female

Participants expressed the multiple nature of the oppression they experience due to unfavourable social power relations of the intersectional identities. The other important factor participants expressed is the social implications of interconnected nature of these intersectional identities. For example, participants feel society assumes that a village girl is a poor girl and being from a village and being poor, she is uneducated as well. In addition, a village girl working in a garment factory further connects the negative implications by thinking that the reason for becoming a 'garment girl' is due to lack of knowledge about the society (village girl) and education to find a better job (uneducated) and money (poor). These intersectional identities create a powerless position for subsistence consumers in their consumption decisions.

Nature of oppression of subsistence female consumers in Sri Lanka are different to the oppression experience by subsistence consumers researched in other contexts such as in the USA and African countries. Subsistence consumers in this study suffer from a higher number of disadvantaged social power axes, unlike being subjected to disadvantages of being 'poor', 'female' and ethnic/racial minority such as being black, found in previous research on subsistence consumers. The additional negative social power relations of being an apparel manufacturing employee also creates additional pressure on the participants of this study. Called as 'garment girls' in Sinhalese slang, the participants feel the society looks at them as an easy target for sexual favours and other exploitation due to the stereotypical nature of garment girls. This stereotyping comes from the nature of their employment. Most garment manufacturing plants are located in export processing zones in urban and busy suburban areas. There is no educational qualifications required to become a sewing machine operator. Salary of a sewing machine operator is at a relatively low level. These facts create an

impression that uneducated, village girls come to cities for garment girl job due to lack of employment opportunities in villages and no educational qualifications required to become a sewing machine operator. This typical situation creates a poor, uneducated and vulnerable image in stereotypical minds in the society. Following statements provide an indication of how participants feel about the social pressure of being subjected to these intersectional identities not limited to a garment girl.

“Earlier, people used to say, and even now, they still say, when you are doing a job in a garment factory, they look at us in a funny way. They ask from us, even our own relatives, when they ask us (what do you do for living), and when we say we are working in a garment factory, they treat us different...they look at garment jobs, as very low class jobs... when you say garment, they don't even think what we do in the garment (factory). They don't think”

Anji FAF23, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 20-29 years old

“There is an idea in the society, that to be a garment employee is a shame...We are from villages and work in Colombo (capital of Sri Lanka, meaning in a city). Earlier, there was an opinion, when you say a garment girl, they discriminate us in our area...People think that our character is not good... There is a mind-set (unfavourable) in the society, for garment girls...my own sister had an experience. When she was on her way home after the night shift in Panadura (an area near factory) one man followed her in a bicycle and said some nasty words to her. Normally a girl can't go alone after 6 pm...there are some shop owners, who try to fulfil their desires (meaning sexual desires) from us”

Shya FAF12, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 20-29 years old

These oppressions and exploitations get worse, when subsistence consumers also become single parents. Cami COI05 mentions that being single implies to some as living with sexual frustration. She says people question her on how she suppresses her desires in addition to how she meet ends with no income. Cami COI05 says the social situation of a single mother intersects the disadvantages of being single (perception of suppressed desires), poor with no partner income and a proper income for self (perception of in need for money) and being a female (who are supposed to act in a submissive nature to men) create the multiple oppression of ‘I can take advantage of a these females (as females you cannot fight against these exploitations against men on an equal footing in this society) who are single mothers (with suppressed desires) who is willing to satisfy her desires for financial favours which also

provides a solution to her poverty'. Following statement of Cami COI05 is an example of the multiple oppressive nature discussed.

"Even I even came prepared for this (for the one-on-one interview) also after finding out what sort of a person are you, what kind of questions will be asked in this research. Because I don't tell my details to a lot of people, especially I think a lot about my own security. For some people I say my husband is abroad due to my child's issue (son is having a medical issue which needs a lot of money). I even say he comes once in a couple of months. Then they say, don't lie, we met him at this place...how many ladies in Sri Lanka today being single mothers with their children, how many females (single mothers) are hidden in this society with their problems. Isn't it? Now there are men who say we will help you. I will them, please don't get angry with me, what I have is enough. The biggest favour is I don't expect any favours. Even if they give me 100 million or 1000 million, I don't expect anything. The main reason is my own security. If something happens, that is not good for my children...There are men asking for sexual favours. They ask, how do you stay like this? Can you control your feelings being alone? They help us with those intentions in their minds too. Now let's say we ask for a small favour for example, then they say, c'mon though we (implying me in Sinhalese slang) help you a lot, we don't get any favours back from you (indicating sexual favours). They say like that. I have met people like that and I have told them, they have come in front of my gate even, (when they say), you don't have a husband, we'll help you out, and we'll get you a bag full of groceries...there were even people who bought grocery bags like that. I told them. Please don't be angry with me, I have everything at home. There might be people who are helpless than me even, please give this to them. Thank you very much, good merits on you...I say like that and send that (grocery bag) back"

Cami COI05, single mother (husband separated), unemployed, 41 years old

Participants feel the society treats the rich with more attention and dignity. These feelings of being ill-treated force subsistence consumers to compare themselves with the rich consumers in consumption situations, leaving them in a negative state of mind. For example, Ayes COF26 mentions she is not shown clothes and suspects that is due to her being poor.

"Once we went to buy a dress... we asked for a white dress. I think for a shalwar suit...when we asked if there's any white dress available, they said no. As they said no, we went to the other side of the shop to see if there are any other colours that we like. At the same time, there was another Muslim lady who came to the shop. For her, they showed all those different varieties of dresses, even white ones with such an enthusiasm... May be those dresses were a bit costly, so they might have considered that..."

Ayes COF26, married, unemployed, 28-34 years old

The social impact of poverty leaves subsistence consumers feel negative about themselves. InokCOI07 uses the words 'really really sad' when she compares her child with the other children in society.

"Let's say buying clothes, I don't buy clothes for me, I get clothes from madam (lady of the house she goes as a domestic help). But, when I have to buy clothes for my child. Once when a certain piece of cloth was recommended by school for my daughter to buy, it was 500 rupees (approximately USD 3.30), but I had only 300 rupees (approximately USD 2). I was sad. Mainly because other children have clothes, only my child doesn't have any made me really really sad."

Inok COI07, married, works as a daily housemaid/domestic on an irregular basis, 44 years old

Identity structures of subsistence consumers

We organise the identities emerged in this study in to a hierarchy of three levels. This hierarchy is built on the relative importance a consumer places on an identity in a consumption situation, how often informants consider these identities in their consumption decision making and the level of influence of the identities on consumption. The importance of these identities depend on number of individual and environmental factors, though most of these factors are similar across participants of this study for basic consumption situations. Figure 4.1 provides a graphical representation of the identity hierarchy structure of informants. From over sixty identities emerged from data (See Table 4.2), informants directly expressed the consideration of some identities, while implied others through their comments, feelings and reasoning.

Majority of these identities emerged are considered either less frequently in their consumption decision making or possess weak influence over the final consumption decision. Also, the less-frequently considered identities are mostly considered on the relevance to a given consumption situation or environment influence that makes these identities salient. For example, an informant's identity as a voter is considered mainly when voting and campaigning for a particular political party during elections, but not considered in majority of the other everyday consumption situations or important consumption decisions. Similarly, for a young subsistence mother who struggles with extreme economic poverty and abuse from her husband finds her 'young lady' identity inactive in most consumption situations, unless made salient (through an advertisement of a nice dress she sees). We name these identities that either get enacted based on situational relevance or environment salience as basic consumption identities. Basic consumption identities are considered infrequently and in most instances get concealed in the presence of other critical identities. Basic consumption

identities are high in numbers, yet the low in the level of influence in most consumption situations, compared to other two categories.

We term the next level of identities in the hierarchy as important identities. These are the main identities that get either enacted or made salient in their consumption contexts or informants consider as critical in most consumption situations. The important identities can be social (a football club supporter), role (an employee) or personal (a simple person) identities and also may or may not made salient in a given consumption situation. Important identities get considered in most consumption decisions, even in the absence of salience and relevance in that consumption situation. A consumer who is generally a devout catholic who is employed and also would like to lead a simple life may consider these identities in purchasing furniture for her house or watching television (advertising consumption). For example, *Demi FBO05*, a 42 year of unmarried female who works for Factory B considers her important identities of a daughter, unmarried girl and a Buddhist in most of her consumption decisions. *Demi FBO05* considers her identities as a daughter and an unmarried girl in most of her everyday consumption decisions as she is single at the age of 42 and still hopeful of getting married and also most of her decisions are revolved around taking care of her parents. The religious identity of *Demi FBO05* however, does not become salient in everyday, mundane purchase decisions, but still gets considered in most of her consumption situations.

"I am devout. Whatever we do, we must follow our religion. Wherever we go or whatever we start, we must always remember our religion. We must make it a habit. I think that is the right thing to do"

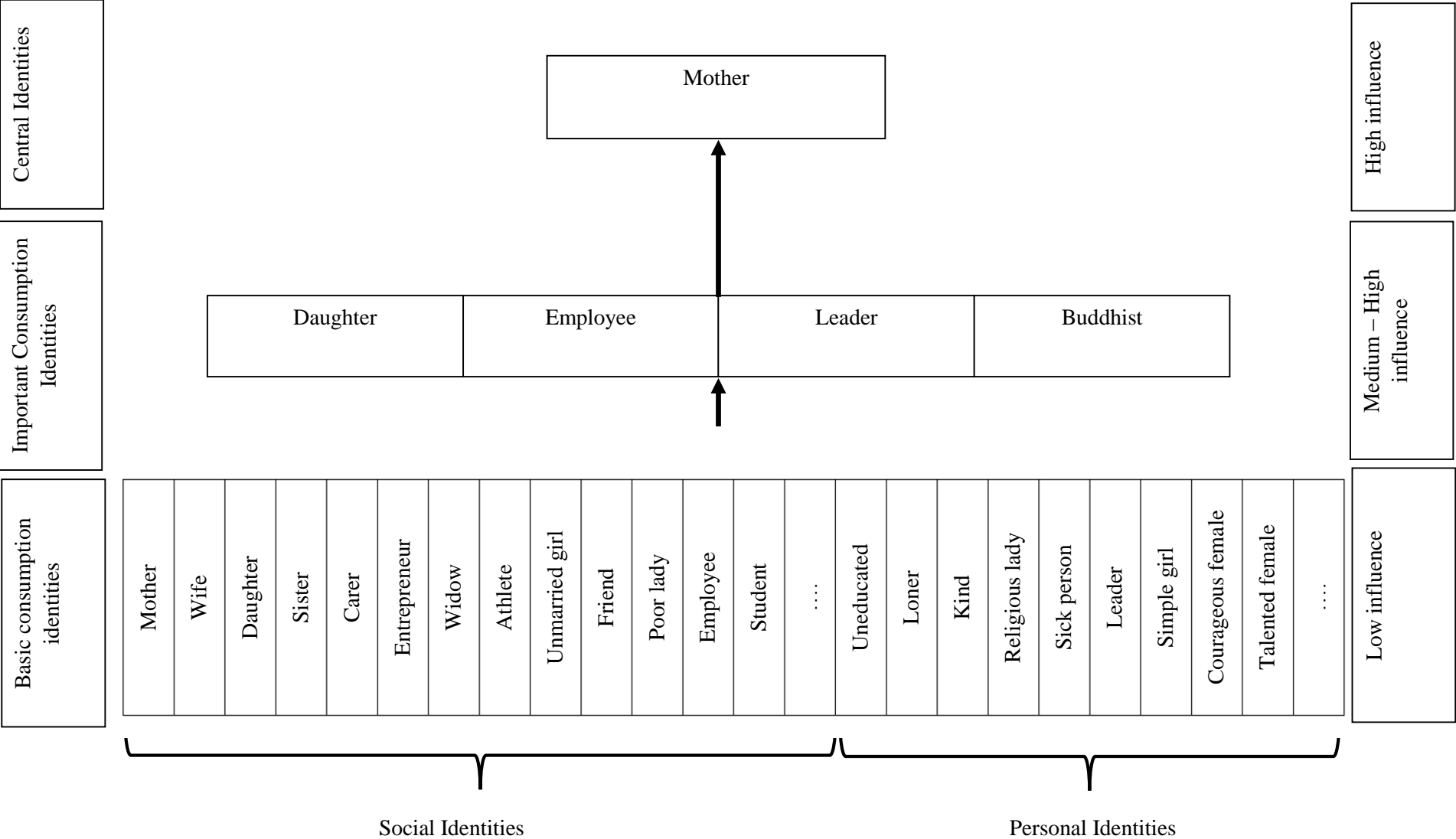
Demi FBO05, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 42 years old

Final level of the identity hierarchy is the central identities of informants. Despite the word identities in plural form, informants in this study clearly indicate one central identity that get enacted and influence in almost all their consumption situations, except two informants. These two informants, *Nadi FAO02* and *Anji FAF23* indicate two identities as central. *Nadi FAO02* considers herself as a lone person as her mother passed away 23 years

ago and father 13 years ago. She does not have any siblings or close relatives. *Nadi FAO02* is a 42 year old unmarried female with no partner or a boyfriend. She is not boarded in the factory provided hostel accommodation and lives alone. In her situation, she considers her 'lone person' identity and 'religious lady' identity as her central identities. *Anji FAF23*, on the other hand, is a young unmarried girl in her twenties. Though she works as a machine operator for Factory A, she currently studies for a bachelor's degree in media and has had job offers from radio stations in Sri Lanka. With *Anji FAF23*'s parents passed away and not being in a relationship, she considers her 'young female/lady' identity and 'sister' identity as her central identities in consumption decision making. All the other informants indicate either mother or daughter identities as their central identity. Every mother in the sample have a strong, central mother identity, while other females consider daughter identity to be central.

Figure 4.1 provides a graphical representation of a subsistence consumer's identity structure in general. Every consumer possesses different set of basic, important and central identities depending on the level of importance placed on identities in consumption situations. The level of importance a consumer places on identities depend on unique social, situational and personal characteristics of that consumer. Identity structures therefore, vary with each respondent. Figure 4.1 therefore, provides only an overview of level of importance and hierarchical arrangement of subsistence identities in consumption situations.

Figure 4.1:Hierarchy of subsistence consumer identities



The identity structure of a consumer is a factor that makes identity-based consumption decisions simple or complex. Although many of the distinct identities that make up consumers' identity structures are common, the identity structure for each individual consumer is unique. Number, type and level of importance of identities in an identity structure depends on personal, situational and environmental factors unique to an individual. Therefore, even though not identical, similar socio-economic (poor and marginalised), situational (working in similar conditions) and personal (uneducated, female) characteristics result in distinct identity structures.

The identity structures of the subsistence consumers of this study are unique compared to an identity structure of middle class or affluent consumers. Two main unique characteristics of subsistence consumer identity structures are the significant prominence of poor identity and the set of identities that intersect to create a unique position as a result of disadvantaged social power relations. The poor identity was prominent and overtly expressed by every participant of this study and is one of the handful important identities (second tier of Figure 4.1) of all participants. This significance of the poor identity is a result of the uniqueness of the subsistence context characterised by economic poverty and lack of resources. The shortage of resources, including financial impacts all aspects of subsistence everyday living, thus influencing consumption decisions and identities. The second unique factor of distinct intersectional position created by disadvantaged social power relations enact a set of identities unique to subsistence context as given in Table 4.3. The social stigma associated with being a female or a 'garment girl' is compounded by the other intersecting identities unique to subsistence context such as poor and uneducated. Further, the subsistence consumers tend to rely on strong social relationship related resources to combat the disadvantages of subsistence marketplaces. As a result, a vast majority of central and important identities of participants were family-based. Most participants indicated identities mother, daughter, sibling and wife identities in their limited central and important identities.

Two factors relating to the identity structure of a participant influence the level of complexity of identity-based consumption decisions. First, the participants whose identity structures are comprised of identities with potential conflict (e.g. full-time employee vs full-time politician) and the conflicting identities in important central identities level in hierarchy make consumption decisions complex. Second, possessing a strong, central identity assists making identity-based consumption decisions to be simple. The informants with few, simple identities with a highly dominant single central identity found identity-based consumption decisions more straightforward. For example, if you consider the identities and social interactions of *Dars COI03*, she had a higher number of social interactions and basic consumption identities. *Dars COI03* is a 44 year old, unemployed, female who raised three children without the support of her husband. She had to deal with a husband who was initially addicted to drugs and then to alcohol, extra-marital affairs of the husband, had to face domestic violence where being constantly beaten by her husband including when pregnant and later hitting her children, being an asthma patient and son also being sick with both asthma and urine problems when small, had to live in a temporary wooden hut of a land given by the government. Her temporary house that got flooded when rained and had to deal with snakes also collapsed due to rain and flooding leaving her homeless at times. In addition, her daughter ran away from house to live with a boy at the age of 15 and her son was hanging around with boys in streets when she suspects her son of being addicted to substance. Her family being rejected from the society due to these issues. *Dars COI03* had to do numerous jobs including temporary construction helper, selling garments door-to-door, cement maker and also a 'koththu' maker (preparation of famous Sri Lankan street food), where she had to work all night.

