

An Investigation of Consumer Motivation in
Alternative Consumption and Impression Formation

by

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Abstract

Consumer behavior researchers have long been interested in how an individual's sense of motivation maps onto the individual's consumptive acts. However, more work is needed to understand how specific types of motivation arise, how certain motivations take priority over others and how individuals differ in their perception of motivation. This dissertation contributes to this effort in two ways. First, through an ethnographic study, the research explores the ways in which consumption motivation occurs through evolving, interpretive processes among people. This ethnography examines an organization promoting consumption practices embodied by the local food movement. I investigate factors motivating consumers' participation in the organization and the organization's effectiveness in altering consumers' orientation toward local food. Social movement framing literature provides a framework to analyze the organization's novel approach to changing consumer motivation. I will argue that the environment fostered by the organization facilitates articulation and elaboration of its collective action frame, which emphasizes community in order to motivate alternative consumption. Second, using experimental methods, the research investigates how an individual's value system shapes perception of consumption motivation. The research investigates individual differences in the association between purchases and inferred higher-level motivation (e.g. status). Recent work suggests a universally held belief equating material purchases to ulterior motives, resulting in the stigmatization of materialistic people (Van Boven, Gilovich and Campbell, 2010), but I will demonstrate a more nuanced process influenced by the observer's adherence to materialism as a

value (Richins and Dawson 1992). Together, these essays advance our understanding of consumption motivation as a social phenomenon while also contributing to a broader, interdisciplinary discourse concerning human motivation more generally.

Introduction

Consumer behavior researchers have long been interested in how an individual's sense of need maps onto the individual's consumptive acts. With a broad conceptualization of consumption as a vehicle for "achievement, fulfillment and satisfaction," Holbrook (1987) encouraged consumer researchers to examine "all facets of value potentially provided when [an individual] acquires, uses or disposes of any product that might achieve a goal, fulfill a need or satisfy a want." Such thinking has encouraged investigation of how commonplace consumption also fulfills self-protection (Kasser and Sheldon 2000), affiliation (Bearden and Etzel, 1982; Berger and Heath 2007, 2008; Escalas and Bettman, 2005;), status (Berry, 1994; Dreze and Nunes, 2009; Griskevicius, Tybur and Van den Bergh, 2010; Han, Nunes and Dreze, 2010), and mating motives (Griskevicius, Tybur, Sundie, Cialdini, Miller and Kenrick, 2007; Griskevicius et al 2010; Sundie, Kenrick, Griskevicius, Tybur, Vohs and Beal, 2011).

This work follows from two streams of research. First, various psychological theories suggest that motivation results from a basic set of human needs that then dictate the responses individuals have to specific stimuli and social conditions (Alderfer 1972; Barnes 1960; Harrison 1966; Kenrick, Griskevicius, Neuberg and Schaller 2010; Maslow 1943; Ryan and Deci 2000). Second, consumer research demonstrates that products and services embedded within social context develop meanings beyond their primary function (Belk 1988; Sirgy 1982; Solomon, 1983). Thus, consumption serves to reinforce or represent alternative meanings either to the self or to others acting as symbols of the beliefs, values or characteristics of the consumer (Belk,

1988; Berger and Heath 2007, 2008). In concert, these two streams of research suggest that when a need arises either due to deprivation or a contextual cue, the feeling of need is aversive, so individuals seek opportunities to compensate or attenuate the aversive psychological state. Consumption is a means by which individuals may resolve this discomfort.

The aforementioned findings in consumer behavior provide rich insight into the complexity of human motivation, yet much is still unknown about the dynamic and structural aspects of motivation as they relate to consumption. More specifically, questions remain about the source and malleability of consumer motivation and the ways in which motivation is conceptualized by a consumer. The research in this dissertation utilizes consumption contexts to address such questions and to contribute to the dialogue about the complex nature of human motivation. This research is discussed next.

DISSERTATION RESEARCH

The first chapter of this dissertation speaks to the social construction of consumption motivation (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Hirschman and Holbrook 1992). Certainly, an individual experiences motivated states—feelings of need that drive behavior in specific ways—but it is possible that the essence of the motivation and its meaning emerge from interpretive processes occurring in social contexts. This possibility deserves further exploration. Using ethnographic methods, I study a consumer movement organization attempting to alter consumers' orientation toward local food. In the context of a public breakfast in a private home, I investigate how consumption motivation arises through the situated interaction among people with motivation developing more so among individuals than within an individual.

The next chapter addresses how an individual's value system shapes one's perception of motivation. The research investigates how an observer interprets another person's purchase motivation and the downstream effects of that interpretive process. In short, the research questions the propensity for all individuals to conceptualize motivation in the same way. The findings have implications for understanding how individuals perceive consumption motivation and how personal interaction may be affected by differences in motivation among individuals.

SUMMARY

A complete characterization of consumption motivation has yet to be achieved. Though the existence of a complex motivation system frequently goes without question, more work is needed to understand how specific types of motivation arise, how certain motivations take priority over others and how individuals differ in their perception of motivation. Consumer behavior research has the advantage of contexts in which motivation is a key component as well as the advantage of methodological breadth to address such questions from many angles. This versatility is demonstrated in the following essays, which use ethnographic and experimental methods to examine interpersonal, interpretive processes affecting consumption motivation. This research advances our understanding of consumption motivation as a social phenomenon while also contributing to a broader, interdisciplinary discourse concerning human motivation more generally.

Chapter 1: Consumption Facilitated Frame Alignment: Generating a New Orientation Toward Alternative Consumption

I employ ethnographic methods to investigate under what conditions a carefully constructed consumption environment can operate as an effective tool for motivating alternative consumption. Situated within social movement framing literature, I investigate an organization dedicated to strengthening the local food economy. The organization serves breakfast in a private residence, featuring local ingredients and an entirely volunteer workforce. I propose that this novel consumption context, which challenged health officials and attracts conventional consumers, works to benefit the organization as guests with varying food-related ideologies attempt to interpret the unfamiliar context. The organization benefits because the experience within the breakfast reflects the orientation the organization has toward local food. This process coincides with an enjoyable consumption experience; thus, organization gains support for the movement by leveraging an appealing consumption experience that changes consumers' orientation toward the promoted alternative. I refer to this strategic micromobilization process as consumption facilitated frame alignment.

It is Friday at 5:00am in a quiet residential area. The neighborhood is dark and sleepy, but near the end of a cul-de-sac a house is lit. Someone arrives and enters the side door without knocking. This is not the owner of the home or a child coming home late. It is a volunteer chef arriving to prepare breakfast. Four more volunteers arrive in the next hour to help serve the breakfast. And a farmer arrives as well, assembling tables of vegetables under a white tent in the driveway. Why all the activity at this early hour in a residential neighborhood? And why are so many individuals needed to prepare one breakfast? The early morning activity is in preparation for the 200 people coming to enjoy a gourmet breakfast all within the confines of this conservative, 1930's Cape Cod style home. This is Rosa Café¹.

Breakfast at Rosa Café begins at 6:30am. Eventually the house fills with people—some eating in the kitchen and dining room, others visiting over coffee in the living room and still more standing in the mudroom waiting to be seated. The volunteer servers bustle from room to room, serving the breakfast made in front of the guests in the non-commercial kitchen. Many of the guests greet each other by name either remembering one another from previous Friday mornings or referencing the masking tape nametag adhered to each guest's shirt. Such greetings are encouraged at Rosa Café and many are accompanied by a hug. Parties of guests are combined to fill the assortment of seating options, which includes an island, a couch, and two tables tucked into the remaining kitchen space as well as an oversized table in the dining room. In nice weather, a picnic table and two patio tables join the mix. Personal introductions and interparty conversations flourish with this practice of mixing parties. As one party finishes, another will take its place to keep a continual flow of guests moving through the home for this special event.

¹ The names of the organizations and people have been changed to protect participants' privacy.

The vibrant breakfast continues with the buzz of conversation and music radiating throughout the home. At 10:00am, the host stops seating guests and the breakfast gradually comes to an end. The third and final shift of morning volunteers arrives to clean the space and return it to its normal state as a private residence. But even in that quiet state of normalcy, masking tape nametags left by guests remain adhered to every inch of the mudroom walls. The collage of names grows week-by-week, acting as physical reminders of all those who have shared breakfast in Rosa Café and many who will return next week when the process begins again.

Even at surface level, this public breakfast in a private home offers a unique consumption context to investigate consumer motivation and perceptions of value, but this is not simply a public breakfast in a private home. It is a novel approach for mobilizing a consumer movement and changing consumer behavior. For more than four years, Rosa Café has provided Friday morning gourmet breakfasts using locally sourced ingredients and an entirely volunteer workforce in exchange for a voluntary donation. In doing so, the organization strives to achieve two objectives: the first is to provide financial loans to strengthen the local food infrastructure, and the second is to raise awareness and appreciation for local food sources. Here referred to as Rosa Café—or more colloquially simply as “Rosa”—the breakfasts began as an experimental extension of Nourishment, Now and Always (NNA), an organization started by the owners of the home to strengthen the local food economy. The breakfasts emerged as a possible opportunity to make a greater impact. Now, the brand recognition is such that Rose Café has eclipsed the title of the original organization.

This investigation examines this novel consumer movement organization (CMO) as well as the evolutionary process through which it developed. Three primary research questions drive

this investigation: (1) Under what conditions can an appealing consumption experience operate as an effective CMO strategy? (2) When such conditions exist, how does the organization communicate the movement's meaning and objectives to consumers? (3) Is this novel approach effective for changing consumer consciousness and behavior? The sheer number of guests attracted to the breakfasts suggests a successful fundraising effort, but it remains questionable whether or not consumer consciousness and corresponding behavior are affected by the organization's efforts. As will be shown, though the motivations for attending vary greatly among participants, the organization's model effectively changes many consumers' beliefs and behavior. This research provides a processual account for this shift, demonstrating how the organization leverages a novel, appealing consumption context to advance a consumer movement. To achieve this end, I develop insights from an ethnographic study of Rosa Café, investigating the history, practices and participants involved in this novel consumption context. The qualitative data is interpreted through the lens of social movement framing theory. Previous research has drawn on framing theory to explain how individuals portray and navigate adversarial relationships within consumption contexts (Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013; Thomas, Price, and Schau 2013), but the core tenets of the theory have not been utilized to understand the interactive, interpretive processes that take place between the organization and the consumer. Framing theory provides the scaffolding to understand how organizations facilitate ideological shifts and mobilization through meaning construction. A simplistic view of consumer movements might suggest that organizations simply recruit individuals with similar grievances, but this discounts the efforts put forth to convert consumers who do not share those beliefs. That is, consumer movements do not simply arise from shared grievances. They arise through the work of adherents communicating beliefs

and engendering support for the desired social change. The framing perspective emphasizes the criticality of movement organizations in producing and maintaining meaning for protagonists, antagonists and bystanders (Snow 2004). This proves valuable because researchers have yet to fully characterize how practices put forth by CMOs translate in the minds of consumers. Instead, existing work tends to focus either on organizations' methods or on the individual-level ideology while rarely analyzing the two in concert to understand how the former generates the latter. More specifically, current theoretical perspectives cannot account for the noncontentious, signifying work constructed at Rosa Café or for the resulting transformation process. As will be shown, Rosa Café provides an exemplary context to study this interactive, interpretive process that transforms consumer consciousness because while the organization is mission-driven, participation at Rosa Café does not require adherence to—or even awareness of—the organization's ideology. Hence, I am able to analyze how the novel consumption context affects individuals of varying ideologies and how their interpretations of the context develop to ultimately increase their valuation of the promoted alternative.

CMOs face great challenges in converting the beliefs and behaviors of mainstream consumers (Eckhardt, Belk and Devinney 2010; Kozinets and Handelman 2004). To be effective, they must combat corporate marketing strategies as well as consumer hegemony. Somehow they must convince consumers to choose the prescribed alternative—a choice that usually requires a sacrifice of immediate, concrete rewards in exchange for long term, abstract social benefits. So like other social movements that, for example, protest oil pipelines or request support for refugees, consumer movements strive for psychologically distant outcomes; however, unlike many social movements, consumer movements demand dramatic and noticeable change to one's daily life and personal routines. Thus to combat the strong forces of marketers, activists

tend to employ negatively valenced appeals and strategies as ammunition against adversaries (for review see King and Pearce 2010). Through these contentious means, the activists attempt to disrupt marketers and dissuade consumers from continuing the contested practices. Though a pervasive approach, negative emotion is a risky lever because negative emotions introduce discomfort and variable responses (e.g. Bodenhausen, Sheppard and Kramer 1994; Keltner, Ellsworth and Edwards 1993; Lerner and Keltner 2001). Consumers may alleviate discomfort not by changing their consumption practices but instead by avoiding or attacking the activists' messages (Forgas 1995; Lerner and Keltner 2000, 2001; Sandlin and Callahan 2009). The present study investigates an organization that is exercising a different approach. At Rosa Café emphasis is given neither to adversaries nor to negatively valenced appeals, but instead to the pleasurable consequences of consuming the promoted alternative. I argue that the effectiveness of Rosa Café's approach is intensified by a unique process that facilitates reinterpretation of consumption. I propose that the unusual consumption environment created at Rosa Café catalyzes a search for meaning among participants. In this search, available information comes in the form of practices that facilitate social relationships and learning, ultimately communicating the organization's frame while also providing additional value for the consumer. Over time, the additional value that arises from the organization's practices creates positive associations that are intimately bound to the promoted alternative, thus motivating consumption practices in line with the organization's goals and ideology.

My argument for a reinterpretation process reflects themes in existing consumer research as well. A review of existing research reveals a tendency for consumer movement adherents to reinterpret consumption and its function in life (Hollenbeck and Zinkhan 2010; Johnston 2008; Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Press and Arnould 2011; Sandlin and Callahan 2009; Sassatelli

and Davolio, 2010; Soper 2007; Szmigin, Carrigan and Bekin 2007; Thompson and Coskuner-Bali 2007; Varman and Belk, 2009) That is, for adherents, companies and consumption take on new meaning. For example, Kozinets and Handelman's (2004) summary of anti-brand movements highlights "changes in the activists' description of themselves and also to alterations in their portrayal and conception of their adversary...activists see the consumption system as the enemy and the blind and embedded consumers as an inextricable and essential part of that system," (701). In this work, we see both the reinterpretation of mainstream consumption and the extreme hostility that can arise within CMO adherents. Another example of the role of reinterpretation in alternative consumption is shown in Hollenbreck and Zinkhan's (2010) investigation of the anti-Wal-Mart communities. Through interactive, learning processes activists arrive at brand meanings different from those intended by the corporate entity. The authors argue that these learning processes are crucial to the movement's collective identity and mobilization. Unfortunately, while this work lends support to the importance of interpretive processes, it does not include a formal analysis of the organizations' efforts and strategies; thus, we draw closer to understanding the evolution of consumer thought, but are no closer to understanding how the organization communicates its beliefs for consumers to digest. Therefore, we cannot deduce a process by which the strategic actions of organizations directly translate into meaning for the consumer. Additionally, these works analyze individuals as adherents, meaning interviewees have already made the transition from mainstream to movement ideology. Unlike participation in a movement chat room or rally, attendance at Rosa Cafe is not an accurate predictor of one's ideology, thus the novel environment provides a remarkable opportunity to investigate how movement adherence develops.

Shifting from individual level to organizational level analysis provides additional hints as to how organizations might alter consumer consciousness and valuation. Varman and Belk (2009) show how an organization draws parallels between a corporate adversary and a nationally held ideology: Speeches, pamphlets and other verbal pronouncements link Coca-Cola to British imperialism in an effort to taint consumer perception of the brand. Similarly, Sandlin and Callahan (2009) show that culture jammers create new brand meaning by leveraging official advertisements and negative emotions to change consumers' perceptions of marketers. The authors suggest that the negative emotions experienced by consumers lead consumers to reject conventional consumption due to the deleterious associations now linked to the brand. Together, these works further our understanding of organizations' intended strategies to motivate alternative consumption, but they do not advance our understanding of the transformation process in the minds of consumers as a result of the interaction between the two parties. That is, they highlight the importance of meaning making but they cannot show how the practices of the organization translate into consumer cognitions. Furthermore, these works focus on the flow of discursive information generated by the organizations and only identify processes that rely on negative associations. Therefore, these cannot account for the processes at play in the current context where organizational culture replaces explicit mission statements and speeches, nor can they offer insight into how positive emotions and associations may be leveraged to promote ideological shifts and related behavior change.

Stepping away from the CMO context, there are signs of positively valenced levers as motivators for alternative consumption (Johnston 2008; Press and Arnould 2011; Soper 2007; Starr 2009; Thompson and Coskuner-Bali 2007). For example, unconventional market systems have been shown to benefit when positive associations in the forms of enchantment (Thompson

and Coskuner-Bali 2007) and cultural ideals (Press and Arnould 2011) emerge with promoted alternatives. In fact, Soper (2007) argues for a more expansive view of alternative consumption, claiming that focusing on the antagonistic fight for societal benefits undermines the possibility that consumers could be a direct beneficiary of alternative consumption choices. Soper claims that alternative choices do not have to be driven by social goals, but instead may be interpreted in ways that highlight the personal benefits of such choices. For example, a consumer may decide to ride a bicycle not simply because it reduces carbon emissions, but because it offers a chance to enjoy fresh air. This echoes the role of reinterpretation seen in the aforementioned works, but illustrates an emphasis on the pleasurable consequences of alternative consumption as a possible means for changing consumer beliefs and behavior. Relatedly, an empirical study using self-reported behavior and geographic location links one's propensity to choose alternatives to the prevalence of the practice among one's peers (Starr 2009). The author argues that individuals benefit when their consumption aligns with social norms; consequently, consumers are motivated to consume ethically when others in their environment do as well. In what follows, I will show how a CMO can leverage positive associations to directly increase the value of a promoted alternative. I will demonstrate how concrete benefits created by the organization's practices translate into motivation for consumers to participate. The consumers come to value the consumption experience and through that appreciation, they come to understand and value the movement's abstract consumption-relevant ideology. This represents a novel process in which the organization's abstract goal of social change emerges as a result of a concrete, valuable consumption experience.

Considering the research questions I address and the framing theory perspective, this study contributes to the literature in four ways. First, the work broadens the spectrum of message

valence tactically utilized by organizations. Because consumer movements challenge existing social states, it seems reasonable that prior work identifies a prevailing tendency toward negative associations as leverage to disrupt marketers and dissuade consumers. The current work questions whether this is a necessary factor for inciting change. Rosa Café demonstrates a strategy reliant on positive associations to alter the meaning and value of the promoted alternative and ultimately influence consumer behavior related to it. I refer to this novel process as *consumption facilitated frame alignment*. The process relies on a unique and appealing consumption experience as both a tool for framing and as a source of value that together change consumers' consciousness. As a result, this work contributes both to the consumer research, and social movement research at large, by characterizing a novel frame alignment strategy. Furthermore, the attention paid to consumers' thought processes addresses a long standing call for more research investigating the transformation processes that attract participants to social movements through a change in beliefs (Ellingson 1995; Johnston 1995; Snow 2004; Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford 1986). This highlights a benefit of framing theory to consumer culture research as well. Existing work tends to analyze examples of ideology and mobilization but not the interpretive processes that lead consumers to these end states.

Second, the work extends the field's investigation of CMO's beyond the typical analysis of discursive components used by the organization to communicate beliefs and objectives. The availability of pamphlets, speeches and online postings makes discursive components an accessible and valuable data source for consumer movement theorists, but the current work extends our thinking to consider other ways in which organizations signify meaning to activists, potential adherents and other parties (i.e. antagonists, media and countermovements). The current work examines the consumption experience as a vehicle for communicating meaning to

consumers. Specifically, I analyze how the physical environment and operating practices facilitate the interpretive process for potential supporters, leading them to an understanding of the organization's beliefs and objectives without formal, explicit communications from leadership. This complements recent work showing that production-engaged practices of movement adherents can reflect and reinforce ideologies (Moreas, Szmigin and Carrigan 2010; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007).

Third, the research addresses questions about factors that motivate alternative consumption. Consumers are effective at rationalizing their unethical consumption choices (Eckhardt et al. 2010) and at resisting persuasive tactics in general (Ahluwalia 2000; Eagley and Chaiken 1995; Petty and Cacioppo 1986), making it difficult for organizations to effect change. An antidote for such thinking might be the presence of additional, concrete value provided by the alternative. The present study provides support for this proposition. I will show that the relationships and learning that form as an ancillary component of Rosa Café translate into greater propensity to support the alternative promoted by the organization. In doing so, the work supports recent arguments for alternative hedonism (Soper 2007) and social norms (Starr 2009) as motivating factors in alternative consumption.

Finally, the research contributes to the growing body of literature developing at the intersection of food and social change (DeSoucey 2010; Johnston 2008; Johnston, Szabo, and Rodney 2011; Rao, Monin, and Durand 2003; Sassatelli and Davolio 2010; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007). The problematization of food represents an interesting challenge because food is both a physiological need and a cultural vehicle. Though the present work is concerned with social change resulting from consumption more generally, Rosa Café's focus on food should not be overlooked. Hence, the present work sheds additional light on how food

influences one's individual and collective identity while also influencing the social structure (DeSoucey 2010; Johnston et al. 2011; Rao et al. 2003).

Before presenting the findings, I present a review of social movement framing theory as it relates to the dynamic strategies used by organizations to motivate potential adherents. I then outline the methodological approach followed by an overview of Rosa Café and its evolution as an organization. Next, I present the analysis and findings. I conclude by discussing potential challenges to the Rosa Café model as well as implications for theory and future research.

FRAMING THEORY

The purpose of social movement organizations (SMO) is to motivate change. Organizations achieve change by fostering support and inspiring action. It was once thought that action emerged from shared grievances with access to resources either constraining or facilitating the action (McCarthy and Zald 1977), but more recent theoretical perspectives assert the critical role of organizations in constructing meaning that motivates action (Benford 1993; Gamson 1988; Snow 2004; Snow et al 1986; Snow and Benford 1988). Because conditions in the environment are subject to differential interpretation, organizations must communicate the injustice and proposed solution, providing relevant parties with a new interpretation of the system and a roadmap for social change. In doing so, organizations convey their perceptions of reality in contrast to those of their adversaries (Lofland 1996). When effective, the organizations' efforts alter the way individuals view the world, thus motivating action. This process of signifying work and meaning construction is referred to as framing and is rooted in the psychological concept of interpretive frames.

Interpretive frames are mental structures that develop from experience and interaction to influence perception and interpretation of subsequent environments (Goffman, 1974). The structures, stored in memory, tie together key aspects of environments and events and serve as interpretive lenses to guide individuals' responses and behaviors as they navigate different contexts. Thus, frames are founded in the symbolic interactionist and constructionist principles that individuals generate meanings not through automatic, static perception but through evolving, interpretive processes. Being socially constructed, frames are embedded within culture. As such, they are subject to transformation as one encounters novel contexts and information sources (Goffman, 1981); furthermore, the appropriate cultural frame is not always immediately apparent. Ambiguous contexts such as these tend to be characteristic of social movements because the interpretation of the environment is unclear and thus debatable (Snow, 2004). Like interpretive frames, collective action frames are created by SMOs to provide meaning to the various elements of a scene, but also to dictate the relationship of the actors, the interpretation of grievances and the mobilization efforts for collective action (Benford 1993; Gamson 1988; Snow 2004; Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988). In this way, collective action frames are "decidedly more agentic and contentious in the sense of calling for action that problematizes and challenges existing authoritative views and framings of reality," (Snow, 2004: 385). The term "framing" denotes the actions and agency involved in generating specific cognitions in the minds of relevant parties and initiating the interactive, interpretive processes that result in collective action frames.

To develop collective action frames, organizations employ strategies to ensure framing that is complementary and congruent with the beliefs and values of potential constituents (Snow et al. 1986). This is referred to as frame alignment. In frame alignment, movement leaders

strategically select activities, goals and ideologies that reflect the interpretive orientation of the organization while also resonating with other movement actors. Consequently, frame alignment operates as a dynamic system of actions and reactions among advocates, bystanders, and opposition within a cultural context, thus inciting negotiation, contestation and transformation on the organizational as well as the individual level. Existing ideologies and symbols both feed and constrain the dynamic process of frame alignment: Activists draw upon the cultural stock of the larger society, piecing together beliefs, values, images and experiences to develop a coherent perspective (Snow 2005; Zald 1996). Frame articulation refers to the process in which these concepts are selectively combined to create an integrated meaning, while frame elaboration refers to the process in which concepts are emphasized, bringing greater attention to certain concepts over others (McAdam 1996; McGeary 1999; Snow 2000; Zuo and Benford 1995). Both processes allow organizations to leverage connections and interactions—both conceptual and personal—to garner support for the desired social change. Though not analyzed in this way, the work by Varman and Belk (2009) suggests a frame alignment strategy in which the activists leverage existing ideological concepts in a way that changes the meaning of Coca-Cola's global reach, thus attempting to change individuals' orientation to the product.

For this paper, two types of frame alignment processes are relevant: frame amplification and frame transformation. Frame amplification involves making the values and beliefs already held by potential adherents more salient, relevant and important in relation to the organization's efforts (Snow et al. 1986). Many times, individuals hold an interpretive frame that echoes the organization's frame; however, the frame may not be particularly prominent given one's personal environment, so organizations must work to clarify, focus and invigorate the frame. In fact, prior work shows that mainstream culture may overpower a particular interpretive frame to

the point of stigmatizing participation in a movement (Berbrier 1998). Frame amplification strategies counteract such pressure, thus increasing individuals' propensity to strive for social change. In comparison, frame transformation entails forming drastic redefinitions in order to secure participation. Organizations bring to the forefront circumstances not previously recognized as problematic and supply information necessary to attribute blame. Throughout this process, they must artfully combine concepts and symbols from extant ideologies and culture to generate novel interpretations of the environment. Emphasizing the challenge an organization faces in converting potential participants, Snow states: "Affecting change in the hearts and minds is, of course, the stuff of the more sweeping kind of frame transformation in that the objects of orientation, to paraphrase Goffman (1974: 43-4), come to be seen by the participants or other relevant parties as something quite different from the way in which they were previously viewed and regarded," (2004: 393). The conversion represents a significant change in consciousness aimed at influencing future cognitions and behavior.

Research investigating frame alignment processes suggests a primary reliance on discursive processes—conversations and written communications—as the carriers of meaning (Benford and Snow 2000; Johnston 1998, 2002; Snow 2004), yet devices other than these verbal messages can effectively convey meaning, thus developing the frame (Clemens 1996; Ellingson 1995; McAdam 1996). Clemens (1996) identifies organizational form as an alternative framing device to oral and written pronouncements. Through a study of American labor movements, Clemens argues that organizational form defines a group's actions and orientation toward challenges, thus representing a type of movement frame that strongly informs collective identity. Similarly, analysis of Martin Luther King's organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, reveals the strategic use of actions to convey meaning. The SCLC organized a

citywide campaign of civil disobedience in a city specifically chosen because of its intense racial friction and a predicted aggressive response (McAdam 1996). As McAdam summarizes it, “...by successfully courting violence while restraining violence in his followers, King and SCLC were able to frame the events in Birmingham as highly dramatic confrontations between a ‘good’ movement and an ‘evil’ system,” (349). The actions and visual depictions became all the more powerful when considered in concert with King’s verbal rhetoric. Accordingly, the meaning constructed by organizations—whether conveyed through verbal or nonverbal framing devices—functions as a critical component in the formation and success of social movements.