However, when analysed *Dars COI03*'s identity structure, though she possesses a higher number of basic consumption identities, *Dars COI03* has only a limited number of non-conflicting important identities. Further she also possesses a very strong central mother

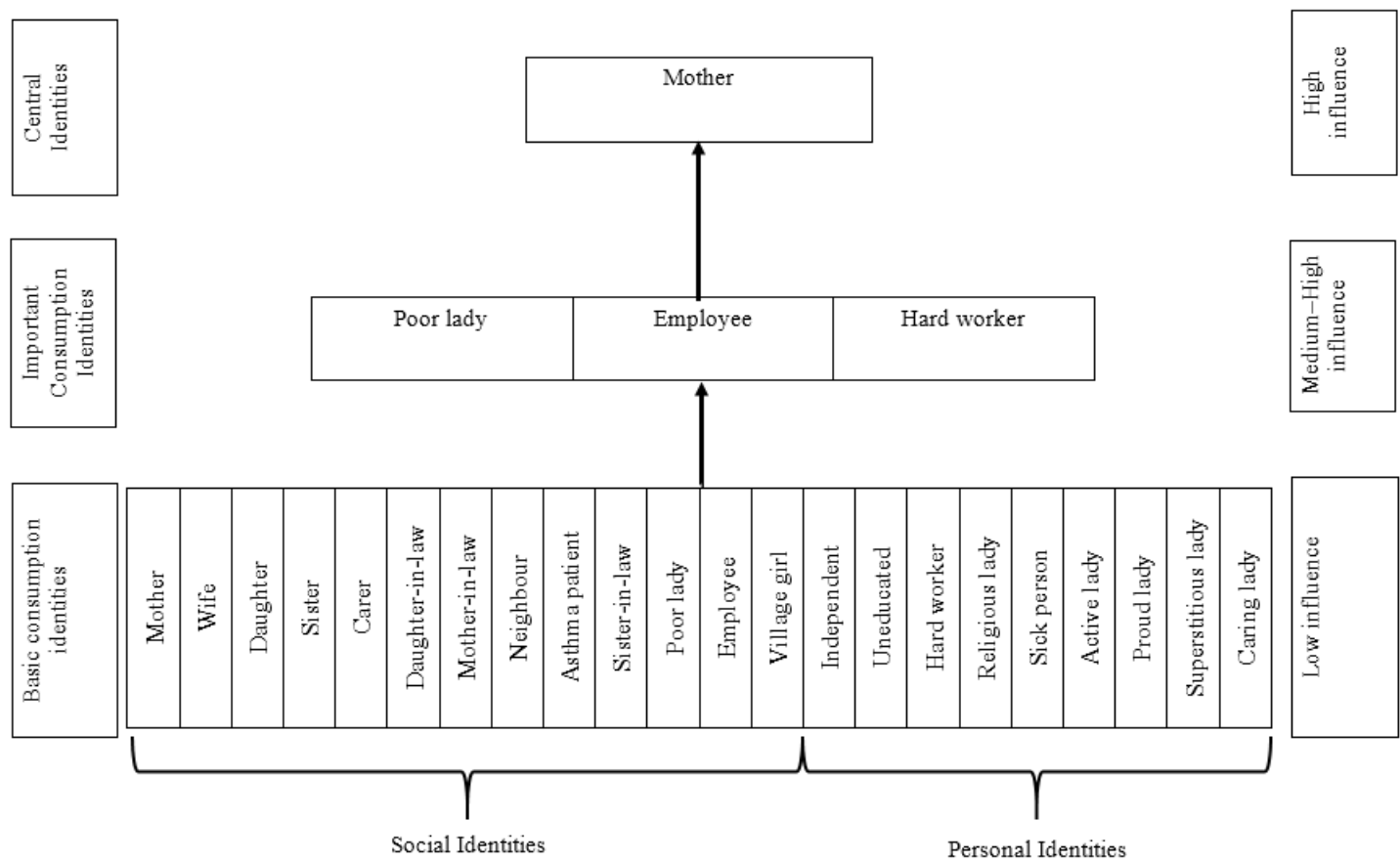
identity. Most of her consumption decisions therefore, are straightforward and does not involve lot of identity conflicts or stressful situations that come from non-compatible identities. The identity profile of *Dars COI03* is provided in **Table 4.4** and her identity profile is given in **Figure 4.2**.

Table 4.4: Identity profile of Dars COI03

Type of identity	Identity	Example/quote
Social identities	Mother	<i>"Actually I am a good mother"</i>
	Wife	<i>"When my husband was coming after me. I was continuously rejecting him"</i>
	Daughter	<i>"At that time my parents were very poor so what I wanted was take care my parents"</i>
	Daughter-in-law	<i>"His parents mistreated me and they took all my gold jewellery and sold it to cover their expenses"</i>
	Mother-in-law	<i>"He (son-in-law) is a mason (construction worker). He and his family is very good. They knows about my husband."</i>
	Neighbour	<i>"Very recently some of the women in the neighbourhood were passing hints to my son saying who is going to give a girl for that family"</i>
	Asthma patient	<i>"There I had to work at night and it was not possible for me to continue since I have asthma"</i>
	Poor person	<i>"Income means it's only what I earn daily to cover day's expenses"</i>
	Sister-in-law	<i>"my brother-in-law also having the same behaviour"</i>
	Village girl	<i>"my parents are from village...I went back to Alpitiya (the hometown) but it's not an easy thing for us to go back to our home town after such incidents"</i>
	Sister	<i>"my brother bought us a TV"</i>
	Carer	<i>"...he (her son) has asthma and one he was one month hospitalised for stomach problem. When he was recovering from that again he got a urine problem and we had to operate him. For that I have spent three, four months at hospital"</i>
	Employment related identities	
	Door-to-door clothes vendor	<i>"So what I did was started sewing cloths and used to sell it for nearby houses. I was carrying my two children in the bicycle and used to sell it for households"</i>
	Construction site helper	<i>"I am going as a helper in construction sites"</i>
Personal identities	'Kotthu' maker	<i>"...worked in a food out let as a "Kotthu Rice" maker"</i>
	Cement flowerpot maker	<i>"Yesterday I went to make cement flower pots and was planning to go today also"</i>
	Factory employee	<i>"...I didn't want other employees to humiliate me due to his and his friends' behaviour"</i>
	Hard worker	<i>"It's all my hard work... no body was helping when we don't have place to live... it's all my hard work at least to build that wooden hut"</i>
	Independent	<i>"I went through lot of difficulties...did everything by my own"</i>

Active lady	<i>"I am not a lazy person and I am not used to waste time... I am always trying to do some work and earn some money for my family"</i>
Uneducated	<i>"my education...actually I only studied up to grade two...I can (read and write)"</i>
Proud lady	<i>"sometimes I am very proud about myself because I am not doing any unethical or characterless thing"</i>
Religious lady	<i>"I have to do "Bodhi Pooja (a Buddhist ritual carried out in a temple)" to protect my child from all these... I am Buddhist"</i>
Superstitious lady	<i>"Recently I checked my son's horoscope and it says that he lot of problems..."</i>
Caring lady	<i>"my parents were very poor so what I wanted was take care my parents...I am afraid that he will engaged withal this drug addicted people. I have suffered a lot to take care them (children)"</i>
Sick person	<i>"I have asthma"</i>

Figure 4.2: Identity structure of Dars COI03



On the other hand, if you consider the identity structure and profile of Nimm FBO02, she had a limited social interactions and less basic consumption identities compared to Dars COI03. However, the absence of a strong central identity (though she possessed a central identity) and having conflicting important identities makes her identity structure complex. Nimm FBO02 despite having limited number of identities had to make decisions where she chose her 'friend' identity over her central 'daughter' identity (Nimm FBO02 decided to give money to her friend against the advice her mother), made controversial decision of silently supporting the opposition presidential candidate while working and canvassing for her party's candidate. She also frequently makes consumption decisions where her important 'politician' identity conflicts with another important identity 'employee'.

Possessing a strong central identity and having lesser number of conflicting important identities make identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers simple. The complexity of the identity structures however, does not depend on the level of social interactions or the number of total identities in the hierarchy of subsistence consumers. The complexity of identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers therefore, does depend on the fact that the informant is employed in one of the factories investigated or simply a stay-at-home mother from the community. In terms of the negative effects of intersectional identities, having fewer social relationships and commitments reduces the oppressive influence of intersectional identities for subsistence consumers. For example *Nadi FAO02* is a single female with no parents, partner, cousins (except one nephew), no involvement in community work and less financial commitments. Therefore, she does not feel the intersectional effects of poverty, lack of education etc. at the same level as other participants and the few identities that get considered in her consumption situations generally harmonize with each other.

Factors of influence in identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers

Numerous factors influence the identity-based consumption of participants of this study. Above described main consumption situations and key identities in these consumption situations informed the analysis of internal and external factors that influence subsistence consumers in identity-based subsistence consumption. The analysis revealed four key factors as highly influential in identity-based subsistence consumption. These four factors correspond to the four key types of consumption situations revealed prior, i.e. family-related, self-related, society-related and employment-related. The four main factors of influence are, influence from family members, identity centrality, impact of social power relations in society and economic poverty of subsistence consumers. Family member influence are prominent in family-related consumption situations and identity centrality which indicates ‘who am I’ for participants feature in all four consumption situations, but more prominent in self-related consumption situations. Negative influence participants mostly endure in unfavourable social power relations come to fore in most society-related consumption situations. Finally, the economic poverty influences all four consumption situations, but to a lesser extent, when it comes to important family-related consumption decisions. These four main factors of influence are described in detail below.

Family member influence on identity-based subsistence consumption

“In my life the situation I was most happy was when I bought a house for my mother...I have been working for 7 years, while studying...I bought a house for my mother. I was very happy about it...the toughest decision I had to make was...to keep my mother there (in the house she bought for her) and come here (to city to work in a factory)”

Tush FBF14, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 27 years old

As above statement indicates, participants show an extremely strong family orientation. As a result of that, most consumption situations of participants are influenced by their family members. This holds true across different categories of employed and

community (pre-determined categories) and mothers and daughters (naturally split categories from initial analysis). Even the consumption situations of participants who do not live with family (boarded near factories or living in hostel accommodation provided by the factories with friends) are mainly related to family. For example, Dili FBO04, who lives close to the garment factory she works and visits parents only occasionally due to work, indicates that parents are her priority in life.

“Haven’t thought about it yet (life after parents death), even they also asking about it, but I haven’t thought yet... parents are the priority”

Dili FBO04, unmarried, machine operator of Factory B, 35 years old

Dili FBO04’s consumption decisions reflect her priority given to parents. When questioned on hobbies and watching television, following was her response;

Interviewer: So, you don’t watch TV? Why is that?

Dili FBO04: I need to buy a TV he..he..(Laughs shyly)

Interviewer: So are you thinking of buying one?

Dili FBO04: I once bought one...then gave it to my parents

In terms of everyday consumption situations, Dili FBO04 gets factory transport to commute to work. Her breakfast and lunch are also provided by the factory she works. She mentions that due to having uniforms, she has little worries about clothing for most of the time. The nature of her lifestyle leaves comparatively less room for consumption decisions related to her own life. Therefore, even without living with parents, respondents display a strong family orientation in their consumption situations and decisions.

The same family orientation in consumption situations is evident in married participants too. Participants who are mothers take their children as their priority and as a reason most consumption situations and decisions are related to their children than themselves. For example, following is what respondents had to say about their priorities in their daily lives in first focus group discussion.

“Now, when taking care of babies (referring to children) and household work, we (referring to mothers) think and talk less about ourselves (everyone giggles and nods in agreement)...who we are don’t come to front. We always think of the family...husband, children, since we think of them more, we don’t get to think of ourselves often.”

Cham COF16, married, Self-employed (irregular), 28-38 years old

This statement received immediate attention and agreement from the other participants and two other participants went on to verbally confirm this while all others agreed by nodding their heads (source - field notes taken while collecting data).

“That’s the true story. I am Neel COF12. That is the real story. Most of the time, we have to give priority only to our family. If I tell you the true story, this...children, household work...once they are done, we absolutely have no time to think of ourselves (everyone giggles and nods in agreement).”

Neel COF12, married, Unemployed, 28-38 years old

Two other participants in the same focus group discussion went on to confirm and add more detail to high family orientation in their everyday decision making including consumption decisions.

“...That means, even if we go to a shop, when I see a nice dress...I think I am a women, I used to dress nicely and things like that. But, what comes to front is I can do something better for my child from this money than buying this dress”

Gaya COF11, married, unemployed, 28-38 years old

“I am Ranj COF15. I also like to dress nicely. But, just like Gaya COF11 told, I think again, should I buy this. Even if I pick it up, I think again, there is one that is even nicer for my son. Finally I buy that (son’s clothes).”

Ranj COF15, married, Unemployed (Supports her husband in his various small irregular businesses), 28-38 years old.

Family-related consumption situations take many forms and take up a substantial portion of subsistence consumption situations. For example, family-related consumption situations are initially divided in to two sub-categories named family members related consumption situations and household work related consumption situations as given in Table 4.1. These two sub-categories can also be further grouped in to sub-categories based on the similarities in consumption situations. Table 4.5 provides a detailed categorisation of family-related consumption situations going up to four sub-categories, which constitute a substantial portion of consumption decisions of subsistence consumers due to high level of family orientation displayed by participants across different groups.

As shown in Table 4.5, family-related consumption situations can mainly concern either a decision concerning a family member or everyday household work related to routine family consumption. Family member-related consumption situations vary based on the kind of family respondents are part of. For example, young unmarried girls who participated in the study either live with their parents or consider parents and siblings as their main family though having partners/boyfriends and lived in a boarding place close to the factories they work.

Table 4.5 – Sub-categories of Family related consumption type

Category	Sub-categories				Example
	First level	Second level	Third level	Fourth level	
Family	Family members related	Care related	Children	Caring for children's educational/developmental needs	Enrolling her child for a tuition class for extra support
				Caring for children's health and well-being	Paying LKR 2000 every month for transportation to take her child to hospital without a regular income
				Preparation of children's food	Preparing a special meal on Sundays based on child's desires
			Parents	Attending to parent's needs	Helping/buying needful for father to continue gardening as a hobby
				Parents health related activities	Sending the biggest portion of salary to parents for father's cancer treatments
			Husband/ Partner	Preparing husband's meals/tea and other food requirements	Waking up at 4 a.m. in the morning to prepare husband's meals before he leaves to work
				Assisting husband's job/business	Travelling in husband's school transpiration service van every morning to assist him with handling school children
			Siblings	Caring for husband's health and well-being related needs	Administering husband's medication
				Education of younger siblings	Giving up on higher education opportunities to fund two younger siblings education
				Other caring related needs of siblings	Organising and managing younger brother's heart surgery
		Aspiration related	Fulfilling parent's dreams and desires	Situations related to life events	Not getting married to the person loved due to parent's disapproval
				Situations related to education/career	Selecting a higher education stream to fulfil parent's dream of becoming a doctor
			Assisting siblings to reach	Situations related to siblings' life events	Saving money for younger sister's wedding by not purchasing non-essential products

			their career/life goals	Situations related to siblings' education/career	Getting the sibling a job in the same workplace
	Household work related	Household chores	Cooking	Everyday meal preparation	Everyday cooking
				Sunday special meal for the family	Sunday special lunch with some additional/better dishes
				Cooking for special occasions	New year sweetmeat cooking to be distributed to neighbourhood (as a custom)
			Cleaning	Various cleaning activities in house, garden etc.	Household cleaning activities
			Washing	Washing clothes of self, children, husband and older parents	General clothes washing (hand-wash clothes)
		Shopping	Grocery shopping	Everyday grocery shopping	Sticking to pre-determined grocery list to save money
			Urgent purchases	Urgent everyday grocery items, medication, children's needs	Buying meat to cook for visitors coming for dinner
			Clothes shopping	Clothes shopping for children/husband or partner/other family members	Saving money from January to buy two new pieces of clothes for children for Sri Lankan new year (on April 13 th)
			Purchasing other items including consumer durables	Consumer durables, accessories for occasions, cleaning equipment etc.	Buying a colour television on an easy payment scheme at a higher interest rate
			Purchasing gifts for various occasions	For functions, special events of neighbours, cousins, friends etc.	Selecting a gift for neighbour's daughter's wedding

Identity centrality

The second significant factor of influence in identity-based subsistence consumption is the level of identity centrality of participants. Identity centrality is the psychological importance that consumers place on their identities (Settles, 2004). Identity centrality therefore, determines the level of attachment a consumer places on an identity, which in turn determines the position of that identity in the hierarchy of importance to the individual (Rane & McBride, 2000). Participants of this study display a strong psychological centrality to a single identity. They consider either the identity of a mother or daughter as the identity most central to selves. Unmarried participants indicate that they always think of their parents, while the participants with children indicate all their decision making revolves around their children. Identity centrality of the informants of this study is therefore, primarily and entirely based around their families, except for one female who is not married, with no siblings and her parents passed away long ago. All the other 73 informants were predominantly a mother or a daughter in their central identities. Apart from these two central identities, the other emerged central identity was the identity of a sister. However, all informants who adopted a central sister identity did not express their central identity as a sister, but more of a mother figure. Following two statements are examples of the adopted mother identity of some unmarried participants, where they indicate treating their younger siblings more like their children than brothers and sisters.

“I was very young, and it was about two years since I left school (around 20 years of age) when my mother separated from my father... my brother and sister were small children at that time... taking care of two small siblings while handling this job was a huge experience for me...more like a child (responding to the question how she felt about the siblings when taking care of them)...my younger sister was very small and I had to specifically take care of her, especially since she was a girl. So I took care of their educational needs while doing my job.”
Niro FA001, engaged, machine operator at Factory A, 30 years old

“Only from few marks I missed the university entrance. On the other hand my father was abroad...and as the elder child I have to take care everyone in my family. Therefore I had to stop my education and had to more concentrate on family issues and the education of my two siblings...his health problems (referring to her brother). I had to spent huge amount of money

for that. That was the main reason why I had to stop my education half away. If not I would have continued my studies further. Anyway today I am very happy about the status of my sister. I have given her good education and today she is in good status”
Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old

Identity centrality indicates that the central identities are considered in almost every consumption situation. Consumers enact and consider their central identities in consumption situations even without external factors making their central identities salient. For example, Chat FAO06 considers her adopted mother figure as her central identity. Her ‘mother figure’ identity influences her dealings with other employees at workplace, despite being an unmarried, young female of only 36 years old.

“Sometimes inside the organisation there are situations that I act as a good mother... Sometimes to understand people I have to be more mature than my age... I’ll be a mother (in certain situations at work)”
Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old

“So I became the mother for the home. If I was to tell very clearly, I became a mother at home, and as a result my education got disrupted... I am the only one at home who is doing the job younger sister and younger brother have to be educated so I did like that so with all that my life is what I say it is (implying being more like a mother)”
Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old

Strong central identities manifest over other identities including important consumption identities in consumption situations. Central identities prevail in consumption situations, where other important consumption identities appear to be the more rational choice. For example, Inok FAO07 finds her identities as a mother and as a daughter conflict with each other when she purchases toys for her kids. She mentions her mother as the first and the most important person she seeks advice before taking a decision (even more than her husband).

“For that (on who would you take advice from before making important consumption decisions)...my mother. She knows the most about my job and my stuff. I discuss these things with my husband and my mother. Before talking to my husband I talk with my mother...”
Inok FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old

Inok FAO07’s identity as a mother however, manifests over the daughter identity, when these identities are in a conflict during consumption decision making. For example,

Inok FAO07 says her mother opposes to buying toys for kids. Her mother insists not buying toys citing reasons such as kids will break them, money spent on toys can be spent on more nutritious food on kids in a poor family such as hers and giving toys will lead to fights between children. Inok FAO07 agrees with all the reasons her mother gives, but continues to buy toys for her kids.

“What she is saying is also correct...there is a waste there... more than those things to get something good to eat or drink to children, it is better...mother says that...I understand what she is saying. I say yes it's true...I can see they are destroying those things”
Inok FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old

In these situations, her central identity as a mother manifests over her identity as a daughter despite the appeal from her mother being rational and influential in nature. Central identities (top level in identity structure in hierarchy) of participants prevail over important identities (second level in identity structure in hierarchy) and the basic identities (third level in identity structure in hierarchy) made salient in a given consumption situation.

“...my mother says, don't bring toys like this because the kids break them. They fight a lot for toys. When I bring from abroad, I bring things separately for them. She says don't bring those things, they will break them, destroy them...that is there... even still I don't wait without bringing.. I say never mind..”
Inok FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old

In the case of Chat FAO06, her central identity is built through keeping her family members as the first priority in her life. This includes both her siblings and parents. However, the nature and level of care she provides makes her central identity to be ‘an adopted mother’ than a typical ‘family member’.