In this paper, I investigate how an organization may leverage a unique consumption experience to generate support for a movement. To do this, I examine Rosa Café, an organization attempting to strengthen the local food economy. As in other organizations, the Rosa Café leadership works to align the interpretive frame of potential adherents with that of the organization; and yet, the strategic actions of this organization differ dramatically from those identified in prior research. Due to the unforeseen popularity of the “café” experience, individuals with differing consumption ideologies converge within the constructed environment. It is this environment that permits the organization to amplify the beliefs and values of some participants while transforming the beliefs and values of others. I demonstrate how this frame alignment occurs within the novel environment. In doing so, I argue that the physical space and operating practices offer strategic value beyond what is recognized or intended by the leadership. The constructed consumption environment conveys meaning that transforms mainstream consumers’ orientation toward their community and the consumption opportunities it generates, thus realizing the objectives of the organization. Through this study, I establish a novel mechanism for frame alignment, expanding the field’s characterization of consumer movements

and the strategies employed by them to effect change. Furthermore, I identify tactics organizations may employ to motivate change among mainstream consumers.

METHODOLOGY

This case study investigates Rosa Café, a fundraising effort supported by the consumer movement organization NNA. The case study seeks an understanding of what motivates consumers to participate in the breakfast activities and whether the breakfasts are strategically effective in generating support for the local food movement. Because collective action framing is an interactive, dynamic process that generates both cognitive structures that exist within an individual and socially constructed structures that exist between individuals (Snow and Benford, 2005), researchers can glean the effects of framing activities by analyzing how framing efforts translate in the minds of participants (Johnston 1995, 2002). The present work uses the observational and interview data to demonstrate the signifying work taking place at Rosa Café. As mentioned, Rosa Café has become the primary focus of NNA; hence, analysis focuses on the breakfasts and related events with attention given to the parent organization only to the degree that it serves a purpose in understanding the breakfast activities.

Before starting this research, I placed a high value on food related activities as part of my personal life. I consider cooking to be an important hobby of mine, and I enjoy sharing food with others, both in my daily routine and for special occasions. However, before starting this project, I did not place any importance on the origin of my food. I would stop to buy vegetables from roadside stands, but I did not go to the farmers market except as a tourist, and I did not worry about whether my fruits and vegetables at the grocery store were from Michigan, Argentina, China or elsewhere. I was mainly interested in having access to diverse assortment of

ingredients. I originally attended Rosa Café because I thought the context was interesting, and I wanted to understand more about what was happening within this unusual consumption setting.

Data collection occurred over a one-year period of intensive fieldwork that included participant observation, informal and semi-formal interviewing, archival data from outside and inside the organization, and survey research. After each observation and informal interview, extensive field notes were written to record the precise dialogue, environment, interactions and nonverbal behavior. All data sources were repeatedly reviewed in detail and analyzed using constant comparative techniques (Glaser and Strauss 1967) and frame analysis (Johnston 1995, 2002).

Entrée into Rosa Café was fairly straightforward due to its structure as an entirely volunteer supported organization. Within a day of sending an email, I was added to a listserv, which is sent to all volunteers on a weekly basis as a means of recruiting help. The spreadsheet includes the name of the volunteer chef, sous chef, “prep leader,” expeditor, and host for the week. It also includes the four work shifts required to operate Rosa with open slots for volunteers to type their names and emails as commitments to certain shifts (See Figure 1). There is a sheet for each week projecting approximately three months into the future. Volunteers are allowed to sign up in for future breakfasts, a practice that allowed me to ensure at least one observation opportunity per week and a sampling of all roles and timeslots. I first attended breakfast as a guest, but soon became a participant observer within the organization, helping prepare food during “Thursday Evening Prep” and acting as a server during the breakfast shifts. Additional observation opportunities arose with two hoop house builds. And later, after continued participation, I filled the role of expeditor and worked as head chef on separate occasions. Observation events are summarized in Table 1.

Subsequent to the primary observation period but before acting as expeditor and as chef, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 16 individuals from Rosa. In the current work, all participants have pseudonyms to protect confidentiality. The interviews probed more in depth for personal accounts and perspectives. Interviews averaging 90 minutes were conducted at a location chosen by the participant, which included private homes as well as public buildings. Interviewees were selected to cover a range of ages, occupations, enacted Rosa roles and duration of involvement in the organization (Table 2). Brad, a co-founder, participated in two interviews, one in the aforementioned format and an earlier half-day interview that he termed “action oriented” in which we visited a potential hoop house site and an artisan meat curing shop started by two new local food entrepreneurs.

Field notes, interviews, and survey results were combined with online articles, online interviews and associated websites to provide a comprehensive evaluation of the organization. The archival data were collected from every month that Rosa Café has been in existence. Archival data in concert with interviews provided a detailed depiction of the organization’s evolution. Tacking back and forth between the data and the literature to identify key descriptions and emerging themes, I reviewed the literature and my field notes throughout the research process to constantly update my theory and my approach to conversational and depth interviews. NVivo qualitative software was used to code and analyze the data. I began by coding the organization’s physical characteristics, operating procedures, and publicly stated mission as well as patrons’ and volunteers’ stated reasons for coming and how they heard about the organization. Beyond these basic observations, I coded how individuals perceived the organization, its mission and their own beliefs and behaviors related to the mission. This included abstract and concrete descriptions of Rosa Café and the roles individuals performed within the organization’s

activities. In doing so, I also coded observations and statements referring to social and emotional connection; to purchase practices, food-related learning, and local food activities; and to criticisms, challenges and operational issues. The data provided a comprehensive view of the organization's history, culture, and framing processes from the perspective of leadership, volunteers and patrons across all levels of involvement.

Given the novelty of this consumption context, the next section provides a detailed description of Rosa Café. I then present the findings, which includes a processual account for frame alignment. The findings reveal a CMO's novel strategy to align the beliefs and values of consumers with those of the organization.

OPERATIONS AT ROSA CAFE

Rosa Café operates as a weekly fundraising event to support the local food economy. As described by the Rosa Café website, "Rosa Café is a local foods breakfast salon, offering a gathering place for friends and community to imagine and create a vibrant and sustainable regional food economy." With a different chef volunteering each week, the event serves breakfasts featuring locally sourced ingredients within the private residence of the founders, Brad and Renee. The following section describes the physical setting as well as the operating procedures that support this unusual consumption environment. The context description provides a critical starting point from which to analyze this novel approach for changing consumer behavior.

Physical Context. Rosa Café operates within a 1938 Cape Cod style home in a residential neighborhood developed during the first half of 1900's. One might attribute the collection of cars in the quiet neighborhood to the elementary school at the end of the cul-de-sac, two doors

down were it not for the white tent in the driveway and the people visiting in the front yard. The white tent serves as a distribution point for Brent, a farmer who provides vegetables year-round to members owning shares in his community supported agriculture (CSA) farm. Brent arrives every Friday at 6 am to arrange a folding table with crates of vegetables. CSA members and Rosa guests assemble in the driveway and garden, visiting with Brent and one another. Some are waiting to be seated. Others are concluding conversations begun during breakfast. And some are simply there for a quick hello and their weekly installment of vegetables. Within the home, volunteers are serving breakfasts to a collection of guests.

Passing the tent, one enters Rosa through the side door of the home without stopping to knock. Directly to the left is the basement stairway (See Figure 2 for diagram). From the top of the stairs, one can see a bookshelf filled with canned fruits and vegetables situated at the bottom. Ten steps ahead is a door to the garage. On one side, a window seat lines the wall with coats, purses and backpacks hanging above it. On the other side, much of the same hangs underneath a ledge created by the half wall on the main level, which is two steps above the level of the entrance. Taking the two steps up to the main level, one sees a washer, a dryer, and a small refrigerator nestled into floor-to-ceiling laminate cabinets. Cut out of the cabinetry is a small nook—probably designed for folding laundry—that now functions as counter space for Rosa t-shirts and tote bags and a chalkboard saying, “Welcome to Rosa Café.” At the back of the counter rests a small envelope, holding money from purchased merchandise. The half wall that serves as a coat rack underneath is littered with business cards and publications, advertising local food providers, artisans and activities. In addition, a sign handwritten on cardstock encourages guests to create a nametag. Beside the sign are two rolls of masking tape and Sharpie markers for making nametags. This is the mudroom, converted from the original galley kitchen.

Most notably, the mudroom is covered with used nametags. The original sky blue paint is nearly impossible to see. Every square inch of cabinet is covered with used masking tape. Even the ceiling is adorned with hundreds of names identifying past guests. Upon entering, many guests hunt for their name among the thousands stuck to the wall. Some want the nametag made specifically by them on a previous week while others simply want the correct name. A few frequent attendees have “special places” to put their nametags for reuse week after week. Others create stockpiles by putting their new nametag among those from previous weeks. New guests typically take a moment to contemplate the name hunt and then make a nametag of their own.

The brightly lit mudroom leads into a dimly lit dining room with a wood floor and plum walls. A menu handwritten on butcher paper is posted at the near end. In the middle sits a long Formica tabletop resting atop two conventional dining room tables pushed together. At approximately equal intervals down the center of the table sit three groups of containers, each with jar of real maple syrup, a creamer, a sugar bowl, and salt and pepper shakers. A rainbow of cloth napkins topped with silverware adorns the table. Each setting aligns with one of the mismatched chairs along the edge of the table. There is very little room between the chairs and just enough room between the chairs and the wall to allow guests and servers to walk passed. In total, there are 20 seats around the giant table. This room is typically left empty in the first hour while seating in the kitchen is still available.

To the left of the dining room is the living room. This space might be best characterized by a guest who said upon entering, “Oh my gosh. I want to come here on Sunday and play scrabble in my pajamas.” A rug covers most of the wood floor and the walls are golden except at the far end where a cherry, wood-paneled fireplace is framed by inset bookshelves. This cozy space houses an oversized loveseat and wicker armchair along the front wall of the house and a

couch and an elliptical coffee table facing them from the inner wall. The wall opposite the fireplace has floor-to-ceiling cherry cabinets, including the “Rosa Cabinet” used exclusively for mugs, plates, creamers and other china needed to support Rosa breakfasts. A small circular folding table holds coffee carafes, sugar, cream and mugs for guests to enjoy while visiting. Though guests are welcome to wait in the mudroom and outside, they are encouraged to relax in the living room both before and after their breakfast. Any given morning, this room will have guests sitting in the chairs, relaxing on the rug and standing in the open space.

On the other side of the dining room is the kitchen. Arguably, the “heart” of Rosa, the kitchen supports the food preparation and primary seating. Built in 2000 by Renee and Brad as an addition to the house, the 600 square foot kitchen with Mexican tile flooring and tall windows is split off-center by a partial wall located just left of the kitchen entrance. The larger space includes a 10 foot x 7 foot island located right of center with a wood top and barstools lining the left side and far side. The near side of the island has workspace and a four-burner gas range. The right side offers more workspace and a sink. The wall adjacent to the mudroom has dark granite countertops with cherry cabinets, a second four-burner gas range and a double oven set within cabinets. And the far right wall supports additional cabinets, a second sink, two wood-paneled dishwashers and a wood-paneled refrigerator. On the refrigerator is another sheet of butcher paper with a handwritten menu. Just beyond the island, lining the partial wall and the far outer wall of windows, is an L-shaped couch that seats five people comfortably. On Fridays during Rosa, a 3-top circular table is placed in the back right corner, and a 4-top square table is assembled at a break occurring halfway down the length of the partial wall. A service station is arranged atop the partial wall with cloth napkins and silverware in baskets, and glasses, mugs, and beverages alongside them. Beyond the wall are shelves with bulk ingredients and additional

cookware, and beyond that is the outer wall with the tall windows revealing an outdoor patio and garden. In the summer, three outdoor tables provide additional seating. A round, wooden six-top and a round, wrought iron six-top are located on the left patio and the back patio, respectively, and a conventional rectangular picnic table seats eight in the middle of the backyard.

Breakfast preparation. Every Friday—except two weeks for winter holiday and three weeks in August—Rosa Café fills with volunteers and guests attending breakfast from 6:30am to 10:00am. Each week, the breakfast-making process commences the night before during “Thursday Evening Prep,” which takes place within the home from 6:00 to 9:00pm. Between 6 and 15 volunteers participate, taking instruction from a prep leader, the volunteer chef, and at times, Renee. Within the Rosa organization, there are two prep leaders that alternate weeks. These two women hold the primary responsibility for managing the preparation process. They mediate the relationship between the chefs and volunteers to make sure the food is ready, the house is clean, and the systems organized for guests’ arrival the following morning. To do this, the prep leader circulates around the kitchen assigning tasks, teaching food preparation and safety skills, and managing the pace of the work, including a break for dinner. To help the leaders and the volunteers, there are laminated sheets with instructions and photos to guide recurring tasks such as arranging breakfast stations in the kitchen and living room and making bread pudding, a standard at every breakfast.

The night begins with volunteers around the dining room table visiting while folding a heaping pile of cloth napkins. This visiting persists throughout the evening as volunteers share information about food, their lives, their connection to the Rosa effort and many other topics. After folding napkins, volunteers move to the kitchen to complete tasks determined by the chef.

Usually, each volunteer is assigned an initial, primary task such as making the bread pudding or helping to peel 25 pounds of carrots needed for the next day. Once finished, the volunteer is given another task—for example chopping and seasoning the carrots—until all of the chef’s tasks are completed.

The preparation effort breaks midway for a potluck dinner composed of items brought by the volunteers as well as a couple additional items from the house. Nearly every night, Renee pauses dinner to allow time for giving thanks. In a secular impromptu statement Renee asks that “we give thanks for the beautiful bounty before us” and for the help of the volunteers and the chef. An attention to “thank you” is noticeable when one interacts with Renee and the prep leaders throughout the evening. When dinner is finished, everyone clears the table and returns to the kitchen to finish the final tasks and clean for the morning breakfast. At the end of the evening, the prep leader creates a list of each prepared item and where it has been stored (e.g. garage, basement refrigerator, etc). The next morning, the chef uses the list to direct volunteers arriving for the 6:00am shift.

Breakfast. Much like Thursday Evening Prep, breakfast is a cooperative effort. From 6:00 to 6:30 am, volunteers visit while compiling breakfast components, brewing carafes of coffee, making waffle batter, and filling creamers. Ideally, there are enough volunteers to have four servers, two dishwashers, a coffee “runner,” and a sous chef that is responsible for the waffles, bread pudding and granola, which are referred to as the house specials. The volunteering chef tends to bring a sous chef to help with food preparation and plating of the weekly special. In addition, there is a host and an expeditor, which are typically more experienced volunteers that have a strong understanding of Rosa practices. Though this is the ideal assemblage of volunteer

roles, days with low volunteer attendance do occur in which case the criticality of food preparation means service and dishwashing roles are the first to be sacrificed.

Once roles have been assigned, the chef describes the menu to the servers to ensure all servers understand the weekly special and can describe it to the guests. The chef also explains how he or she wants the orders to be recorded on the slips. Finally, the expeditor, an experienced server, or Renee reminds servers of the rules for serving (see Table 3).

Guests begin arriving intermittently by 6:30 am with a continuous flow developing by approximately 7:30am. Usually by 8:00 am, there is a 20 minute wait, and by 9:00am, there is at least a 20 min wait for any party larger than 1. The host manages guest seating. The tables are filled by combining parties. That is, a six-person table may be composed of multiple parties, and the parties need not be seated simultaneously. For example, a party of two may join a party of three and a single patron may be added at anytime to fill the table. As a result, the host must pay close attention to the pace at which individuals are eating and the ways in which groups can be pieced together to fill the available seats. More often than not, the host is the first person to interact with guests, so the host frequently explains to new guests how and why Rosa exists. Servers then work together to ensure that guests are greeted and served promptly. The expeditor mediates the relationship between the chef and the servers. The expeditor receives small, paper order slips from the servers and then relays the orders to the chef (see Figure 3 for order slips). The expeditor finishes each order with accompaniments like bacon, salad greens, and dressing, and then calls servers' names when orders are complete. Unlike conventional restaurants, the serving areas are not split by strict demarcations to indicate regions for each server to manage. In addition, servers do not necessarily clean only their guests' areas. Instead, the clearing and setting of tables is a cooperative effort. Even the host, dishwashers and coffee runner clear

tables. When needed, Brad and Renee help the volunteers while also visiting with guests throughout the morning. Occasionally Brad and Renee invite local business owners to set up tables in the living room and driveway (weather permitting) to build awareness for their products and services such as gardening equipment, homemade sweets and massages.

When breakfast finishes at 10:00am, the “clean up shift” begins and lasts until at least noon. A clean up leader acts similarly to the evening prep leader by matching volunteers to tasks. More senior volunteers instruct junior volunteers as well. Cleaning tasks vary greatly and include storing leftovers, emptying compost, mopping floors, wiping cabinets, among other tasks. Volunteers shift back and forth from the undesirable to more desirable jobs while visiting with one another and at times even singing and dancing to music. In addition to their cleaning tasks, one or two volunteers count the donation money and record the number and type of breakfasts ordered. They then compute the average donation per customer to see how that figure compares to organization’s target of twelve dollars. Consistent with their spirit of full transparency, Rosa leadership then posts the weekly revenue and expenses on their website for public viewing. Because of the entirely volunteer workforce, which receives breakfast as thanks for participation, approximately two-thirds of the donation money becomes funding for loans to diversified vegetable farmers and small-scale livestock farmers. This proportion fluctuates depending on the cost of the ingredients chosen for each breakfast, but that process also injects funding into the local food system since nearly all ingredients are locally sourced.

Loan administration. Originally, Rosa administered and backed loans independently, identifying farmers that needed to make capital investments but could not secure the funds through conventional sources. Eventually, the organization developed a partnership with a local bank to administer loans through Certificates of Deposit. The process works as follows. A

farmer requests a loan from Rosa Café leadership. Their request is processed through the bank. Rosa backs a portion of the loan and private investors, recruited from the Rosa community and from the farmer's personal relationships, back the other portion. The CD money secures the loan proceed money that the bank lends to the farmer. This new system of dividing the loan between Rosa and additional investors is referred to as the Farmer Fund and allows Rosa to share the risk—and reward—with private investors while also increasing the overall size of loans available to farmers.

In the beginning, nearly all Rosa Café loans were given for the purchase and installation of hoop houses. A hoop house is a large structure constructed from a metal skeleton with treated plastic pulled tightly across the frame. The structure, which holds in heat like a greenhouse, allows farmers to farm year-round in otherwise inclement conditions. Unlike a greenhouse, a hoop house can be designed for mobility and is considerably less expensive. When a farmer acquired a Rosa Café hoop house loan, the organization would also recruit volunteers to help build the structure. Brad equates this effort to a “modern day barn raising.” This will be addressed in more detail later in the paper. Of late, the organization has expanded its loan program to include applications for more varied purposes, including land acquisition, equipment or other operational needs.

So each Friday the process repeats, generating food and conversation for participants and money for the coffers. On Thursday night volunteers prepare the meal alongside the week's chef, and on Friday morning, approximately 200 people come to share that meal within the home. The local food economy benefits in the form of ingredient purchases and loans to farmers in the local area. The purpose of the current research, however, is to understand how and why this model supports the organization's objectives. That is, the research attempts to understand whether or

not Rosa Café shifts consumers' orientation toward local food. As a fundraising effort, they are succeeding. Each week, they continue to attract guests who offer donations in exchange for a novel, social breakfast experience. But do Rosa Café activities influence mainstream consumers' beliefs and behavior? And if so, how does this occur? Analysis of the organization's evolution provides initial insight to answer these questions. The organization evolved from a network of likeminded individuals passionate about the local food economy to a more inclusive atmosphere with people of varying beliefs. The following section describes this evolution, thus providing a foundation to understand the current model and its effect on consumers' interpretation of local food.

PARALLEL PATHWAYS TO DEMAND GENERATION

Rosa Café began as a collection of friends gathering together to celebrate a birthday on Friday morning in the founders' private residence. Only five days earlier, amidst the activities of an inaugural local foods conference, Brad and Renee hosted an event to honor a filmmaker and food activist attending the conference. One hundred and sixty guests paid \$10 to have a local foods breakfast in Brad and Renee's home. With Brad's 50th birthday the following Friday, he decided to repeat the event with a smaller group of friends, celebrating with, "...like eggs and bacon. Nothing fancy." It was during this birthday breakfast the concept of Rosa Café began to take shape. Most of the 35 guests at the birthday had also attended the fundraising event earlier in the week, and during the birthday celebration Brad suggested continuing the breakfasts as a way to feature local ingredients while also raising money for the local food economy. The concept was not well-formed in the beginning, but the house was available; individuals—

including professional chefs—were willing to help; and the motivation was highly salient given the recent local food conference. So the following Friday a small group shared another breakfast to discuss the details. Brad recalls, “It just seemed too audacious to imagine that it could really be. And we had to decide how public we wanted it to be...[but] it really took off.”

Though the plans for weekly breakfasts developed impromptu, Brad, a property manager and private contractor, and Renee, a social worker, had slowly become more involved in the local food movement. Food always played a central role in Brad and Renee’s lives. Brad grew up “with raspberry patches, rose gardens, wild mushrooms, rhododendrons and his father’s foot-deep garden beds of heavily composted soil,” and Renee grew up eating dinner with her family “every single night” as “family time.” The couple carried these practices into their marriage, creating a home and lifestyle that reflected the importance of food in their personal life. For example, according to Renee, the kitchen that now draws such attention at Friday breakfast was built to accommodate the way they chose to live:

...we wanted a big space that we could hang out in and that we could cook a lot of food in and that maybe we would have cooking classes or maybe we would have events. We didn't know what... and for a while we had parties where we would have you know a dozen people over and say, ‘Ok, we're going to cook Sri Lanken food. Everybody bring ingredients for a dish and then we'll cook it all together and then sit and eat together.’

More recently, personal experiences and exposure to new information made the economic and environmental importance of “local” food more salient and relevant in their existing lifestyle.

Brad and Renee moved into their current house “partly because there was a big area behind the house for gardening...over by the church. Many of the neighbors were all gardening out there, so it was like a community space.” But the church decided to remodel and the contractors and zoning requirements made it problematic for the garden. Brad recalls that there were ways of working around the garden, but “it would have cost more et cetera, so they just did what was

easiest, which meant we lost our space. It was really upsetting to a lot of people because that was an important part for us. [pause] That's not the only reason, but it's a big one." During this time, Brad was also seeking a vocation change:

With all the different interests I have as a builder, designer, engineer, I think I was always trying to think of a way to bring those things together...It's a lot of problem solving and you know, fixing things, innovating things, designing things, but I think the food system piece is the thing that's brought it together for me.

For Renee, reading Michael Pollan (2006) book about U.S. food practices made a lasting impression:

I felt like he was putting into words a lot of things I felt, but I didn't really know how to talk about. And we had always gardened and food, had always been a really big part of my life, you know, cooking and having dinner parties. And making food for people was always a big part of how I showed appreciation and love to family and friends... And so there was some combination of getting turned onto the importance of local food in our community and healthy food with doing something for the community that created the impetus for some one-off fundraisers that eventually led to Rosa Cafe.

Importantly, through these recollections, Brad and Renee reveal food as an important vehicle for emotional health and personal connections; even more so they demonstrate a perceived link between the notions of appreciation and community and the emergence of Rosa Café.

With their revised perspectives on food, Brad and Renee began participating in forums, advocating greater investment in the local food economy. In 2007, they formalized their involvement in the local food movement by creating NNA, and in the summer of 2008, Brad also established ROSA, a neighborhood affiliation that supported "resource sharing" among neighbors and named as an acronym representing the streets that encircle the 20-acre area surrounding Brad and Renee's home. Brad created a website, a book share, a tool share and "neighborhood commerce" in which he contributed by baking bread, making fresh cheese, and curing meats. He envisioned collectively purchasing empty lots for a facility, a daycare or

gardens to create their “own Ark.” The ROSA venture closely coincided with their beginning efforts at fundraising. In December 2008, fourteen months before the conference and the breakfast fundraiser, the couple hosted an NNA dinner in their home to support a nonprofit organization focused on community enrichment through healthy eating and urban agriculture. Twenty-five people attended at a cost of \$125 per ticket. Though the dinner had been a successful fundraiser, the \$125 ticket price troubled Renee who considered the event cost-prohibitive for most people. This constellation of factors—the local food movement, the fundraising dinner, the ROSA venture, and Brad’s desired vocational change—culminated on the formation of Friday morning breakfasts to raise money for local farmers. The breakfasts offered an opportunity to generate revenue but at a much lower price per person.

When Rosa first opened its doors, Brad and Renee sought to build a stronger voice and revenue source for the local food economy. In line with this, much of the constituency was already active at least tangentially in the mission. That is, the breakfasts were construed as a place for likeminded individuals to gather, to celebrate local foods and to discuss efforts to increase local food production and consumption. So originally, the couple anticipated a cause-effect model in which the breakfasts would raise revenue for loans to farmers, thus increasing the number and strength of local farms in the surrounding region. This would lead to increased production, which would ultimately drive the price of local foods down, motivating the general public to adopt the consumption practice. This expected cause-effect relationship is shown in the top panel of Figure 4.

In the expected model, leverage would come in the form of support from the local food contingency. These individuals would attend breakfasts thus raising money for loans through donations and increasing revenue through ingredient purchases. From the perspective of the

local food economy, this would be considered internal revenue margin because the pre-existing consumer base would create additional revenue through increased consumption of local foods. This is illustrated in the bottom panel of Figure 5. The loans would lower the entry and expansion cost for farmers, thus building the local food economy and ultimately lowering the cost of food for the conventional consumers.

Alternatively, revenue could enter the local food economy as external margin, that is, increasing revenue through conversion of conventional consumers. In the intended Rosa Café model, the external margin was expected after the internal support strengthened the local food economy. In theory, this manner of increasing the external margin requires a longer time horizon because local alternatives would enter the conventional consumer's consideration set only after farmers reached economies of scale and consequently lowered prices. Most important, this behavior change would be expected to occur outside of the breakfast environment. Rosa Café would have an essential role in the process, but only indirectly through efforts that would *eventually* lead to lower food prices: the breakfast events would *not* be responsible for mediating the individual-level changes in behavior.

But the success of Rosa Café did not proceed as expected. The breakfasts were surprisingly popular, attracting guests with varying food-related ideologies. And attendance increased dramatically. By year one, Rosa Café regularly served more than 100 people each week and during year two, attendance reached 200 guests all within the same setting and hours of operation. The characteristic common across attendees was an interest in food, but not necessarily local food.

As more consumers of conventional foods attend the breakfast, the density of local food supporters drops. This has some original adherents concerned. They claim the message is being

lost. When voicing his concern about the perceived lack of food conversations taking place, one adherent frequently describes Rosa as evolving toward a “coffee klatsch.” On the surface, these concerns seem reasonable because Rosa breakfasts are not consumer movement meetings per se, so there is no formal proselytizing from leadership nor are there explicit organization of mobilization efforts. And yet, the present research suggests that these concerns are misplaced. The view from extreme adherents underestimates the effectiveness of the organization in mediating an ideological shift.