“I had to spent huge amount of money for that. That was the main reason why I had to stop my education half away... if not I would have continued my studies further... anyway today I am very happy about the status of my sister. I have given her good education and today she is in a good position...as a habit every day I used to light the oil lamp for Buddha and praying for my parents...My father was abroad...he was in Saudi Arabia and as the elder child I have to take care everyone in my family...therefore I had to stop my education and had to more concentrate on family issues and the education of my two siblings”
Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old

Chat FAO06's central identity of an adopted mother exerts a greater influence in her her consumption decisions. The influence on consumption decisions vary from purchasing a dress for a party to a more critical situation of selecting her life partner.

"Once I selected a frock to wear for a party, but she asked me to go for a top without going for that frock. So, I finally decided to buy she said... she was telling it's not suitable with my body shape and not matching"

Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old

"With my first love affair I have faced such a situation (referring to mother going against her love affair)... at the beginning she was highly against to that and I was continuing it without her permission...But finally It was gone...(laughing slightly)"

Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old

As evident in the consumption decision making of Chat FAO06, the influence from the central identities and individuals forming these central identities (for example, mother or father in central 'daughter' identity) overpower the influence from other possible influencing factors arising from both internal and external sources. Further, consumers tend to re-affirm their commitment to central identities, despite having to give-in to the central identity-based influences against their will. For example, even after losing her first love in order to adhere to mother's advice, with no apparent fault of her lover, Chat FAO06 still feels that her mother understood her situation better and even mentioned that she will listen to what she says in future.

"I'll be agreeing with my mother because there is always some reasonable points for parents to interfere with our decisions right? So, I will definitely think about why my mother is consciously repeating the same thing and I will stop working according to my opinion in such situations."

Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old

Participants without a strong central identity also indicated having a single identity as being central to self, however, did not display high psychological centrality of that identity to self. For example, Nimm FBO02, who works as a machine operator at Factory B is unmarried, and in her mid-thirties and living with her sick mother. She indicated her daughter identity as the most psychologically central, close identity to self. She lives with her mother

and takes care of her being unmarried at the age of 36. Nimm FBO02 mentioned her mother 46 times in her one-on-one interview that lasted 50 minutes.

“...even to buy some rice, my mother doesn't like to go with the others. I understand what my mother likes...when I make personal decisions I ask mother what to do... I am a good daughter to my mother... I think we are getting older, mother is also very ill. Elder sister can't look after mother (implying she has to take care of her mother despite having 9 siblings)”

Nimm FBO02, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 36 years old

Nimm FBO02 however, mentioned several instances where she gave priority to her other important identities such as her ‘politician’ and ‘employee’ identities and even somewhat less frequent ‘a friend’ (at basic identities level in identity hierarchy) over her central ‘daughter’ identity. Further, she expressed her displeasure of having to take care of her mother all by herself and also the fact that she gets angry with her and scolds her at times.

Politician identity over daughter identity

“...there are six sisters including me. If they can balance mothers' work with the others I tell them to do till I come, and if I must go to that meeting...I go to that meeting at that time...”

Nimm FBO02, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 36 years old

Friend identity over mother identity

“mothers work has fallen onto me... she is with me a lot, much more than the others... there are times I scold my elder sisters...to do something (regarding mother's responsibilities)”

Nimm FBO02, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 36 years old

Frustration of having to take care of mother with no support from other siblings

“Minister Lakshman Kiriella's funding has passed. 4 million LKR has been allocated to the work on the temple road. To finish the road, before the Katina (significant Buddhist festival), I have no time. I am here (working at Factory B). To do that I had to appoint someone...at such a time, when mother also starts annoying, I get a little angry”

Nimm FBO02, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 36 years old

“...when I have to do an exchange (giving money to friends as loans) with a friend, sometimes I do it against the advice of my mother... if I look from my friend's point, it's a need they have.. if they tell and I understand it (as a genuine request)...then I give...”

Nimm FBO02, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 36 years old

On the other hand, consumers with a strong central identity found consumption decisions to be less complicated. These consumers found the strength of their central identity simplifying most of their consumption decisions. For example, similar to Nimm FBO02, Dili FBO04 is also an unmarried, 35 year old machine operator working for Factory B. Dili FBO04 also comes from a family with lot of siblings and also considers her daughter identity as her central identity. Unlike Nimm FBO02, Dili FBO04's psychological centrality of her daughter identity is extremely high. She indicates that she will marry only if her father recovers from cancer and sends most of her salary to her parents for their medication. The strong psychological centrality assists Dili FBO04 in her difficult decision situations. For example, when doctors suggested surgery for her father's illness, all her other siblings agreed, but Dili FBO04. She decided not to opt for surgery due to doctor's advice that there is a probability of it not being successful, though it was not mentioned high. Dili FBO04 however, did not change her decision and ultimately managed to stop her father's surgery despite being the youngest sibling of the family and with no one's support. Though her other important identities such as being a sister influenced against her decision, having a strong central identity of a daughter helped her to take a straightforward decision.

Identity centrality is a strong factor of influence in identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers. Central identities of consumers get considered in most consumption situations and manifest over important identities or basic identities made salient in consumption situations.

Social power relations

The fourth and the final significant factor of influence is the disadvantaged social power relations subsistence consumers experience in consumption situations. As discussed under intersectional identities, subsistence consumers of this particular study are influenced by disadvantaged social power associated with their ‘garment girl’, ‘village girl’ and ‘single mother’ identities as female, garment factory workers and mothers. This is in addition to the poor, uneducated and female identity related social power disadvantages found to be more generic for subsistence consumers across different contexts. Second research question of this study particularly examine the influence of social power relations in subsistence consumption. Detailed description of the influence of social power relations therefore, is provided in next section, Influence of Social Power Relations.

4.2.2. Influence of Social Power relations in identity-based subsistence consumption

Identities of subsistence consumers are associated with disadvantaged social power relations (Saatcioglu & Corus, 2014). Subsistence consumers are marginalised in multiple levels in an additive manner leading to multiple oppressions (Shultz & Holbrook, 2009; Saatcioglu & Corus, 2014). For example, being a female, poor, and an uneducated are all related with negative aspects of consumption such as inability to make informed decisions, lack of financial resources and confidence in consumption decisions where disadvantages in one aspect intersects with others. Subsistence consumers are characterised by multiple factors despite the one-dimensional definition based on economic poverty (Shultz & Holbrook, 2009). Various other psychological, social and political factors shape subsistence consumption (Hill R. , 2001). Understanding what influences subsistence consumption therefore, becomes a multidimensional approach with intersecting and multiplying disadvantages. Researchers argue studying both marginalization (Crockett, et al., 2011; Ozanne & Fischer, 2012) and subsistence consumes (Baker, Gentry, & Rittenburg, 2005; Saatcioglu & Corus, 2014) should adopt an intersectional approach.

Informants of this study reveal six key disadvantaged social power relations influencing their consumption decisions. Three of these power relations i.e. being a garment girl, a single mother and a village girl are more specific to the participant group of this study and did not relate to all participants. The other three more common social power relations, i.e. being poor, female and uneducated influence the participants across all groups except very few participants who are educated.

As discussed under intersectional identities in section 5.2.1 - What influences the identity-based subsistence consumption, being a garment girl from a village and also being a single mother multiply the oppression these participants experience. These social power relations intersect with the other three generic social power relations experienced by female subsistence consumers in general. Being a single mother amplifies the poor identity with no perceived partner income while being a village girl creates perceptions of being uneducated and poor. The identity of a garment girl is considered as poor, uneducated and a being a female of submissive nature. This is in addition to deal with perceptions of a bad character that comes with disadvantaged social power relations of a garment girl identity.

The common social power relations associated with poor, female and uneducated identities also multiply the oppression of subsistence consumers. First, being economically poor as opposed to rich discriminates subsistence consumers influencing their identities in consumption situations. Second, being a female as opposed to a male in subsistence context marginalises our informants who are all females. Despite the fact that culture plays an important role in determining discriminatory effects of being a female in the context of Sri Lankan subsistence marketplace, researchers argue for similar structural disadvantages amongst subsistence contexts with differences such as culture (Mishel, Bernstein, & Schmitt, 1999; Saatcioglu & Corus, 2014). Finally, being uneducated as opposed being knowledgeable and educated plays an exploitative and oppressive role in identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers.

Social power relations of economic poor versus rich identities in subsistence consumption

Money plays a critical role in consumption as Yu and Kamakura (2008) state there are “far more” empirical studies on consumption in economics than in marketing. Extreme economic poverty is found central to most subsistence marketplace definitions despite other important factors such as lack of education and access to resources being integral parts of subsistence consumption. Being considered as poor, therefore, influences the consumption decisions of the informants of this study.

Findings of this study highlights the strong association of poverty with subsistence consumption. All informants across focus group discussions and one-on-one interviews identified themselves as being poor. This identification influenced informants in their consumption decisions in two ways. First, consumers were unable to make certain consumption decisions due to lack of financial resources. These consumption decisions are based on rational consumption behaviour and involved more utilitarian and functional consumption decisions. Second, and more importantly, consumers were reminded of the fact that they are poor by the disadvantaged social power relations in consumption situations, which influenced their identity-based consumption decisions. As a result of the influence from poverty related social power relations, subsistence consumers had low confidence in making consumption decisions, limited their exploration of options in making consumptions decisions and resorted to limited, known options. For example, Ayes COF26 who is an unemployed informant from the community group, was not shown a single piece of garment when she went to a shop to buy a white colour shalwar kameez (popular south Asian female dress). The shop owner mentioned that there are no white shalwar kameez in the shop, but shown a lot of such garments to the lady who came and asked for the same next.

“Once we went to buy a dress...we asked for a white dress and I think for a shalwar suit. We went to a Tamil (an ethnic minority in Sri Lanka) Textile Shop. When we asked if there's any white dress available, they said no. As they said no, we went to the other side of the shop to see if there are any other colours that we like. At the same time, there was another Muslim (another ethnic minority in Sri Lanka) lady who came to the shop. For her, they show all those different varieties of dresses, even white ones with such an enthusiasm. We were shocked as

we couldn't understand why he could show her all those, and why he ignored us like that”
Ayes COF26, unemployed, married female, 28 years old

Though Ayesha brought in ethnicity to explain and possibly to attribute the course of action, it was the poverty that discriminated her from the other lady who came asked for the same. She mentions that the dress is too costly for a lady like her, even though she links it with ethnicity.

“May be they must be thinking like this. Some Sinhalese people hesitate to spend. May be those dresses was a bit costly, so they might have considered that”

Ayes COF26, unemployed, married female, 28 years old

Ushi COF21, who was also a participant in the same focus group of Ayesha, supported the idea of society's tendency to discriminate poor consumers.

“...they look at the person's face and decide based on looks, if she will buy or not”
Ushi COF21, unmarried, entry level government servant, 24 years old

The influence of social power structure of being poor does not only limit to purchases, but also affects other forms of consumption as well. Lali FBO01, who is a machine operator at Factory B finds her neighbours mistreating her due to her poverty.

“In our neighbourhood are only big houses...well when you look at it in that way, they are trying to get rid of us because we are poor... now we have our well... no? When you say a well on 10 perches, it's a small one...but we have sent a drain to the road...that drain goes in front of the house... but based on their status (social status), they are telling us not to put it there... when they do things like that we feel that they are doing because we are poor and helpless people”
Lali FBO01, married, machine operator at Factory B, 38-44 years old

The feeling of being discriminated due to poverty was common for both employed and community groups. Informants expressed that they are aware of being mistreated due to poverty and it affected their confidence in taking consumption decisions. In addition to their specific experiences of being disadvantaged due to poverty in consumption situations, all three groups, Factory A, B and the community group expressed this in generic terms as well. Comments of Mari COI02, SriK FA004 and Kris FA008 from both employed and community groups, were made on a more generic level, but summarise the specific consumption situations of negative experiences of the informants.

“Obviously there is a difference (the way the rich and the poor are treated in purchase situations). The seller always prefers to get wealthy people to their stores because then only they would be able to make a good sale. So they would not care for poor people much. There are occasions where when we asks the price of a product sellers do not express the price and say that thing is not for sale. Normally if a customer is coming from a vehicle, they would buy products without bargaining on the quoted price, but on the other hand, a poor person would always try to get a discount or a price reductions. So from the sellers’ point of view they would always prefer to have wealthy customers”

Mari COI02, unemployed, married lady, 46 years old

“if I go to a shop and try a clasp in my hair, the sale person would say, 'Miss this is really expensive!... from appearance (answering how do they decide a consumer is unlikely to buy)”

SriK FAO04, machine operator of Factory A, widow, 46 years old

“the man who has money...money can do anything... society is like that... unlike the poor man, they treat the rich man or the powerful man differently, even if he's not educated he gets a better respect in society because of his money...The shopkeeper (of the village shop) knows the financial situation of the people in the village. When the poor man asks to buy food on credit he doesn't give. But if a wealthy person asks for a cigarette from the shopkeeper and says that he will give money tomorrow, the shopkeeper gives him a cigarette”

Kris FAO08, unmarried, Factory A machine operator, 34 years old

Social power relations of gender identities in subsistence consumption

Consumer identities are predominantly socially constructed and categorised (Gopaldas & Fischer, 2011). The gender is also socially constructed and is considered as one of the earliest social categories (Schmader & Block, 2015), despite biological base of gender categorization. The logic of constructing consumer identities separates one identity from another and attach different meanings to these identities. An individual experiences either oppression and marginalization or privilege and advantage, based on the meanings attached to a given identity or set of identities in that context (Gopaldas & Fischer, 2011; Smooth, 2013). Being a women in the context of subsistence marketplace of Sri Lankan culture creates multiple oppression and marginalization for women. These oppressive social power relations exert significant influence the identity-based consumption behaviour of women. In the case of *Inok FAO07* despite identifying herself as a leader (in addition to being an international athlete) and identifying her husband as a weak decision maker, *Inok FAO07* still considers men to be the superior gender.

“If we consider past ideas, we say the husband is god of the wife... but I don’t believe that. I always think in this way. I think at a higher level than the average woman. But, even I think my husband should be in a little bit higher position than the wife. I generally don’t go neck to neck with his things. I have respect for him. I don’t try to be equal to him.”
InoK FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old

Even after differentiating her identity from a typical women in her social strata and mentioning that both husband and wife should be equal, Inok FAO07 goes on to say that she prefers her husband to be in a higher social standing. This is further evident with how she deals with her co-workers. Again, mentioning that both genders are qual, Inok FAO07 treats her male co-workers more softly and respectfully.

“I think equally. I think all are equal that means both men and women. The man...because he is a man, should eat more, and the woman should eat less.. that is not necessary.. We all are equal...whether male or female, both are human beings.. they must live equally. But there is something that comes from the past. Even on a line (factory floor line of workers)...if I’m talking to a man, there are men on the line as well...the way I talk to them is like... ‘brother, I don’t like to raise my voice on you, please do you work properly’ I will say like that and give him a little respect... and a chance (than females)”
InoK FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old

“I tell him, I don’t want to shout at you the way I shout at them (women), so do your work properly. At that time, I give him a small chance, so that he thinks... ‘it’s not right for me to get scolded, so I will do my work properly’. At those times I generally don’t scold the men. It’s not right, in our minds also... from the past...that’s the way it is. I don’t go to pull him up a lot, even now when I scold him I am talking calmly keeping it at a little (respectful) level...that means, it’s not right. I just feel it that way”
InoK FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old

Inok FAO07 believes women being considered as the inferior gender is incorrect and possesses knowledge about gender equality supporting this perception. Further she appears as a strong minded female who decided to participate in an international athletic meet in Japan, while having three kids with the smallest being still breast fed and husband being not around at the time. She considers herself as a leader, adviser, and an achiever and has exposure in travelling overseas and working, something most subsistence females do not get. Yet she accepts unequal social power vested in male gender identity due to the influence of culture and cultural norms in the context of Sri Lankan subsistence marketplace. She agrees to allow her three children follow the religion of his husband, not her faith. She justifies this with

reasoning that her mother also had to face the same issue and allowed her to follow her father's faith and also it might help her kids when it comes to getting to a good school, as there is not reputed Catholic (her faith) boys school in her area.

"I am a Roman Catholic, my husband is a Buddhist...(our) three children are Buddhists... my mother and father were of two religions... we are Catholics because our father is Catholic...I made a decision if they are carrying their fathers surname, they should have his religion also. When going to admit them into schools, it can be an influence. Sri Sumangala is a Buddhist school, for nothing, if I converted the children into my religion, it would be a problem for me"
InoK FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old

This however, does not appear to be the main reason as she even did not get married in a Church, but did a "Poruwa ceremony" as per the Buddhist culture requested by her husband. This led her parents and relatives not attending the function and withdrawing all support towards organising the wedding, nevertheless, she agreed with her husband's request.

"When I got married, the relatives from my fathers side didn't come to the wedding because I didn't get married in a church. They did not get involved in the wedding because I had a 'poruwa' (traditional Buddhist ceremony on a special stage) wedding ceremony. There I decided, since the church services were unfamiliar to my mother's relatives and husband's side of the family also didn't know about it and also my father's side of the family were not to come, if I went for the service (in a church), the relatives would be uncomfortable. Without doing that, I got it done on the poruwa. That wouldn't cause me a problem."
InoK FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old

Research suggests consumers with high Power Distance Belief (PDB) accept inequality more than consumers with low PDB (Chiu & Hong, 2013; Oyserman, 2006). PDB refers to the extent to which an individual accepts inequality in power (Winterich & Zhang, 2014). Consumers of higher power distance countries like Sri Lanka (geert-hofstede.com, n.d.), have higher PDB and accept power inequalities more than low PD countries (Blodgett, Lu, Rose, & Vitell, 2001; Winterich & Zhang, 2014). InoK FAO07, therefore makes consumption decisions mainly based on her 'female' identity, which is made salient in most important consumption situations by the disadvantaged social power relations prevalent in her surroundings. This is despite possessing multiple identities (for example, the confident international athlete, achiever and a leader) that conflict with the 'female' identity that accepts unequal power and the knowledge on gender equality. The influence of disadvantaged social

power relations is prevalent even in identity-based religious consumption too. Religions provide a distinct set of consumption rules for its followers (Cosgel & Minkler, 2004). Halal and Kosher meals for example, are consumption expressions of the religions Islam and Judaism. For example, some countries with strong Islamic populations experience discrimination against women that inhibit consumption of certain products and services (Weiss, 2003). Similarly, Sri Lanka with over 70 per cent Buddhists in population (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka Census of Population and Housing, 2011, 2011), finds traditions that support social power relations discriminating women. For example, *Subh FA009* is not allowed to visit Buddhist monks in their meditating rooms, despite offering alms to the monks with her brothers, where the males are allowed. She also acknowledges other such traditions and finds it as ‘normal’, despite believing that women should be treated equal.

“Women are not allowed to go, only males are allowed (referring to visiting monks in their meditating rooms)...even for that, they don’t allow females (referring to visiting the special place where relics are kept in temple of tooth relics of Buddha)...women were placed in a lower social standard in Brahmin’s time ”

Subh FA009, married, machine operator at Factory A, 30 years old

Social power relations of educated versus uneducated identities in subsistence consumption

Vast majority of the informants were educated only up to secondary school level. This is relatively low level of formal education attainment considering the context of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka has the highest literacy rate in South Asia and one of the highest literacy rates in Asia with over 92% of the population (Ministry of Higher Education & Highways, Sri Lanka, n.d.). The literacy rate of Sri Lanka is extensively above the expectations of third world countries and it is illegal to not send children to school in Sri Lanka (UNICEF, 2016). Further, advancing in secondary schools in Sri Lanka does not depend on academic performance until grade 10, where students face a national level examination. In this backdrop, informants who do not advance beyond secondary education can be considered relatively uneducated.

Out of the 74 informants, only one informant (Tush FBF14) completed a bachelor's degree and two other informants (Ushi COF21 and Anji FAF23) were studying for a bachelor's degree. There was one more informant (Minu FAF26) who was reading for Law College entrance exams in Sri Lanka. Apart from these four informants, only Kris FAO08, an unmarried machine operator from Factory A, who had to give up her bachelor's degree studies due to financial hardships attempted studying beyond secondary school. All these informants who continued studies after secondary school were unmarried females and were in their twenties. On the other extreme there were informants (for example, Kath FBF35) who did not attend school at all or left school at primary school level (for example, Dars COI03). Poverty emerged as the single strongest reason for giving up on school or higher education for participants of the study.

"I didn't have money. As soon as I did O Level (grade 10 national exam), I went into a company. The school didn't allow me to leave, they scolded my mother... They are abandoned. From Aluthapola school only two were chosen for typing...for that also I couldn't do. I have lots of skills and capabilities...because of the financial problems I had (reason for stopping education)...So when I was that age, they were going through lots of problems. Lost my father when I was in Year 2. So for around 29 years, my mother raised me"
Nimm FBO02, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 36 years old

"...we had lot of financial problems... I did only up to O Levels (grade 10 national exam)... I didn't get good results. I had a lot of problems when I was going to school. On some days we didn't go to school, I also had to do labour work for daily wage. Because we had financial problems, father had to do stone quarrying, he got hit by stone fragments... They had to remove father's eyes"

Demi FBO05, Unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 42 years old

The participants realised the value of education and regretted not continuing their studies. This was more evident with the employed groups as they were presented with numerous opportunities to move up in the factories they work. Participants used terms such as loss, sad, depressed and regret to express their disappointment of being uneducated.

"couldn't do my education...I feel it (regret about not being able to study) strongly when I see that others have studied a lot more than me, and we were not able to study like that... now of course everything is finished right (referring to chances of studying again)? "

Kath FBF35, married, machine operator at Factory B, 28-38 years old

“I am sad (about not continuing school)...I feel it, when I work here... when I am working, I truly feel it. If I could go back to school, I would do it... now there is no time to go to school (implying it is over)... Its very difficult to thread a needle also. At times like that I really feel the loss of my education...with my job if I had studied also, I wouldn't be here I would be somewhere else, I get that feeling... I really feel it (value of education)... on our line (garment manufacturing line), yesterday, a girl left because she had been selected for campus. From the day I came, I told her, do your studies well and get a good job. Now we understand. One thing I think now is, if I had the same education as my brothers, I could have been doing a job in the government”

Demi FBO05, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 42 years old

As a result of both opportunities created through education in their workplaces and disappointment of not being able to study, informants who were mothers indicated strong desires of providing higher education opportunities for their children. The informants from the community group too identified the opportunities education creates and shared the same sentiments regarding the education of their children.

“I have three children and I look into their education very much... We are very much keen on the education of our eldest daughter at the moment... If a child gets a good education he or she can get a good job. Someday in life they will not have to struggle”

Chan COF35, married, self-employed mother, 38-44 years old

“I studied well. I studied up to A/Level (up to grade 13 national exam), O/Level (grade 10 national exam) I got 8 and 7 (referring to passing 8 subjects with 7 credit passes)... after doing my O/Level, I wasn't allowed to do my A/ Level. My father said...do a job my...main objective is to educate my children well... I am surviving mentally because the children are studying well...”

Lali FBO01, married, machine operator at Factory B, 38-44 years old

The feeling, admission and regret of informants as being ‘uneducated’ influenced their everyday consumption. The participants revealed that the society considering themselves as being uneducated affected their confidence in making consumption decisions. Consumers in the study were hesitant to make important consumption decisions, especially on products that involved brand selection and high in information processing. They did not buy cutting-edge technology products or smartphones. The most high-tech and high in information processing

decision for majority of participants was purchasing a television. The lack of confidence of informants to make important consumption decisions was reflected in their purchase of a television due to being considered as ‘uneducated’ both by self and society.

“One of my friends (who selected the TV for her)...she referred a shop where the owner is a friend of hers. Her suggestion was to buy a big TV regardless of my husband’s advice to buy a small TV...yes it was a big concern (price of the TV), I paid Rs. 3000 per month...even the discounted amount month was difficult to manage and in some month I faced with money deficits. In such instance I would borrow some money from a friend...not much (knowledge on purchasing products that require advanced decision making) so I go with someone who knows about it. I won’t go alone since I don’t have the knowledge about those and not confident to go and make such a purchase on my own”

SheR FBO07, married, machine operator form Factory B, 52 years old

“My normal friends don't have much education and experience about life. But wiser and educated people are more knowledgeable... so I go for them (for advice)...one is a friend, the other is our Lalani miss (HR manager at Factory A). When I go to her, she gives good solutions... we came to town and started wandering around Singer (Electronic appliances showroom to buy a Television). We were scared to go in... after a while, a gentleman came out. He had been observing us. He asked why. We told him the reason. He said, if so why wandering outside, and invited us in”

SriK FAO04, machine operator of Factory A, widow, 46 years old

The informants sought assistance and assurance from people they considered educated, even in instances these educated personnel not being an expert in the area of purchase. The case of Niro FAO01 is a good example of both low confidence and the assistance sought from different sources. She mentioned poverty as the reason for not continuing her studies and also the regret she has about not being able to learn more. She requires assistance when purchasing a daily-use face cream due to various brands present in the market. Niro FAO01 mentioned she even consulted people who were fairer than her and also from someone in the training department of the company as she had undergone a beautician course provided by the factory. Thi

“Even though I failed mathematics at my Ordinary Level examinations, I could have faced the advanced level examination. But since my father had financial difficulties and my brother and sister was very young, I had to do a job. Since then I gave up on my studies... I feel depressed when I think about it. If I had studied I could have been in a better position...once I finish the house work I never had time to go anywhere else. I did not have time to at least go for another

class (to learn)... Yes education (what I missed due to financial problems and taking care of siblings)... I hoped to continue my studies along with work but I missed. So I did not feel the need and the problems at home along with taking care of my siblings, did not allow me to think about my life any further. Today I regret about it...If I had studied better during that time I feel that I would have been in a better position... I received a scholarship from school. I even became the head prefect even though I did not continue my studies... well, when it comes to brands (when purchasing a face cream)... Well we don't know much about brands, but there are others who use certain brands. We talk to others who look fairer than us and ask them about which cream is better and which brand should we buy. There is a person here, who is like a sister to me. She handles the training center here. I ask details from her since she has done a beautician course"

Niro FA001, engaged, machine operator at Factory A, 30 years old

In addition to the three main social power relations revealed in the study, religion emerged as the fourth disadvantaged social power relation. The social influence from the religion on consumption of subsistence consumers were unique to this study for two reasons. First, informants across all different groups expressed high importance and involvement with the faith they believe. Informants engaged in activities such as daily prayers, regular visits to church/temple and sending their children to Sunday school for religion. Second, the context selected for this study has a unique issue of selecting the majority and minority religions. Sri Lanka is a country where over 70% practice Buddhism, while Roman Catholic and other Christian faiths account for only 7.4% of the population (Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka, 2012). Though this makes Buddhism the majority religion, the area this study was carried out had high percentage of Roman Catholics and Christians. The areas close to export processing zone where garment manufacturing factories are located is called 'Little Rome' with nearly 30 churches around the area. This unique situation created Buddhists to be the majority religion in the country, while the Roman Catholics and Christians being the majority in the area. Being married to a partner of a different faith created various difficult consumption decisions. Decisions on their wedding reception, (to be a Church or a 'Poruwa' - Buddhist cultural wedding ceremony), religion of their children, consumption of meat and children's schools involved complexities due to difference in the religions husband and wife believe. In most instances, the disadvantaged social power structure of gender overpowered the

effects of coming from a minority or a majority religion. Wives had to convert to husband's religion in the cases of husbands being either a Buddhist or a Catholic/Christian. The informants mentioned it is the social norm that the children should take over husband's religion as the main reason, despite providing different supporting reasons such as getting a good school for their children to justify the decision. Some informants had to convert to their husband's religion, while others remained in their religion.

Finally, the nature of intersectionality of subsistence identities also influence the identity-based consumption decision. Informants of this study possessed numerous identities that intersected with each other to create intersectional identities that created unique identity intersections. Being poor, uneducated and female all had effects of oppression and discrimination. All informants were poor and female with varied education levels. In terms of education, only 4 out of the 74 informants participated in this research, continued their studies beyond secondary school.

For example, if we consider the case of *Prab FAO05*, Being a young, unmarried girl who was severely burnt creates a unique identity intersection with potentially conflicting coordinates. The burnt person identity raises concerns regarding appearance (Mabie & Caminata, 2011). Disfigurement associated with burnt lady identity leads to negative effects such as depression (Thombs, et al., 2007) and reduced quality of life (Corry, Pruzinsky, & Rumsey, 2009). Further, burn survivors encounter identity conflict due to physical changes from injury and associated psychological changes (Williams, Davey, & Klock-Powell, 2003). For example, the informant, *Prab FAO05*, being a 23 year old unmarried, young girl did not even mention the word marriage or anything related to relationships that are romantic/intimate in nature. She constructs a 'simple girl' identity to resolve the conflict arose from conflicting identities. The 'young lady' and 'unmarried girl' identities associated with being attractive, fashion conscious conflict with 'burn survivor' identity with negative body image. The adaptation of a 'very simple girl' identity helps her negotiate the potential conflicts.

“...I am a good girl...and I am a very simple girl...”
Prab FAO05, employed, unmarried girl, 23 years

This identity interaction influences her consumption decisions, as *Prab FAO05* does not consume products and services typical of a young, 23 year old girl.

“I like to wear very simple cloths...I am not into stylish things...I like the normal simple way... No, I don’t use... I have no interest for those (responding to the question on using make-up)”
Prab FAO05, employed, unmarried girl, 23 years

Further, *Prab FAO05* finds this new identity ‘simple girl’ to be in harmony with her central identity, ‘daughter’, in addition to the burn survivor identity.

“...for my mother I am a good daughter...and for my neighbours and for my village, I am a good girl...”
Prab FAO05, employed, unmarried girl, 23 years

Therefore, disadvantaged social power relations influence subsistence identities negatively in consumption situations. This forces consumers to move away from certain consumption intentions in order to negotiate oppressive social power relations. As seen in the case of *Prab FAO05*, at times, negotiating these disadvantaged social power relations require construction of new identities that comply with negative effects of unequal social power relations and exert significant influence on identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers.

4.2.3. Influence from Social initiatives on identity-based subsistence consumption

Both garment manufacturing companies selected for this study had number of different social initiatives. The social initiatives of the two companies differed in nature, objective and structure. The two companies were pseudo named Factory A and Factory B for the purpose of this research.

Social initiatives of Factory B strives to provide clean water supply for the workers, their families and their entire village of the areas where factories are located. The flagship project of Factory B called 'Care for our own' recognises the criticality of providing clean water to prevent chronic kidney diseases, one of the major health issues faced by Sri Lanka. Only in financial year 2012-13, the company donated 293 wells, 115 pipe-borne water systems, 35 tube wells, 11 rainwater harvesting systems, 5 community wells and one community water supply scheme (reference – news page of the company website, URL withheld due to the possibility of company name being revealed). As recognised by the company itself with a dedicated CSR department and a webpage, social initiatives of Factory B take the form of corporate social responsibility projects.

Social initiatives by the two companies were different in terms of purpose, nature and objectives. Factory A had a series of social initiatives that followed the structure of shared value initiatives, while Factory B had initiatives with typical corporate social responsibility structure.

Influence of Factory A social initiatives on identity-based consumption

Social initiatives of Factory A consider a wide array of areas of improvement for their beneficiaries, who are both entry level factory workers and subsistence community living close to their factories.

Factory A had initiatives with objectives related to women empowerment, leadership and changing the perception of garment factory workers and poor females in general. These initiatives included aspects such as educating workers and villagers on English language and IT skills, work-life balance, managing personal finances and also gender sensitivity training for men. These initiatives received numerous recognition worldwide including American Apparel and Footwear Association (AAFA) Excellence in Social Responsibility award and also the factory A chairman being presented empowerment leadership award by then UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in 2013 (references withheld due to the possibility of

company name being revealed). Considering the fact that over 77% of Factory A staff members are females and recruited locally from areas around the factories, the social initiatives of Factory A is based on creating shared value. The social initiatives of Factory A increases the skill-base, confidence and productivity levels of mainly females both working in factory A and community around the factory, which in turn benefits the organisation.

The informants from Factory A indicated numerous benefits they received from being exposed to social initiatives organised by the factory, which directly impacted their identity-based consumption. These benefits included better management of their finances, knowledge and education on various aspects of life including consumption, better understanding on grooming, fashion and social etiquette and also the importance of giving with a philanthropic motive. For example, relatively more mature informants Sri FAO03 and SriK FAO04 aged 45 and 46 respectively indicated the importance of managing finances for a better life and the help they received towards that from social initiatives of factory A.

“...this company also teaches us a lot. There are a lot of programs (referring to social initiatives) for us... (on) how to succeed in life... did a lot of these things to help us succeed in life...that means, what we earn, without wasting it, how to use it towards useful things. If I have some sort of desire, what I should do to fulfil that desire, how to work for the improvement of the company, and when we do that, how our things also get done without effort.”

Sri FAO03, widow, machine operator at Factory A, 45 years old

“I applied that (learnings from the company social initiatives) first in my purse. I planned and arranged it first... I applied it in my grocery shopping. If I normally buy goods for the whole month, I could buy for half a month and deposit the rest of Rs. 2000/= in bank. So there'll be an interest for that sum... 'Ladies-To-Front' (one of the social initiatives) was such a huge support for my single life. How to find a living, how to manage what I earn, whether to regret after spending the whole salary in two weeks, or whether to balance it, and get the next pay a few days late...things like that...: I remember there were some agents from a bank to guide us (in one of the social initiative programs). From Hatton National Bank if my memory is right, and there was a lady. We were taught a lot of things in that workshop. How to manage a salary, how to define the necessary and needed, how to reduce the unwanted costs, how to reduce expenses, how to do savings. I remember them teaching us a plan. So when we apply them and get attached to those concepts, we automatically start saving”

SriK FAO04, machine operator of Factory A, widow, 46 years old

More younger informants, for example, Sama FAF14 on the other hand spoke more about the importance of the fashion/grooming tips she received from company initiatives. Informants indicated that it's not only the sense of fashion or knowledge on grooming that they developed from these initiatives, but also their level of confidence in purchasing and other consumption related activities.

"I did a beauty culture course here... There are classes on Saturdays and Sundays. I have followed that course... I like to build a career path from that field... I now search for quality of the product before purchase, bleaching percentage etc... They (Trainers of Factory A on beauty culture) have given some knowledge from here also. If the cream is oily I do not purchase it"

Sama FAF14, unmarried machine operator for Factory A, 20-29 years old

Benefits received from training on fashion and grooming did not limit to younger participants as SriK FAO04, who indicated the usefulness of managing finance above, too spoke about the benefits received from programs on fashion and grooming.

"...we should wear as per our ability. Not that we should not wear nicely. We should get good things. And we should embrace new technology. Whether it's technology, or anything else, or a dress, we were taught how to decide whether we should go for it or not, and how"

SriK FAO04, machine operator of Factory A, widow, 46 years old

Benefits of the social initiatives of Factory A directly influenced the identity-based consumption of participants and beneficiaries of these programs mainly in increasing confidence and allowing consumers to make informed consumption decisions. Increased knowledge and confidence in purchasing were the two key themes echoed by most informants from Factory A. For example, InoK FAO07 and Sand FAF21 spoke specifically about how the knowledge and confidence gained through social initiatives help them in their purchasing with enhanced knowledge and confidence.

"...there are courses (programs under social initiatives of Factory A) for multiple different skills. From our quality department, we go for various ones. I have taken part in those training programs. I have done various courses offered by the company including cake courses, ribbon embroidery...I have completed those... I have learnt a lot of things from those... in JCC (Factory A training program) you learn leadership as the main thing... I

learnt leadership from MOS (an initiative of Factory A) without a doubt. (audio not clear) from those programs... leadership is very important. In everything, not just for the company, but at home also and external things also, even when I am doing my sports...yes from the cake course...there are various things about food. Mostly about food. You know it was a veteran chef taught us no...from what that lady taught us now we know how to choose things...we must see the expiry date, though something looks nice and tastes good, we need to know whether it is good or bad for our body...we were taught things like that no. The other thing is I am buying these things for my children, so it is a must that I have to be educated about these things. Because my parents cannot give these things to my children. Because of this, there is no harm to my body and it's anyway not about me, I have to look after my children no...I gained that skill from these courses”

InoK FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old

“Yes...to speak, to speak (implying to speak up and bargain in a purchase is what she learnt from MOS training)... We can estimate the value of a product from our mind, generally we can judge...that this values this much... if they say 1000. If this item is 1000, in the shop, we can decide if its worth it.. no no this is not worth 1000. This is what its worth..there is a huge something (implying not right) here. Sometimes we may not remain there but go somewhere else.. and buy for a lesser price. We can buy the same or better quality for a lesser price. So in MOS training they (implying teach) about these things in a big way... MOS training has made a great value to our lives”

Sand FAF21, married, Factory A team leader, 40-45 years old

When analysed the benefits indicated by informants of Factory A, three key categories of benefits emerged as factors that influence their consumption. Enhanced knowledge, increased confidence and sense of leadership appeared as strong themes that influenced the consumption decisions to be more informed and to take them with confidence. **Table 4.6** provides some examples of informants' responses that indicated these benefits.