The present analysis identifies a second pathway to behavior change, one that exists within the breakfast environment. The breakfasts—originally intended to generate loans by engaging local food supporters—now function as worthwhile opportunities to transform the valuation of local food for conventional consumers. This transformation functions to generate demand for the local food economy, but it does so through a process unforeseen at the origin of Rosa Café: This unintended pathway operates in parallel with the intended pathway. This is shown in the top panel of Figure 6. As the breakfasts have increased in popularity, the density of local food supporters has decreased, and the variance in food-related ideologies has grown. So while Rosa Café has been consistent in its primary objectives to raise revenue and to change consumer behavior, the manner by which these two objectives are achieved has evolved over the life of Rosa Café. The unexpected constituency represents a new source of growth in the local food economy. This is illustrated in the bottom panel of Figure 6.

These parallel paths operate to make Rosa Café into a powerful force for behavior change—though, interestingly, this strategic mechanism was not entirely intentional. The first pathway developed with the emergence of the organization. However, as will be discussed later, the organizational frame conflicted with cultural frames thus prompting contestation, negotiation

and adaptation. But a framing that emphasized community resonated with conventional consumers, thus influencing the emergence of the second pathway. This second pathway is the primary focus of this paper as it explains how a new orientation toward local food consumption develops. Ultimately, I attribute the effectiveness of this mechanism to the novel consumption experience created at Rosa Café. This experience effects frame alignment in three ways: first, it challenges existing interpretive frames; second, it communicates the collective action frame; and finally, it provides essential value by linking the appealing experience to the meaning of the promoted alternative. Accordingly, the first pathway—the pathway initially intended by the organization—requires a revenue stream from the breakfast to influence consumers *external to the breakfast*, but the second pathway—a pathway that has emerged—requires food-mediated, valuable experiences *facilitated by the breakfasts*.

I open the analysis of this novel frame alignment strategy with a brief description of Rosa Café's tumultuous beginnings. This is an important discussion because it foreshadows themes that are critical to the theoretical argument and also provides more details about the emergence of the parallel pathways. After this brief discussion, I deconstruct the second pathway, providing a theoretical argument for how the breakfast experience inspires a change in consumers' orientation toward local food. In short, I propose that frame alignment occurs as individuals navigate the unfamiliar context. In the search for meaning, the context provides cues that reflect Brad and Renee's orientation toward local food, thus guests are exposed to the collective action frame. This process coincides with an integration into the consumption community, so the organization gains support for the movement by leveraging the positive associations linked to the promoted frame. I refer to this strategic micromobilization process as *consumption facilitated frame alignment (CFFA)*.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE SECOND PATHWAY

In this section I briefly return to Rosa Café's history. Through this history, we see critical framing efforts in nascent form. This illuminates important factors that operate in the novel framing strategy that set Rosa Café apart from other organizations. The contentious beginnings suggest a CMO strategy similar to those dominating the literature, but what emerged is something very different.

Presently Rosa Café represents an organization with an advisory board and an official affiliation with a 501c3, but when it started, it was a Brad and Renee opening their home in an effort to support a mission that was important to them. The breakfasts—conceptualized as an efficient way to engage supporters of local food—complemented the couple's objectives of changing consumer behavior in the local region. The breakfast of 35 guests grew as friends invited friends and word of the breakfasts began to spread. Eventually, the breakfast attracted attention from a parent from the elementary school two doors down who filed a complaint against Brad and Renee. To Renee, “the complaint was so capricious in ways that it was almost funny.” It cited the couple for having chickens, installing a fence (a fabric fence around the chickens), running an animal show, and most importantly, for operating a food establishment from a private residence all without the appropriate permits. When describing the circumstances, Renee quickly points out that the chickens existed before permits were necessary and they had been moved to the front as a “wonderful teachable moment” for elementary school children walking to school. Those issues were quickly resolved. The argument concerning the breakfasts was, however, more difficult to manage.

The health department pursued the food establishment complaint and began to contest the unusual operation. At first, Brad attempted to “skirt around the discussion by giving [the county] all these reasons why it was fine,” but the county did not waiver. According to Tripp, guests were well aware the breakfast “road the line between legal and illegal,” but they continued to meet. They felt they should be allowed to collect in a private home to share ideas and breakfast with one another. But the county believed they were running a restaurant and thus needed to abide by health and zoning codes. Brad and Renee did not agree. They likened their activities to a book club or lemonade stand, and viewed the breakfasts as a novel way to raise money for the local food economy. However, their interpretation did not align with the interpretations held by some neighbors and county officials.

Renee and an “attorney friend” initially debated with the county. The two argued that Rosa Cafe was in fact not a food service establishment as alleged by the health department. To convince the county, changes were made that included ending the practice of referring to volunteers as “guest chef” and “servers,” removing the sign, and changing the name: Rosa Café became Friday Mornings @Rosa. But the county continued to challenge the organization, repeatedly stating that Rosa Café was “marketing to the general public.” The unrelenting pressure motivated Renee to write a letter attempting to clarify the difference between a restaurant and Rosa Café. In the letter she wrote:

There is a distinct difference in definition between *general public* and *community*. The definition of community, in terms of our activities, is a group made up of our family and friends, and their family and friends, who are interested and involved in creating sustainable farming and gardening practices that support local, healthy food while educating and encouraging long term positive changes to how we grow, prepare and eat food. This community comes together in the confines of a private party within our home. [original emphasis]

In support of her claim, Renee welcomed guests by requesting their friendship. And though Renee now states “...it was obvious [the county] wanted us to be successful. And they didn’t want to have to shut us down,” Renee’s recollection of the debate demonstrates a more contentious relationship with the county as well as her agency in constructing the Rosa experience:

[The county was] saying “Well, anyone can show up.” And I said, “No, they can’t. We decide who can come in and who can’t. And they have to be friends or friends of friends.” And so, I mean it was a little disingenuous [*sic*], but someone would come in and I would say, “Look. We’re not a food establishment, which means we need to be friends. Do you want to be friends with me?” And they would go [look of confusion], and I would be like, “You wanna be friends?” nodding my head, and they’d go, “Sure.” And I’d say, “Great. Come in and have breakfast.” And when we sat at the table with the legal counsel, their argument was that that was disingenuous and that anyone could come, and I said to the legal counsel, “No, that’s not true. You’re not invited. You can’t come. You’re not friends with us.”

Renee’s argument and organizational modifications did not convince the county, but eventually the county agreed to permit the breakfasts if NNA officially registered as a tax-exempt nonprofit organization (501(c)(3)) or partnered with one. To comply, Brad and Renee established a relationship with Slow Food [regional name] in which the organization would act as the fiscal sponsor². Given the compliance with the county’s requests, Renee no longer feels compelled to recite the friend routine at the front door, yet the organization welcomes new guests and volunteers each week.

² The relationship was arranged with a memorandum of understanding, stating that NNA was a wholly owned entity of the fiscal sponsor, would pay a yearly fee for administration such as insurance policies and accounting services, but would continue to operate autonomously. In addition, the memorandum included a separation clause, allowing the organization to leave the relationship and retain all assets (i.e. money, brand, etc). After approximately one year, the organization switched fiscal sponsors, and is currently in a third stage, establishing itself as an independent 501(c)(3), which will be called Rosa Café—a decision that in and of itself reflects the impact the breakfasts have had on the organization’s evolution.

Brad and Renee’s usual accounts depict the evolution of a friendly, community breakfast involving a minor conflict with officials, but accounts by early Rosa participants clearly reveal a fierier dispute, more contentious objectives, and aggravation felt by participants. The following discussion with Bonnie, a dedicated volunteer and ardent supporter of local food, reveals many important themes regarding the group’s original intentions and its evolution:

Bonnie: [The founders] really came together, you know in what I would consider to be my idea of the pirate ship... We were very adamant about what it is that we were trying to do, which was upturn the system. At the very beginning, that was—it wasn’t the cute chicken with the eggs. (laughs)

MW: On the website? Yeah, the logo?

Bonnie: Right. It was, “We’re not going to take it anymore. Really.”... When the county came and said that they wanted to close Rosa down, and you know, our response was to that, I mean as a group—Renee did an exceptional job of moderating the response (laughs)—because it was really, “Who in the hell do you think you are?” If this were anything else, if this were, you know, a weekly glitterati fundraiser that you know some wealthy person was having in their home, I don’t think it would be a problem if they did it every single week, as long as it was for an accepted cause that fit in your pattern. Those were the conversations we were having. That’s where we were, you know?

In only these few statements, Bonnie introduces many themes critical to the theoretical argument at hand. First, Bonnie uses the current Rosa Café logo—“the cute chicken with the eggs”—to contrast the present representation with the original, more radical sentiments of the group. As we will see, this reflects the emphasis on positive associations that resonate with the target population. As she continues, Bonnie highlights the challenge that Rosa Café poses to the current social structure. The model—paid breakfast within a private home—does not fit existing interpretive frames for the social structure in which it exists. The opposition interpreted the operation as a restaurant. Brad and Renee claimed otherwise. Thus, the breakfasts generated

confusion. I argue that such confusion continues to play a crucial role in the frame alignment process. Bonnie also recognizes the role Renee played in framing the debate, heralding “community” as an emphasis in order to support the claim that they were not running a restaurant. Though the community framing did not function as a satisfactory defense for the county’s concerns, the effort represents a critical juncture in the organization’s evolution and a critical component in the frame alignment process now occurring at Rosa Cafe.

As Bonnie continues to explain the situation with the health department, her rhetoric suggests a more amenable situation, and yet she still concludes by reiterating the sentiment of the initial events:

Bonnie: I mean, you know, not that they were demonizing or out to get it. It’s just that it philosophically—it’s just a lack of understanding. That is what it was, lack of understanding and lack of information. You know, about this is who we are. This is what we do. This is why it’s important to the county as a whole economically. It makes a big difference...our joke slogan at the time was “Rosa Café is where chaos and order meet for breakfast.” (laughs) Cause it was wild...

In summary, the discourse that developed in response to the opposition—and opposition not related to their cause (i.e. not adversaries like chain grocers or big box stores), but to their manner of operating—forced a response that defined the collective action frame and set the stage for the second pathway. Originally, the organization expected to attract likeminded individuals striving for greater investment in the local food economy. Renee alludes to this when she explains in the letter to the county that the organization is “specifically inviting those who are interested in [Rosa’s] mission and goals and who want to join in the adventure this community supports.” Instead, the appealing consumption experience offered by Rosa Café attracts a much broader population with varying food-related ideologies. And though this history may imply

verbal framing devices in the form of complaint and rebuttal letters, the real meaning constructed by the organization comes from the practices and interactions demonstrated by the Rosa Café community. The vibrant and unusual, weekly fundraising breakfast functions to amplify and transform beliefs and values through a process that provides value beyond the food on the plate. In the next section, I discuss how the organization leverages this opportunity to change consumers' orientation toward local food through a novel frame alignment strategy.

CONSUMPTION FACILITATED FRAME ALIGNMENT

The qualitative data obtained through observation of Rosa Café indicate that the organization amplifies and transforms the beliefs of consumers by creating a consumption experience that offers value to consumers while simultaneously detaching them from their preexisting expectations about consumption. In this section, I provide a theoretical argument for this strategic process, using observed practices, participant dialogue, and interview responses as empirical support.

Before explaining the frame alignment process, an explanation of Brad and Renee's orientation toward local food is needed to understand how an orientation becomes internalized through the CFFA process. The Rosa Café breakfast started simply with Brad and Renee opening their home in an effort to strengthen the local food economy. The couple believes the local food economy will thrive when mainstream consumers come to recognize food and community as inextricably linked to one another. They believe the local region should provide much more of the area's food needs. And yet, they recognize this is not the perspective of mainstream consumers who they believe are supporting a system that "subsidizes bad food" and

ships food from thousands of miles away. Renee describes this food system challenge as a problem of seduction:

You know, the fact is in our country we've been seduced to believe that food should be cheap, that you can go to [the conventional grocery] and you can buy chicken drumsticks for 20 cents a pound. Well, that happens because of factory farming and unbelievably horrific conditions for animals and the people who work there. And the idea of paying what food is really worth is very different for us in our culture, and I don't know the answer to it. I know that we have a really skewed idea of what food is worth, and you think about government subsidies for corn and soybeans and high fructose corn syrup and commodity farming and we need to be able to feed the world. And these are issues that I don't know anything about. I don't know that stuff... I do know that the more food we can grow in our area, and the more we can have produce year-round through the hoop houses, the less money we have to spend to truck food from around the world, the smaller our carbon footprint is, the more available—instead of bringing in greens from California, we can have them local. It's safer and we know where our food is coming from, and it will begin to be less expensive... You know, there's people who are socially, economically disadvantaged who need serious help in getting good food. That's a whole 'nother matter than people who are in the middle class who just don't want to spend time cooking and would rather pop something in the microwave cause nobody sits down and has dinner together anyway...

Renee's statement reflects the intricacy of the system as well as and her aggravation with the current state. In doing so, she challenges mainstream consumers to think about "what food is really worth." Interestingly, she eventually veers away from her economic line of reasoning and ends with an image of "dinner together," reflecting her emphasis on the personal intimacy that can come from food. Presenting similar sentiments but in a very different form, Brad also gives emphasis to personal connections but does so by bringing the discussion of the system from a macro level to a "community" level. Not only does he give his perception of the challenges, but he also prescribes a solution:

People don't get the relocalization [*sic*] of the economy. They don't understand the opportunity cost of what they're doing. There should be a recirculation of the money in the community. I mean, if I buy kimchi from some guy down the street and he buys his cabbage from a local farmer and that farmer uses – I don't know – an accountant... The point being that if everyone thought about this recirculation, they'd see that it would be

better off if we were all buying things from our neighbors and keeping that investment in our community. There needs to be a mind shift.

In both arguments we see a call for a fundamental change in the way consumers view food and its place in society. Brad and Renee want mainstream consumers to see local food as a vehicle for a healthier community. The couple envisions economic and emotional prosperity that will develop when consumers understand that valuing local food is part and parcel with valuing one's neighbor. And though they did not originally envision Rosa Café as the environment in which this "mind shift" would occur, the data reveal that the Rosa Café consumption experience conveys Brad and Renee's orientation toward local food. This orientation is clearly reflected in Renee's pronouncement that the food event occurring in their home represented a "community" celebrating local food. She used this term as justification for continuing the event, but in reality, the pronouncement reflects the prominence this concept has within her and Brad's orientation toward local food. This concept and related beliefs permeate the environment in the form of practices, adding meaningful structure to consumption experience (Bourdieu 1984; Holt 1998; Sandikci and Ger 2010). When individuals attend Rosa Café, they see the world through a frame Brad and Renee endorse. Thus, the experience acts as a strategic device for frame articulation and elaboration needed to stimulate frame alignment (Snow et al. 1986).

How an organization articulates and elaborates a frame plays a key role in the frame alignment process. Piecing together beliefs, values, and imagery from the larger cultural repertoire enables the selective combination of themes that adequately represents the organization's purpose and resonates with the audience. Beyond the specific content, the organization must also attend to what themes deserve emphasis over others. Most commonly, this is expressed through verbal forms of communication (Benford and Snow 2000; Johnston 1995, 2002; Snow 2004). Giving speeches and creating formal documents allows careful and

efficient dissemination of the intended frame for others to digest and debate. Notably, this allows the organization to construct the exact message it wants to communicate with the hope that it resonates with audience members. Rosa Cafe achieves a similar objective, but does so through vastly different means. Instead of formal pronouncements, Rosa Café connects the concepts of local food and community by making breakfast. The data suggest three characteristics of the Rosa Café breakfast experience that make CFFA possible. First, independent of any social change agenda, the experience appeals to a broad audience. Second, the experience challenges existing frames, motivating a search for meaning within the context. And third, the experience integrates new participants into a meaningful community experience in ways that promote learning and provide social value. Ultimately, frame alignment occurs as consumers internalize the meaning of the movement through their involvement in the experience and their integration into the community. Evidence for this process is described next in detail.

Offering Appeal Independent of Movement's Objective

As a consumer movement organization, one might reasonably assume the Rosa Cafe breakfast attracts fervent local food supporters eager to provide revenue for ingredient suppliers and support loans to farmers. That is, given Rosa breakfasts are mission-driven, one might expect participants to come with the local food mission in the forefront of their minds. Tripp, a longtime participant and leader of hoop house builds found an immediate connection between his own life choices and the purpose of Rosa Café:

I hung out with a group of about ten people who tried to produce as much as we could at home, so that included everything we could--we had the "We Can Do It" list, so we had everything that we thought we could produce at home: soap, candles, beer, wine, meat, catsup, pickles—anything pickled, lots of stuff that's fermented besides beer, including bread, kimchee, etc. And so, you know, that was just something that we had done in our personal lives, and so when Selma came along that fit kind of the general mission.

Roger, a retired physical therapist, also feels motivated by the mission. As part of a friendly but passionate monologue about food miles, foreign oil and the absurdity of shipping apples to a state that already produces them, Roger says, “I needed something to pull myself out of isolation—put my energy into something I care about.” Many outsiders attribute the popularity to some unique population of individuals like Tripp and Roger, referring to Rosa Cafe as “granola” or “hippie,” but the data suggest otherwise. Theresa, a librarian who regularly attends with her high school aged son, illustrates the differing views on Rosa Cafe when she describes her older son’s impression juxtapose that of her mother’s impression. First referring to her older son, whom she adds is an accountant and “our Alex Keaton,” she says:

...sometimes he’d be [in town] on Fridays and we’d be like, “Come to Rosa with us.” (She lowers her voice to mimic her son.) “That’s stupid. That’s just a bunch of hippies over there.” So we said, “Ok. Your loss.” I’ve taken my mother, a little old lady from Cleveland who totally thought she’d died and went to heaven—to meet all these people, and “this is so cool,” and she made friends with everyone.

A wide array of people find this experience exhilarating, but for various reasons. Unlike Tripp and Roger, many participants do not discuss so specifically the efforts of the local food movement. In fact the data indicate that some individuals do not know—or care—that there is a higher meaning than simply a breakfast in a home. This difference in participants highlights the first dimension of differentiation among guests: pre-existing orientation toward local food.

While some participants represent adherents to the movement others represent non-adherents.

The other two critical draws to Rosa Café—food and social interaction—relate more specifically to the consumption experience. A quote from Ruth inadvertently identifies these reasons while describing the unusual context:

[Rosa Café] would be on the edge of—you know, that people would, for the sake of the experience and the quality of the food and the commitment to a particular way of eating, stand around in a couple crowded rooms for however long to get a seat at a long noisy

table with a bunch of other people. I've lived a lot of places. That's not what people are usually looking for on a Friday morning.

The “quality of the food” and the “noisy table with a bunch of other people” act as surface level characteristics that generate interest in the consumption experience, thereby generating an audience of potential movement adherents.

Rosa Café offers inventive, flavorful breakfast options made from quality ingredients. Because Rosa requires that the primary ingredients be seasonal or at the very least local, many of the recipes are created specifically for Selma. Table 4 provides a sample of the chefs’ creations provided during the research period. This factor attracts individuals regardless of their ideological stance toward local food. In fact, many guests refer to themselves as a “foodie,” but the data show that some use the term “foodie” to convey an interest in unusual or high-end food experiences while others use the term to refer specifically to supporting the local food movement, again reinforcing the presence of adherents and non-adherents within the population.

Because of Rosa’s operating practices, food enthusiasts can be motivated by their interest in food as a consumer or as a producer. Thursday evening prep offers an opportunity for individuals to partake in the food preparation process. Theresa explains her initial interest as an opportunity for her and her youngest son to share in the preparation process:

Jeremy loves to cook. I like to cook. And so, we actually first got into it from the prep aspect. We really liked going to the Thursday prep night and meeting the people, and you know, making food and bringing food and having a potluck, and then it was just like a bonus that Friday was breakfast...

Cory, a 33-year-old researcher and dedicated volunteer, says he also enjoys the preparation process more than the breakfast. When asked why, he attributes his enjoyment to the attention placed on the food.

[Thursday] it's more about food. Thursday it's all about prep, so it's all getting ready for something, whereas Friday morning it feels more like getting dishes out to people as

quickly as possible, so in that sense it feels more like a food service than it does like food prep ...there's the potluck during Thursday night preps where you get to actually sit down and talk to people, and a chance to meet the chefs too.

Interestingly, Cory's comments reflect not simply an appreciation of the food, but also an appreciation of the relationships mediated by food. So the potluck serves as a celebration of food and personal investment in food with meals that feature elaborate desserts, unusual salads and hearty main dishes, nearly all of which are homemade. But as reflected in Theresa and Cory's comments, high quality food is not the only draw for attending Rosa Café activities. The other predominant reason for attending Rosa Café is social interaction. So in addition to the promise of a culinary experience, Rosa Café offers the promise of personal relationships. Indeed, every interviewee referenced social benefits when describing motivation for participating. Furthermore, many participants mention a sense of isolation in their daily lives. Guests and volunteers portray Rosa Café as a remedy to the isolation. The social benefits are so apparent that even Ruth after her first time visiting highlights this feature without being asked:

I live by myself—well, I live with my cat, so I frequently do things by myself, so this is something that I would easily go back and walk in the door by myself without any hesitation because the people sit down and they enjoy a meal, but they also enjoy that *way of having a meal*, and not just the local part, but that people come together and communicate and so—so it was nice.

But this attraction to social interaction is not exclusive to single individuals. Here Joan, a 70-year-old woman working in sales, describes the social value she and her husband derive from the experience:

...it's fun for us to meet younger people cause everyone we know is old now, and one of our sons and his wife were living [here], so we would do things with them... Then they had a job change, so they left. But we miss them so much that it's just nice to see, you know, young smiley, shiney faces.

Even as a farmer, Samuel, attributes his participation at Rosa Cafe to the social aspects:

I was looking for social networks, somewhere to plug in. Um, I'd been divorced—recently divorced—and just needed somewhere to plug in...I don't have a strong—I don't go to church. I don't hang out in the bars. I'm not into the party scene. And it's like, I need somewhere, something.

This is also reflected in comments from Rebecca, a stay-at-home-mom who acts as a leader for cleanup and Thursday night prep, but rarely attends breakfast. She cares about the mission, but attributes her participation to the personal relationships she gains from the experience:

...The eating part is not—I'm there for the people. So the eating part is totally secondary to me. I've been probably less than 10 times to actually eat as a guest...So I haven't eaten there very often, and for me it's about the contribution to the volunteering part, and keeping it sustainable, keeping it going because it's been such a huge great pool to draw from for friends and acquaintances and networking.

So just as the food motivates both adherents and non-adherents, social interaction also spans a spectrum of beliefs related to the organization's overall mission.

Incorporating these motivating factors with the pre-existing beliefs of the participants leads to a typology of eight groups (shown in Table 5 with additional support). The superordinate category represents the pre-existing ideological stance of participants. For Rosa Café, this separation of adherents and non-adherents refers to the orientation individuals have toward local food. Beyond this ideological separation exists the features of the consumption experience that attract individuals to participate. These features are particularly valuable because they attract individuals that might not have any other inclination to participate in the movement (i.e. non-adherents). And yet, because the consumption experience is not constructed for the sole purpose of converting non-adherents, both groups can be motivated by these features.

The distinction between adherents and non-adherents is helpful for the discussion of CFFA. As will be shown, adherents play a critical part in the socialization process, but they too can be influenced by micromobilization tasks taking place. Reinforcing and strengthening the beliefs of individuals already participating in the economy is valuable in much the same way as

changing the beliefs of those not yet participating. So from the perspective of the organization the adherents represent a potential amplification process in which individuals' beliefs are strengthened through participation in the consumption experience while the non-adherents represent a potential transformation process in which individuals' beliefs may change through participation in the consumption experience. This will be demonstrated later in the paper. But adherent or non-adherent, individuals engage in a process that facilitates a new system of meaning through an interactive, enjoyable consumption experience. This process starts from the first experience and develops as individuals continue to find value in the breakfast. The next section describes the initiation of this iterative, interpretive process.

Engaging Interpretation by Challenging Existing Frames

Rosa Café is an unusual place; Strangers share a gourmet meal within a personal home, all by the efforts of volunteers and for the cost of a voluntary donation. Though many characteristics seem analogous to a restaurant—a host, a chef, servers and a high-quality meal—many characteristics seem counter to a restaurant. Laundry sits in the washing machine. Guests lounge in the living room drinking coffee. People with no preexisting association share tables and conversations with one another. Forks and knives do not match. Chefs prepare food in front of guests within a non-commercial kitchen. And payment is voluntary—dropped into a mason jar at the middle of the table. An interaction between a grandfather and his grandson highlights the novelty of the experience. Intrigued by the jar of dollar bills at the center of the table, the young child began to remove them. His grandfather gently reached over to stop the boy, saying, “We have to leave the money in the jar. That’s where we pay for breakfast. This is a special restaurant, not like the ones where we usually go.”

In his explanation, the grandfather uses the accessible label of “restaurant,” but qualifies it with “special.” In reality, the physical space does not fit the interpretive frame for “restaurant,” nor does it fit that of “home” either. Molly, who attends nearly every week, struggles to categorize Rosa Café, “...it feels unique. It does not feel like a restaurant. It does not feel like someone's Thanksgiving dinner. It does not feel like anything I can really describe...” And Cory, a dedicated volunteer, makes an attempt but eventually settles on a nebulous description:

I don't consider it a restaurant. I think—and maybe that's why they call it a salon cause they can't make up like what is it that Rosa is. I mean if you asked anybody what a salon was they'd kind of be like, "I don't know what this means. It sounds kind of like a French Revolutionary term," which I think it is, but it's certainly not a restaurant, but it's more than just like a potluck. You know [pause] so I wish I had a better term for it. I call it a weekly food event because I don't—to me, that's what it is. It's an event, that's weekly. That's pretty lame, but yeah.

Even the county health officials struggled to decipher the event taking place in Brad and Renee's home. In short, Rosa Café defies categorization. There is no preexisting mental schema for a public breakfast in a private home. There is not an interpretive frame from which to operate.

A novel context requires one to stop and think about what is happening (Goffman 1981; Snow 2004). Evidence for this initial search for meaning can be seen in the behavior of newcomers. When a new person first walks through the door at Rosa Café, the modal response is a slight pause—a stall—followed by a slight smile, either as a display of mild discomfort or of complete amusement. Remember, the person is entering a private home early in the morning without knocking, and she is also walking into a room covered in masking tape names.

Typically, the individual asks the nearest person for advice about the protocol, but someone is not always there. Casey offers a perfect example when she describes her first time at Rosa Café:

...it was kind of like, 'Not really sure where I'm supposed to go or who I sign in with.' I think like we went and got coffee in the other room, and it was like, you know—the whole communal dining room, you know the big long table was kind of open, so we were kind of like, "Should we sit down? Are we supposed to sit?" We were sort of in that like, "How does this work? No one's talked to us yet." And then I think actually you or Liz—I

can't remember—served us. But I can't remember, but you know, eventually we figured it out.

This description demonstrates the ambiguity of the environment and the resulting feelings of uncertainty. It also demonstrates a motivated search for meaning. In order to gain information, Casey navigates the surroundings, drawing on cues from the environment as well as prior personal experiences. This means contemplating the details of the private home while watching the volunteers and guests as they partake in breakfast activities.