Table 4.6: Categories of key benefits for Factory A participants

Category of benefit	Evidence
Increased confidence	<p><i>"I get strength, I get mental strength that I should work with confidence (from the social initiatives of Factory A)... when I am working at home, when I am buying things, I get self-confidence to go and buy them myself (laughs)... they teach us here how to save and conserve, not to go for things as soon as we see it"</i></p> <p><i>Sri FA003, widow, machine operator at Factory A, 45 years old</i></p>
Increased confidence	<p><i>"Yes...to speak, to speak (implying to speak up and bargain in a purchase is what she learnt from MOS training)... We can estimate the value of a product from our mind, generally we can judge...that this values this much... if they say 1000. If this item is 1000, in the shop, we can decide if its worth it.. no no this is not worth 1000. This is what its worth..there is a huge something (implying not right) here. Sometimes we may not remain there but go somewhere else.. and buy for a lesser price. We can buy the same or better quality for a lesser price. So in MOS training they (implying teach) about these things in a big way... MOS training has made a great value to our lives"</i></p> <p><i>Sand FAF21, married, Factory A team leader, 40-45 years old</i></p>
Increased confidence, Sense of leadership	<p><i>"It is very good (the 'Ladies-To-Front' social initiative of Factory A). It is about women and about different aspects of their characters...Initially we come to work in the company, we have the work-life, the personal life and the married life all together. The Ladies-To-Front program teaches us how to balance these different lives and to take each of these lives to a higher level...As an example if you take Miss Liliee (pseudo name) she came here at the lower level and she climbed step by step to a higher level that is a great thing in her life. In her personal life, she's married and she raised her children, she has a place to live, vehicles like that everything she has. But, both these lives are in balance. Her work life is a happy one and family life too. She has earned everything she needs. This is because of her effort, perseverance and her commitment. When problems and conflicts arise, she doesn't run away from them but she faces that and takes action. She has achieved through the Ladies-To-Front program...There are lectures here and they do classes, stitching, psychology related programs and various other things are done by the Ladies-To-Front program...They do that ran derana program (a program under Ladies-To-Front social initiative of Factory A) also here and all the programs they take the leadership in it showing the value of women to the world. Women while they're doing their job how they manage their families and do other things and also how women have the strength to do everything and the fact that women have that strength in them. They teach about that.</i></p> <p><i>Kris FA008, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 34 years old</i></p>

Table 4.6: Categories of key benefits for Factory A participants (Continued)

Increased confidence, Sense of leadership	<p><i>"I was in JCC (Joint Consultative Committee teaching decision making and leadership)... I was able to exercise leadership there.. because I showed leadership in JCC I became a team leader(in the company)... I am able to exercise good leadership in my family as well, From JCC. I have done MOS training also... and as a member of 6S.. I have participated (other initiatives aimed at empowering women)... MOS has been very important to me. When we go to a shop to buy something. As soon as we see something, we think 'ah' this is good, whatever we see, we buy, some people are like that. If the exterior is pretty and big, they don't care whats inside. Just from the outer appearance. MOS taught me in my training, when you go to buy something, consider how much is in your hand, with minimal spending, seek to get a good quality item. It (the training MOS program) helped me to understand this, whether going to the shop or anywhere else, from any place, we have to pay some amount to buy something, that's why we seek to buy the best item for the lowest price"</i></p> <p><i>Sand FAF21, married, Factory A team leader, 40-45 years old</i></p>
Enhanced knowledge, Sense of leadership	<p><i>"From Ladies-To-Front program (a social initiative of Factory A), I have become a leader in every area of my life I got many important lessons for my life. How I should interact with people, how do I work with people, going to a place, choosing things, evaluating things, knowing which is good and which is not good, what are valuable things, how to work in a team, how to manage my house with my knowledge. This company has been a great blessing to me...JCC mean leadership... This also helps me to manage my house, my sisters and my brother's education, how do I manage the salary I get in order to live... It (the social initiatives of Factory A) helped me get rid of unwanted things, unwanted things that are useless. Let's say I wanted to buy a dress. The dress should suit my body structure it should be good for me after etc., looking into all that only I would buy it"</i></p> <p><i>Kris FAO08, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 34 years old</i></p>
Enhanced knowledge, Sense of leadership	<p><i>"...there are courses (programs under social initiatives of Factory A) for multiple different skills. From our quality department, we go for various ones. I have taken part in those training programs. I have done various courses offered by the company including cake courses, ribbon embroidery...I have completed those... I have learnt a lot of things from those... in JCC (Factory A training program) you learn leadership as the main thing... I learnt leadership from MOS (an initiative of Factory A) without a doubt. (audio not clear) from those programs... leadership is very important. In everything, not just for the company, but at home also and external things also, even when I am doing my sports...yes from the cake course...there are various things about food. Mostly about food. You know it was a veteran chef taught us no...from what that lady taught us now we know how to choose things...we must see the expiry date, though something looks nice and tastes good, we need to know whether it is good or bad for our body...we were taught things like that no. The other thing is I am buying these things for my children, so it is a must that I have to be educated about these things. Because my parents cannot give these things to my children. Because of this, there is no harm to my body and it's anyway not about me, I have to look after my children no...I gained that skill from these courses"</i></p> <p><i>InoK FAO07, married, line leader of Factory A, 37 years old</i></p>

Table 4.6: Categories of key benefits for Factory A participants (Continued)

Enhanced knowledge, Increased confidence	<p><i>“...actually I gained a vast knowledge (from the social initiatives of Factory A) about society. Also in which manner should I talk to a person, how to solve a problem, especially, to develop a good bond... I am not afraid. There are other girls who are very shy and who tend to hide. They are afraid to talk to anyone... So now we have knowledge about the level of society... company wise and society wise (learnt a lot from the social initiatives)”</i></p> <p><i>Niro FAO01, engaged, machine operator at Factory A, 30 years old</i></p>
Enhanced knowledge, Increased confidence	<p><i>“Actually I am highly engaged with Ladies-To-Front program. I have participated to lot activities organized under that program... There are lot of things that I learned from these programs. I have identified the weaker areas of mine and experienced things that I have never known. Everyone was advising about the things that I need to polish and things that I need to avoid. So yes these programs given me lot of things... I take the same example, when we are going to a shop to buy some item, there are lot of items right. We can see all the types of groceries, beauty products, sweets everything. It's my decision that what my priorities are. What is most important and what is least important. That discipline and consciousness I gained through these initiatives...there are lots of moments like that (poor purchase decisions). As an example when we see advertisements about a product, sometimes we don't think twice to buy that product. We just go and buy for the attraction. And sometimes we have no idea about the final outcome of that product. Therefore this (social initiatives by Factory A) was actually really helpful.... This place given me a good understanding about life. This place always facilitating me to develop myself. Therefore this is one of the best decisions I have made in my life”</i></p> <p><i>Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old</i></p>
Enhanced knowledge	<p><i>“I applied that (learnings from the company social initiatives) first in my purse. I planned and arranged it first... I applied it in my grocery shopping. If I normally buy goods for the whole month, I could buy for half a month and deposit the rest of Rs. 2000/= in bank. So there'll be an interest for that sum... 'Ladies-To-Front' (one of the social initiatives) was such a huge support for my single life. How to find a living, how to manage what I earn, whether to regret after spending the whole salary in two weeks, or whether to balance it, and get the next pay a few days late...things like that...: I remember there were some agents from a bank to guide us (in one of the social initiative programs). From Hatton National Bank if my memory is right, and there was a lady. We were taught a lot of things in that workshop. How to manage a salary, how to define the necessary and needed, how to reduce the unwanted costs, how to reduce expenses, how to do savings. I remember them teaching us a plan. So when we apply them and get attached to those concepts, we automatically start saving”</i></p> <p><i>SriK FAO04, machine operator of Factory A, widow, 46 years old</i></p>
Enhanced knowledge	<p><i>“...we should wear as per our ability. Not that we should not wear nicely. We should get good things. And we should embrace new technology. Whether it's technology, or anything else, or a dress, we were taught how to decide whether we should go for it or not, and how”</i></p> <p><i>SriK FAO04, machine operator of Factory A, widow, 46 years old</i></p>
Enhanced knowledge	<p><i>“We can develop our knowledge, and can gain good things to our life (from Social initiatives of Factory A)”</i></p> <p><i>Kijo FAF11, unmarried machine operator for Factory A, 20-29 years old</i></p>

These benefits helped the participants to shop and consume more confidently and in turn successfully handle the negative consequences of disadvantaged social power relations. Spending more time in purchase situations, asking more questions and having confident to negotiate are indicators of said benefits. Participants were able to directly link these benefits with their everyday consumption.

“Yes. We must compare the money in our hand, with the value of the item. For us who are used to making uninformed decisions, MOS is a big help. I have got a lot of benefit from this training”

Sand FAF21, married, Factory A team leader, 40-45 years old

“When we go to a shop to buy something. As soon as we see something, we think ‘ah’ this is good, whatever we see, we buy, some people are like that. If the exterior is pretty and big, they don’t care what’s inside. Just from the outer appearance. MOS taught me in my training, when you go to buy something, consider how much is in your hand, with minimal spending, seek to get a good quality item”

Sand FAF21, married, Factory A team leader, 40-45 years old

“...when I am buying things, I get self-confidence to go and buy them myself (laughs)... they teach us here how to save and conserve, not to go for things as soon as we see it”

Sri FAO03, widow, machine operator at Factory A, 45 years old

“...Let’s say I wanted to buy a dress. The dress should suit my body structure it should be good for me after etc., looking into all that only I would buy it”

Kris FAO08, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 34 years old

“...I take the same example, when we are going to a shop to buy some item, there are a lot of items right. We can see all the types of groceries, beauty products, sweets everything. It’s my decision that what my priorities are. What is most important and what is least important. That discipline and consciousness I gained through these initiatives...there are a lot of moments like that (poor purchase decisions). As an example when we see advertisements about a product, sometimes we don’t think twice to buy that product. We just go and buy for the attraction. And sometimes we have no idea about the final outcome of that product.

Chat FAO06, unmarried, machine operator at Factory A, 36 years old

Influence of Factory B social initiatives on identity-based consumption

Factory B concentrates mainly on the depletion of natural resources. The CSR initiatives of factory B focus on providing clean water, waste management and cleaner technologies. In particular, most of Factory B CSR projects aim to provide safe drinking

water to poor Sri Lankan communities. Factory B launched their water supply program, Humanity, Water and Care (pseudo-name used to protect the identity of the company), where the company supplied safe drinking water to people in 18 districts out of the total of 24 districts in Sri Lanka (sources withheld due to display of company name). This included construction and donation of 293 wells, 115 pipe-borne water systems, 35 tube wells, 11 rainwater harvesting systems, five community wells and a community water supply scheme, only in the financial year 2012-13 (sources withheld due to display of company name). The other CSR projects of Factory B includes Waste Management including hazardous waste disposal, clean technology and energy efficiency initiatives.

Activation of the religious identities emerged as the strongest influence on subsistence consumers as a result of Social initiatives carried out by Factory B. Particularly, the non-reciprocal nature of CSR initiative of Factory B, where drinking water is provided to communities with no apparent benefit to the company reminded the value of non-reciprocal giving. All eight one-on-one interview participants and majority of the focus group discussion participants clearly indicate the internal self-satisfaction they intend to derive by repeating what the company has done to them.

Some participants who benefited from the initiative even go to the extent of initiating similar water projects spearheaded by them. For example, Demi FBO05, indicates that she has already spoken to her colleagues and to the company on providing drinking water to different areas in her hometown without water.

“...in future, there are many places without water in our area. I have an idea to talk to the company and do something for them. Then my life will have more value, with this company, truly I think about that, I have spoken about this with the others here”

Demi FBO05, unmarried, machine operator at Factory B, 42 years old

Beneficiaries and participants of CSR initiative do not consider being poor or uneducated as something to be ashamed of. Instead, they are open about their financial difficulties and lack of knowledge, as they take self-satisfaction in helping others, where being in a financially and socially disadvantaged position magnifies the good deeds they do. For example, Chan FBO06 openly mentions her financial difficulties and highlight the religious function she organises to offer food costs her nearly seven times her monthly salary.

“...I try to save from my salary. I try to manage everything from my salary. I try to help other from money I could save after allocating for household expenses. I spend on arms givings (Buddhist religious function offering food), for the arms giving I am planning now it costs around Rs. 150,000. But somehow I manage that too. From the little salary we get we help whoever we can help”
Chan FBO06, married, cutting operator at Factory B, 48 years old

CSR initiatives based on non-reciprocal, mere community-related objectives benefit subsistence societies in ways intended. For example, CSR project of Factory B that provides access to clean water to communities that suffer from lack of it, benefits these societies by making their lives easy. In terms of impact on subsistence identities, these initiatives activate moral value-based religious identities of subsistence consumers. Religious identities of consumers however, assist subsistence consumers to come to terms with their constraints and disadvantaged social power relations as opposed to fighting against or being ashamed of them.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings of the analysis of data that answered the three research questions. First research question examined the factors of influence in identity-based subsistence consumption. The factors of influence are identified by examining the consumption situations of subsistence consumers and the multiple identities they enact in these consumption situations. Main consumption situations examined are categorised in to

four types. Consumption situations pertaining mainly to participants (self-related), concerning their family members (family-related), relevant to society they live in (society-based) and particularly relevant to their jobs (employment-related) are the four categories of consumption situations. These consumption situations revealed four other unique characteristics of identity-based subsistence consumption. They are greater religious consumption based on strong religious drive, lack of interest in fashion and grooming as young females, strong family orientation and preparation of a special meal on Sundays.

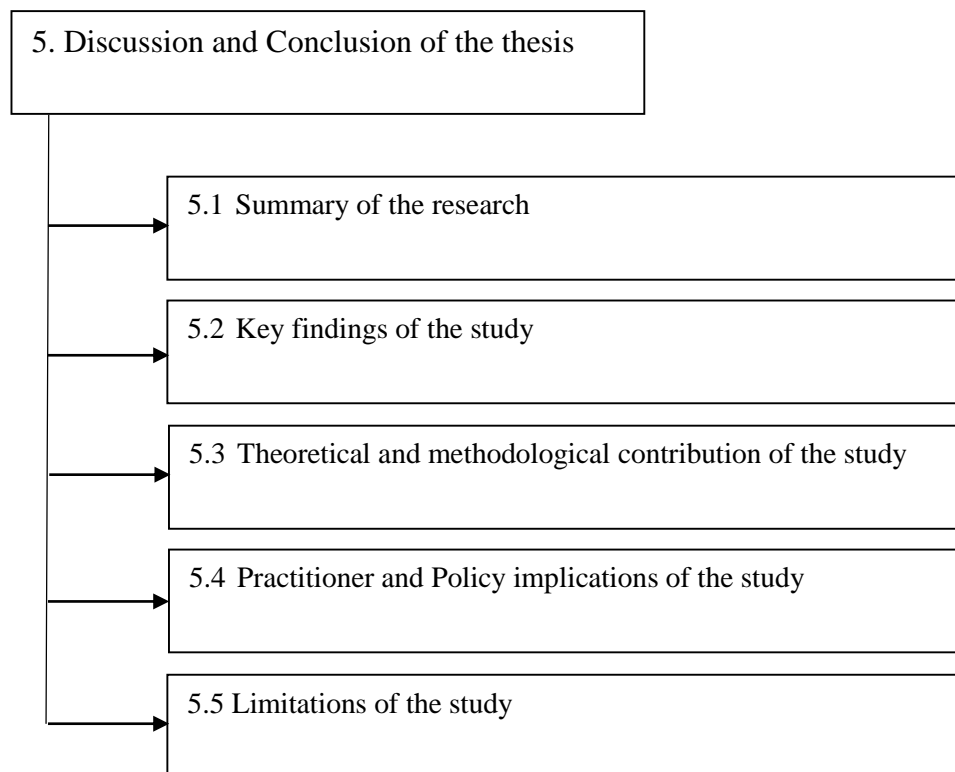
The consumption situations revealed multiple consumer identities categorised as social, role and personal identities. Over sixty different identities emerged in the study as being considered in various consumption situations. In addition to these identities, six intersectional identities stood out as most influential in terms of disadvantaged social power relations. Intersectional identities of ‘garment girl’, ‘village girl’ and single mother were particularly relevant to the participants of this study. In addition to these identities, being poor, female and uneducated also impacted subsistence consumption negatively. Study about subsistence consumer identities also revealed that identities of participants can be organised in a hierarchy based on importance consumers place on multiple identities. The identity structure constructed based on level of importance comprises of three hierarchical levels called, basic identities, important identities and central identities. Consumers indicated having a single central identity, which was either being a mother (for married participants with children) or a daughter (for unmarried participants). There were few important identities that get considered in most consumption situations and a large number of basic identities enacted based on consumption situation relevance and salience. Four main factors of influence emerged from the consumption situations examined and multiple identities that get influenced in consumption situations. The four influencing factors are influence from family members, psychological centrality of an identity, economic poverty and the impact from social power relations.

The second research question examined the influence from disadvantaged social power relations in identity-based subsistence consumption. Main disadvantaged social power relations revealed were related to being poor, female and uneducated. All three power relations had negative impact on subsistence identities and in turn, identity-based consumption. The negative impact were of multiplying nature where negative impact of being poor multiplied when considered that the consumer is also a female and an uneducated person. In addition to generic social power disadvantages, the participants of this study were subjected to three other unfavourable social power relations of being a garment machine operator, more popularly known as a garment girl, a village girl as most participants work in garment factories are originally from rural villages and also some being single mothers. Being a garment girl is associated with social stigma of having a bad character, which is somewhat associated with single mothers too. Being a garment girl from a village also intersected with the identities of being poor and uneducated too (the reason to work in a garment factory).

The third and the final research question analysed the influence of social initiatives by business organisations on identity-based consumption. Two social initiatives researched from two different apparel manufacturing organisations differed in nature as one had characteristics of a shared value initiative and other being a corporate social responsibility project. The shared value initiative benefited participants with increased knowledge, provided sense of leadership and increased confidence overall. These benefits helped participants to counter the negative impact of disadvantaged social power relations such as being uneducated and female. The corporate social responsibility project on the other hand, enacted the religious identities of participants due to non-reciprocal, philanthropic nature of the initiative. The activation of religious identity helped participants to deal with disadvantaged social power relations by coming to terms with negative influence and being comfortable dealing with disadvantaged social power relations.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter Roadmap



5.1. Summary of the research

“Yes, there were plenty of incidents like that (people ill-treated me due to poverty). There was a shop next to our house... one day, I didn’t have absolutely anything to cook, no rice and not even a coconut to make at least a coconut sambol, I went to that shop... and said can I please have one kilo of rice and a coconut, but on credit, when my husband comes (later he left the family and moved out)...today...I will come...and pay for this. The total amount was Rs. 62.50 (approximately 40 cents in USD). He kept the goods (on the counter) and then took those back, and said, ‘Oh, no, not for credit, why your husband bought perfumes from this shop today itself and you say no money to eat, don’t lie’ and said can’t give and didn’t give me anything to eat.”

Cami COI05, unemployed, single mother, 41 years

Subsistence consumption is a complex phenomenon that goes beyond fulfilling utilitarian-based basic needs due to poverty, as represented by the above quote. Similar to the

affluent, subsistence consumers also attempt to express identities through consumption decisions, though being severely curtailed in the ability to do so due to poverty.