At Rosa Café, the newcomer is easily identified by the hesitant lean through each doorway, peaking around the corners to explore the terrain. The other option she has to access information is to engage the people around her in conversation. For example, common introductory questions include “So how does this work?” and “How did you hear about this?” Regardless of the methods used to obtain information, an interpretive process is activated by the novelty of the Rosa Café context. Figure 6 summarizes this stage of the proposed frame alignment process. Importantly, the diagram accounts for differing responses to the context. The data suggest that most individuals go through the steps just described. That is, in response to the novel context, they seek clues that provide information about what is happening. Of course, some individuals may not feel a need to decipher the meaning and will simply arrive at an evaluation. To that point, some may not evaluate the foreign eating experience as enjoyable and therefore will not return. However, for those that do consider it enjoyable, the first experience is the most jarring and likely to spark an intentional search for meaning. Future visits represent additional opportunities to learn and comprehend; thus, it is an iterative process.

So why does this search for meaning matter to an organization? By definition, a consumer movement organization is trying to change the way people view the world. Usually,

this change in worldview arises through exposure to an organization's frame, typically communicated through speeches, newsletters, and other verbal instruments. At Rosa Café, the change in one's view of the world starts with a change in one's view of breakfast. The unusual context destabilizes participants and prompts a mindset receptive to new information. Namely, individuals seek meaning from the environment in order to direct their behavior. This mindset is necessary simply to make it through breakfast in this weird place, but it is particularly advantageous to the organization because it also makes one receptive to the broader issue at hand. The experience primes people to think differently about breakfast, which opens the possibility of thinking differently about food: Maybe one's normal restaurant atmosphere is not the only way to approach brunch, and maybe one's normal grocery routine is not the only way to approach food.

The strategic value of a confused state is clearly revealed in Brad's comments when he is describing Rosa Café's surprising popularity:

...[Rosa Café] does this kind of weird thing with public/private where you don't get many things that are like that. You either go to McDonald's or you stay home and make a sandwich. You don't go to some stranger's house and eat food...so it's an edge. It's a weird edge that kind of gets people like thinking. I think it springs people a little bit. Wakes them up...

This "weird edge" contributes to the frame alignment process by preparing people to interpret the collective action frame. As Brad continues, he explains this process in what seems like trivial practices occurring within Rosa Café:

...And I think that that experience of walking into something, whether you're coming in because you've heard it's gourmet food or not, then you start meeting people and talking to people and you know getting sat with other people and putting nametags on and things like this. And I think that also is this kind of edge whether people can—they are invited up to this place very gently that they can go if they want to.

What Brad's quote reveals is that individuals come for food but are exposed to something far more complex. Moreover, he says they are "invited up to this place," reflecting the higher

meaning in the experience that others embrace and newcomers are welcome to join them. In the next section, I explain in detail how newcomers come to understand this higher meaning through participation in the breakfast experience. What is revealed is a process in which the surface-level value of the experience develops into a higher-level meaning through integration in the Rosa Café community. This represents a complex, strategic system that starts with a puzzling but appealing consumption experience and ultimately leads to frame alignment.

Providing Meaning through Community

Thus far, the research suggests that a CMO can create an appealing consumption experience to attract participation from mainstream consumers. The research also suggests that an active interpretation process can be initiated when the consumption experience includes novel characteristics that challenge existing frames. What is left to understand is how this consumption experience affects consumer consciousness and behavior. That is, under what conditions does the consumer come to internalize this collective action frame and thus act in accordance with it? The data suggest that this conversion process becomes possible when the consumption experience does two things. First, it rapidly integrates participants into an enriching community experience, and second, it conveys higher-level meaning through the community practices.

CFFA is fundamentally built on meaningful practices. These practices not only communicate the frame, but also facilitate participants' integration into the community. This results in participants who feel connected to the community and begin to act in ways that are congruent with the practices of the community. Because these practices reflect the beliefs of Brad and Renee, the result is a larger population of people acting in accordance with the endorsed orientation toward local food. This population is composed of individuals whose pre-

existing beliefs about local food are amplified (i.e. adherents) or transformed (i.e. non-adherents) by the experience at Rosa Café. To explain how this takes place, I will first describe how the experience facilitates integration and what higher-level meaning is conveyed. I will then offer evidence for frame amplification and frame transformation through a series of specific examples that resulted from this integration.

Rapid Integration. Initial integration is almost instantaneous but allows for only a shallow understanding of the organization and its collective action frame. The initial integration takes place because the home setting, the nametags and communal seating immediately signify the existence of community in Rosa Café. The data suggest that the home environment facilitates this rapid integration by making people feel comfortable and welcome. In the following quote, Casey describes this clearly:

...It's very different I think the experience of eating in someone's house is [so] different from eating in a restaurant. I think people feel like you can just put your feet up. You don't have to be dressed up. It's totally casual. Yeah, we may have, you know, this gourmet chef cooking but we're in the home, so it doesn't feel stuffy...

In much the same way, Francis feels a sense of comfort in visiting Rosa Café:

Restaurant to me is [a] very, very different idea...[Rosa Café] is more like family, friends. Comfort. We talk about comfort food. This is comfort atmosphere...

So this home environment, which makes the experience seem unusual and so unlike a restaurant, also provides comfort and a sense of inclusivity. Karen reiterates this as well. Even without personally knowing Brad and Renee, Karen says “I feel like I'm a guest rather than a customer,” and likens the experience to “making Thanksgiving dinner [with] a good friend who was a chef.”

The nametag practices also facilitate this integration process. On a functional level, the nametags help servers place orders and help volunteers identify one another in cooperative

efforts. But beyond this functional level, the nametag system suggests Rosa Café is an environment in which one's identity is important and valued by the other people in the environment. In observing introductions at Rosa Cafe, one frequently sees a slight tilt of the head as nametags are read. Some people are more covert when doing this while others are very blatant in their search for a name. For example, Brad is completely unabashed in looking for a guest's name and uses the name in his greeting. In fact, if Brad cannot find a nametag, he will draw attention to its absence. Such use facilitates interaction among participants in the first meeting as well as in future meetings. Furthermore, the practice creates the sense that people *should* get to know one another.

The importance of the nametag practice is revealed in the following comment made by Joan during casual breakfast conversation: "We didn't know a soul here and now we know so many friends. We don't know their last name, but we still love seeing everyone." In this quote, the idea of knowing someone is connected to the concept of nametags. By saying that she does not know their last name suggests that she knows them through their first name. And this feeling of connection is valuable to her. Aside from this valuable connection, the nametags also offer a symbolic integration into the community through the posting of one's name on the mudroom wall before leaving. Your name—your stamp of approval—exists among the names of all those that also come to Rosa Cafe. You are part of the club.

Another way in which rapid integration occurs is through the communal seating practices at breakfast and cooperative volunteer efforts at Thursday night prep. First, for the breakfast, parties are combined to efficiently fill the assortment of available seats in the home and what transpires is friendly interaction and personal connection that develops over the meal. The

following observation by Samuel, a frequent host at Rosa Café, offers additional evidence for this:

...A lot of people are pleasantly surprised with having other people sit at their table...Because sometimes, like the four top, I'll add in two or three more people there. They're open to the idea and they are a little bit uncomfortable, but you can see right away they really enjoy meeting new people and other people...

In this process, people share with one another and through these conversations individuals start to learn more about the local food community. Data suggests that a common starting point for discussion is the organization and its objectives. It is a particularly salient topic given the unusual experience in the home and the food playing a central role in the experience. In such cases, the conversation frequently includes an explanation of the purpose of Rosa Café, which can develop into a conversation about other local food opportunities and efforts. At the same time, observation and interview data suggest that it is equally likely that the conversation will include topics completely unrelated to the local food community. It depends on many things, including the curiosity of the newcomer, the understanding of the returning guests and the general disposition of both. This pattern is repeated during Thursday evening prep in which individuals who do not know one another are put together on various cooking tasks and sit together for the potluck meal. From the perspective of a movement, this open discussion format represents an inefficiency in the system because the topic of concern is not always the focus nor is it definitely accurate, but from the perspective of a consumption experience this represents just another appealing characteristic of the community experience. This dissemination of knowledge extends beyond the breakfast and potluck table because together the practices create an environment in which personal interaction is expected and encouraged. Additional factors include the practice of having a CSA farmer displaying vegetables and talking with guests in the

driveway and the local food business owners and nonprofit groups that occasionally set up information tables in the living room.

Integration into the community and learning through the community is clearly evident from Ruth's summary of her breakfast experience—a summary that she gave after only one visit:

I think the kind of marrying of that environment with food of that quality in terms of a chef preparing it or a really excellent catering business preparing it is also not that common. We think when we're going to have a meal like that, you know, it's going to be at a place where we have a private table with a white table cloth, and they'll be a lot of distance, and it will be quiet... We are not used to sitting down at a table with other people, and expecting that the table event will be communal beyond the people we've come with. So something that's set up to establish community not only with the people who come, but the people who've grown the food...that's not a common North American model...

She addresses the casual comfort of the home experience by contrasting it against a “white table cloth” meal and then emphasizes the “communal” aspects of the “table event” and the ability to interact with people directly engaged in the local food economy. And again, at the end of her comment, the concept of uniqueness emerges. Overall, this demonstrates how the experience engages individuals in a community that supports local food and constructs meaning for them. In the first visit, the practices that foster integration into the community allow for learning on a shallow level. Over time, however, a more gradual process provides an understanding of the higher-level meaning. This is discussed next.

Higher-Level Meaning. Future visits mean more opportunity for learning about both the organization and the local food community that it supports. This learning takes place through the consumption experience, but not simply through friendly conversations about food. The learning takes place through the active participation in the community practices. This occurs through a more gradual process. What makes this process particularly effective is that the learning is taking place in parallel with a strengthening of ties to the community.

The data reveal six categories of practices that signify meaning to participants. Each category is listed in Table 6 with examples of the practices that represent a belief. I purposefully present these categories as “we” statements. Initially “we” represented Brad and Renee but “we” has come to represent the Rosa Café community that constructs, sustains and disseminates these practices. To preserve space while also illustrating how these practices support the promoted orientation, let us consider one category and the related practices that permeate the Rosa Café community: *We enjoy our food and give it the attention it deserves*. This belief is demonstrated in the plethora of praise and reverence given to food within the Rosa experience. First, there is no shortage of compliments for the breakfast options, the ingredients, or even the potluck dishes created by volunteers. For example, Brad refers to homemade crème fraiche as “the good stuff” and in describing the menu to servers, Renee says things like the following: “And this week it’s just spinach. Well, not *just* spinach – beautiful hoop house spinach.” This type of complimentary description carries through to volunteers and guests who commonly describe food with words such as “amazing,” “decadent,” “beautiful,” and “phenomenal” and frequently thank the guest chef for preparing the meal.

The respect for food is reinforced by other practices Renee brings to the experience. For Thursday prep, Renee stops briefly to give a secular blessing over the food: “Let’s take a moment. Take a deep breath. (Everyone breathed in deeply.) Let’s take time. Look around at this bounty—at the great people here sharing. [pause] Thank you. You can go back to eating now.” On this specific occasion everyone smiled and looked around, but one woman showed clenched teeth and an embarrassed look in her widely opened eyes saying, “I feel bad for scarfing my food. I’m almost done.” The person beside her said, “We get into the habit.” Renee also emphasizes an appreciation for food through her rules for serving, which she recounts to

servers each morning. She says, “Food is not work,” and as a result she asks that servers not ask guests, “Are you still working on that?” Renee acted directly on this belief when she saw me, during a volunteer shift, eating breakfast while standing. In response she said, “Sit. Sit. You should enjoy that even if you are working,” and made a place for me at the edge of the couch.

In much the same way, the volunteers come to appreciate the food they are serving. As an example of this, one morning a dish included donuts that some guests were choosing not to eat. Instead of dumping the donuts into the compost, servers pulled them off the plate and ate them. When asked about it, one server said, “They just looked so good and there was nothing wrong with them.”

This donut scenario has additional instructive value when one considers the details and the system of practices more broadly. First, the practices pass through the community via personal interaction. On this occasion, the practice of eating scavenged donuts spread from one server to the next over the course of the morning as displayed by this comment: “I did [take a donut]. But Fred did it first, so I thought it was okay.” Second, the practices convey multiple beliefs supported by the community. When these donuts were being scavenged, the volunteers that were saving the discarded donuts did not simply eat them, but also discretely told other volunteers that the donuts were available, demonstrating that the belief “We appreciate food” becomes (Table 6, Belief 1) closely tied to the belief “We care for one another” (Table 6, Belief 6). When one considers the interrelatedness of food and people within this environment, it makes sense that sharing scavenged donuts is a demonstration of care. Another example of this interrelatedness is shown in the giving of breakfast as thanks for volunteering. Again, the respect given to food elevates the power of this practice in communicating care for one another and in communicating appreciation for individuals’ contributions (Table 6, Belief 3).

These practices and their associated meaning are linked to the Rosa Café experience, but importantly they reflect the higher meaning that Brad and Renee want individuals to internalize. When individuals come to Rosa Café, they observe and engage in activities that symbolically represent the organization's collective action frame. The frame presents itself through a prescribed way of preparing and eating food that associates inclusivity, interdependency and celebration with local food. Objectively, this means preparing food together in a home and sitting around a table to eat it. But more conceptually, this means celebrating and cherishing the value of the collective food experience. That is, the system of beliefs existing within the Rosa Café community is identical to the system of beliefs that Brad and Renee want people to have in relation to the local food community. By pulling people into the Rosa Café community, leadership is able to forgo formal pronouncements because the carefully constructed experience does the talking. Newcomers come to understand the organization's view of the world by engaging in the novel experience.

In what follows, I present three specific cases in which frame alignment has occurred as a result of participation in Rosa Café. Given the population attending Rosa Café, this frame alignment process proceeds in two forms: frame amplification and frame transformation. The first case demonstrates frame amplification taking place at Rosa Café. The data suggest this is the most prevalent form of frame alignment occurring at Rosa Café, mainly because many people come to the breakfast with at least a small seed of interest in local food. This seed grows through the integration and learning facilitated by the consumption experience. The second and third case demonstrate frame transformation. These cases are particularly valuable to the literature because cases demonstrating a fundamental change in consciousness have been highly elusive (Snow 2004).

Frame Amplification. Frame amplification occurs for individuals who come to Rosa Café with at least a mild interest in local food. As discussed earlier, some arrive with the sole purpose of supporting the local food economy. Others may have an interest in local food, but come because they perceive it to be an interesting food experience or an opportunity to form social relationships. What they find when they arrive is a vibrant community demonstrating practices that signify the beliefs and values endorsed by the organization. This meaning resonates with their existing orientation toward local food. Their existing orientation, whether in nascent or well-developed form, is strengthened by the experience at Rosa Café.

With regard to the movement, this amplification process is most important for individuals displaying moderate or low level adherence. These individuals already recognize value in the movement, but they need reinforcement and encouragement. The breakfast and its supporting community legitimize and amplify the orientation that is developing. Furthermore, the experience provides examples of how one's adherence may be enhanced.

An instructive example of frame amplification can be seen in the Rosa Café experiences of Casey. Casey moved back to the area after a five-year hiatus following undergraduate. She returned for a fundraising position in the athletic department. Though she loves her job, she does not identify with her coworkers because her interests and lifestyle choices, which extend beyond sporting events to include cooking her own meals and biking for transportation, are considered "eccentric" by her peers. She says she started attending Rosa Café "to hopefully meet friends that I would imagine have similar interests given the fact that they are there."

Excited by the peculiar eating experience, Casey immediately became a weekly volunteer. She demonstrates frame alignment both explicitly in her description of Rosa Café as,

“in line with my beliefs and values,” and implicitly in her explanation of what she believes the mission of the organization to be:

...I think the big thing to me is like the community aspect. I think just in this day in age, I think people are so isolated and you know, in their routine, doing what they do. People don't stop and say hello. People don't, you know, interact...I think [Rosa] is something I see as a way to bring people together from different forms of life and just the way the house is set up it kind of forces you to talk and meet people that you wouldn't necessarily say hello to or interact with. I think that's a component. Obviously, you know, I value eating, knowing where my food comes from and supporting local farmers and people that are bringing those ingredients to the table, and you know, just educating people that it's so easy to eat locally. It's easy to eat fresh produce. You know, it's not a challenge. It's right here, and sort of that educational component. And I think it's just like I love to cook. It's just a fun—it's fun! Yeah, I don't know if that's what [Renee's] vision was. I'm not sure. I've not spoken with her other than just reading and seeing her, you know, she and Brad talk about you know the hoop houses and that kind of stuff, so that's just my impression of what she's doing...you know, and exposing some local chefs. And I think that's important too...there's places that I'm now I'm like, "Oh, I think I'd check that restaurant out or go to that cafe," because I know that chef now, and I was really impressed by you know what he or she kind of came up with on their menu, and so I think it again it helps the economy too in that sense when people are aware...

In explaining the organization's mission, Casey presents her own orientation juxtapose that of the organization. She emphasizes community while making an important connection to the food and the food-related learning that takes place at Rosa Café. In doing this, she suggests an alignment between her and the organization. Moreover, Casey mentions that she has not personally spoken to Brad or Renee about the organization's mission, thus frame amplification has emerged through her experiences. Her excitement and enthusiasm demonstrate a sense of strength consistent with amplification processes. These feelings are also represented in her description of volunteering:

I'm just so happy [volunteering]...It's the best way to start my weekend, I see it as. I mean, I literally haven't had a bad—I mean I get out of there, and I'm like, 'Ah' (drops her shoulders and smiles). I look forward to it, and it's just—I don't know—it puts me in a good space.

The experience at Rosa Café provides Casey with comfort and support and motivates her to pursue activities in line with the organizations mission. These include weekend “adventures” to new local eateries she learns about through Rosa Café and dinner parties she hosts for friends she has made while volunteering. Thus, Rosa Café reinforces Casey’s orientation toward local food while giving her the means to act on that orientation and fostering a community that supports her in those actions. This amplification process resulted from Casey’s active pursuit of social interaction with like-minded individuals in combination with a meaningful experience that supported her existing beliefs and values.

While informative particularly for her practice-dependent inferences, Casey’s case represents what the founders most likely expected when first creating the fundraising event. Other accounts, however, demonstrate a more serendipitous transformation process occurring at Rosa Cafe.

Frame Transformation. Transformation occurs when an individual comes to Rosa Café simply for an interesting food experience or captivating social encounter, but inadvertently becomes more conscious of and engrossed in local food. For such individuals, new connections are made between local food and community. This was the case for Molly, a 29-year-old woman who moved to the area with her “husband now boyfriend” to pursue graduate degrees. The couple joined Brent’s CSA through a personal connection made at a party and utilized the tent outside Rosa Café as their weekly pickup location. In spite of this local food support, Molly avoided the breakfast for weeks. In recalling this she says: “...I heard about this community breakfast and, ‘You have to get there at like 6am!’ And I was thinking, ‘Oh, there is no way I am going to do that.’...” But one day, Molly decided to go with her friend, and as she puts it, “it quickly worked into a thing where we would go every week.” In describing this first experience,

Molly quickly spirals from her great appreciation of the experience to an even greater appreciation of the community:

MW: And when you went for the first time, did you know what to expect as far as the way it worked?

Molly: Uh, not really...I do remember going and just being like so smiley like, "What is this? This is amazing. How have I never done this before?" *like just very exuding some positive, crazy energy.* Just very sleepy and happy at the same time, and so it *just blew me away.* It was pretty exciting.

MW: What did you think was so interesting about it? Like what was it that blew you away?

Molly: You know, all these people who don't know each other coming and sitting next to each other. People are just generally—the people that go to Selma are like into it. And they're *the kind of people that I like to hang out with.* The food is always really good, and I felt like it was just a *really unique experience* that I was *so thankful that someone had started it.* It's a lot of work—clearly. And that I definitely realize too. And it's so amazing to be able to go to this thing and get breakfast and sit with some people you don't know and talk to them, and...at first it was like, "Oh wow, this is so great. The food's really great. What a unique thing. This is so cool." But in the past couple of months, *I've also realized that it's so much more valuable than just like having good food and having a conversation just there* because there's some people ...that I would never know except [this town] is a small enough town that you will run into people. And I'll identify people in the street like, "Oh that person goes to Rosa at the same time I do." ...so *the first day the excitement was around, "Oh this is so unique, and the food is really great, and I just met somebody really cool," but then later on it was like, "Hey, I actually am building a friendship with three or four people that I'm consistently sitting with,"* because I'm coming at the same time and seeing the same group of people. That was neat. (emphasis added)

The emphasized areas show where Molly addresses the key aspects of Rosa Café that generate transformation. The first experience is “great,” “unique,” and “cool,” but soon it becomes much more to her. She mentions “the kind of people I like to hang out with” and “building a friendship” suggesting this is an environment where she feels personal connection and support. And though Molly was already participating in a CSA, her understanding and engagement in local food increased through her participation at Rosa Café. Moreover, notions of community

are intimately tied to the local food effort. This is demonstrated in Molly's response when she is asked to put the Rosa Café mission in her own words:

I would say (pause) so the Rosa mission is probably to bring people together to have a good meal and to get to know their local food sources and their local businesses, such that ultimately they will make choices based on that knowledge that promote that kind of local diversity and local—just support of those businesses and food systems that are here in [this town] and surrounding. So I think there's probably some elements that are community-based and building community ties and feeling closer to the land where you are and also using what you've learned at Rosa and like learned through Rosa to make decisions when you are away from Rosa. Like hopefully that's part of their mission, which has seeped into sort of—I guess, I don't know if that seeped in for me. Certainly, the community aspect has definitely worked.

In her clear description, we see signs of hesitancy like someone erring on the side of caution.

Much like Casey, Molly's uncertainty arises because there was never a moment when Brad and Renee directly told her the ideology or purpose behind Rosa Café. Instead, the practices at breakfast convey this meaning, and Molly has come to understand the higher meaning through her breakfast experiences. This internalization through participation is clearly displayed in Molly's account of volunteering. In this next quote, Molly is simply describing her volunteering experience, but much more is communicated about the impact of the practices:

... I know I volunteered during on a Friday at least four or five times, and some of those were those 10 to noon, but I think a few of them were 8 to 10, and it was a lot of washing dishes and then sometimes I would get pulled in. And so one time Samuel overheard me saying, "you guys," or like "are you still working on it?" and he pulled me aside and he's like, "You know, we know you're just a volunteer, and it's great that you're doing this, but Renee really doesn't like it when people refer to people as guys," and I felt so bad and I was like, "Just, just write down the list of our rules. I'll follow them. I'm a good reader. I'm a good listener. I just didn't know." And it makes total sense, and I love that—both of those rules. The "are you still working on that?"—"No, I'm not working on my food! I'm enjoying my food!" you know? It's like, oh, what a nice reframing.

This simple description of volunteering reveals how practices permeate the event and convey meaning to participants ultimately resulting in frame alignment. First, Molly starts volunteering

very unaware, but comes to learn the practices not from Brad or Renee but from the other members of the community who engage in the practices. Second, when Molly does something that conflicts with those practices, she feels remorse. She senses that she is not acting in accordance with the expectations of a community that she has come to respect and appreciate. Finally, Molly reveals the meaning of the practices and how clearly one can see their importance. Molly admits the discretion and celebrates the “nice reframing,” reiterating wholeheartedly that food is enjoyment not work. So what started as an effort to help the organization through volunteering resulted in a change in how Molly viewed food. Molly wanted to contribute to this community experience that she valued, and through helping, she gained a greater understanding of the community’s orientation toward food.

Molly’s understanding and engagement eventually extends beyond the walls of Rosa Café to include a hoop house build. In recalling the effort, Molly again reveals a new consciousness as well as a strengthened relationship to her local farm:

...[the hoop house build] was fun. It was definitely fun to see the farm and to realize, it’s not that big. It’s not that big, and yet it feeds so much! It produces a lot. And I was so happy to have the hoop houses because then when, you know, the growing season was extended, it was like, “This is because of the hoop house!”

A full demonstration of Molly’s frame alignment comes when she is asked, “if you were running the organization, how do you feel you would consider gauging the success or failure of the organization?” Though the question pertains to Rosa Café, Molly reveals how her perspectives—and practices—have changed in relation to local food and the community supporting local food:

Well, so one measure is just the number of people that come in the door everyday—or Friday—to eat. Another measure is what does your volunteer base look like? Are they 20 people that come and it’s the same 20 people every week, every week, every week. Or is

there like a core group of 15 and then 5 or 10 are rotating in and around and they like sometimes come, sometimes don't come. But yes, taking stock of who are the people that are coming in the door. And then also I guess I would say, you know it's so hard to measure success of programs in general—to evaluate programs in general. But I guess I would want some measure of like impact in the community, like impact with the vendors. Like I know, so anecdotally, the Robin's Club guy even gave the idea to go to the Robin's Club because what was in the Robin's Club before was some crappy bar, right? So the Robin's Club moves in and I would have assumed that it would have horrible food and it would be just sort of like a bar, you know. So I would hope that there would be some measure of reverberations throughout the community...to look at how going to Rosa has impacted your decision to get into a share or something like that...[or] how it impacts people when they go to the grocery store and buy certain things...But I would say too like just something again I didn't realize until recently, there's such value in Rosa in making new friends like these people that I would never interact with like Tony and Martha and that's something that doesn't have to do with food. I mean, yes, we're probably all like politically left and like just in sort of a similar, you know, we have like a similar feelings about things. And yeah, I saw Tony at the [Food] Co-op last night even, and said like, "Hey, I'll see you around Rosa some time..." And it's like, that's just really nice, you know. There's value there...I don't know how you would define that, but that's successful towards some end. And just, I guess that makes me feel more tied to the [town] community than I otherwise would, which is something that in a community that can feel really transient with students coming in and leaving, coming in and leaving, and not really putting down roots. And especially from my perspective, like John's going to graduate in two years and we're starting to think about...where we're going to go. And like we've been talking about for like six years, both our parents live outside Boston, and we've been talking about like Boston. We want to go back to Boston, but then, you know, honestly Boston doesn't have Rosa...We're getting embedded into this community, so it's more open as a possibility for a place to settle, so that's kind of neat, so that's value. Right? Like Rosa is actually a selling point for settling in [this state]? When I'm from the East Coast and highly skeptical of spending any time here at all? So like, oh, that's kind of value you wouldn't have thought about...But it's hard to measure just people's self-satisfaction, right, with their selves, and how they're feeling, and how their Fridays go. Like, Friday was supposed to be like, "Ok, today's a happy day because we started with Rosa," like can't let anything get you down today, right? I don't even know how you measure that. I'm not really sure. But, you know, like there were several times when I came to Rosa in kind of a bad mood, like not a happy mood, and left saying like, "Ok, you can do this," you know? It's hard to measure those things, but it's hard to measure lots of how you deem something successful. But I would say those are the things that make Rosa successful in my book. And I would say also it's important to make I think volunteers feel—again, there are some aspects of training that I would beef up—but I think that if your volunteers think that they're doing something really good and positive, that's a good thing. Yeah. And I suppose also, like minimally, like complying with safety codes or whatever and not making anyone sick.

Molly's perspective references the attraction of food only very briefly at the starting and again at the end, but the true meaning of success is based on Rosa Café's ability to build community that extends beyond the breakfast. Molly shops at the food co-op and supports a CSA, so one would consider her an adherent, but Rosa Café participation adds layers of meaning to this adherence. She suggests that the friendships are not really about food, but her "hope" is that the communal food experience motivates behaviors in support of these food related practices. And it has impacted her own behavior: A local food restaurant that would have seemed like a "crappy bar" is now an attractive option for a personal celebration simply because of a personal link created at Rosa Café. And a town that would have seemed like a place she did not want to live is now a meaningful community of people with "similar feelings about things." Her friendships, her restaurant choices, her shopping decisions and critical life choices, and her general "self-satisfaction" are all wrapped up in breakfast. Molly was not actively seeking a community through Rosa Café nor was she expecting a link between that community and her conceptualization of local food, but she discovered this through the appealing consumption experience. And through her account we see the power of the carefully constructed experience in affecting interpretation of a social system and one's behavior relevant to that system.