There exists a considerable body of scholarship on subsistence marketplaces. As of 2012, 1.2 billion of the world population live under US \$ 1.25 a day (Ravallion, 2013). Despite consumption being an important part of subsistence research agenda, multiple identities of subsistence consumers has received scant attention in the past in subsistence consumption research. Contrary to popular belief that you need to be rich to express your identity through consumption, typically via expensive, branded purchases, it is increasingly evident that the poor too engage in identity-based consumption. Constraints such as economic poverty, lack of education and the unfavourable social power relations however, restrict the identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers. The tension between the ability and desires along with the unique nature of the multiple identities of subsistence consumers due to the intersectionality of disadvantaged social power relations make the under-researched field of identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers, an important area of research.

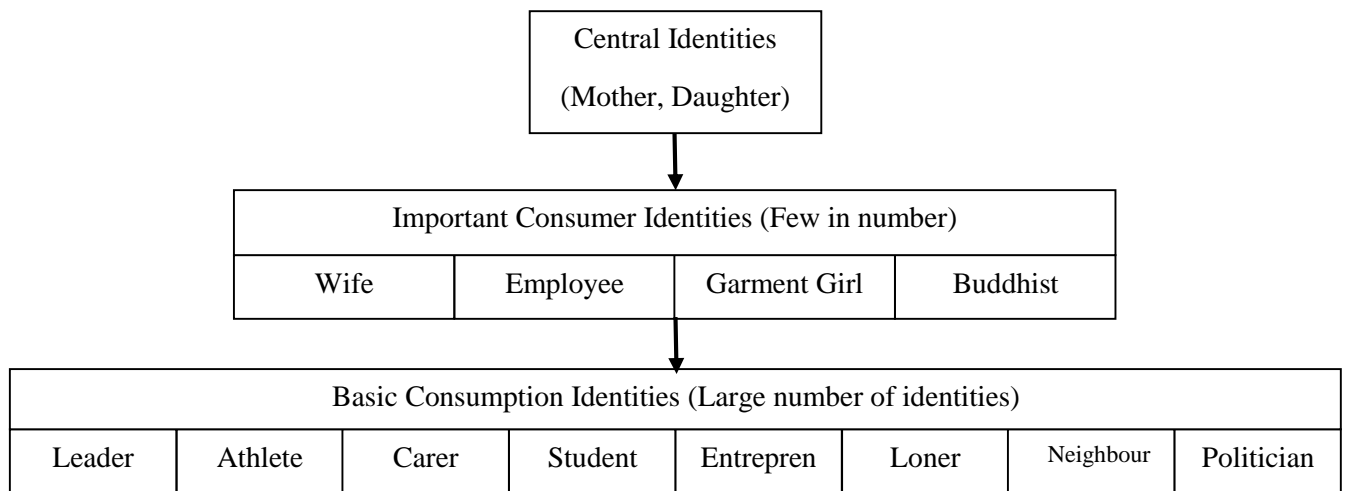
The previous chapter presented a detailed and descriptive account of the results of the study. The descriptive nature of results presentation narrowed down the discussion on findings to an abstract level on critical aspects of the study.

5.2. Key findings of the study in the context of subsistence consumption scholarship

This study intended to explore the identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers. More particularly, the study examined the influence of consumer identities in consumption decisions and the factors that influenced consumer identities in subsistence consumption. The findings of the study revealed that consumption situations of subsistence consumers of this research are related to four main types. Most consumption situations are based on their families and family members. In addition to family-related consumption situations, there were

three other types of consumption situations, self-related, society-related and employment-related. Consumers revealed a large number of identities in these consumption situations. Analysis of these consumption situations and multiple identities indicated that only a limited number of identities influence consumption decisions, despite subsistence consumers possessing a considerable number of different identities. The identities that influence subsistence consumption tend to be either highly central to consumer self or important in a given consumption situation.

Figure 5.1: Identity structure of Subsistence Consumers



Identities of subsistence consumers can be organised in a hierarchical structure based on importance consumers place on identities (Figure 5.1). The structure of subsistence identities comprises of three levels. The first and the topmost important level occupies the central identities consumers possess. Most consumers of this study hold only one highly central identity based on psychological centrality, apart from two exceptional cases. Identities, mother and daughter emerged as the most significant and highly central identities expressed by a vast majority of participants. All participants who either had children on their own or parents still alive indicated either being a mother or a daughter as the identity most central to self. The second level in the hierarchy of the identity structure contains important identities. These identities get considered in most consumption situations and made salient frequently by

external environmental factors. Consumers usually enact few identities frequently in their consumption situation, even though these identities are not the psychologically closest to them. The final level of the identity hierarchy houses basic consumer identities that are high in number, but low in importance in most consumption situations.

Numerous factors influence the identity structure of subsistence consumers and in turn, multiple identities. Out of various factors of influence, four key factors emerged as the most significant of factors of influence expressed by participants. Strong family orientation driven influence from family members, the psychological centrality of identities to self, economic poverty that constraints resources and access to resources of subsistence consumption and disadvantaged social power relations appeared as the dominant factors of influence on identity-based subsistence consumption.

Three disadvantaged social power relations mainly influenced the participants of this study in consumption situations. Discriminations related to gender (female) and socio-economic disadvantages (poor and uneducated) negatively influenced subsistence consumers. Intersectional nature of these poor, uneducated and female identities created multiple oppressions for subsistence consumers. In addition to the disadvantaged power relations of being female, poor and uneducated, three other social power relations appeared to multiply the oppression experienced by subsistence participants of this study. These three intersectional identities of being a garment girl, a rural villager and also a single mother are more context specific to this study. Particularly the social stigma associated with the garment girl identity exerted significant negative influence on participants. The negative and multiplicative influence of intersectional identities arising from social power relations impact consumption of subsistence consumers in different ways. As the results of the study indicate, subsistence consumers lacked confidence and perceived of themselves as not having required knowledge to make informed, productive consumption decisions. In addition to the three main social power relations, the influence of religion also emerged as another social power

structure. With the vast majority of the informants being religious, the influence of religion as a social power relation influenced consumption decisions of subsistence consumers. The study further examined social initiatives of businesses that operate in subsistence marketplaces for its influence on subsistence consumption. Influence from social initiatives of business organisations in subsistence marketplaces is one of the important external factors of influence on subsistence consumption and in turn, their well-being. The study examined the social initiatives of the two largest apparel manufacturing companies in Sri Lanka for their influence on consumption of subsistence consumers. The results indicated shared value initiatives helped subsistence consumers to counter the multiple oppression of the disadvantaged social power relations, while corporate social responsibility initiatives mainly based on philanthropic giving assisted subsistence consumers to enact their religious identities, which in-turn helped the consumers to come to terms with the impact of disadvantaged social power relations.

5.3. The theoretical and methodological contribution of the study

The primary purpose of this study of making a theoretical contribution to identity-based consumption scholarship was achieved in two steps. First, by conceptualizing the integration of different perspectives on identity influence on consumption including intersectionality. Second, by providing empirical scrutiny by applying the conceptualized model in the context of subsistence consumers. The unique contribution of this study to consumption scholarship stands out considering the dearth conceptual treatment and scant empirical support found in the identity-based consumption of subsistence consumers, lesser known for identity-expressive consumption behaviours due to economic poverty and other related disadvantages. Further, the study's aim of investigating the influence of social initiatives by businesses on subsistence consumption provides insights to practitioners in subsistence marketplaces on how social initiatives with different objectives impact the consumption and well-being of subsistence consumers.

5.4. Practitioner and Policy implications of the study

The main contribution of this study for practitioners and policymakers come from the analysis of social initiatives of business organisations on their influence on subsistence consumption. This empirical study confirms the assertion of supporters of CSV led by C. K. Prahalad, that creating shared value provides superior benefits for both subsistence consumers and businesses. While the more popular and widely used CSR initiatives also provide benefits for subsistence consumers, the holistic nature of shared value initiatives and particularly the fact that CSV initiatives help subsistence consumers to deal with unequal social power relations confirms the superior value addition of CSV as a means of improving subsistence market conditions.

It is also imperative for policymakers to consider the seriousness of the influence of disadvantaged social power relations, for its impact on subsistence consumption and in turn, overall well-being. Subsistence consumers suffer from the negative effects of social power relations, particularly related to being economic poor, uneducated and also for the domain of this study, being female. These negative power relations will influence the consumption of subsistence consumers by reducing confidence and informed nature of their consumption decisions.

5.5. Limitations of the study

The context and conditions under which this study was conducted presented several limitations that need to be addressed. These limitations however, did not distort the purpose or diminish the relevance of the study.

In terms of empirical and methodological limitations, the findings of this study were limited to females and related to apparel manufacturing sector of Sri Lanka. However, the similarity of the nature of subsistence conditions in other parts of Sri Lanka and the world over in general warrant the acceptability of the results in similar enough conditions found in

majority of subsistence markets. Also being only a qualitative study, the results of this study cannot be generalised. However, the purpose of the study is to explore the nature of subsistence consumption, the diversity and scale of the study permit transfer of the key findings to similar enough contexts.

Paradigmatically, this study took both etic and emic approach. For intersectional studies or studies on categories of difference however, an emic approach is considered more appropriate in research (Tatli & Özbilgin, 2012). The balanced axiological stance adopted by taking both etic and emic approach and also the utilization of the inquirer's superior knowledge on culture, industry selected and language negate this claim.

6. APPENDICES

6.1. Theoretical Appendix A – Consumer choice and choice models

Consumer choice in marketing is focused on selection, consumption and disposal of market offerings (Bettman, 1998). Consumers make purchase decisions based on different values, motives and requirements. Purchase decision between a healthy and a tasty product depends not only on the decision between hedonic and utilitarian values, but other situational factors and motives as well (Dhar, 1999). Consumer decisions can range from deciding to purchase a product, deferring the choice decision or not choosing at all. In the event, a consumer decides to choose between given alternatives, various factors influence the purchase decision and choice. Environmental influences such as economic and market situations, marketing influences such as promotional efforts of competing offerings and personal influences based on personal and psychological characteristics of consumer play a major role in final purchase decision. The level of complication of consumer choice is even greater when considers the fact that consumer choice is not always conscious; rather a mix of conscious and non-conscious processes (Fitzsimons, Hutchinson, & Williams, 2002). Non-conscious processes such as reference dependence influences consumer choice. Consumer choice is distorted by, for example competing level of other alternatives or by the addition of a dominated decoy (Nowlis & Simonson 1997; Pettibone & Wedell 2000).

High level of complexity associated with consumer choice, as mentioned above, indicates consumer decision making & choice is not straightforward, conscious and always rational. As per management theory, consumer choice can take a rational, bounded rationality based or intuitive approach. Even though rational choice is a possibility, where the choice issue and preferences are well defined, utilities of each choice set is known and the decision maker possesses required knowledge and skills in making a rational decision, most choice decisions are not taken in this ideal scenario. Consumers often do not possess all requirements for rational choice, hence it is considered to be more useful in prediction of consumer decisions

than actual choice identification (Bettman, Luce, & Payne, 1998). Therefore, it is argued that consumer choice is constructed rather than revealed due to limitations consumers come across in making choices (Slovic 1995; Tversky, Sattath, & Slovic 1988). These limitations are in the forms of limitations in working memory and abilities in information processing and computations (Bettman, Luce, & Payne, 1998). Therefore, consumer choice is often constructed as and when they come across a purchase situation and as Gregory, Lichtenstein, and Slovic (1993) argue consumer choice and preference is more like architecture where they build a set of values for a decision requirement as opposed to archaeology, where rational process attempts to uncover already existing values.

The fact that consumer choice depends of variety of factors is an important implication of the constructive nature of consumer choice. These factors include goals of the decision maker, complexity of the decision task, how choice is represented, methods of eliciting preferences from consumers and more importantly on context (Bettman, Luce, & Payne, 1998).

6.1.1. Choice models

Conjunctive model

This models assumes that the decision maker chooses an alternative, only if it satisfies minimum cut-off level of each attribute, considered important by the decision maker, if not it to be rejected (Dawes, 1964). Criticisms of this model mainly focus on not generating specific choice and the level of rigidity which eliminates alternatives when it fails to meet cut-off level (Park, 1978).

Lexicographic model

Based on the assumption that consumers make direct comparisons of the alternative choices based on dimensions most important to the decision maker, this model selects an alternative if one attribute in it is prominently superior to the other out of most important. If there are more than one dimensions at equal level, the decision maker compares again based on the second most important dimension (Coombs, 1964; Fishburn, 1974).

Compensatory model

In this model, the decision maker assigns a weightage to each important dimension and then this weightage is associated with the amount of utility each dimension contains as per her evaluation (Park, 1978). Finally, by combining all utility scores the decision maker comes up with an overall index for each alternative option with highest utility index. This allows one significantly high performing dimension to compensate with a dimension of inferior performance, hence compensatory (Park, 1978). The requirement for extensive information processing is a disadvantage of this model.

There are number of other decision making strategies and choice models described in literature of several disciplines. Weighted Adding, Equal Weight (Einhorn & Hogarth, 1975), Additive Difference (Tversky, 1969), Majority of Confirming Dimensions (Russo & Doshier, 1983), Satisficing (Simon, 1955), Compatibility test (Beach & Mitchell, 1987), Elimination-By-Aspects strategy (Tversky, 1972) and Dominance strategy (Lee, 1971) are some of those models and strategies.

In general, choice tasks with conjoint applications provide insights regarding determinants of consumer choice while experimental choice based methods - accurate predictions of actual purchase decisions (Burke et al. 1992; Huber & Zwerina 1996).

Table 6.1:Key empirical and conceptual work on influences of choice in food selection

Author (Year)	Choice situation/ argument	Context	Main influences	Theoretical/ conceptual Framework	Methodology/ Methods
Burns, Cook & Mavoia (2013)	Influences of poor consumers food choices	Low income (government pension) parents with children less than 15 years of age	Low income consumer food choices are mainly in basic, emergency, treat or comfort food categories. Value for money is the main consideration with quantity per price as the unit of measurement.	Food choice and food insecurity models of previous research	Qualitative - In-depth interviews, taxonomic card sort with a concurrent semi-structured interview
Krukowski, McSweeney, Sparks & West (2012)	Influences on selection of nutritious food and food outlet	Comparison of rural and racial minorities (less access to nutritious food) against urban consumers	Four main themes/ influences (1) Proximity to home or work (2) Financial considerations and strategies (3) Availability/quality of food (4) Store characteristics.	Exploratory study on influences	Qualitative (Focus groups, content analysis and constant comparisons) with purposive sampling
Antin & Hunt (2012)	Influence of food choices and risk of obesity	Young African American students (18 - 25) from low socio economic backgrounds	Multiple influences operate simultaneously making choice of food complex. Main influences include; 1. Familiarity 2. Convenience 3. Nutritional quality 4. Enjoyable experiences 5. Cost 6. Hunger	Multi-dimensional understanding of food choice based on factors of food choice decision making and reasons for these factors to become salient	Multi method qualitative design including interviews, free list, a card sorting activity and a photo elicitation activity
Kahneman (2011)	An exploration of choice made using system 1 and system 2 thinking	Conceptual paper	System 1 (fast thinking) is automatic and unconscious thinking, driven by natural drives and instincts. System 2 (slow thinking) is strict, deliberate and conscious thinking, driven by active consumer research.	Review of literature including previous scientific papers	Review of literature
Webber, Sobal & Dollahite (2010)	Influences on purchase of fruits and vegetables	Customers with limited resources (poor) in rural and inner cities	Five themes / influences (1) Store venue (2) Internal store environment (3) Product quality (4) Product price (5) Relationships with the stores	Grounded theory and ecological conceptual framework (less important to my research)	Qualitative approach (Interviews) with purposive and theoretical sampling

Table 6.1:Key empirical and conceptual work on influences of choice in food selection

(Fitzsimons G. , et al., 2002)	Non conscious influences on choice	Conceptual paper	Non conscious influences on choice are driven by 6 key factors. (1) Attention and perception (2) Goal activation and pursuit (3) Learning and memory (4) Attitudes and preferences (5) Affect (evaluations, mood and emotions) (6) Choice (reference dependence)	Review of choice literature	Review of literature
Williams (2002)	Choice influences in hedonic and utilitarian purchases	Purchases of adult married couples	Key influences of choice (evaluative criteria) are; 1. Social class 2. Income 3. Gender	Social class was determined using Status measurement scale by Coleman (1983), which uses CSI (Computerised Status Index)	Quantitative study using questionnaires with simple random sampling
Bettman, Luce & Payne (1998)	Integrative framework for constructive choice processes	Conceptual paper	Consumer choice is inherently constructive. Consumers lack pre-defined preferences due to limited processing power, hence construct preferences using strategies based on the task.	Review of choice literature	Review of literature
Shocker, Ben-Akiva, Boccara & Nedungadi (1991)	Consideration set in choice and the structure, composition, and role of consideration set	Conceptual paper	Considerable nuances in influence on choice set and calls for a taxonomy of decision contexts. Decision maker's consideration set is affected by context such as (1) Intended usage (Ratneshwar & Shocker, 1991) (2) Existing retrieval cues (Nedungadi, 1990)	Review of choice literature	Review of literature

6.2. Theoretical Appendix B – Subsistence Marketplace

6.2.1. The term subsistence

The term subsistence means maintaining or supporting oneself at a minimum level. There are some minor variations in the way this term is used in different disciplines such as in economics, subsistence economy refers to a non-monetary economy relying on natural resources.

6.2.2. Origins of subsistence marketplace

In Marketing, subsistence marketplace gained increased recognition from an extremely similar concept of Base of the Pyramid – also called Bottom of the Pyramid -, proposed by Prahalad and Hart in 2002. Many marketing academicians use these terms interchangeably and there exist arguments that both refer to the same set of consumers at the bottom of the economic pyramid.

6.2.3. Base of the Pyramid (BoP)

Scholarship on economic poor markets has been around nearly a century. It is documented, even the term “Bottom of the Pyramid” in 1932 by former US president Franklin D Roosevelt (Roosevelt, 1938).

The scale and definition of BoP lacks clarity (Kolk, 2014). One worthy example can be the differences in definition and size of BoP given by C. K. Prahalad, the originator of the BoP proposition. Prahalad (2004) defined BoP as people earning less than \$2 a day, whereas the same author in his other work presents different figures with BoP as consumers with a per capita income less than \$1500 (Todd S. , 2001) and less than \$2000 (Prahalad C. K., *Serving the world's poor, profitably*, 2002). Around the same period, Karnani, (2007a) claims that World Bank estimates the size of global poor around 2.7 billion.

The sheer size of BoP makes it an attractive market. As per Prahalad (2004), BoP market worths US \$ 1.3 trillion, making it enormously attractive, specially for MNCs. Hammond *et al* (2007) estimates

subsistence market's aggregate purchasing power to be in excess of \$ 5 trillion. Though there are criticisms of this proposition in terms of market size (Karnani, 2007b), profitability (Walsh, Kress, & Beyerchen, 2005) and even to the extent of claiming BoP principles are more harmful than helping poor (Pitta, Guesalaga, & Marshall, 2008), support and attractiveness of the proposition seen superior with predictions of an addition of further one billion new consumers before 2020 (Davis & Stephenson, 2006).