A final and even more dramatic example of frame transformation comes from Brian and Francis, a middle aged couple who work as engineers. The couple first came to Rosa Café after a recommendation from Francis' coworker. Francis "love[s] to surprise Brian with places" and the couple has "always been interested in food, and having interesting food experiences," but they had very limited exposure to the local food movement. Now, after three years of participation at Rosa Café, the couple effortlessly discusses hoop houses, names local farmers and local restaurateurs, and recounts local food events where they see other Rosa participants.

More importantly, their reflections on Rosa Café reveal the personal significance the breakfast experience has had in their lives. What started as a food-focused experience has become an integral part of how they conceptualize food and its role in their life.

As mentioned, Francis and Brian first came to Rosa Café simply to enjoy breakfast. Their retelling of this first experience demonstrates both the confusion and excitement characteristic of a first experience at Rosa as well as the link between friendship and food.

Francis: Yeah. So it was still kind of hidden, you know. When we went there it was still the first year. It was still kind of hidden.

Brian: Well it still wasn't quite legal either.

Francis: Right. And it was like when you go in, "Hi. Nice to meet you. Friends..."

Brian: And Renee said, "Do you want to be my friend?"

Francis: "Do you want to be my friend?"

Brian: Cause you had to be a friend to eat at their house for breakfast. It was the legal rule.

MW: For it to be legal?

Brian and Francis: Yes.

Brian: That was kind of weird.

Francis: It was the whole friend experience.

Brian: But the food was really good. I remember exactly what I had too. That was one of the few times I've actually had Renee's bread pudding, and I remember distinctly that she accidentally made a mistake on it, put too much custard in it, so it separated. It had custard, blueberries and bread (using hands to indicate three separate layers). So good. Oh my God it was just delicious. Cause it had a lot of softness, had the blueberries, and then really crisp bread on top. Oh my God that was so good. I remember that.

Brian and Francis describe this "hidden," "[not] quite legal," "weird" place where they have a "friend experience" wrapped up with unforgettable bread pudding. "[Our attendance] started once a month, and then it went to once every other week, and then somehow, almost immediately, went to once a week," says Brian, and the experience became more than just an

eating experience. For example, Francis easily recalls her urge to volunteer. On the surface, Francis sees volunteering as playing a role she has never undertaken, but at the same time, this role represents more than simply serving food:

Francis: But after we went, I volunteered. Right away, I remember volunteering for prep on Thursday and one of my—I have always had—I don't know—I have never had the experience of being a waiter, and I thought that was great. And so I would love to kind of volunteer on Friday mornings. That was my highlight. You know, it was like, "Oh great. I'm going to serve people." So it was awesome. I had never done that before. I loved it.

MW: And what was the motivation for—like after going to breakfast, what made you want to volunteer? Or do you know? I mean if you think about it, what was the, "Oh yeah, this seems like something I want to do?"

Francis: Volunteering in terms of helping, the whole idea of why this was happening, and the whole idea of people coming together and being able to do this in somebody's house, the whole idea of supporting the local food movement, supporting local farmers, hoop houses, everything was—it was just a lot of, "Yes, yes, yes, yes! I want to do all that!" And the whole idea of being able to experience something I have never done before, it was really appealing to me.

This quote demonstrates how the practice of volunteering engages participants while signifying the higher meaning. This meaning became even clearer for the couple as they continued to participate and became more integrated in the Rosa Café experience through their participation as chefs. Brian recalls the invitation to chef in the following way:

What happened was, I—a lot of people make quiche. It's an easy thing to do. So I suggested, "You know what would be really cool if you did something like a French onion soup quiche," and they said, "Well why don't you make it?" "What?! Me?!"

But the inclusive format that created this opportunity also facilitated the transformation that occurred for Brian and Francis. This is seen when Francis expands on Brian's recollection and describes how it felt to be a chef for Rosa Café:

...it was all about chefs coming from their restaurants and volunteering to do breakfast. It was like, "What? You're asking us? But we're (pause) It's a hobby!" (laughs) But they made us feel very comfortable. We felt welcome. We got a lot of help... We actually met with Bonnie at her house to go over the menu, the steps and what we were doing and

so on...Knowing that there was a full support system behind us and that we were welcome to do it. It didn't matter if we were chefs or not. It just felt good...

The couple felt emotional support and encouragement while learning about local food. The experience was so rewarding they felt compelled to continue, learning even more and becoming more intimately tied to the endorsed orientation. This is illustrated in what Francis calls “the kale experience”:

...the second time was amazing that we would just sign up: “Oh we need someone. You want to do it?” And I think it was, you know, we have learned with every experience. Like that [second] time—the kale experience—it's like...we still have a bit of hesitation and intimidation and suddenly it's like, we get there on Thursday night and it's like, “Well, we didn't have spinach, but we have kale.” It's like, “I never worked with kale in my life!” It's like, “What do you mean?! I don't even know how kale looks like!” Anyway, but I learned that—I have been learning a lot in terms of building confidence in terms of what we cook, how we cook, being open, being flexible. You know it went okay. And it's okay to kind of modify stuff, and you just go with the punches kind of thing, so it's been a learning experience for us too.

But the couple did not simply generate a deeper understanding of local food. They also became more connected to the local food community. To the simple question of whether they knew anyone before Rosa Café, they respond with a litany of new relationships mediated by the experience, including chefs, farmers and other local food business owners. As Francis puts it:

...It kind of grew—mushroomed into all these people. It's just amazing. And it's always nice to see—sometimes people joke about it. We joke about it. It's like, “Oh, I'm seeing you again. This is the third time I see you this week or the second time.” Cause it's like, “Yeah, cause we're going to the same kind of food events and food-related stuff.” And it's kind of nice.

And so the Rosa Café experience extends beyond the walls of the breakfast to their daily lives and their relationships with people. They start to see their food—and the people connected to that food—in a new way. This motivates where they eat and how they relax. Like Molly's account, a complete transformation becomes most evident when the couple describes what

determines Rosa Café's success. They immediately consider how the experience has changed their orientation toward local food:

Francis: Well, I mean I guess I'll think about it first from my own perspective: Has it been successful? Extremely successful. Because now I think about what we're eating and we feel like we have a connection to the local food movement: the people who are involved in that movement, you know, the farmers, the chefs, the people who care about that movement, so it has been extremely successful from that point of view. When we're there and we hear people coming for the first time and leaving so, you know, with kind of like a positive experience similar to what we experience the first time, that to me is successful. People coming back is successful. People getting involved is successful. The fact that people volunteer. The fact that we have cooked there five times, and we're looking forward to the next time. That's being successful, I mean.

Brian: I think also too the output of Rosa in terms of what it intended was—it started off making [hoop] houses, and it grew from there...

Brian goes onto explain how the effort sparked businesses for new farmers and ends by again returning to how it has changed his own perception of local food:

Brian: ...to me, a lot of the seed of wanting local food is partially Rosa. There's more than that, obviously, but for us, a lot of the exposure for local—which we mentioned before—is Rosa. And since you see farmers starting up, you see people—and growing a garden. If it's weren't for going to Rosa, I probably wouldn't be trying to grow my own vegetable garden. So it works. So it's pretty obvious that it works.

In saying “it works,” Brian does not simply reference the local farmers and businesses that have been supported by Rosa Café fundraising. Instead, he includes personal accounts verifying his own transformation resulting from participation in this consumption experience. Therefore, his description encompasses the parallel paths that have emerged from the formation of Rosa Café.

Frame alignment results from engagement in the Rosa Café experience and integration into its community. Originally, Brad and Renee envisioned a place for likeminded individuals to

celebrate the local food while raising money to strengthen it, but the experience attracted both local food adherents and non-adherents. Participants come to understand and internalize the collective action frame through the practices implemented by Brad and Renee. These practices are naturally woven into the experience, so participants learn the practices and interpret their meaning simply by attending the breakfasts and engaging with other participants. Thus, the experience socially constructs a frame connecting the meaning of local food to a community of individuals that generate, support and strengthen local food. As a result, participants start to see local food as more than an investment in fruits and vegetables. Local food becomes an investment in a community that sustains them emotionally as well as nutritionally.

Participants endorse the organization's orientation as they become more intimately tied to the community. For some, like Casey, the Rosa Café experience strengthens a frame that was otherwise weakly held or stigmatized (Berbrier 1998). For others, like Molly, Brian and Francis, the Rosa Café experience provides an entirely new system of beliefs and values pertaining to local food. The presented accounts reveal how the experience has shaped their thinking, generating a new orientation toward the local food community. This has evolved through their participation in the novel consumption experience. Notably, each description shows a depth and clarity of understanding that is particularly amazing when one considers that Brad and Renee do not make formal claims about the local food system or how participants should see their role in that system. Still, participants come to understand and internalize the frame through their involvement in the breakfast practices and their integration into the breakfast community.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

...the last thing I want to do is tell somebody how to live their life or say, "Oh you should do this," or make someone feel bad in any possible way for the way they eat. What I want

to do is I want to show people, “This is what we're doing and we are having so much fun doing it. Come and join us if you want. And if you change how you do things, awesome. And if not, well it doesn't matter to me. I'm doing what I'm doing.” – Renee

As exemplified in this quote, the Rosa Café strategy does not involve telling consumers all of the things they are doing wrong or even formally telling them anything at all. Instead, the strategy involves engaging consumers in a joyful and fulfilling experience that demonstrates what it means to be part of the local food community. The organization constructs initial value in the form of social engagement and an interesting food experience, but the appealing consumption experience encourages participation and facilitates integration into the community, while augmenting the meaning of local food. Thus, the CMO leverages a consumption experience in order to achieve frame alignment. By offering an appealing experience, the organization attracts a population of consumers with varying food-related ideologies. The organization generates a shift in consciousness by communicating the intended collective action frame through the appealing experience. This occurs through the weaving of meaningful practices into the consumption experience. Participants come to internalize these practices and the associated orientation toward local food. The effects of participation extend beyond the breakfast, influencing other consumption choices as well; hence, the organization achieves social change both inside and outside the walls of the breakfast.

In its more general form, this process is referred to as CFFA and is diagrammed in Figure 7. CFFA acts as a novel and valuable CMO strategy because it is a positively-valenced, practice-oriented approach to changing consumer behavior. Initially, participants take part in a consumption experience because of appealing surface level features. But this consumption experience is laden with meaningful practices that offer a nonconfrontational means of conveying the collective action frame. Individuals come for a novel consumption experience,

but over time, they find additional value and meaning in the experience. The organization achieves frame alignment as individuals become integrated into a community of movement adherents and internalize that community's orientation toward the endorsed alternative. And though not every step in CFFA was observed directly, this influential process emerges from the observational data and the accounts of breakfast participants.

Encouraging alternative consumption has been an uphill battle for CMOs. Mainstream cost-benefit structures are difficult to overcome because relative to baseline the conventional choice offers concrete benefits with abstract costs (e.g. poor working conditions, environmental waste, etc) while the ethical alternative offers concrete costs (e.g. higher price) and abstract benefits (e.g. good working conditions, environmental protection, etc). For example, conventional coffee arguably offers the same taste and caffeine as fair trade coffee, but the former carries an abstract social cost while the latter carries a concrete monetary cost. CFFA fights against this structure by drawing attention to the benefits of alternatives and making these benefits more concrete, which encourages consumers to choose the alternative.

In the case of Rosa Cafe, the consumption experience offers more than local food on a plate or a promise of aid to a farmer. It offers engagement in an unusual eating experience that supports learning and social relationships. The features increase the value of the Friday breakfast experience. This leads to an increase in local food consumption because participants want the experience, which means purchasing locally sourced ingredients. This finding supports prior work in which Soper (2009) theorizes that alternative consumption increases when consumers focus on the ancillary benefits gained from choosing an alternative option. But the critical insight regarding CFFA is that the organization actively constructs the ancillary benefits that accompany the endorsed alternative. Consumers were not approached with an argument for

buying local food. They were encouraged to eat a gourmet breakfast in a communal environment. For epicureans, this represents an interesting, new food experience, and for the socially isolated, this represents an opportunity to engage with other people in a fulfilling way. Experiencing these separate but complementary benefits is not confined to breakfast because the experience fosters a community with relationships extending beyond the breakfast environment; thus, the benefits associated with membership in this community motivate individuals to engage in the larger local food system. This finding strengthens the prior work by Starr (2009) who showed a positive relationship between ethical consumption and one's proximity to others behaving similarly, which the author attributed to benefits received by operating in line with social norms. Hence, CFFA motivates alternative consumption by tying the endorsed alternative to a more complex system of concrete benefits.

By constructing and emphasizing the benefits of consuming differently, Rosa Café avoids a negatively-valenced argument focused on the injustices of the existing system. The organization draws on a cultural stock of symbols with positive associations to bolster their argument for social change. The home environment, the seating arrangement, and the cooperative effort for example all coalesce into a comforting, communal experience in celebration of local food. The positive affect arising from such experience lies in stark contrast to the negative affect leveraged by other CMOs (King and Pearce 2010; Sandlin and Callahan 2009). The positive feelings created by Rosa Café encourage return visits, generating additional opportunities to integrate participants into the community and align their orientation with that of the organization.

This CFFA strategy is analogous to the strategy identified by McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig (2002) in their analysis of brand communities. The authors demonstrate that

marketers can generate brand loyalty through the creation of shared consumer experiences. However, a critical difference between that work and the current analysis exists in the fact that Rosa Café is not actually interested in selling more breakfasts the way a conventional marketer might be interested in selling more Jeeps. If breakfast sales were the primary goal, Rosa Café would have expanded the operation to service the growing population. Instead, Rosa Café is interested in generating support for an ideology. They seek social change beyond the boundaries of their organization, but they use a shared consumer experience in order to achieve this social change.

The shared consumer experience at Rosa Café centers on a system of meaningful practices that communicate the collective action frame. Studies on alternative consumption demonstrate that consumption practices supported by a community come to reinforce the endorsed ideology for individuals already engaged in alternative consumption (Moreas, Szmigin and Carrigan 2010; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007). The present findings extend this literature to include the identification of a conversion process that occurs through similar means. The process occurring at Rosa Café is unique in that the participants need not be aware that they are deviating from normal consumption. They are simply having breakfast, and yet the innocuous breakfast experience acts as a segue into alternative consumption. So the practices attract participants with varying food-related ideologies and then function to convert non-adherents while reinforcing meaning for adherents. This makes the Rosa Café system a novel strategy for frame alignment.

Much of this framing strategy developed unintentionally from a couple's impromptu decision to hold fundraising breakfasts in their home. The couple developed practices to manage the events and support the growing population of attendees, but constructed within a personal

space and based on a personal orientation toward food, these practices happen to reflect the beliefs and values endorsed by the couple. Hence, the collective action frame became represented in the Rosa Café experience. Furthermore, the decision to open personal space for public consumption provided additional strategic value. The confusing context detaches consumers from preexisting notions of consumption. According to social movement framing theory, ambiguous environments are prime for influence by social movements because the context is subject to differential interpretation (Snow 2004). When confronted with a novel environment, individuals cannot rely on pre-existing interpretive frames to guide their cognitions and behavior. Without a frame, they must undergo an interpretive process to understand what is happening and how to react (Goffman, 1981). They must decipher contextual cues or probe other individuals for information. The social movement organization facilitates this process by providing meaning through framing tasks.

Unlike Rosa Café, when other social movements debate a confusing context, the context and the topic being debated usually are one in the same. For example, new technologies present novel possibilities that frequently undergo scrutiny and debate. The innovation has no prior place in the social system, so organizations step in to interpret (i.e. frame) the technology and its consequences for observers. Rosa represents a different situation. With Rosa Café, the organization has inadvertently introduced a confusing context into the social system by bringing together characteristics of a home meal with characteristics of a restaurant. This was done simply for convenience, but in actuality, this provides strategic value to the organization. The novel context generates a search for meaning, providing the organization an opportunity to redefine how individuals perceive consumption. The practices then work in parallel with the physical setting to generate the redefinition.

A reliance on practices to convey meaning represents a divergence from documented modes of frame communication. Organizations primarily rely on formal pronouncements like speeches and newsletters to communicate the collective action frame (Benford and Snow 2000; Johnston 1998, 2002; Snow 2004). In doing so, they construct the exact message they wish to convey, an approach that provides a high level of control over what is communicated and how. One of the disadvantages, however, of such an approach is that individuals are prone to resist counter-attitudinal information (Chaiken, Liberman, and Eagley 1989; Kunda 1990; Petty and Cacioppo 1986) and counter argue statements that conflict with their existing views (Ahluwalia 2002; Jain and Maheswaran 2000). CFFA does not utilize formal pronouncements, so an organization conveys the desired perspective in an indirect fashion, avoiding threats to existing attitudes and preferences.

To demonstrate why this characteristic of CFFA is so valuable, I offer an example from Rosa Café of how things could go awry, resulting in a confrontational encounter like those predicted by the literature. Brad claims that he is “not interested in being really dogmatic about [local],” but when he relies on discourse his views can seem extreme and confrontational. An interaction of this nature arises between Brad and a breakfast guest when a discussion about Brad’s upbringing in Seattle quickly turns into a confrontational discussion about the guest’s employment experience at Amazon. While the guest attempts to make a connection with Brad, the tension continues to rise as repeated references to Amazon are directly counterattacked by Brad, including a comment in which Brad mockingly refers to Amazon’s supposed entry into CSA as “Company Supported Agriculture” instead of Community Supported Agriculture. When Brad exited the conversation, the guest immediately said in an emphatic whisper, “Ah! I’m the enemy! That just kept getting worse!” The direct discussion of beliefs and values generated

confrontation even though the person's breakfast attendance and interest in Brad's goals suggested support for the organization. This experience represents an anomaly in the data, but also clearly demonstrates the value of the practice-oriented Rosa Café strategy.

Further analysis of this case represents an additional benefit of the Rosa Café experience. Even given the uncomfortable encounter, the guest continued to attend Rosa Café. In fact, after moving away, he and his coworker from Amazon took a red-eye flight simply to engage in the breakfast experience before attending meetings in the area. To Brad, their employment at Amazon seems to conflict with what Rosa Café is trying to achieve, but without an explicit, dogmatic mission, the Rosa Café environment permits participation even if frames are not perfectly aligned. Variance in participants' beliefs and values is permissible because nowhere is there an exact explanation of what one should believe or how one should behave. This creates an extremely inclusive environment. On the most basic level, this means greater revenue for the organization. But more significantly, this means allowing various forms of adherence: commonalities motivate participation without differences deterring it (Thomas et al. 2013; Turner and Killian 1972). For some participants, frame alignment may never occur, but for others, the inclusivity means an opportunity to bring mainstream consumers closer in alignment with the organization.

Even given these benefits, there are risks associated with the Rosa Café strategy. The organization relies on the practices and the community to convey meaning. Without specifically tailored messages, the organization is at risk of conveying inconsistent or incorrect messages due to a reliance on participants' interpretive lenses. Messages may become muddled because the observer misinterprets the meaning or because a misinterpretation is passed along during social interaction. This is reminiscent of the telephone game played by children. What the leader said

to the first person may become distorted as it is passed from one participant to the next. In the Rosa Café data, this is most noticeable with the transition from first shift to second shift volunteers. At such a time, the home is already buzzing with activity, so if first shift servers do not understand practices or do not explain them fully, second shift servers cannot demonstrate the meaning to breakfast guests. This reflects the scenario described earlier when Molly incorrectly used the phrase “you guys” in addressing her table of guests. She was corrected by a more experienced volunteer who happened to overhear, but there are many more situations—including my own experiences as a server—in which practices are executed incorrectly without being remedied. Therefore, for effective implementation of the CFFA model, organizations must regularly reiterate the correct practices and implement checks and balances to help ensure communication of the intended meaning.

Assessing the benefits and risks of CFFA generates a reasonable question of whether this process is generalizable beyond the local food movement – or more specifically beyond a community breakfast. In fact, this model offers strategically valuable framing device for any organization that can construct a consumption experience with general appeal interlaced with meaningful practices. For example, civil rights organizations might use CFFA to elevate consciousness for their cause because a certain consumption experience permits them to make novel connections between their purpose and mainstream behaviors. In fact a personal account³ suggests that CFFA-like activities were occurring in South Africa during apartheid. In encouraging desegregation and greater civil rights for blacks, liberal groups attempted to attract support from moderates by throwing the best parties, including the best music and the best alcohol, but more importantly by including racial integration. By creating enticing consumption

³ Personal account given by John Deighton on May 27, 2013 during presentation of paper at Bilkent Consumers, Market and Culture Seminar.

experiences, the political groups could attract individuals that otherwise may not have been motivated to listen to their political message. At the same time the consumption experience represented the process—and the value—of integration in a way that may have been difficult to communicate otherwise. Again, this demonstrates persuasion through a valuable consumption opportunity as opposed to formal pronouncements.

Another example of this approach comes from yoga studios. Yoga studios may attract a broad range of consumers from individuals seeking physical health or mental health to individuals pursuing a spiritual experience. And yet, a carefully constructed yoga experience may result in a higher-level consciousness as participants engage in value-laden practices and interact with instructors and adherents. Namely, what starts as a pursuit of physical health could be transformed into a new conceptualization of spirituality through the consumption experience. Like Rosa Café, this means leveraging the consumption experience to generate amplification or transformation. And again, the value of the yoga class becomes enhanced as the physical endeavor becomes laden with higher-level meaning. This has the potential to benefit the yoga studio through increased revenue but also to extend beyond the yoga studio into individuals' private lives.

As demonstrated in these examples, CFFA works when a community of supporters enacts the practices that communicate the collective action frame. But one might reasonably question whether notions of community must be part of that collective action frame. Based only on the present case, one might assume they do because it is nearly impossible to disentangle the value of the Rosa Café community to participants from the meaning of local food that Rosa Café conveys. Yoga seems similar in that the system of beliefs supported by the practices include notions of interconnectedness with others. But when one considers something like children's

educational game in which the consumption of the game is used to convey a higher meaning, like greater understanding and appreciation of math, notions of community seem less relevant because entertaining and educational games with meaningful practices have been created for one or many players. In either case, children can come to internalize the higher meaning communicated by these games. Thus, one might question whether an endorsed frame needs to encompass community characteristics. It may be that notions of community are particularly effective given the sense of isolation expressed by the population attending Rosa Café events. As such, community may be a moderator as opposed to a necessary condition of CFFA. This question warrants further investigation.

Another open question considers the conditions under which a CFFA strategy integrates with the larger system in which it operates. The current case looks at frame alignment processes as they function within the walls of Rosa Café and suggests a particularly effective strategy for consumer movements. Aside from historical accounts within news articles, the data did not include perspectives from neighbors or individuals who choose not to support the breakfasts. This is important because although a strategy like Rosa Café's may work effectively as a microsystem it may not function well within a larger social structure. In fact, while writing this paper, Rosa Café was forced to close due to a reemergence of complaints from neighbors. The city cited the organization for breaking zoning laws. Future research should seek an understanding of how perceptions of outsiders and adversaries differ from breakfast participants and how this influences the operation's effectiveness and its tenure. This would complement current work as well as other research exploring the impact of contestation on movement processes (Snow 2004).

In the case of Rosa Café, the organization has located a new venue—a community center within a cohousing development—in which to operate the breakfasts. Though this allows the breakfast to continue, there will be fundamental changes to the format. Many of the changes affect characteristics that have been implicated in the theoretical argument. For example, they will now be functioning in a space that is far more public than a personal home. This removes the influence of Brad and Renee’s personal practices and lifestyle and also removes the novelty that sparks a search for meaning and generates word of mouth buzz. They will also be operating on a Saturday from 9 am to 1 pm. Given the current argument, this could have implications for perceptions of personal dedication or for the type of people that choose to attend. Again, this prompts new and interesting research questions pertaining to its survival as an organization and how the message is received given the new context. In addition, if the organization does not survive or the community dissolves, how do individuals cope with the loss of a consumption community? Do the practices and relationships persist in the absence of a centralized event? If so, how does this occur?

Finally, future research should investigate ways in which an organization’s constructed consumption experience can increase personal identification with a cause. For example, the Rosa Café nametags may do more than facilitate interaction among guests. Writing one’s name on a piece of masking tape or posting one’s name to the wall may create a psychological connection between the self and the organization. Furthermore, the organization relies almost entirely on word of mouth advertising. The data shows that this engages individuals in personal testimonials in which they must explain why they would have breakfast in a stranger’s home, how the breakfast is even legal, and why they make the early morning effort. Such testimonials seem to require introspection that could generate greater identification to the organization as

individuals reflect, explain and defend their participation in the unusual effort. Further potential for identification comes from the payment system in which one is not told to pay a set amount but instead offered a suggested donation. Indirectly, this system asks individuals to reflect on what this breakfast means to them. Future research should explore the potential for such practices to amplify the effectiveness of the CFFA model in connecting the self with the organization.

To conclude, the CFFA model demonstrates an advancement in how CMOs attack mainstream marketing and resulting consumer hegemony. The present case shows that dramatic shifts in consciousness can occur when movement leaders attend to the benefits of consuming the endorsed alternative and make those benefits concrete. Constructing these benefits within a meaning-laden, broadly attractive consumption opportunity further advances the cause by attracting a larger, more diverse population of consumers. As these consumers internalize the higher meaning, carrying the orientation beyond the confines of the constructed consumption experience, they magnify the impact of the CMOs efforts, thus inspiring remarkable social change.

Chapter 2: Purchase-Dependent Impression Formation: Who Cares Why You Bought It?

This research explores the role that purchase motivation inferences play when observers form impressions of other consumers. We find that motivation inferences (1) differ depending on one's adherence to materialism and (2) extend beyond a simple association between purchase type (experiential versus material purchase) and motivation (intrinsic versus extrinsic). Namely, individuals low in materialism use purchase type as an indicator of another's purchase motivation and use this inference when forming an impression of the consumer. This motivation inference based on purchase type occurs even in the presence of an explicitly stated purchase motivation. Alternatively, individuals high in materialism do not infer purchase motivation from the purchase type, but will use motivation information when the consumer explicitly states it.

Reality television star Kim Kardashian captivated millions with a lavish wedding that included 3 couture gowns and more than 15-million dollars' worth of diamonds. In an interview, Kim stated, "Glam aside, that wasn't our main goal. It was really about our family and each other," (Garcia 2011). Some viewers agreed with the celebrity: "It was a fantastic event, and every girl wants a beautiful amazing wedding," said one magazine reader (People 2011a). Others, however, questioned the star's motive for extravagance. "It would be pitiful if all that work and expense was simply for the exposure they got," said one (People 2011b).

Though rarely this high profile, we are often confronted by the purchase decisions of others. Whether through a magazine headline, a Facebook post, or a chance encounter, we observe others' consumption choices. It is only natural that, when we observe such purchase decisions, we form judgments about the meaning of those purchases and use those conclusions to evaluate the purchaser. Existing literature suggests it is reasonable to use purchases as a cue to the nature of purchasers given that consumers buy products that reflect the self (Belk 1988; Sirgy 1982; Solomon 1983) and use them to signal to others (Berger and Heath 2007, 2008; Griskevicius, Tyber, and Van den Bergh 2010).