6.2.4. BoP and Subsistence marketing

However, though there are lots of similarities between BOP and SM, these are two different concepts (Kolk, 2014). The main difference is BOP looks at from corporate opportunity point of view as another new market for businesses, whereas subsistence marketing treats them as respected producers and citizens as opposed to just customers (Narayan, 2014). It may be this development of more humanistic perspective on poverty provided the shift of focus from just BOP to SM.

6.2.5. Subsistence Marketing

Subsistence marketplace is where consumer and the entrepreneur communities living at subsistence income levels (Sridharan, Viswanathan, Benton, & Shultz, 2014).

Since half of the SM consumers – about 2 billion people – are SM merchants too, it is critical to engage and partner SM merchants in organisation's marketing. This can be done effectively when a business understands the exchange and value creation activities of key players in SM markets (Sridharan, Viswanathan, Benton, & Shultz, 2014), particularly and most importantly SM merchants.

Apart from BoP, there are number of other similar concepts and terms used to describe marketing to poor with some variations. Marketing to poor (Bertrand, Mullainathan, & Shafir, 2006), informal economies (Portes, Castells, & Benton, 1989) and development economies (Ray, 1998), impoverished consumers (Hill & Stephens, 1997) are some of the leading terms.

Characteristics of subsistence marketplace

Low income – less than \$2 a day – makes this market significantly different from that of affluent markets. Larger dependency on microenterprises as approximately half of the SM customers being merchants, lack of job security and stability in income for employees of microenterprises, access to basics being insufficient – education, food etc. - , poor literacy levels and numeracy skills due to lack access to education, limited transportation options and widely scattered nature of the market is also a concern for marketers (Viswanathan, Rosa, & Ruth, 2010).

Significance and importance of SM

Percentage of global GDP of developed, western countries halved in the last 60 years from 80 percent and 45 percent of global investments are now with developing countries converting them in to attractive business destinations from most being colonies 60 years ago (Narayan, 2014).

While economic growth rates are below 3% or even going negative for developed, western countries a substantial number of developing economies are growing at 5-11% (Narayan, 2014).

All these facts lead to a fast increasing trade and consumption in poor markets especially increased trade between emerging economies and in-terms of consumption, Over 400 million mobile phones in Africa alone and today (2014), China consumers almost half of world's cement and steel (Narayan, 2014)

Theories related to marketing in subsistence marketplace**Stakeholder theory**

Various definitions for Stakeholder have emerged in literature where Donaldson & Preston, (1995) defined stakeholders as 'Persons or groups with legitimate interests in procedural and/or substantive aspects of corporate activities.' Stakeholder theory initially proposed by Edward Freeman suggests the idea of organisational decision making should take in to account and address stakeholder expectations as opposed to mere shareholders (Freeman, 1984). Since this theory's basic premise is "principle of Who or What really counts" (Freeman, 1984), finding out which the relevant importance of

stakeholders is of utmost importance. Stakeholder Salience model by (Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997) provides a framework for understanding the importance of stakeholders based on their power, legitimacy and urgency. This helps management to prioritise their attendance of stakeholder requests.

Social Capital theory

There are multiple definitions and explanations of Social Capital. Baker (1990) defines Social Capital as “a resource that actors derive from specific social structures and then use to pursue their interests; it is created by changes in the relationship among actors” (Baker W. , 1990, p. 619).

There are two schools of thought mainly in management literature of Social Capital theory. Social capital is considered an attribute of a community (Putnam, 1993), whereas academics such Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1990) as consider social capital as an attribute of an individual.

6.2.6. Issues in subsistence economies

Inequality – it’s not about economic inequality as no one including communist countries wants economic equality, but equality in economic opportunity, not to leave them between two bad choices. In 2013, in US, where downsizing and economic downward trend continued, Rolls Royce sold the highest number cars in their over 100 year history (Narayan, 2014). Inequality can take different forms such as females owning just 1% of world wealth, despite being almost 50% of population (Narayan, 2014).

Subsistence market customers or producers don’t gain the maximum leverage from their size (big numbers) (Narayan, 2014). When poor people are aggregated, the economies of scale can be achieved. Joint production is hard, but not joint marketing.

SM is most of the time discussed with customers who are merchants at the same time. As half of the SM customers are merchants as well (my other document in USB), most of the research focused on both merchants and customers.

SM consists of a large number of micro exchanges, leading towards what's termed as 'informal economy'. This is where poor support themselves and though this is partially or fully out of government's control, the size of this economy cannot be ignored as in most developing countries this is more than half of the GDP (Becker, 2004).

6.2.7. Proposed solutions for issues

Most solutions proposed focus on policy level changes. There are number of suggestions – more of a pathway to find a solution – based on finding a business model suitable for SM, considering it's dynamics. A bottom-up approach, where main and initial focus on individual consumers at micro level and then SM merchants (entrepreneurs) and their interactions in local market to identify high level changes required to develop SM and relevant policy changes is one solution proposed (Viswanathan, Sridharan, Ritchie, Venugopal, & Jung, 2012)

6.3. Theoretical Appendix C – Seminal research work on Consumer Well-being (CWB)

Table 6.2: Seminal research on Consumer Well-being (CWB)

Author/Year	Journal	Key area of research/ Argument	Research methodology	Questions asked	How well-being is analysed/measured
Plaud & Guillemot (2015)	Journal of Services Marketing	How service experiences affect identity redefinition/adjustment of the old age people and its impact on subjective well-being (SWB)	Qualitative - 37 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with both chosen services and imposed services on hedonic and everyday consumption	Questions related to respondents' perception of service encounters	Impact on SWB was analysed using 4 dimensions that were analysed as themes in data analysis. These themes are <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Relationships 2. Growth and purpose of life 3. Mastery and independence 4. Self-acceptance
Devezer, Sprott, Spangenberg, & Czellar (2014)	Journal of Marketing	Failure to accomplish unimportant, everyday sub-goals lead to reduced commitment to larger well-being goals of consumers	Quantitative – Four experiments in 3 areas (overspending, charity giving and green consumer behaviours)	Two studies. Study 1 - participants were assigned with 2 sub-goal performances and 2 end-goal visualisations. Study 2 - Participants were given an environmental IQ test as the sub-goal with an end-goal of helping to create a sustainable environment.	The connection with well-being was established with the assumption that fulfilling consumer's long term end-goals such as financial stability and environmental protection are indicators of well-being. Therefore, failing to achieve an unimportant sub-goal of recycling paper or spending more than he/she should, decreased the commitment towards the end-goals, which are interpreted as indicators of well-being

Table 6.2: Seminal research on Consumer Well-being (CWB) (Continued)

Jägel, Keeling, Reppel, & Gruber (2012)	Journal of Marketing Management	Desired consumption outcomes and personal values in ethical clothing	Qualitative - Semi-qualitative interviews that used soft laddering approach was used with 98 ethical clothing consumers	<p>Questions on critical attributes of their past ethical clothing purchases</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Most important attributes/features of an ideal ethical clothing consumption. 2. Importance of the features and attributes 	The link between the eco ethical purchasing behaviour and well-being was established using analysing the responses from participants, where they mentioned the term 'feel good'. The term 'feel good' is considered as an indicator of personal and emotional well-being.
Mead, Baumiester, Stillman, Rawn, & Vohs (2011)	Journal of Consumer Research	Social exclusion and individual well-being. Social exclusion forces individuals to purchase and consume products that reduce personal and financial well-being in order for social inclusion, but, increases social well-being	Quantitative – Four experiments carried out with 30 undergraduate students.	<p>Focused on finding out</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Excluded participants buying products symbolic to group membership 2. Excluded participants adjust preferences according to source of affiliation 3. Excluded participants make unfavourable consumption decisions for the sake of social acceptance 	Experiments used methods such as monitoring the spending patterns and mock product evaluation tasks.

Table 6.2: Seminal research on Consumer Well-being (CWB) (Continued)

Sirgy, Lee, & Kressman (2006)	Social Indicators Research	Needs satisfaction model to test the validity of CWB presented, based on Maslow (1943; 1954)'s hierarchy of needs and bottom-up spillover process of life domains (assumes an event/consumption experience in one life domain spills over to most super-ordinate life event to impact life in general).	Quantitative dominant mixed methods - Focus group discussions (2) with 10 participants each to develop hypotheses and tested using a survey of 245 undergraduate students on transportation	Quantitative measurement options such as "I am satisfied with my car", "This is the exact car I need" or "If given a chance, I will buy a different car" with different scores/weightage towards positive CWB was used to measure CWB effect on satisfaction with the car needs	Generally acceptable link of positive satisfaction measures of the car and car related events lead to higher satisfaction of life, in turn increased CWB
Sirgy, Lee, & Bae (2006)	Social Indicators Research	Internet well-being measurement based on the notion that internet use in different life domains impact the overall CWB in terms of using internet and the theoretical notion of life domains (Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, The Quality of American life: Perceptions, Evaluations, and Satisfactions, 1976).	Mixed methods – Qualitative (A focus group discussion with 10 participants and a lit survey to identify the benefits and costs of internet in different life domains. Quantitative – (Two surveys tested validity of the measure	Key question 'how internet affects your life' was used to identify benefits and costs of internet in different life domains (work life, consumer life, leisure life etc.). Then the participants were asked to come up with benefits (such as saving time) and costs (such as the risk of being deceived) for each of the domain	The overall outcome of benefits and costs of each life domain is an indicator of satisfaction and well-being of that domain. The 7 such domains were tested and the overall positive or negative outcome of all domains represent the overall CWB in terms of internet impact on consumer life.

			with 333 university students.		
Ahuvia (2005)	Journal of Consumer Research	How the possessions consumers 'love' are used to resolve identity conflicts to construct a coherent identity.	Qualitative - A hermeneutic approach. Two case studies selected from 10 in-depth interviews.	On possessions consumers love (what you love, history with the loved possessions, people you love, things they feel neutral about).	The study inquired how possessions help individuals to resolve identity conflicts and then made a logical (research based) argument that identity conflicts are psychologically problematic and hence, will affect consumer well-being (CWB) negatively.
Bhattacharya & Sen (2004)	California Management Review	Consumer response to CSR initiatives by businesses with emergent theme - CSR impact on consumer well-being (CWB).	Mixed method– Qualitative [focus groups (2) and in-depth interviews (50)] Quantitative (Survey with 4000 participants and 3 experiments with 750 participants)	CWB was a non-explored finding from the focus groups.	The link between consumer well-being (in general sense of well-being, hinting more of subjective well-being) was established by focus group comments like 'I am happy'
Barbera & Gürhan (1997)	Psychology and Marketing	Influence on materialistic attitude and religious values on Subjective Well-being (SWB)	Quantitative – Survey of a 243 shoppers from two samples (churches and convenience sample of shopping mall respondents)	Respondents were asked to rate their lives on attributes based on SWB scale of Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers, (1976)	A consumers' materialism, religiosity and demographics were the independent variables. These variables were manipulated using various established scales, where SWB was the dependent variable

Table 6.2: Seminal research on Consumer Well-being (CWB) (Continued)

Thoits (1992)	Social Psychology Quarterly	Consumer's psychological well-being does not depend on the number of salient identities he/she holds or the level of salience. Instead, easier-to-exit identities (e.g. friend) than more committed identities (e.g. parent) reduced the psychological symptoms such as stress and substance use.	Mixed – Qualitative (structured personal interviews conducted with 700 respondents) and various quantitative methods including T-tests.	Mixed method study investigating multiple areas including consumer identities (found out from participant's responses where they claimed certain roles as identity). Quantitative scales were used to find out psychological symptoms based on two variables: psychological stress and substance use.	The link between identities, their salience and well-being was tested quantitatively using the number of identities claimed by the respondents against the psychological symptoms measured through variables related to distress and substance use. Results confirmed that psychological well-being depends on the specific combinations of identities than number of identities consumers claim and their level of salience.
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6.4. Appendix D – Ethics Committee Approval Letter

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MACQUARIE
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9 June 2016

Dear Associate Professor Webster

Reference No: 5201600352

Title: *Identity-based consumption in creating shared value (CSV) in a subsistence marketplace*

Thank you for submitting the above application for ethical and scientific review. Your application was considered by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC (Human Sciences & Humanities)).

I am pleased to advise that ethical and scientific approval has been granted for this project to be conducted by:

- Macquarie University

This research meets the requirements set out in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007 – Updated May 2015) (the *National Statement*).

Standard Conditions of Approval:

1. Continuing compliance with the requirements of the *National Statement*, which is available at the following website:

<http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/book/national-statement-ethical-conduct-human-research>

2. This approval is valid for five (5) years, subject to the submission of annual reports. Please submit your reports on the anniversary of the approval for this protocol.

3. All adverse events, including events which might affect the continued ethical and scientific acceptability of the project, must be reported to the HREC within 72 hours.

4. Proposed changes to the protocol and associated documents must be submitted to the Committee for approval before implementation.

It is the responsibility of the Chief investigator to retain a copy of all documentation related to this project and to forward a copy of this approval letter to all personnel listed on the project.

Should you have any queries regarding your project, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on 9850 4194 or by email ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) Terms of Reference and Standard Operating Procedures are available from the Research Office website at:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) wishes you every success in your research.

Yours sincerely



Dr Karolyn White

Director, Research Ethics & Integrity,

Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee (Human Sciences and Humanities)

This HREC is constituted and operates in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007) and the *CPMP/ICH Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice*.

Details of this approval are as follows:

Approval Date: 9 June 2016

The following documentation has been reviewed and approved by the HREC (Human Sciences & Humanities):

Documents reviewed	Version no.	Date
Macquarie University Ethics Application Form		Revised version received 07/06/2016
Macquarie University Appendix B: Research to be Undertaken Outside Australia		Received 29/04/2016
Response addressing the issues raised by the HREC		Received 07/06/2016
Participant Information and Consent Form Interview	2	06/06/2016
Participant Information and Consent Form – Focus Group	2	06/06/2016
Focus Group Discussion Guide	1	29/04/2016
Interview Protocol	1	29/04/2016
Telephone screening criteria and questions for focus group discussion participant selection	1	29/04/2016
Recruitment advertisements for focus group discussions: Factory A	1	29/04/2016
Recruitment advertisements for focus group discussions: Factory B	1	29/04/2016

***If the document has no version date listed one will be created for you. Please ensure the footer of these documents are updated to include this version date to ensure ongoing version control.**

6.5. Appendix E – Detailed Informant Information Tables

Table 6.3: Detailed information of Community group participants

No.	Pseudo nym	Group	Age	Marital status	Occupation	Data collection method	Family members	Geographical location - original	Geographical location – current stay	Level of Education	Ethnicity
1.	Gaya COF11	Community – Focus Group 1	28-38	Married	Unemployed	Qualitative focus group interview	2 sons and husband	Sub-urban – Ja-Ela	Sub-urban – Ja-Ela	Studied up to advanced level (grade 13).	Sinhalese
2.	Neel COF12	Community – Focus Group 1	28-38	Married	Unemployed	Qualitative focus group interview	1 child and husband		Sub-urban – Ja-Ela		Sinhalese
3.	Nadi COF13	Community – Focus Group 1	28-38	Married	Unemployed	Qualitative focus group interview	2 sons and husband		Sub-urban – Ja-Ela		Sinhalese
4.	Anu COF14	Community – Focus Group 1	40-45	Married (a widow)	Unemployed (searching for a job after husband's death)	Qualitative focus group interview	3 sons. Husband passed away recently		Sub-urban – Ja-Ela		Sinhalese
5.	Ranj COF15	Community – Focus Group 1	28-38	Married	Unemployed. Supports her husband in his various small businesses	Qualitative focus group interview	Son, daughter and husband. Mother-in-law lives with them.	Rural - Heenatiyana	Sub-urban – Ja-Ela		Sinhalese
6.	Cham COF16	Community – Focus Group 1	28-38	Married	Self-employed (irregular)	Qualitative focus group interview	2 children and husband	Rural – did not specify the village name	Sub-urban Udammita– Ja-Ela		Sinhalese
7.	Ushi COF21	Community – Focus Group 2	24	Unmarried	Employed. Government entry level servant	Qualitative focus group interview	1 younger brother, 1 younger sister and mother. Father passed away	Sub-urban Udammita– Ja-Ela	Sub-urban Udammita– Ja-Ela	Passed Advanced level examination (grade 13). Currently reading for a bachelor's degree (external)	Sinhalese
8.	Dili COF22	Community – Focus Group 2	24-34	Unmarried	Employed in private sector	Qualitative focus group interview	Siblings and parents		Sub-urban – Ja-Ela		Sinhalese

Table 6.3: Detailed information of Community group participants (Continued)

9.	Ruvi COF23	Community – Focus Group 2		Unmarried	Employed in private sector	Qualitative focus group interview	1 younger sister, 1 younger brother				Sinhalese
10.	Shal COF24	Community – Focus Group 2	27	Unmarried	Employed as a cashier in a small boutique	Qualitative focus group interview	2 elder sisters				Sinhalese
11.	Nee COF25	Community – Focus Group 2		Unmarried (in a relationship)	Self-employed with a small beauty saloon	Qualitative focus group interview	1 younger sister and mother				Sinhalese
12.	Ayes COF26	Community – Focus Group 2	28-34	Married	Unemployed	Qualitative focus group interview	Son and husband				Sinhalese
13.	Sand COF27	Community – Focus Group 2		Married	Unemployed	Qualitative focus group interview	1 child and husband. Mother- in-law also lives with them				Sinhalese
14.	Sash COF31	Community – Focus Group 3	31	Married	Unemployed	Qualitative focus group interview	1 child and husband		Sub-urban - Ja- Ela		Sinhalese
15.	Niru COF32	Community – Focus Group 3		Married	Temporary housemaid/ domestic helper work for two hours a day	Qualitative focus group interview	2 children and husband				Sinhalese
16.	Sriy COF33	Community – Focus Group 3	48	Married	Self-employed with a small butchery	Qualitative focus group interview	7 children and husband				Sinhalese
17.	Prom COF34	Community – Focus Group 3	25	Unmarried	Self-employed (making flower pots)	Qualitative focus group interview	Mother. Father passed away				Sinhalese
18.	Chan COF35	Community – Focus Group 3		Married	Self-employed (sewing clothes with her sewing machine as a business)	Qualitative focus group interview	2 children and husband. Mother- in-law also lives with them	Rural – Andiambalam a	Sub-urban – Ja- Ela		Sinhalese

Table 6.3: Detailed information of Community group participants (Continued)