As our opening example suggests, recent research shows that people judge others based on their purchases (Van Boven, Campbell, and Gilovich 2010). Van Boven and colleagues argue that purchase motivation operates as a critical inference in this judgment process and that observers derive this inference from the purchase type. Specifically, people equate experiential purchases with intrinsic motivation and material purchases to extrinsic motivation. When subsequently evaluating the purchaser, the observer tends to form an unfavorable impression of a consumer of a material purchase because the extrinsic motivation represents an ulterior motive

that warrants suspicion (Van Boven et al. 2010). We call this process “purchase-dependent impression formation.”

Impression formation literature has repeatedly shown that causal factors such as motives and goals influence observers’ conclusions about others’ behaviors (Gilbert, Pelham, and Krull, 1988; Krull, 1993; Malle, 1999; McClure, 2002; Reeder & Brewer, 1979; Read, 1987; Reeder et al., 2001; Sutton and McClure, 2001; Trope, 1986). Particularly in the case of intentional behavior, an observer explains another’s actions by interpreting the actor’s reasons for the behavior (Malle 1999; O’Laughlin and Malle 2002). However, multiple motivation inferences can be made given a single action; therefore, various attributions can result (Reeder, Kumar, Hesson-McInnis, and Trafimow, 2002; Reeder, Vonk, Ronk, Ham and Lawrence, 2004). In contrast, in the case of consumption, extant research suggests a simplifying heuristic: the observer automatically assumes a specific motivation based on whether the purchase is experiential or material in nature (Van Boven et al. 2010). The inferred motivation then determines impressions of the purchaser.

Though this simplistic judgment process is intuitively appealing, it cannot account for different opinions *within* purchase type, such as that resulting from identical materialistic behavior: Why do some observers question the motives behind twenty-eight carat diamond earrings while others do not? The current research questions the propensity for motivation inferences to function the same way across all individuals. We base this challenge on the proposition that an observer’s own values regarding possessions should influence the associations the observer has with certain purchases and how these associations factor into the impression formation process. More specifically, whether a purchase type predicts inferred motivation should depend on the observer’s orientation toward that purchase type. In addition,

the current research questions whether the categorization of experiential versus material purchases is adequate for capturing differences in purchase-derived motivation inferences.

VALUES AS INTERPRETIVE LENSES

Values are concepts or beliefs related to desirable outcomes and behaviors (Rokeach 1973; Schwartz and Bilsky 1987). Existing as cognitive structures, values shape the interpretation of behavior and events in the environment. Hence, how one interprets the behavior of another person depends on the content and importance of certain values relevant to that behavior. The value most pertinent to the current research is materialism as conceptualized by Richins and Dawson's (1992). These authors define materialism as "a set of centrally held beliefs about the importance of possessions in one's life." (1992; 308). More specifically, the materialism value centers on the role of possessions in defining success, happiness and satisfaction in life. High materialists purchase possessions with the intent of symbolizing these various meanings to themselves and to others, whereas low materialists do not.

This conceptualization poses problems for the existing theory, which takes the conventional view of extrinsic and intrinsic as indicative of efforts pursued for a separate outcome versus those pursued for personal interest, respectively (Deci and Ryan 2000). For high materialists, the complex relationship one has with possessions makes it difficult to bucket one's purchase motivation into either of these categories. In fact, a high materialist's motivation for owning possessions should frequently include both extrinsic and intrinsic components, leading one's overall perception of motivation to straddle the line between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. This perspective is reinforced by other research pertaining to experiential and

material purchases. Carter and Gilovich (2012) demonstrate that individuals high in materialism see material purchases as more relevant to the self, and in this way more similar to experiential purchases, than do individuals low in materialism. Furthermore, individuals high in materialism derive equal happiness from positive experiences and positive possessions, whereas individuals low in materialism find greater happiness in their positive experiences than in their positive possessions (Nicolao, Irwin and Goodman, 2010).

Just as the meaning placed on one's own material and experiential purchases differs from person to person, so too should the meaning one attributes to others' purchases. Nevertheless, prior work suggests that when meanings are derived from others' purchase behavior, a more universally held association "link[s] specific, observable, everyday behaviors—the pursuit of material possessions versus life experiences—with extrinsic versus intrinsic motives" (Van Boven et al. 2010). This leads to the denigration of a person observed with a material purchase (e.g. jewelry) relative to someone observed with an experiential purchase (e.g. vacation). However, because materialists conceptualize possessions as manifestations of both success *and* personal happiness, both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations potentially underlie the same purchases; therefore, simply observing a material purchase should not be sufficient evidence to garner suspicion about the purchaser's character. On the other hand, because low materialists view possessions more unidimensionally, an observed material purchase may seem like reliable evidence to justify suspicion. In accordance with these divergent values, we maintain that the more complex system of meanings attributed to material purchases makes individuals high in materialism less inclined to use a simplifying heuristic when forming a purchase-based impression of a consumer.

To ascertain the meaning ascribed to certain purchases and the role of motivation in purchase-dependent impression formation, more generally, we build on past work. First, we focus greater attention on the specific motivation inferences being made by the observer. To do this, we explicitly distinguish between motivation and personality trait inferences to better demonstrate their unique roles. Combining inferred motivation *and* personality traits as in past work (Van Boven et al. 2010) obfuscates the precise judgment process: it makes it impossible to know if the unfavorable impression of individuals with material purchases is driven by personality trait inferences, motive inferences, or both. Some research has in fact shown that perceived motivations are distinct—indeed, a driver of—personality judgments. That is, perceived motives mediate the effect of a specific behavior on trait attributions (Reeder et al. 2002; Reeder et al. 2004). For many individuals, the two categories of purchases—experiential and material—are indeed exemplars of opposite motivations, but they might also suggest other relevant features of the purchaser. For example, a person observed purchasing a ski vacation may be viewed as athletic, brave, good-looking and fun—all distinct from an intrinsic purchase motivation inference but nevertheless relevant for the overall impression of the person. We predict that the observer’s own materialism will influence how inferences are drawn into the impression formation process. However, this can be demonstrated only when motivation and personality trait measures are treated as separate constructs.

Second, we extend the classic paradigm contrasting a material and an experiential purchase to include a within-category comparison. This ensures that we can unconfound purchase type (material vs. experiential) and inferred motivation (extrinsic vs. intrinsic). Specifically, a second material purchase condition is added to the historical design because (1) the original effect appears to be driven by the derogation of materialistic consumers (Van Boven

et al. 2010) and (2) it is material possessions for which high materialists have richer possession-dependent schemata (Hunt, Kernan, and Mitchell 1996). Thus, it is the most promising purchase category for exploring variance in impression formation processes. We use a within-category comparison of authentic versus counterfeit material purchases to leverage a possible difference in inferred motivation for what are otherwise nearly identical products (Eisend and Schuchert-Guler, 2006; Wilcox, Kim, and Sen 2009). We predict that the counterfeit condition will activate the concept of inauthenticity (Gino, Norton and Ariely 2010), intensifying the extrinsic motivation inference for those with a more simplistic view of possessions (low materialists) but not for those with a more complex view of possessions (high materialists).

OVERVIEW OF EXPERIMENTS

In the experiments that follow, we demonstrate the variable role of motivation inferences in the purchase-dependent impression formation process. In Study 1, we examine the process by which stereotypes associated with purchases are employed to assess purchasers. First, we disentangle inferred motivation from inferred personality traits in the judgment process and find that they are separable. We also unconfound purchase type and inferred motivation by extending the classic paradigm to a within-category comparison – an authentic material purchase to a counterfeit material purchase. This comparison holds many factors constant while allowing inferences about motives to vary (Wilcox et al. 2009). We find that participants' own degree of materialism determines reliance on the material-extrinsic association in the process. Then, in Study 2, we unpend the inference process by explicitly providing purchase motivation. We find that participants low in materialism continue to infer purchase motivation from the purchase type

even under these circumstances, further proving that people systematically differ in their purchase-dependent impression formation processes depending on their values.

STUDY 1: INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN IMPRESSION FORMATION

Study 1 sought to replicate and extend the prior work on purchase-dependent impression formation with the addition of several methodological and analytical improvements. Participants read a quote ostensibly from a student describing a recent discretionary purchase. We varied the type of purchase between participants and measured evaluations of the purchaser in terms of general impressions, inferred purchase motivations, and personality traits (Van Boven et al. 2010). But, diverging from past work, we also included the Material Values Scale (MVS) (Richins 2004) to help understand the prevalence of associating material purchases to extrinsic motivation. MVS measures the degree to which an individual views possessions as a critical aspect of one's happiness and success in life. Whereas individuals who do not adhere to materialism as a value are likely to use a heuristic linking purchases to motivation when forming impressions, high materialists should be less likely to utilize this simplistic view of consumption.

This reasoning in concert with past research also leads to the hypothesis that inferred motivation is distinct from inferred personality traits, and that they serially influence general impressions of the consumer. Thus, we believe that some observers may not use motivation inference in judgments of purchasers, but may arrive at personality trait inferences through alternative means. Many things vary other than purchase motivation between experiential and material purchases (for example, product status, group membership, etc.), which depending on the observer could inform personality attributions. In order to test that possibility, we must separate motivations from personality traits, which past work has not done. Furthermore, we

expect this serial process to reveal differences for even a within-category comparison, demonstrating that individual differences in purchase-dependent impression formation extend beyond the categorization of experiential versus material purchases.

Method

Participants and procedure. Seventy-four females between the ages of 18 and 26 years old completed a series of surveys in exchange for ten dollars. Participants were told they would be reading a student quote that described a discretionary purchase between \$100 and \$500. There were three conditions: experiential, authentic material, and counterfeit material. Specifically, participants read that the consumer purchased a ski pass, a designer purse, or a fake designer purse for \$300. The ski pass was chosen as a prototypical experiential purchase within this price range (Van Boven et al. 2010). The purse was chosen because it falls in the range of products commonly listed as materialistic purchases (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003; Van Boven et al. 2010) and is a product typically available in counterfeit markets (Wilcox et al. 2009).

After reading the purchase description, participants were asked to evaluate the purchaser on the scales previously employed (Van Boven et al. 2010). First, participants rated their impression of the purchaser (1 = *very unfavorable*, 7 = *very favorable*; 1 = *very unlikable*, 7 = *very likable*) and how much they would like know the purchaser (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*). These three items were combined as a measure of general impression ($\alpha = .90$). A pilot test (N = 79) verified that the general impression of the consumer was viewed less favorably when the purchase was material than when it was experiential (M = 3.72 vs. M = 4.59, $t(75) = 3.18$, $p = .002$). Furthermore, the impression of the purchaser with a counterfeit material purchase (M =

3.13) was less favorable than that of the purchaser with an authentic material purchase ($t(75) = 2.10, p = .039$), confirming that within material purchases, general impressions can vary.

Participants were also asked whether they thought the purchase was made for “intrinsic rewards such as personal enjoyment rather than extrinsic rewards such as status” (1 = *primarily extrinsic rewards*, 7 = *primarily intrinsic rewards*). As a final evaluation of the purchaser, 10 personality traits (e.g. *altruistic/helpful, arrogant, humorous*) were presented randomly on 7-point Likert scales, and participants were asked to rate how well each personality trait described the purchaser. Finally, participants reported demographic information and whether or not they owned counterfeit products and ultimately our additional MVS variable ($\alpha = .84$) (Richins 2004), which was completed later in the session as parts of an ostensibly unrelated study.

Results

To test our predictions, two dummy-coded variables were created; one variable where the experiential condition was given the value of one and a second variable where the counterfeit condition was given the value of one (see Aiken and West 1991). We used multiple regression to examine the interaction between each dummy variable and the centered materialism scale, while simultaneously entering the main effects as predictors in the analysis with the items listed above as dependent variables, respectively.

Judgments of the Purchaser. The impression of a consumer with an experiential purchase was directionally more favorable than that of a consumer with an authentic material purchase, though unlike the pilot, not significantly ($t(71) = 1.45, p = .15, \beta = .16$). Nevertheless, in line with the predictions, the impression of the consumer with a counterfeit material purchase was less favorable than that of a consumer with an authentic material purchase ($t(71) = -4.08, p <$

.001, $\beta = -.46$). There were no significant interactions.

There were also significant differences in participants' inferences about the purchaser's personality as measured by the composite of the ten trait items ($\alpha = .82$). As predicted, the personality evaluation was significantly more desirable for the purchaser with the experiential purchase than for the purchaser with the authentic purchase ($t(71) = 3.52, p < .002, \beta = .39$) and significantly less desirable for the counterfeit purchase than for the authentic purchase ($t(71) = -2.58, p < 0.02, \beta = -.29$). Again, there were no significant interactions.

These patterns suggest participants equate experiential purchases with more admirable characteristics and material purchases with less admirable characteristics. When those material purchases are counterfeit, even worse characteristics are associated with the purchaser. To address how consumption-relevant values influence this process, we analyze inferred motivation and the full impression formation process.

Inferred Purchase Motivation. The motivation inferred from an experiential purchase was significantly more intrinsic than that of an authentic material purchase ($t(71) = 6.28, p < 0.001, \beta = .61$). This replicates findings of Van Boven et al. (2010). The inferred motivation for the authentic purchase did not differ from the counterfeit purchase ($t(71) = -.43, p = .67, \beta = -.04$); however, this results from a significant crossover interaction between material purchase type and materialism ($t(71) = 3.06, p = .003, \beta = .44$). For individuals one standard deviation above the mean materialism level, the counterfeit material purchase indicated motivation that was significantly more intrinsic than for the authentic material purchase ($t(71) = 1.97, p = .05, \beta = .28$) whereas for individuals one standard deviation below the mean, the authentic material purchase indicated motivation that was significantly more intrinsic than for the counterfeit material purchase ($t(71) = -2.48, p = .015, \beta = -.36$). Therefore, if we look only at the

experiential purchase versus the authentic material purchase, there appears to be a relationship between motivation and general impression. And yet that relationship cannot explain the pattern of results in the within-category comparison. This casts doubt on the assumption that inferred motivations always lead to judgments of the purchaser. We explore this process next.

Process Analyses. Indicator coding and bootstrapping methods (Preacher and Hayes 2011) were used to measure the indirect effect of the categorical independent variable (purchase type) and of the continuous mediating variables (inferred motivation and personality). The indicator coding strategy was employed with the authentic material condition as the reference group. Though the three conditions were analyzed simultaneously, for clarity the relative indirect effects will be discussed separately in order to address the conceptual replication as well as the extension of past work.

A multiple mediation (Hayes 2012) was conducted to test the hypothesized process—namely that inferred motivations and personality assessments operate in serial to mediate the effect of purchase type on general impressions of the purchaser. The estimates suggest the pathway differs based on the relative indirect effect under consideration. For the indirect pathway comparing experiential purchases to authentic material purchases, the data suggests the effect of purchase type on general impressions operates through both inferred motivations and personality traits (CI(95): .11 to .73) (see Figure 8). No other pathways were significant. This is consistent with the proposed theory that inferred motivation resulting from an experiential purchase translates into more positive personality trait evaluations, which in turn leads to a more positive general impression than for a material purchase, and differs from past demonstrations in that it separates motivation from personality assessments. However, comparing counterfeit

material purchases to authentic material purchases, the data suggests the effect of purchase type on general impressions operates through personality traits only (CI(95): -.92 to -.14) (see Figure 9). No other pathway was significant.

Unique Pathways in Impression Formation. A critical difference between this and past work was the inclusion of the MVS. This measure was collected because the meaning one ascribes to one's possessions is likely to influence how one views the causes of other's purchases. Therefore, a moderated mediation model was utilized to explore the degree to which materialism as an individual difference measure affected the relationship between purchase type and general impressions via inferred purchase motivation and personality. The chosen model includes MVS as a possible moderator of all pathways in the mediation. We hypothesized an indirect relationship between the observer's level of materialism and reliance on the purchase-to-motivation association: low materialists alone should demonstrate use of this heuristic. Therefore, low materialists will be more inclined to make trait attributions based on inferred motivation derived from the purchase type than high materialists.

The model supports these assertions. The relative indirect effect of experiential purchases compared to authentic material purchases demonstrates moderation at two steps in the process. The interaction of purchase type and MVS is marginally significant ($B = -1.04$, $SE = .54$, $p = .057$) and the interaction of inferred motivation and MVS significant ($B = -.22$, $SE = .07$, $p = .003$), suggesting moderated mediation (Hayes 2012). Low materialists used purchase type to judge purchasers as mediated by inferred motivation (CI(95): .58 to 2.27), but the high materialists' process was not mediated by inferred motivation (CI(95): -.06 to .41). The relative direct path from purchase type to personality traits to becomes nonsignificant for low materialists

(low: $B = -.43$, $SE = .36$), but remains significant for high materialists ($B = 0.75$, $SE = .27$, $p = 0.008$) when purchase motivation is included as a mediator.

The relative indirect effect of counterfeit material purchases compared to authentic material purchases demonstrates moderated mediation as well. The interaction of purchase type and MVS was significant ($B = 1.79$, $SE = .48$, $p < .001$) and the interaction of inferred motivation and MVS was significant ($B = -.12$, $SE = .06$, $p = .031$). As in the authentic versus experiential comparison, low materialists' assessments of purchasers of certain product types are mediated by inferred motivation (CI(95): $-.91$ to $-.11$), but not high materialists' assessments (CI(95): $-.02$ to $.34$). The relative direct path from purchase type to personality traits becomes nonsignificant for low materialists ($B = -.05$, $SE = .30$) and significant for high materialists (moderate: $B = -.59$, $SE = .24$, $p = .016$) when inferred motivation is included as a mediator. These results suggest that individuals low in materialism infer fundamentally different purchase motivations depending on the material purchase type than high materialists. Furthermore, low materialists use these inferences to form personality trait evaluations, but individuals high in materialism do not.

Discussion

Together, results from Study 1 and the Pilot replicate and extend prior work showing that individuals form less favorable impressions of consumers making material purchases than of consumers making experiential purchases. Moreover, this experiment shows that the derogation of the consumer extends beyond a simple experiential versus material categorization to affect impressions based on different types of material purchases, namely counterfeit goods.

Most importantly, we find that the process by which purchase-dependent impression formation occurs is more complex than previously suspected. Prior work proposed that inferences of disingenuous motivations led to less favorable impressions of targets purchasing material goods (Van Boven et al. 2010). However, the present work finds that purchase-derived motivation alone cannot explain the judgment process. We also extend the understanding of the process by introducing an individual difference measure that impacts the process by which purchase-dependent impression formation occurs. When a consumer describes a purchase, observer's low in materialism utilize a purchase-derived motivation inference to generate personality trait evaluations and a subsequent general impression of the consumer. In contrast, observer's high in materialism do not rely on motivation inferences. That is, low and high materialists differ in how they infer a consumer's purchase motivations and the degree to which they use this information to evaluate personality traits.

Remaining Questions. The results of the moderated mediation offer important insights beyond simply the presence or absence of inferred motivation as a mediator—they also demonstrate a differential sensitivity to motivation in general. Unlike low materialists, high materialists tend not to predict personality from product type by relying on inferred purchaser motivation. In other words, this individual difference adds noise to the dependent variables, contributing flatness to inferred motivations especially where there may be little room to vary (authentic vs. counterfeit within material products). Low materialists act as Van Boven et al.'s, where the very different purchase types serve as a manipulation strong enough to capture this effect in spite of noise. Even more perplexing, the two groups have fundamentally different assessments of the purchase motivation in the counterfeit material versus authentic material comparison: The high materialists believe that the counterfeit material purchase was made for

intrinsic reasons, but the low materialists believe the counterfeit purchase was made for extrinsic reasons.

We argue that high and low materialists hold fundamentally different views on consumption based on the values to which they adhere. However, there is another possible explanation relating to the wording of the item. As in past work, we volunteered “personal enjoyment” as an example of extreme intrinsic motivation and “social status” as an example of extreme extrinsic motivation (see Van Boven et al. 2010). In the counterfeit material condition, a particularly salient characteristic is product-associated status, a characteristic to which high materialists are very sensitive. Instead of making an assessment of extrinsic versus intrinsic motivation, it is possible that these individuals made an assessment of “status” versus “the opposite of status.” Hence, the counterfeit material purchase, which from the perspective of a high materialist may not be purchased to obtain status, must by default be purchased to obtain personal enjoyment. In Study 2, we eliminate this possible demand effect by removing the suggestive anchors from the inferred motivation measure.

Study 2 is designed to further explore the role that the purchaser’s motivation plays in the impression formation process. The previous study relied on purchase type to communicate purchase motivation, but results suggest that individual differences in materialism influence reliance on inferred motivation for evaluating a purchaser. Therefore, in the next experiment, we explicitly manipulate purchase motivation as well as purchase type, still allowing participants to infer personality, to determine precisely how motivation affects the attributed personality traits and the general impressions of the consumer.

Because motivation is an important factor in impression formation processes, we predict that when motivation is made salient, this information will become relevant not only to low

materialists, but also to high materialists. Thus, we use Study 2 to demonstrate that high materialists are not immune to purchase motivation information. They will use purchase motivation to evaluate the purchaser when the motivation is unambiguous, but they will not spontaneously derive motivation from the purchase type.

STUDY 2: MATERIALISM AND EXPLICIT MOTIVATION

In Study 1 and in previous research, purchase motivation was inferred by participants rather than explicitly manipulated. In the within-category comparison of the authentic material purchase to the counterfeit material purchase, we found that high materialists failed to use inferred motivation when evaluating the consumer's personality. We believe this occurs because individuals who endorse materialism as a value have a more complex orientation towards possessions with their motivation for acquiring possessions being both extrinsic and intrinsic in nature; hence, a purchase-to-motive assumption does not provide diagnostic information for evaluating others.

Study 2 attempts to restore the role of motivation by explicitly manipulating it. When purchase motivation is made particularly clear, high materialists should behave like low materialists. Specifically, when the target explicitly states the underlying reason for making the purchase, all individuals should respond to this purchase motivation and use the information to make personality trait evaluations and ultimately to form a general impression of the consumer. Therefore, all observers should evaluate the consumer less favorably—based on a less desirable personality—when the purchase is extrinsically motivated.

Behavior is considered extrinsically motivated when one pursues an action in order to obtain a reward that is distinct from the product itself. In contrast, behavior is considered

intrinsically motivated when one pursues an action because of personal interest, that is, for the inherent value of the activity (Deci and Ryan 2000). For example, one could buy a sports car in order to attract attention from the opposite sex (i.e. extrinsic motivation) or because of the car's high speed down an open road inspires a sense of adventure (i.e. intrinsic motivation). In Study 2, we use this distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation to manipulate the reason a material purchase was made. When the purchase motivation is clearly stated, observers no longer need to infer it. We predict that, though level of materialism may affect the degree to which individuals see these motivations as different, people at all levels of materialism will nonetheless use clearly stated motivation information when forming a general impression of the consumer.

In addition, we include the within-category comparison of authentic versus counterfeit material purchases from Study 1. This comparison elicited the greatest divergence between high and low materialists' conceptualizations of motivation. By including the within-category comparison, we can test the separate effects of purchase type and motivation, thus testing whether high materialists are entirely immune to motivation when forming purchase dependent impressions or if they simply never utilize an assumed purchase-derived motivation the way low materialists do.

Method

Participants and procedure. Two hundred and sixty-six females from the community participated in the study in exchange for \$10, either online or in the laboratory. The experiment was a 2 (Product Authenticity: Authentic vs. Counterfeit) by 2 (Purchase Reason: Nostalgia vs. Attention) between-subjects design. Participants followed the same procedure as in Study 1. The

same stimuli were used except the product details were simplified by removing the brand name and the price of the purchase. To manipulate motivation, an additional statement was included explaining the reason for the purchase. In the nostalgia condition, the consumer stated that the purchase was made because “it reminds me of [a purse] my mom carried when I was young. I feel like I have her beside me everywhere I go.” In the status condition, the consumer stated that the purchase was made because “it is extremely fashionable. I feel like people notice me everywhere I go.”

After reading about the consumer’s purchase authenticity and reason for purchase, participants answered the same items as asked in Study 1 with the following modification. Participants were asked for their overall impression of the consumer ($\alpha = 0.91$). They were also asked to rate the consumer’s personality (ten traits from prior studies, $\alpha = 0.81$) and purchase motivation. As described earlier, the purchase motivation item was slightly modified from Van Boven et al. (2010) and from the item asked in Study 1 in order to better understand the inferences participants were making and reduce possible demand effects. Specifically, participants were asked whether the purchase was made because of extrinsic or intrinsic rewards (1 = *primarily extrinsic rewards*, 7 = *primarily intrinsic rewards*). All items were rated on non-numbered, seven-point scales. This main task concluded with items assessing demographics and counterfeit ownership, but these potential covariates did not affect results and thus will not be discussed further. Participants then completed other tasks including MVS ($\alpha = 0.79$) as part of an ostensibly unrelated study.

Results

The initial analysis investigated effects as a series of regressions. The regression was repeated for all dependent variables with all predictors mean centered prior to analysis. The dependent variable of interest was regressed onto product authenticity, purchase reason, materialism, the two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction. Simple slopes analysis (Aiken and West 1991) was conducted to probe interactions. Experiment setting (online vs. laboratory) had no main or interactive effect so the data was collapsed. Two participants were excluded for incomplete MVS responses.

Extrinsic Versus Intrinsic Motivation. To test whether purchase reason lead to differences in perceived motivation, we regressed inferred motivation on the predictors and interactions. There was a significant main effect of purchase reason ($t(264) = 9.10, p < .001, B = 1.01, SE = .11$), indicating that the manipulation worked as intended: Participants judged the purchase reason as more extrinsic when the purchase was made to help the consumer garner attention than when the purchase was made to remind the consumer of her mother. Based on this manipulation check, the attention motivation is hereafter referred to as “extrinsic” purchase motivation and the nostalgia motivation is referred to as “intrinsic” purchase motivation.

In addition to the main effect, a significant two-way interaction between purchase reason and materialism ($t(264) = -2.04, p = .043, B = -.34, SE = .17$) supports the hypothesis that materialism affects motivation inferences. Specifically, simple slopes analysis showed that the purchase reason had a lesser effect on individuals high in materialism ($t(264) = 5.75, p < .001, B = .82, S.E. = .14$) than individuals low in materialism ($t(264) = 7.94, p < .001, B = 1.18, S.E. = .15$) (see Figure 10). There was also a marginally significant three-way interaction ($t(264) = -1.88, p = .06, B = -.31, SE = .170$) (see Figure 11). Product authenticity moderated the two-way

interaction above. For individuals low in materialism, the motivation manipulation was more impactful in the authentic product condition than in the counterfeit condition whereas for high materialists' the effect of the motivation manipulation did not differ by product authenticity. No other effects were significant.

General Impression. A regression showed that participants had a less favorable impression of the consumer when the purchase reason was extrinsic as opposed to intrinsic ($t(264) = 7.26, p < .001, B = .53, SE = .07$). Individuals high in materialism had a more favorable general impression of the consumer than did individuals low in materialism ($t(264) = 2.71, p = .007, B = .29, SE = .11$). Critically, there was also a significant interaction of product authenticity by materialism ($t(264) = 2.06, p = .041, B = .22, SE = .11$). A simple slopes analysis revealed a significant slope for the authentic purchase condition ($t(264) = 4.32, B = 0.64, S.E. = .15, p < .001$) but not for the counterfeit purchase condition ($t(264) = .46, B = .07, S.E. = .15, p = .65$). High materialists had a more favorable general impression of the consumer who purchased the authentic product but their evaluations of the counterfeit product did not differ from low materialists.

Personality. Judgments of personality traits were significantly predicted by both purchase reason ($t(264) = 7.55, p < .001, B = .39, SE = .05$) and the product authenticity by materialism interaction ($t(264) = 2.42, p = .016, B = .19, SE = .08$). The main effect shows the consumer was perceived as having a less desirable personality when the purchase motivation was extrinsic as opposed to intrinsic. Simple slopes analysis for the interaction shows that like general impression, the slope was significant for the authentic purchase condition ($t(264) = 2.70, p = .007, B = .30, S.E. = .11$), but not for the counterfeit purchase condition ($t(264) = -.76, p = .45, B = -.09, S.E. = .12$).

Process Analysis. Recall that we theorize that individuals form purchase-dependent impressions of others through a process by which motivation influences judgments of personality traits, which ultimately inform the general impression of the consumer. The design employed in the present study with materialism as an individual difference measure suggests a conditional indirect effect (i.e. moderated mediation) (Hayes 2012). In general, the proposed theory implies the effect of inferred motivation on general impressions is mediated by perceived personality traits. The experiment is designed to allow for moderation by materialism or by product authenticity; however, as the theory suggests, these should not affect the impressions when the purchase motivation is clear. With this in mind, a more complex model was used that permits the indirect effect to be multiplicatively moderated by product authenticity and materialism. More specifically, the model includes moderation by materialism of the moderation by product authenticity, which is moderating the conditional direct effect and the first stage of the mediation (see Figure 12).

The analysis supports the proposed theory. The model yields mediation that is not conditional on the level of product authenticity or on individual differences in materialism. As predicted, the model supports only simple mediation with the effect of purchase reason on general impressions operating through personality traits. Bootstrapping analysis yields confidence intervals that exclude zero for all conditions regardless of product authenticity or subject's materialism level (see Table 7). The result shows that when purchase reason is explicit, it informs personality trait evaluations which lead to general impressions—the more intrinsically motivated the purchase reason, the more desirable the traits, hence the more favorable the general impression.

Discussion

Study 2 demonstrates that all observers, regardless of adherence to materialism, rely on purchase motivation when the motivation is unambiguous: An understanding of a consumer's motivation influences the trait attributions, which ultimately shape the general impression. On the surface this seems to disagree with Study 1 because there high materialists also reported a difference in motivation across conditions but failed to use that information to form their judgments. The key to reconciling this apparent contradiction is to recognize the distinction between the motive-to-traits process and the purchase-to-motive process. The present study represents the former, demonstrating the fundamental reliance on motives as information (Malle 1999; O'Laughlin and Malle 2002; Reeder et al. 2002; Reeder et al. 2004). When the motive is easy to interpret as either intrinsic or extrinsic, the reactions are consistent across all individuals. The purchase-to-motive association occurs when motives must be inferred, in which case one's reliance on inferred motives is inversely related to one's adherence to materialism – an effect that will be revisited in the general discussion.

As predicted, in Study 2 materialism did not moderate the impression formation process; however, it did moderate inferences about motivation. The three-way interaction in Study 2 agrees with results from Study 1 in which individuals low in materialism viewed materialistic behavior as indicative of motive. In Study 2, the low materialists were influenced not only by the stated motivation but also by the purchase type, thus the purchase type amplified the difference in inferred motivation. Note that high materialists recognized the difference between the nostalgia condition and the attention condition as intrinsic and extrinsic, respectively, but this distinction was not exacerbated by any purchase-based assumption.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

In two studies, we show that purchase motivation factors into impression formation in a more nuanced way than had been previously suggested. When motivation is unstated, low materialists use a motivation inferred from the purchase type when forming a general impression. For these individuals, material products signify extrinsic motivation that warrants derogation of the consumer. This purchase-derived motivation inference differs for high materialists who do not have such a simple, categorical association between purchases and motivation. Instead of assuming a motivation, high materialists use motivation information only when it is explicitly stated, and even then, they give less weight to these statements than low materialists do.

These findings clarify prior research in demonstrating that instead of a universally held association linking material purchases to extrinsic motivation (Van Boven et al. 2010), derogation of materialistic consumers relative to experiential consumers is in fact occurring as the result of unique pathways dependent on the observer's own values. In this sense, these findings demonstrate that the association linking a purchase type to a specific motivation is better described as prejudice than stereotype (Van Boven et al. 2010). Whereas a stereotype arises from a universally held social categorization, prejudice arises as an intergroup process in which individuals recognize a social category in "me" versus "not me" terms and make judgments in line with category-based beliefs (Brewer 2007). Individuals who do not adhere to materialism as a value appear to display prejudice against those who do through the assumption that material purchases indicate extrinsic motivation. They then use this motivation assumption in the derogation of materialistic consumers. This is particularly evident in Study 1 in which purchase derived motivation assumptions factor into the evaluation directly, but it also emerges in Study 2 when the motivation is clearly stated. In the latter study, for low materialists the purchase type

continues to influence assessments of motivation above and beyond the effect of the consumer's statement, showing that even if a consumer clearly states a purchase motivation, purchase-to-motive associations continue to influence the low materialist.

This distinction between low and high materialists' purchase-derived motivation inferences becomes evident with the separation of motive and trait attributions (Reeder et al. 2002; Reeder et al. 2004). Without this separation, it appears as though the process is the same for all levels of materialism because all individuals come to similar conclusions, but how they arrive at this evaluation differs. Though the results cannot entirely speak to the process by which high materialists arrive at their evaluations, the literature offers some clues. Regular adherence to materialism as a value leads materialistic individuals to form particularly rich possession-dependent schemata (Hunt, Kernan, and Mitchell 1996). These schemata are used to interpret the self and others based on consumption relevant features. Materialists should have more developed cognitive structures pertaining to consumption that may encompass more than simply an associated motivation. For example, the status associated with a purchase may be particularly salient to high materialists. This could explain the current pattern of results in that a ski trip may be considered a higher status purchase than a purse, which is higher status than a counterfeit purse. The general impression then follows from considerations related to status not motivation. Study 2 also hints at this possible status inference in that an authentic material purchase results in a boost in general impressions from high materialists but not from low materialists who have the same general impressions for both the authentic and the counterfeit product. In light of this, future research should investigate more specifically what information source supplants inferred purchase motivation for high materialists.

With regard to high materialists perceptions of motivation, Study 2 also shows that high

materialists have a less pronounced reaction than low materialists when evaluating nostalgia and attention purchase reasons as intrinsic and extrinsic, respectively. This has possible implications for prior work showing that materialism interferes with social relationships (Kasser 2002, Lane 2001). Van Boven et al (2010) argue that this occurs in part because the stigmatization of materialistic people presents a barrier to the formation of relationships because interactions are layered with suspect motives. In fact, the present work supports this proposition to the degree that it relates to low materialists judging materialistic behavior. But, the present work also demonstrates that individuals high in materialism are less discerning in their assessment of motives. This leads to an alternative explanation for poor relationships. Because high materialists are less discerning, they may be more likely to engage with disingenuous people. One might say their system for detecting and reacting to extrinsic motivation is not well calibrated. A greater likelihood of entering into problematic relationships could explain in part why materialists rate their social relationships less favorably (Kasser and Ryan 2001). This warrants further exploration.

The contributions outlined thus far arise from the separation of motivation and trait inferences, but also from the introduction of a within-category comparison. Specifically, the counterfeit condition highlights the differences in how high and low materialists conceptualize motivation while also showing that purchase-dependent impression formation goes beyond a two-category system of experiences and material purchases. The data demonstrate that this simple dichotomization cannot account for the variation in product meaning. In line with this, future research should investigate the content specificity of purchase-dependent impressions. The current work measures general impression resulting from a constellation of personality traits; however, certain products may have strong trait associations (Chartrand, Huber, Shiv and

Tanner 2008; Sela and Shiv 2009). The degree to which these traits reflect upon the user remains an empirical question. For example, does an observer automatically attribute a more creativity to a consumer using Apple products? And how do motivation inferences affect this process? Furthermore, this process may be another case in which individual differences in materialism affect the attributions. The high materialists may have stronger possession schemata leading to stronger product-to-owner trait associations. Low materialists may be more inclined to demonstrate motive relevant variation in those attributions, or if the purchase is material, may overlook product traits entirely due to a default association that the purchase was made for ulterior motives. Thus, future work should address when and how these product traits become considered part of the user's personality and how this varies based on the observer's personal lens.

The introduction of the second material purchase condition also generates implications for our understanding of counterfeit goods. The present research suggests that purchasing counterfeits may be harmful to a consumer's personal interactions. Interestingly, even when transparent about the authenticity of the item, consumers are derogated as a result of the purchase. Thus, the status boost that one might expect from purchasing a luxury branded item may be undermined if the observer knows – or even simply suspects – the purchase is counterfeit, leading one to wonder whether the added cost an authentic luxury good is worth the potential derogation it may cause. This would be particularly true for lower cost luxury purses that are more likely to be conspicuously branded and also more likely to be counterfeited (Han, Nunes and Dreze 2010).

In summary, this research demonstrates that purchase-dependent impression formation goes beyond a simple purchase-to-motive categorization. Instead of a universal association

mapping material purchases to questionable motives, the association depends on consumption-related values endorsed by the observer and the purchase being displayed. So whether a pair of 28-carat diamond earrings functions as a direct reflection of a person's love or as an ostentatious call for attention depends on who receives an invite to the wedding.

Conclusion

This dissertation investigates questions pertaining to how concepts of motivation develop in the minds of consumers and how those concepts relate to social interactions among consumers. Much of the prior research investigating consumption motivation tends to take a modern psychological perspective in which a human motivation system is thought to be inherent to the individual. The results presented here demonstrate that interactive, interpretive processes play a critical role in the formation and perception of consumer motivation. As a result, motivation appears to be highly malleable, person-dependent and socially constructed.

The first essay demonstrates this through an investigation of a consumer movement organization. The organization leverages consumers' motivation to participate in a unique consumption experience into motivation to participate in a larger, social movement. The research demonstrates that motivation to participate in the movement (i.e. to consume a promoted alternative) results from an interpretive, dynamic process operating through social interaction. More specifically, the organization aligns the interpretive frame of potential adherents with that of the organization through the social interaction, personal relationships, and related learning that form as ancillary components of the consumption environment. These factors translate into greater propensity to support the alternative promoted by the organization. The constructed consumption environment conveys meaning that transforms mainstream consumers' orientation toward their community and the consumption opportunities it generates, thus motivating participation in the larger consumption movement.

With regard to the overarching research question regarding the structure of consumption motivation, the research shows that what originally drives consumption can be dramatically altered by social context. Previous consumer behavior research has shown that social context can make salient certain motivations more than others, thus shifting individuals' preferences for consumption options (e.g. Berger and Heath 2007, 2008; Griskevicius, Tybur and Van den Bergh 2010; Griskevicius, Tybur, Sundie, Cialdini, Miller and Kenrick 2007; Kasser and Sheldon 2000; Mandel, Petrova and Cialdini 2006; Rucker and Galinsky 2008). The current research, however, demonstrates how one's perceived motivation evolves as a result of social context. In the case of Rosa Café, this evolution affects what drives consumption of the unique breakfast experience. Moreover, this drive gains prominence in the individual's broader social environment affecting consumption external to the breakfast as well as other behavioral domains. This suggests there is a dynamic character to one's motivation hierarchy.

The second essay examines how an individual's conceptualization of motivation affects impressions formed of others. The research demonstrates that an observer's motivation to own possessions affects the meaning one attributes to another person's purchases. This then affects the general impression the observer forms of that person. These findings demonstrate additional, important characteristics of consumption motivation as a social construct. The research represents individual-level motivation hierarchies in which the prominence of certain motivations manifests in the form of values and influences individuals' interpretations of social contexts. This calls into question propositions suggesting a universal structure to human motivation and reinforces the argument for motivation hierarchies as individualized and malleable. The results also show that individual differences in consumption motivation have implications beyond what consumers buy to also affect how consumers relate with one another.

Though extremely informative, the research suffers from some limitations that follow primarily from the characteristics of the methodologies. The ethnography presents challenges to internal validity in that one cannot control for aspects of the individual or the environment outside Rosa Café that may affect one's participation in the breakfast events. Hence, the potential for one's motivations to evolve may be limited to a specific population of people. This does not negate the findings, but presents limits to the generalizability of the finding. Challenges of external validity come with the experimental work in that so much of the context is controlled that normal, environmental factors are not at play. In a realistic social context, other attributes about the person would likely interact or override one's purchase-dependent assessment of another's motivation. In line with this, the experiments do not test how heavily weighted the assumed motivation is in subsequent interactions. Interestingly, the Rosa Café findings address this limitation of the experiments to a degree. Data shows that even with other social signals in the environment, some local food adherents question the reasons that apparent non-adherents attend Rosa Café. In some cases, this results in animosity towards the non-adherents and a lack of desire to interact with them. Even still, future research should include additional factors that could moderate the effect of personal motivation hierarchies on the interpretation of others' motivations as well as someone's propensity to interact with others as a result of those interpretations.

Additional questions remain about the ways certain consumption motivations emerge and evolve based on one's values, personal experiences and changing environment. Given the evidence supporting a dynamic character to one's motivation hierarchy, questions remain about what factors must be present to sustain the hierarchy. In the case of Rosa Café, weekly attendance reinforces one's connection to the community and the motivation structure supported

by that community. If the community dissolves, what happens to an individual's sense of motivation? Does the person seek substitutes to satiate the consumption need? Or is the community-specific consumption so closely tied to the perceived motivation that without the community practices the need resumes its original standing in the hierarchy? Questions such as these warrant further investigation.

Given the experimental findings, one might also investigate how characteristics of the individual influence the stability of one's hierarchy, specifically as it relates to certain types of motivation. For example, in the case of Rosa Café, a need for social relationships starts to factor into one's food consumption choices, but it may be that some people are more or less inclined to experience this new perceived motivation. Putting this together with the second essay, one might wonder if low materialists who see experiences and material purchases as less similar than high materialists may be more likely to experience a change in their motivation hierarchy. These low materialists already lean toward experiences over physical goods and since social interaction seems to play a prominent role in an experience, these individuals may be more sensitive to the influence of a Rosa Café model. In such cases, social relationships as motivation could gain greater prominence in a low materialist's motivation hierarchy.

This dissertation supports an argument for consumption motivation as a social construct that emerges and evolves through interpretive, interactive processes. In line with this, the research demonstrates that individual differences in one's motivation hierarchy influence interpretation of one's social environment. Future research should continue to investigate the dynamic formation of one's motivation hierarchy for consumption and for human behavior more broadly. Particular attention should be paid to the interaction between the individual and the social context in which the individual exists. In doing so, the research will be able to contribute

to the existing discourse concerning the nature of human motivation and the ways in which motivation may be inherent and yet still malleable.

Figures

Figures: Consumption Facilitated Frame Alignment: Generating a New Orientation Toward Alternative Consumption

Figure 1: Online Document for Volunteer Recruitment

<p>Looking for another week? Click through the DATES BELOW - Thanks!</p>		<p>IMPORTANT UPDATE: PLEASE ADD YOUR PHONE NUMBER & EMAIL ADDRESS WHEN YOU SIGN UP FOR A TIME SLOT!!! PLEASE CALL RENEE [phone number] IF YOU CAN NOT MAKE YOUR SHIFT! THANK YOU. (if you do not want your personal info on this document, please email me your contact info: [mail address])</p>			
<p>1/9/2012</p>					
<p>Chef</p>					
<p>Sous</p>					
<p><i>Directions: Please write your name AND email address in any available time slots until all are full. Have a note or comment? Please write in the appropriate section.</i></p>					
<p>Thursday Evening Prep</p>		<p>Friday Morning Service</p>			
<p>bring a little something to share for dinner please</p>		<p>Please sign up for 2 time slots if possible.</p>			
<p>6:00 - 9:00</p>		<p>6:00 - 8:00</p>	<p>8:00 - 10:00</p>	<p>9:00 - 11:00</p>	<p>10:00-12:00</p>
<p>1 - needed</p>		<p>1 - needed</p>	<p>1 - needed</p>	<p>1 - needed</p>	<p>1 - needed</p>
<p>2 - needed</p>		<p>2 - needed</p>	<p>2 - needed</p>	<p>2 - needed</p>	<p>2 - needed</p>
<p>3 - needed</p>		<p>3 - needed</p>	<p>3 - needed</p>	<p>3 - needed</p>	<p>3 - needed</p>
<p>4 - needed</p>		<p>4 - needed</p>	<p>4 - needed</p>	<p>4 - needed</p>	<p>4 - needed</p>
<p>5 - needed</p>		<p>5 - needed</p>	<p>5 - needed</p>	<p>5 - needed</p>	<p>5 - needed</p>
<p>6 - needed</p>		<p>6 - needed</p>	<p>6 - needed</p>	<p>6 - needed</p>	<p>6 - needed</p>
<p>7 - needed</p>		<p>7 - needed</p>	<p>7 - needed</p>	<p>7 - needed</p>	<p>7 - needed</p>
<p>8 - needed</p>		<p>8 - optional</p>	<p>8 - optional</p>	<p>8 - optional</p>	<p>8 - optional</p>
<p>9 - needed</p>					
<p>10 - optional</p>					
		<p>Thursday Prep Notes</p>			
		<p>prep leader Rebecca</p>			
		<p>Friday Service Notes</p>			
		<p>expediter:</p>			
<p><i>ROSA appreciates your volunteerism and support - we couldn't do this without you!</i></p>					

Figure 2: Layout of Rosa Café

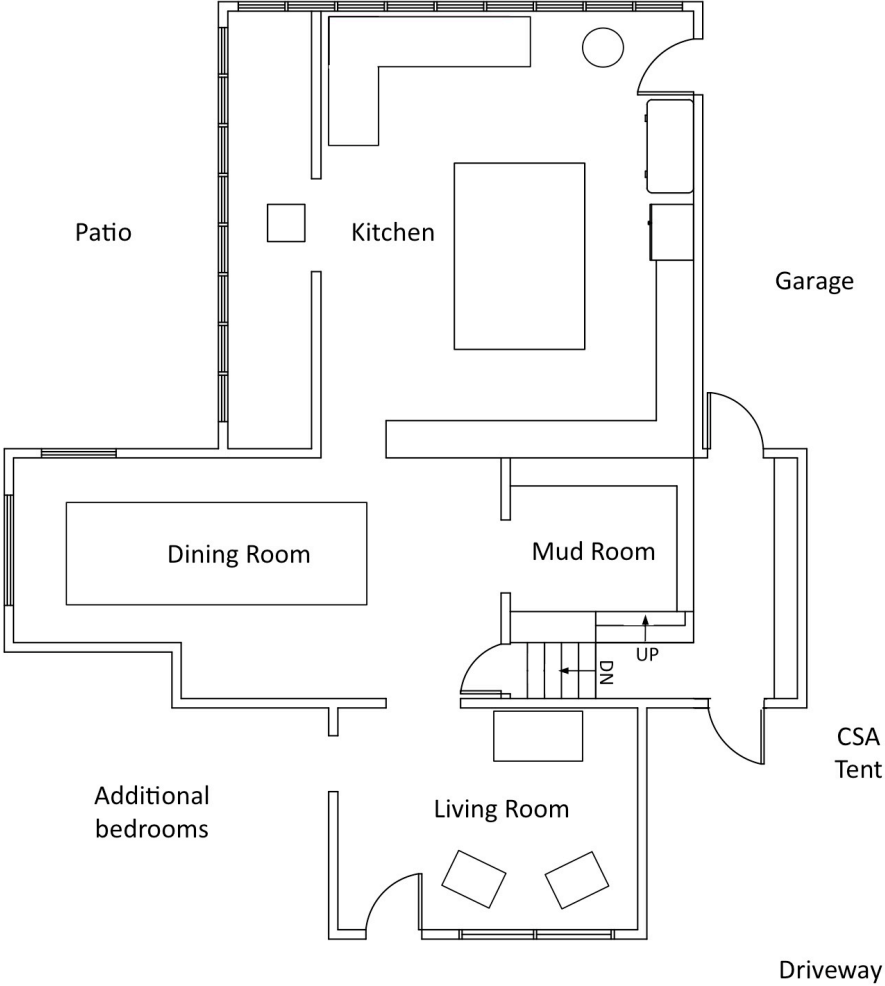


Figure 3: Re-creation of order slips used by servers during breakfast

Guest _____ # _____
___ [weekly special with options]
___ bread pudding (bacon)
___ waffle (bacon)(fruit)
___ granola (bacon)(fruit)
Server _____ time _____

Figure 4: Expected Pathway and Constituency for Rosa Café

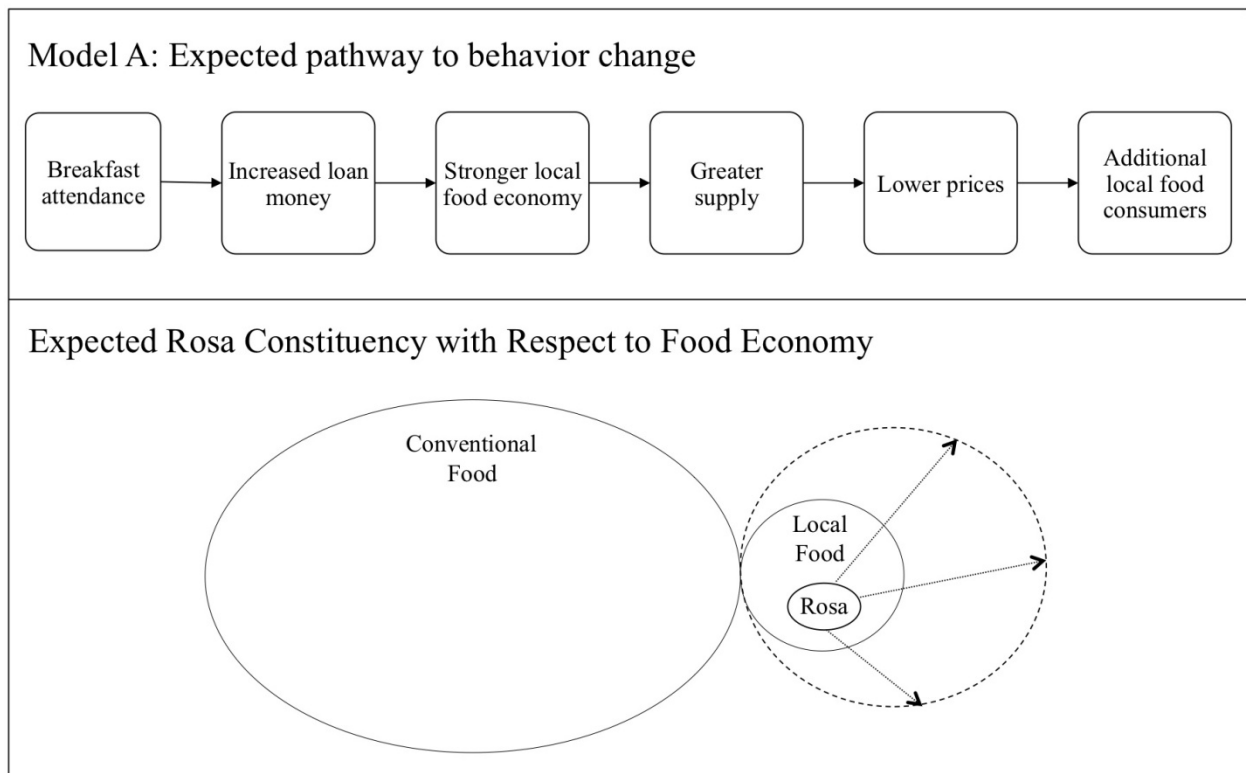


Figure 5: Evolved Pathway and Constituency for Rosa Café

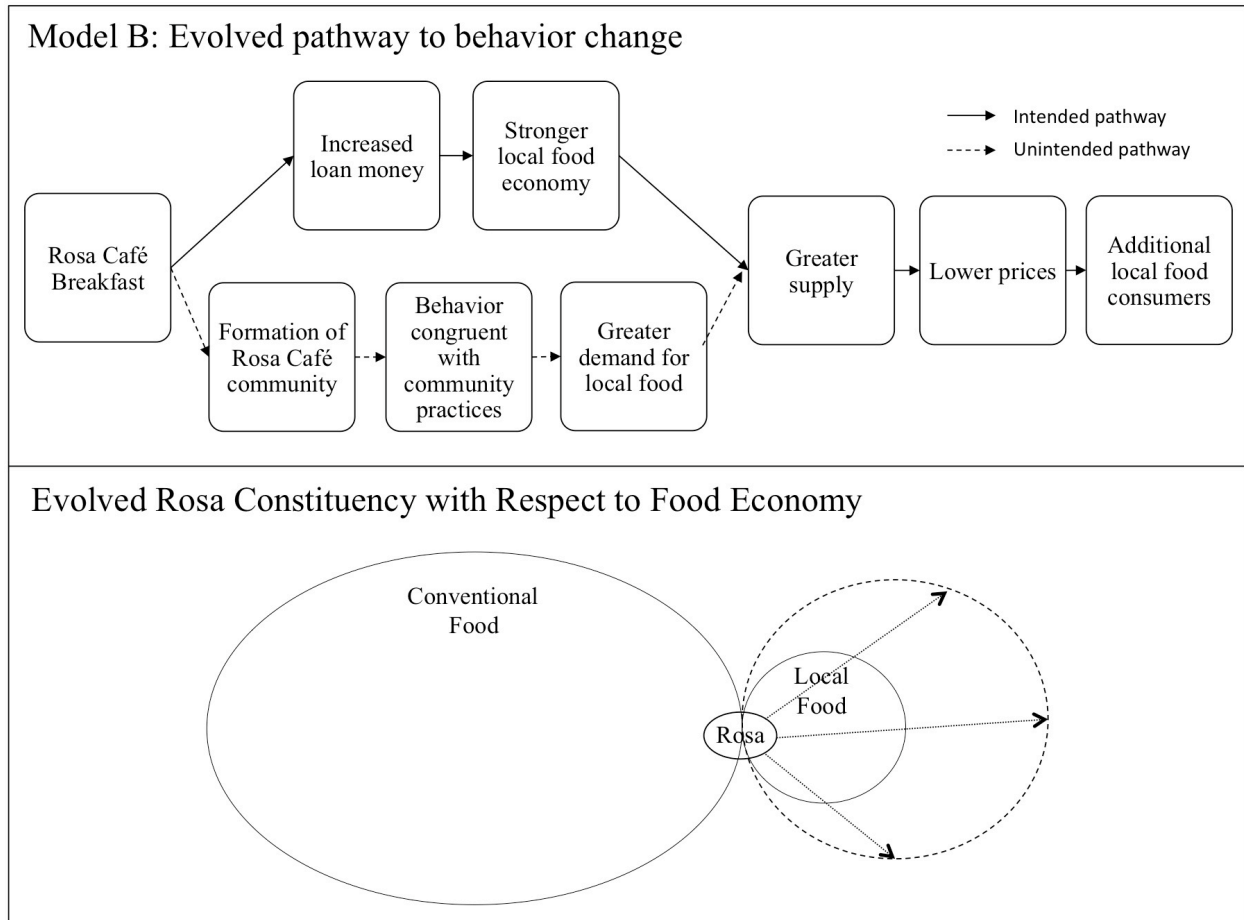


Figure 6: Initial process without existing interpretive frame

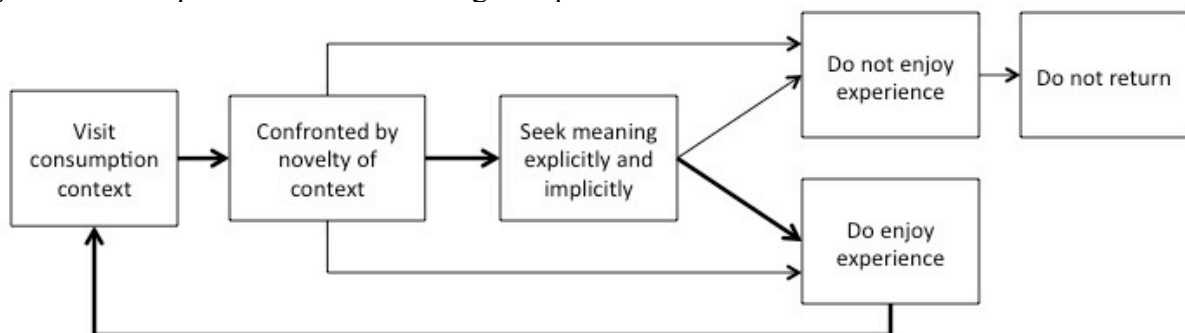
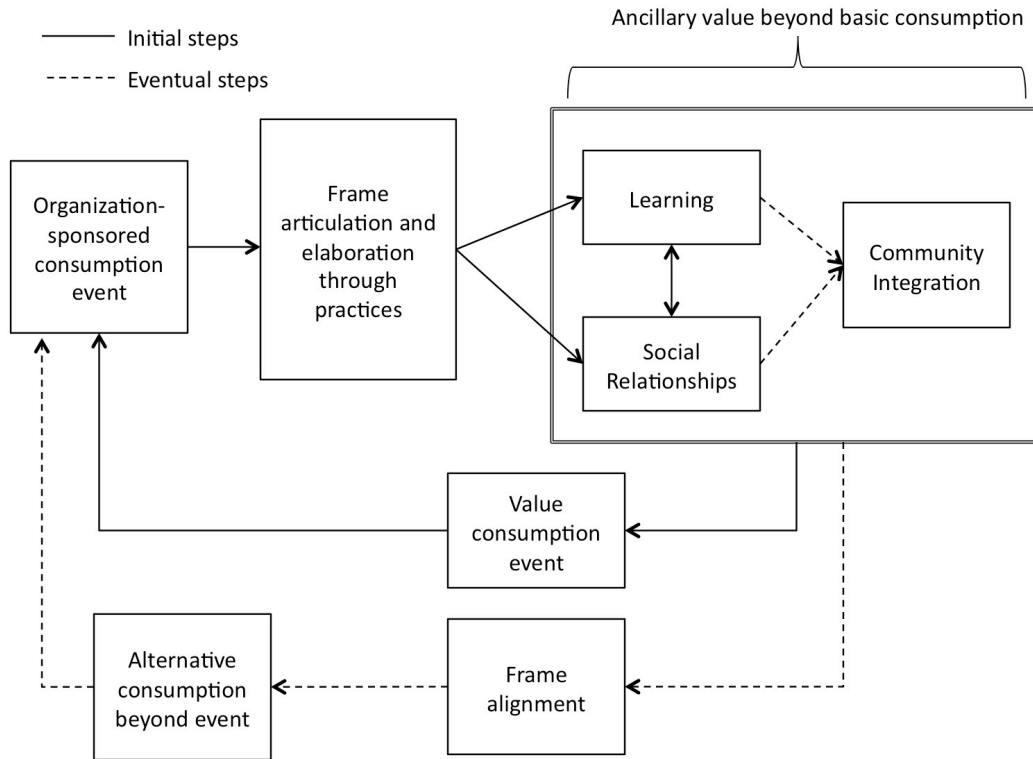