19.	Gang COF36	Community – Focus Group 3	28-34	Married	Unemployed	Qualitative focus group interview	2 daughters, 1 son and husband				Sinhalese
20.	Niro COF37	Community – Focus Group 3	28-34	Married	Unemployed	Qualitative focus group interview	1 son, 1 daughter and husband. Husband's grandmother also lives with them				Sinhalese
21.	Ruks COI01	Community – One-on-one 1	28	Married	Unemployed	In-person individual depth interview	Son, daughter and husband	Sub-urban – Ja-Ela	Sub-urban – Ja-Ela		Sinhalese
22.	Mari COI02	Community – One-on-one 2	46	Married	Unemployed. Helps husband with the small bakery	In-person individual depth interview	2 sons and husband	Sub-urban – Seeduwa	Sub-urban – Seeduwa		Sinhalese (Catholic)
23.	Dars COI03	Community – One-on-one 3	44	Married (Separated)	Odd jobs (irregular)	In-person individual depth interview	Son and daughter. Husband comes occasionally	Rural – Elpitiya in Galle district	Sub-urban – Seeduwa	Only studied up to grade 2	Sinhalese
24.	Suny COI04	Community – One-on-one 4	42	Married	Self-employed (making flowerpots)	In-person individual depth interview	3 sons and husband	Rural – Deraniyagala in Kegalle district	Sub-urban – Seeduwa	Passed Ordinary level exam (grade 11), but couldn't continue studies due to father's death	Sinhalese
25.	Cami COI05	Community – One-on-one 5	41	Married (Separated)	Unemployed	In-person individual depth interview	Son and daughter. Separated from husband	Sub-urban – Seeduwa	Sub-urban – Seeduwa	Passed 3 subjects out of 4 at Advanced level (grade 13). Had to stop further studies due to father meeting with an accident and subsequent financial hardships	Sinhalese

Table 6.3: Detailed information of Community group participants (Continued)

26.	Indi COI06	Community – One-on-one 6	43	Married	Self-employed. Making flower pots at home	In-person individual depth interview	2 daughters and husband. 1 daughter is married and live separate	Sub-urban – Seeduwa	Sub-urban – Bandarawatte, Seeduwa	Only primary school education	Sinhalese
27.	Inok COI07	Community – One-on-one 7	44	Married	Works as a housemaid/ domestic helper on a casual basis	In-person individual depth interview	Daughter and husband	Rural - Kanthale	Sub-urban – Ja-Ela	Went to school up to grade 11, but did not sit for ordinary level exams due to financial hardships	Sinhalese
28.	Chan COI08	Community – One-on-one 8	44	Married (a widow)	Unemployed	In-person individual depth interview	Son and daughter	Sub-urban – Ja-Ela	Sub-urban – Ja-Ela	Went to school only up to grade 9 and had to stop schooling due to financial hardships	Sinhalese

Table 6.4: Detailed information of Employed groups (Factory A and Factory B)

No.	Pseudo nym	Group	Age	Marital status	Occupation	Data collection method	Family members	Geographical location - original	Geographical location – current stay	Level of Education	Ethnicity
29.	Kijo FAF11	Factory A – Focus Group 1	20-29	Unmarried	Machine operator	Qualitative focus group interview	1 elder brother, 1 elder sister and parents (Mother is working overseas)	Rural – Hatton in Nuwara Eliya district	Boarded near the factory (Hostel)	Passed ordinary level (grade 11) examination	Tamil
30.	Shya FAF12	Factory A – Focus Group 1	20-29	Unmarried	Machine operator	Qualitative focus group interview	2 elder sisters, 1 younger sister, 2 younger brothers and parents	Rural - Weeraketiya	Boarded near the factory (Hostel)	Up to grade 11, but did not sit for the exams	Sinhalese
31.	Nadi FAF13	Factory A – Focus Group 1	20-29	Unmarried	Packing operator	Qualitative focus group interview	1 younger sister, 1 younger brother and parents	Rural - Mahiyangany a	Boarded near the factory (Hostel)	Passed Advanced level examination (grade 13)	Sinhalese
32.	Sama FAF14	Factory A – Focus Group 1	20-29	Unmarried		Qualitative focus group interview	1 elder brother, 1 younger brother and father. Mother passed away when young	Rural - Ritigala	Boarded near the factory (Hostel)	Passed Ordinary level examination (grade 11)	Sinhalese
33.	Rosh FAF15	Factory A – Focus Group 1	20-29	Unmarried	Packing operator	Qualitative focus group interview	2 elder sisters, 1 twin sister and parents	Rural – Elpitiya in Galle district	Boarded near the factory (Hostel)		Sinhalese
34.	Nadi FAF16	Factory A – Focus Group 1	20-29	Unmarried		Qualitative focus group interview	1 younger brother and parents	Sub-urban - Panadura	Lives close to factory (Pananadura)		Sinhalese
35.	Sand FAF21	Factory A – Focus Group 2	40-45	Married	Team leader	Qualitative focus group interview	Son, daughter and Husband	Sub-urban - Kaluthara	Lives close to factory (Kaluthara)		
36.	Rasi FAF22	Factory A – Focus Group 2	20-29	Unmarried	Machine operator	Qualitative focus group interview	1 elder brother, 1 younger brother, 2 younger sisters and mother (Father passed away recently)	Rural – Elpitiya in Galle district	Boarded near the factory (Hostel)	Passed Advanced level examination (grade 13)	Sinhalese
37.	Anji FAF23	Factory A – Focus Group 2	20-29	Unmarried	Machine operator	Qualitative focus group interview	1 elder brother, 1 younger brother			Currently studying a Bachelor's degree in Media	

Table 6.4: Detailed information of Employed groups (Factory A and Factory B) (Continued)

38.	Madi FAF24	Factory A – Focus Group 2	20-29	Unmarri ed	Quality controller	Qualitative focus group interview	1 elder sister, 1 younger brother and parents	Rural – Mahiyangany a	Boarded near the factory (Hostel)	Passed Advanced level examination (grade 13)	
39.	Shiv FAF25	Factory A – Focus Group 2	32	Unmarri ed		Qualitative focus group interview	1 elder sister, two younger brothers and mother	Sub-urban – close to Pannala	Lives close to factory (Pannala)		
40.	Minu FAF26	Factory A – Focus Group 2	20-29	Unmarri ed	Machine operator	Qualitative focus group interview	1 elder sister, 3 younger sisters and parents	Rural – Eastern province	Boarded near the factory (Hostel)	Passed Advanced level examination (grade 13) and reading for Law college exams	Sinhalese
41.	Niro FAO01	Factory A – One-on- one 1	30	Engaged	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	1 younger brother, 1 younger sister and Father (parents seperated3-4 years ago)	Sub-urban - Wadduwa	Lives close to factory (Wadduwa)	Studied up to Ordinary level examination (grade 11), failed mathematics subject and did not repeat due to financial hardships	Sinhalese
42.	Nadi FAO02	Factory A – One-on- one 2	42	Unmarri ed		In-person individual depth interview	Lives alone (parents passed away long time back)	Sub-urban - Maggona	Lives close to factory (Pannala)	Up to grade 11	Sinhalese
43.	Sri FAO03	Factory A – One-on- one 3	45	Married (a widow)	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	2 sons (Husband passed away)	Sub-urban - Kaluthara	Lives close to factory (Pannala)	Went to school up to grade 10 and had to leave school to support family due to financial hardships	Sinhalese
44.	SriK FAO04	Factory A – One-on- one 4	46	Married (a widow)	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	Daughter (Husband passed away 13 years ago)	Rural - Anuradhapura	Lives close to factory (South Kaluthara)	Passed Advanced level examination (grade 13) with good results and had to give up higher education due to financial hardships	Sinhalese

Table 6.4: Detailed information of Employed groups (Factory A and Factory B) (Continued)

45.	Prab FAO05	Factory A – One-on-one 5	23	Unmarried	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	Mother and Grandfather (mother works overseas)	Rural - Weerawila	Boarded near the factory (Hostel)	Passed Ordinary level examination (grade 11)	Sinhalese
46.	Chat FAO06	Factory A – One-on-one 6	36	Unmarried		In-person individual depth interview	1 younger brother, 1 younger sister and parents	Sub-urban - Panadura	Lives close to factory (Panadura)	Passed Advanced level examination (grade 13) with good results and missed university entrance by few marks. Had to give up higher education option due to family responsibilities and financial hardships	Sinhalese
47.	InoK FAO07	Factory A – One-on-one 7	37	Married	Line leader	In-person individual depth interview	3 sons and Husband	Sub-urban - Panadura	Lives close to factory (Panadura)	Passed Advanced level examination (grade 13)	Sinhalese
48.	Kris FAO08	Factory A – One-on-one 8	34	Unmarried	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	1 younger brother, 2 younger sisters and Mother (Father passed away many years ago). At present, lives with her mother and one unmarried sister	Sub-urban - Panadura	Lives close to factory (Panadura)	Passed Advanced level examination (grade 13) and was reading for bachelor's degree, but had to stop due to financial hardships	Sinhalese
49.	Subh FAO09	Factory A – One-on-one 9	30	Married	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	Daughter and Husband (younger sister also lives with them)	Rural – Kalugala (though under sub-urban district, this area is underdeveloped)	Lives close to factory (Kaluthara)	Passed Ordinary level examination (grade 11) and had to give up higher education due to financial hardships	Sinhalese

Table 6.4: Detailed information of Employed groups (Factory A and Factory B) (Continued)

50.	Lali FBF11	Factory B – Focus Group 1	40-45	Married		Qualitative focus group interview	Son, Daughter and Husband		Lives close to factory (Minuwangoda)		Sinhalese
51.	Chit FBF12	Factory B – Focus Group 1	26	Unmarried	Machine operator	Qualitative focus group interview	1 elder sister, 2 brothers and parents	Rural - Kegalle	Boarded near the factory		Sinhalese
52.	Inda FBF13	Factory B – Focus Group 1		Married (a widow)		Qualitative focus group interview	Son (husband passed away recently)				Sinhalese (a Buddhist converted to a catholic)
53.	Tush FBF14	Factory B – Focus Group 1	27	Unmarried	Machine operator	Qualitative focus group interview	1 younger brother and parents	Rural - Nikaweratiya	Boarded near factory (Seeduwa)	Bachelor's degree from Open University	Sinhalese
54.	Dami FBF15	Factory B – Focus Group 1	38-44	Married	Line leader	Qualitative focus group interview	2 daughters and husband				Sinhalese
55.	Ruvi FBF16	Factory B – Focus Group 1		Unmarried		Qualitative focus group interview	1 brother and 1 sister				Sinhalese
56.	Nali FBF21	Factory B – Focus Group 2		Married (a widow)		Qualitative focus group interview	Son. Husband passed away. Mother also lives with them	Rural - Mahiyangana ya	Lives close to factory (Minuwangoda)		Sinhalese
57.	Sriy FBF22	Factory B – Focus Group 2	45-50	Married		Qualitative focus group interview	3 children				Sinhalese
58.	Wiji FBF23	Factory B – Focus Group 2		Married		Qualitative focus group interview	A son, a daughter and husband			Passed Advanced level examination (grade 13)	Sinhalese
59.	Susi FBF24	Factory B – Focus Group 2		Married		Qualitative focus group interview	A daughter and husband (son is living with grandparents seperate)	Rural – Badulla, Lunugala	Boarded near factory (Seeduwa)		Sinhalese
60.	Ariy FBF25	Factory B – Focus Group 2		Married (A widow)		Qualitative focus group interview	3 daughters				Sinhalese

Table 6.4: Detailed information of Employed groups (Factory A and Factory B) (Continued)

61.	Sang FBF26	Factory B – Focus Group 2		Married		Qualitative focus group interview	1 child and husband	Rural - Polonnaruwa	Boarded near factory (Seeduwa)		Sinhalese
62.	Shee FBF31	Factory B – Focus Group 3	47	Married	Machine Operator	Qualitative focus group interview	A daughter, a son and husband. Mother-in-law also lives with them				Sinhalese
63.	Shan FBF32	Factory B – Focus Group 3		Married		Qualitative focus group interview	Husband	Rural – Puttlam	Boarded near factory (Seeduwa)		Sinhalese
64.	Dinu FBF33	Factory B – Focus Group 3		Married (a widow)		Qualitative focus group interview	Two sons	Sub-urban – Ja-Ela, Dalugama	Lives near factory (Ja-Ela)		
65.	Gaya FBF34	Factory B – Focus Group 3		Married		Qualitative focus group interview	Two daughters and husband		Lives near factory (Kotugoda)		
66.	Kath FBF35	Factory B – Focus Group 3		Married		Qualitative focus group interview	Husband. Lives in a boarding house with other boarders	Rural - Ampara	Boarded near factory (Seeduwa)	Did not go to school due to civil war in that area	Sinhalese
67.	Lali FBO01	Factory B – One-on- one 1	38-44	Married	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	Son, daughter and Husband. Mother- in-law also lives with them	Sub-urban - Galkanda	Sub-urban - Galkanda	Passed Ordinary level examination (grade 11) and was not allowed to continue studies by father	Sinhalese
68.	Nimm FBO02	Factory B – One-on- one 2	36	Unmarri ed	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	6 elder sisters and 3 elder brothers and Mother. Living with the mother at the moment	Sub-urban – Minuwangoda	Lives near factory (Minuwangoda)	Studied up to Ordinary level examination (year 11) and had to stop higher studies due to financial hardships	Sinhalese
69.	Lath FBO03	Factory B – One-on- one 3	44	Married	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	Son, daughter and husband	Rural - Alawwa	Lives near factory (Kimbulapitiya)		Sinhalese

Table 6.4: Detailed information of Employed groups (Factory A and Factory B) (Continued)

70.	Dili FBO04	Factory B – One-on-one 4	35	Unmarried	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	3 elder brothers, 1 elder sister and parents. She lives alone near factory	Rural - Walapane	Boarded near factory (Katunayake)	Passed Ordinary level exam (grade 11) except mathematics and left school while doing advanced level (grade 13) due to difficulties in that rural area and financial hardships	Sinhalese
71.	Demi FBO05	Factory B – One-on-one 5	42	Unmarried	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	1 elder brother, 1 younger brother, 2 younger sisters and parents. She lives alone near factory	Rural – Asokapura, Anuradhapura ya	Boarded near factory (Katunayake)	Studied up to Ordinary level (grade 11). Did not pass and had to stop higher studies due to father's illness and financial hardships	Sinhalese
72.	Chan FBO06	Factory B – One-on-one 6	48	Married	Cutting operator	In-person individual depth interview	Adopted son and husband.	Lives near factory (Minuwangoda)	Lives near factory (Minuwangoda)		Sinhalese
73.	SheR FBO07	Factory B – One-on-one 7	52	Married		In-person individual depth interview	Son, daughter and husband	Lives near factory (Minuwangoda)	Lives near factory (Minuwangoda)		Sinhalese
74.	NimK FBO08	Factory B – One-on-one 8	38	Married	Machine operator	In-person individual depth interview	Husband and expecting	Rural – Anuradhapura ya	Boarded near factory (Katunayake)		Sinhalese

6.6. Appendix F – Details of Data collection, transcriptions and translations

Table 6.5: Details of Data collection, transcriptions and translations

No.	Organisation	Data collection type	Length (minutes)	Transcription words	Translation words	No. of participants
1	Factory A	Focus group 1	65	7191	6184	6
2		Focus group 2	69	10317	12852	6
3		Individual depth interview 1	36	5583	6763	1
4		Individual depth interview 2	21	2911	4253	1
5		Individual depth interview 3	41	5345	6202	1
6		Individual depth interview 4	52	7058	7373	1
7		Individual depth interview 5	33	4243	4119	1
8		Individual depth interview 6	50	6268	7091	1
9		Individual depth interview 7	52	8915	10152	1
10		Individual depth interview 8	58	9001	11742	1
11		Individual depth interview 9	41	6087	7000	1
12	Factory B	Focus group 1	71	9085	11022	6
13		Focus group 2	67	8452	10673	6
14		Focus group 3	69	8863	11973	5
15		Individual depth interview 1	42	5972	8245	1
16		Individual depth interview 2	50	8287	9840	1
17		Individual depth interview 3	53	6600	7500	1
18		Individual depth interview 4	43	6411	6162	1
19		Individual depth interview 5	65	8908	10491	1
20		Individual depth interview 6	21	3253	2157	1
21		Individual depth interview 7	54	4789	3388	1
22		Individual depth interview 8	53	6676	5869	1
23	Community	Focus group 1	62	8620	9900	6
24		Focus group 2	76	9800	10500	7
25		Focus group 3	74	9980	14476	7
26		Individual depth interview 1	40	5611	7629	1
27		Individual depth interview 2	48	6845	6900	1
28		Individual depth interview 3	34	5050	6108	1
29		Individual depth interview 4	46	7283	9336	1
30		Individual depth interview 5	77	10271	13580	1
31		Individual depth interview 6	35	4274	3369	1
32		Individual depth interview 7	41	5506	7196	1
33		Individual depth interview 8	35	5231	5613	1
	TOTAL		1674	228686	265658	74

6.7. Appendix G – Screening Questions for Focus Group Discussion participant selection

Once potential participants decide to take part in this research, they are supposed to call the co-investigator (Mr. Charindra Keerthipala) for further details and confirmation of participation. Potential participants who call will be briefed about the research and the participant information and consent forms are shared with them using their preferred method of receiving them prior to asking screening questions. The co-investigator will then contact these participants and select participants for focus groups and interviews using a further screening process in order to make sure the sample consists of variety of identities and consumption situations.

In line with key identities discussed in previous research on subsistence marketing consumption (refer Appendix H), these identities will be explored before deciding to allow a potential participant to take part in the focus group discussions. Once the required number of participants are reached with the variety of key identities required, the remaining potential participants will be placed on a reserve list to be called in case some participants opt out.

The participants for Factory A focus groups will be selected considering different CSV initiatives the company runs. Out of the four main types of CSV initiatives under women's empowerment programme, Ladies-To-Front (pseudo-name used to protect the identity of the company), three initiatives will be selected and each will have participants representing that initiative. However, the remaining two groups Factory B and Community groups will not be separated based on different initiatives. This is due to Factory B having most of their CSR initiatives organized under one key theme of providing clean water and the inability to categorise the community group's exposure to community initiatives.

Screening questions for potential participants

1. Organisation and initiative related information will be ascertained first to determine the relevant initiative for Factory A and Factory B employees.

2. Family-related identities
 - a. Are you married? With whom do you live?
 - b. If married, do you have kids and how many?
3. Social-roles based identities
 - a. What are the Society groups, friendship circles and other community groups you are in?
 - b. What are your hobbies?
4. Geographic segmented identities
 - a. Where do you live? Urban, sub-urban and rural areas
5. Education
 - a. Level of education
6. Organisation-related identities (employee identities)
 - a. What is your role in Factory A/Factory B?
 - b. How do your friends find you as a co-worker? Can you describe how your friends see you in 3 words? These 3 words will indicate some of the social identities associated with the participants.

6.9. Appendix H - Thematic Node Hierarchy (TNH) of the Study

1. [Key identities](#)
 - 1.1. Mother
 - 1.1.1. Attributes
 - 1.1.1.1. Caring
 - 1.1.1.2. Hardworking
 - 1.1.1.3. Sacrificing for children
 - 1.2. Wife
 - 1.3. Housewife
 - 1.4. Employee
 - 1.5. Lady/ a female
2. [Identity Centrality](#)
3. [Identity interactions](#)
4. [Identity interaction influences](#)
5. [Identity interaction outcomes](#)
6. [Influences from unequal social power relations](#)
7. [CSR/CSV influence](#)
8. [CWB](#)

[Other emerged themes](#)

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