Figure 7: Generalized consumption facilitated frame alignment process

Consumption Facilitated Frame Alignment



Figures: Purchase Dependent Impression Formation: Who Cares Why You Bought It?

Figure 8: Multistep Mediation Model for Experiential Relative to Authentic Material

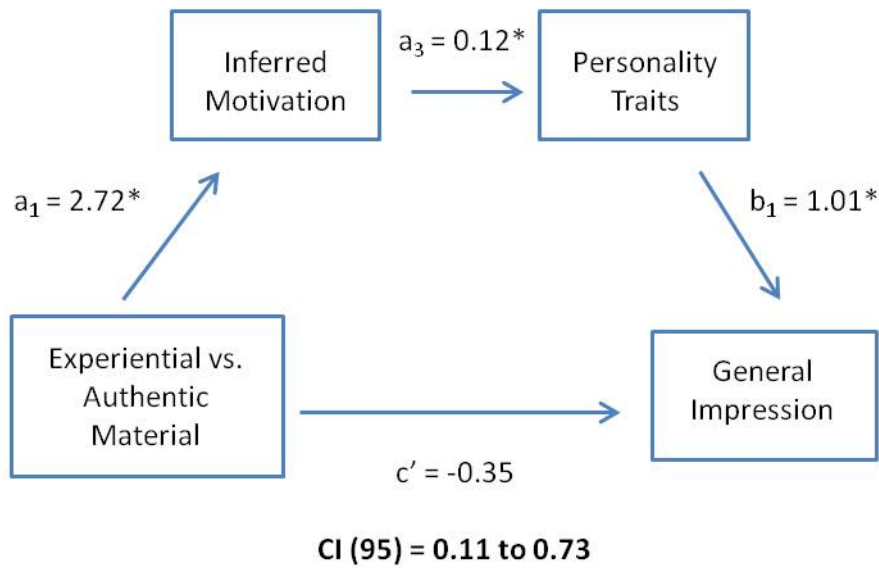


Figure 9: Multistep Mediation Model for Counterfeit Relative to Authentic Material

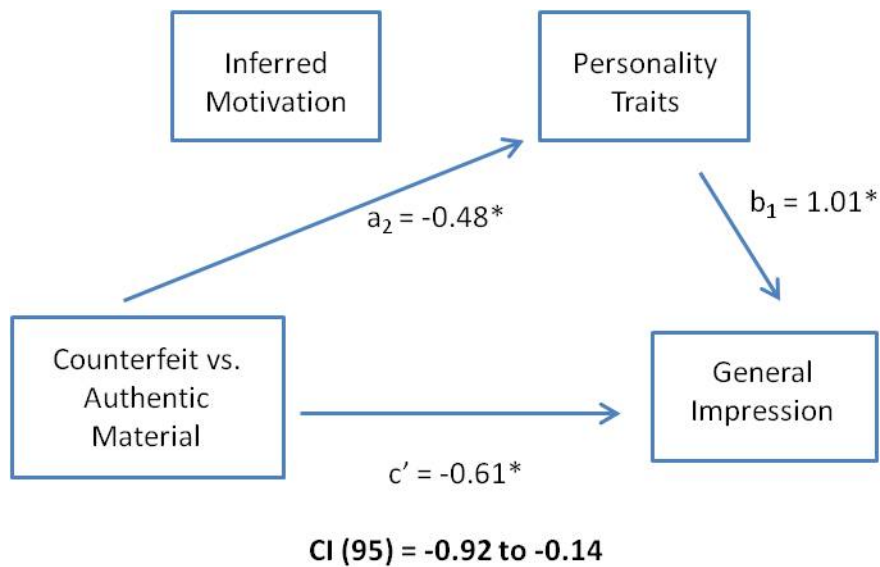


Figure 10: Significant Purchase Reason by Materialism Interaction

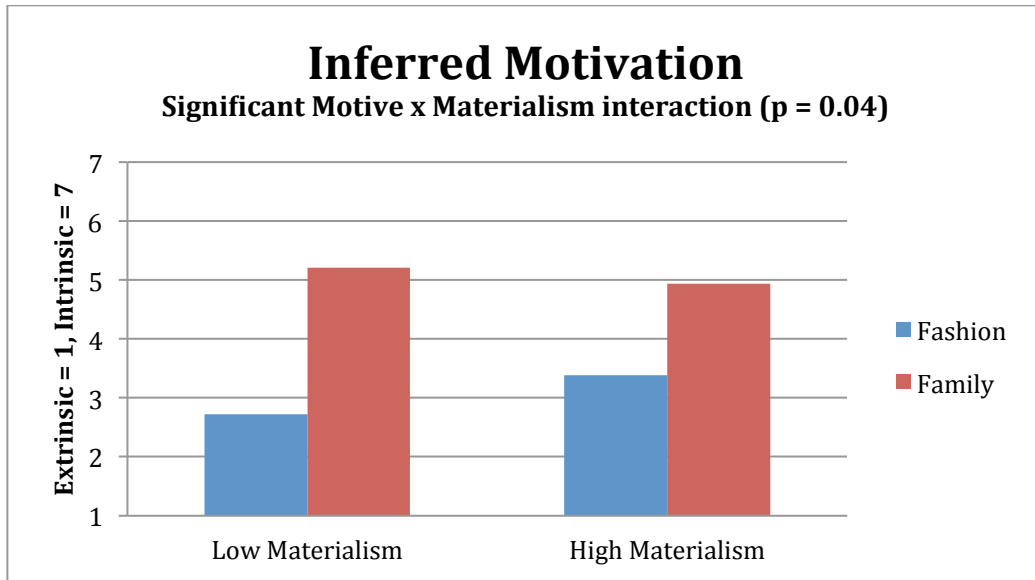


Figure 11: Marginally Significant Product by Purchase Reason by Materialism Interaction

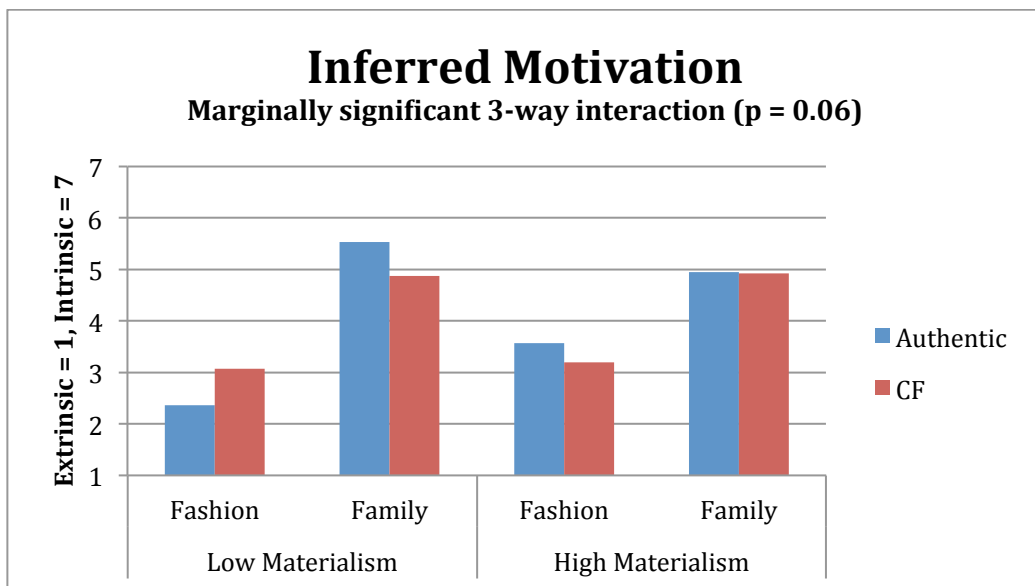
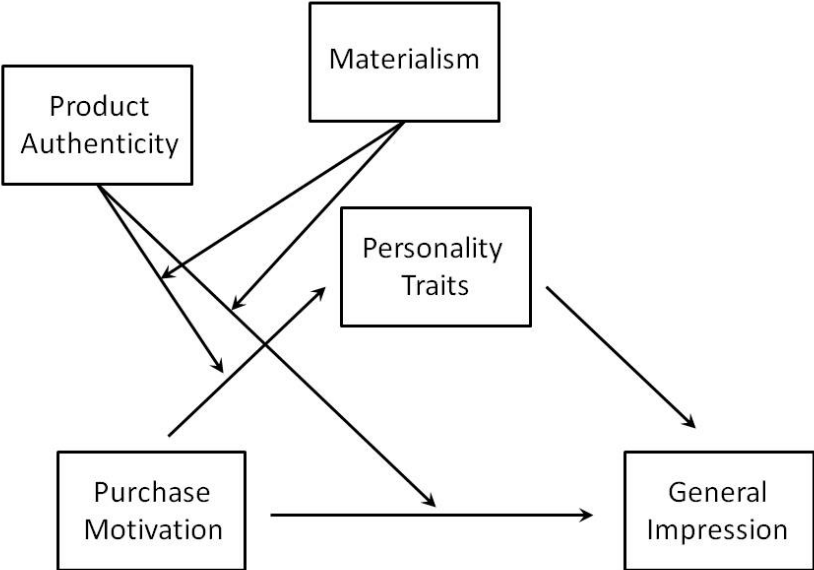


Figure 12: Multiplicatively Moderated Indirect Effect



Tables

Tables: Consumption Facilitated Frame Alignment: Generating a New Orientation Toward Alternative Consumption

Table 1: Summary of Participant Observations

Volunteer Activities							Non-breakfast Activities	
Breakfast with guests	Thursday Prep	Server		Host		Cleanup	Hoop builds	Survey
	6 pm - 9 pm	6 am - 8 am	8 am - 10 am	6 am - 8 am	8 am - 10 am	10 am - 12 pm		
13	5	5	5	3	3	4	2	1

- a. I only consider breakfast as an observation event if I joined other guests as opposed to eating while working or eating separate from the typical seating areas for guests, as in eating at a stool or standing behind the island to preserve seating for guests.

Table 2: Interview participants with demographic information and roles performed at Rosa

Name	Age	Gender	Occupation	Roles Performed						
				Volunteer				Guest	Board Member	Leadership
				Breakfast	Prep	Chef	Hoop			
Renee	55	F	Social Worker	x	x	x	x		x	x
Brad	53	M	Independent contractor	x	x	x	x		x	x
Rebecca	39	F	Stay-at-home Parent	x	x			x		x
Bonnie	46	F	Financial Services	x	x				x	x
Samuel	47	M	Farmer	x	x		x		x	x
Tripp	33	M	Medical Researcher	x	x		x	x	x	x
Joan	70	F	Sales	x				x		
Theresa	57	F	K-12 Librarian	x	x			x		
Ruth	59	F	Ordained Pastor					x		
Karen	56	F	Elementary School Teacher					x		
Casey	27	F	University Development	x				x		
Jenna	22	F	Wellness Specialist	x	x	x				
Cory	30	M	Chemist	x	x	x		x		
Francis	49	F	Environmental Engineer	x		x		x		
Brian	45	M	Mechanical Engineer	x		x		x		
Molly	29	F	Research Librarian	x	x		x	x		

Table 3: Renee’s Rules for Servers

- When greeting groups of guests, do not refer to mixed company as “guys.” Renee feels this is insulting to female guests.
- When clearing plates, say something like, “May I take this for you?” or “Are you finished?” Please do not say “Are you still working on that?” Renee does not believe that food is work.
- If someone asks you a question, and you don’t know the answer, find someone that does. Please do not say, “I’m not sure.”

Table 4: Sample of Meals Served at Rosa Cafe

Assortment of breakfasts offered at Rosa Cafe
Chorizo, cheese and potato tamales topped with salsa ranchero, queso fresco and crema, served with a side of refried black beans and hoop house greens
Challah French toast, stuffed with ricotta cheese and fruit preserves, topped with a chocolate coffee sauce, a sprinkle of granola and a side of bacon
Whole wheat ravioli, stuffed with pumpkin and cheese, topped with a creamy marinara, served with sautéed rapini, house made sausage with a side of hoop house greens
Pumpkin pancakes with apple cider sauce and bacon
Pork terrine, sliced thick and served atop brioche, with a fried egg and a side of hoop house greens
Flour tortillas filled with crispy slices of sweet potato, roasted collard greens, bacon, an egg over easy with garlicky chipotle sauce and a side of hoop house greens
Reuben crepe with Swiss cheese, corned beef, cabbage kraut, beet kraut and homemade Russian dressing served with a side of hoop house greens
Pork confit hash with scrambled eggs and a side of hoop house green
‘Nduja sausage on toasted rustic Italian bread brushed with olive oil and garlic, served with soft scrambled eggs, sautéed ramps and hoop house greens
Chocolate swirled challah French toast, topped with chocolate nip pralines, served with homemade sausage

Table 5: Typology of Rosa Café participants represented as opportunities for frame alignment processes

		Adherents (Amplification Opportunity)		Non-Adherents (Transformation Opportunity)	
		Socially isolated	Socially fulfilled	Socially isolated	Socially fulfilled
Epicurean	<p>...I live by myself—well, I live with my cat, so I frequently do things by myself, so this is something that I would easily go back and walk in the door by myself without any hesitation because of the people sit down and they enjoy a meal, but they also enjoy that way of having a meal, and not just the local part, but that people come together and communicate and so. So it was nice...</p> <p>– Ruth</p>	<p>...I really like the connecting with people in the community that I've never met before. The fact that you're put in the position where it's policy sort of to chat with the person next to you that you've never met before and get to know the, I really like that. Plus, I just, you know, like supporting the locavore movement of sorts, and it's a good breakfast, and I usually take someone with me. I haven't gone alone...</p> <p>– Karen</p>	<p>I was looking for someplace to meet people and a coworker knew I liked food, so he recommended I come. I was really impressed with breakfast. It's just such a great place.</p> <p>–Thursday prep participant</p>	<p>I worked for that grocery shipping group at Amazon and one time there was this huge box of pears that came from South America and was completely covered in mold. The guy pried it open and wasn't surprised. He said that it happens because they picked the pears 6 months ago and stored 'em in nitrogen. But if oxygen gets in, it can ruin the whole box. Six months! It really is insane. But I buy it.</p> <p>– Friday breakfast participant</p>	
	Non-epicurean	<p>...I was looking for social networks, somewhere to plug in. Um, I'd been divorced—recently divorced—and just needed somewhere to plug in...I don't have a strong—I don't go to church. I don't hang out in the bars. I'm not into the party scene. And it's like, I need somewhere, something. And then I remembered that and Renee had started Rosa... And I had gotten to know them at the farmers' market...when I had been selling vegetables there...</p> <p>– Samuel</p>	<p>...I hung out with a group of about ten people who tried to produce as much as we could at home, so that included everything we could--we had the "We Can Do It" list, so we had everything that we thought we could produce at home: soap, candles, beer, wine, meat, catsup, pickles—anything pickled, lots of stuff that's fermented besides beer, including bread, kimchee, etc. And so, you know, that was just something that we had done in our personal lives, and so when Selma came along that fit kind of the general mission...</p> <p>– Tripp</p>	<p>I work from home, so I gotta get out.</p> <p>– Friday breakfast participant</p>	<p>(Type not present in the data)</p>

Table 6: Evidence of community beliefs displayed in Rosa practices and Brad’s view of local food economy challenges

Beliefs	Evidence from Observation	Brad’s Perspective
<p>1. We enjoy our food and give it the attention it deserves.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I came back to eat the rest of my breakfast, and was standing holding my plate. Renee came over to me and said, “Sit. Sit. You should enjoy that even if you are working.” • When Renee cleared the plate from a woman’s spot, the man sitting in the next seat stuck his fork into the half piece of French toast still sitting on the woman’s plate. He acted playfully sneaky with his shoulders up by his ears. Renee responded, “You did exactly what I would do.” 	<p>... there's just these claims that all these economists make ... We should all be as big corporations as we can possibly be and... try to lure in Toyotas to build factories there and try to export as much stuff as we can and trade everything. If there's one town in China that can grow all the broccoli the world can eat most efficiently, then we should grow it all there. I mean, I just don't buy it. I don't feel that way at all. I think communities end up doing things like that...[and] when big companies come to town and when they leave, it hurts people a lot. There's a whole lot of things that happen to people's lives and livelihoods, and you get onto this scale where you can't do things autonomously to help yourself ... I mean, there's all these things about healthier—if you're eating broccoli that Brent's growing, you're probably not eating as many hamburgers that McDonald's would have sold to you, and so then there's a substitution of quality and type of food that goes into local food as well... We spend a lot of money trying to lure these companies—the big sexy deals that person can get elected again on if they do this thing, but that job's likely to leave when they get beat up the next contract go around whatever to take it to some other community. And putting that same kind of effort into helping farmers—I mean farmers aren't going to collectively all pick up and go to Mexico. They live here. They're in the ground. They have roots. It's a symbolic thing to say they have roots in the community, but they have roots in the community... So communities like [this] don't seem all that receptive to the idea that we should just be all excited about creating a thousand dirt farmer jobs. You know, they think we're all supposed to be lawyers and doctors and professors and stuff, and that that would not necessarily be an accomplishment. Well, I think it is! ... jobs for people who didn't manage to make it onto that rung of the ladder are becoming less and less apparent... There aren't that many jobs doing labor. And a lot of the service jobs, even some of those are disappearing and they are not all that rewarding... I don't think we need to convince people to go into farming. We're seeing young people that are wanting to go into farming, and they are willing to work hard... for a little return. A lot of it is for the hope of more return later when they get better at it or the economy improves in certain ways or we start to structure incentives in such a way that people are paying for good food. We're not subsidizing bad food in a way... I think we could reap benefits if we paid attention to that... if we looked at the reality of thousands of jobs that we could be creating by helping.</p>
<p>2. We believe everyone has a part to play.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rebecca sprinkled a tablespoon of granulated sugar on each [crème brulee] asking someone nearby if they thought it was enough. She said, “I’ve never made this.” Then she took the blowtorch and began heating the sugar until it bubbled and browned. She then handed the torch to Neil and said, “Would you like to do some?” He took the torch with a smile and started toasting the tops of the desserts. He did two and then asked John if he wanted a try. John did two while smiling and then asked me. I did two more and then Simone came by and asked what we were doing. I told her and asked if she wanted to toast a couple. She said, “Sure, but I don’t know what I’m doing.” I said, “I don’t think anyone’s done it before, but it’s fun.” Taking the torch from me, she said, “So what do I do?” “You just hold it up here, and push that red button like a trigger,” I said. “Ha!” she said in surprise. She kept it on a little too long and Rebecca said, “Done. Done. It’s done. It keeps going a little after the heat’s off.” “Oh, sorry,” said Simone. “It’s fine,” said Rebecca. • Jenna and Joe, dedicated volunteers acting as chefs, were unsure about how to present their dish and a couple times asked Renee her opinion. She would give them her opinion, but then she would say, “You are the expert.” She then clarified, “I don’t mean ‘you’re the expert as in you figure it out.’ I mean that you are the expert and I trust your decision.” 	<p>... there's just these claims that all these economists make ... We should all be as big corporations as we can possibly be and... try to lure in Toyotas to build factories there and try to export as much stuff as we can and trade everything. If there's one town in China that can grow all the broccoli the world can eat most efficiently, then we should grow it all there. I mean, I just don't buy it. I don't feel that way at all. I think communities end up doing things like that...[and] when big companies come to town and when they leave, it hurts people a lot. There's a whole lot of things that happen to people's lives and livelihoods, and you get onto this scale where you can't do things autonomously to help yourself ... I mean, there's all these things about healthier—if you're eating broccoli that Brent's growing, you're probably not eating as many hamburgers that McDonald's would have sold to you, and so then there's a substitution of quality and type of food that goes into local food as well... We spend a lot of money trying to lure these companies—the big sexy deals that person can get elected again on if they do this thing, but that job's likely to leave when they get beat up the next contract go around whatever to take it to some other community. And putting that same kind of effort into helping farmers—I mean farmers aren't going to collectively all pick up and go to Mexico. They live here. They're in the ground. They have roots. It's a symbolic thing to say they have roots in the community, but they have roots in the community... So communities like [this] don't seem all that receptive to the idea that we should just be all excited about creating a thousand dirt farmer jobs. You know, they think we're all supposed to be lawyers and doctors and professors and stuff, and that that would not necessarily be an accomplishment. Well, I think it is! ... jobs for people who didn't manage to make it onto that rung of the ladder are becoming less and less apparent... There aren't that many jobs doing labor. And a lot of the service jobs, even some of those are disappearing and they are not all that rewarding... I don't think we need to convince people to go into farming. We're seeing young people that are wanting to go into farming, and they are willing to work hard... for a little return. A lot of it is for the hope of more return later when they get better at it or the economy improves in certain ways or we start to structure incentives in such a way that people are paying for good food. We're not subsidizing bad food in a way... I think we could reap benefits if we paid attention to that... if we looked at the reality of thousands of jobs that we could be creating by helping.</p>
<p>3. We appreciate people’s efforts and contribution.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Let’s give a shout out to Marco for making this wonderful food for us...[crowd cheers] And let’s have a shout out to the wonderful farmers that grew the food for us... [crowd cheers] and for our volunteers today... [crowd cheers] and for the beautiful sunshine. [crowd cheers]” – Renee during breakfast 	<p>... there's just these claims that all these economists make ... We should all be as big corporations as we can possibly be and... try to lure in Toyotas to build factories there and try to export as much stuff as we can and trade everything. If there's one town in China that can grow all the broccoli the world can eat most efficiently, then we should grow it all there. I mean, I just don't buy it. I don't feel that way at all. I think communities end up doing things like that...[and] when big companies come to town and when they leave, it hurts people a lot. There's a whole lot of things that happen to people's lives and livelihoods, and you get onto this scale where you can't do things autonomously to help yourself ... I mean, there's all these things about healthier—if you're eating broccoli that Brent's growing, you're probably not eating as many hamburgers that McDonald's would have sold to you, and so then there's a substitution of quality and type of food that goes into local food as well... We spend a lot of money trying to lure these companies—the big sexy deals that person can get elected again on if they do this thing, but that job's likely to leave when they get beat up the next contract go around whatever to take it to some other community. And putting that same kind of effort into helping farmers—I mean farmers aren't going to collectively all pick up and go to Mexico. They live here. They're in the ground. They have roots. It's a symbolic thing to say they have roots in the community, but they have roots in the community... So communities like [this] don't seem all that receptive to the idea that we should just be all excited about creating a thousand dirt farmer jobs. You know, they think we're all supposed to be lawyers and doctors and professors and stuff, and that that would not necessarily be an accomplishment. Well, I think it is! ... jobs for people who didn't manage to make it onto that rung of the ladder are becoming less and less apparent... There aren't that many jobs doing labor. And a lot of the service jobs, even some of those are disappearing and they are not all that rewarding... I don't think we need to convince people to go into farming. We're seeing young people that are wanting to go into farming, and they are willing to work hard... for a little return. A lot of it is for the hope of more return later when they get better at it or the economy improves in certain ways or we start to structure incentives in such a way that people are paying for good food. We're not subsidizing bad food in a way... I think we could reap benefits if we paid attention to that... if we looked at the reality of thousands of jobs that we could be creating by helping.</p>

<p>4. We cooperate.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jenna was walking around the island in a rush and turned to Joe and said something about “really needing his help.” He was making the aioli. Alex, a volunteer helping with prep, said, “Jenna. Hey, Jenna.” “Yeah?” she said. “Everyone’s here to help you.” “Oh thanks, Alex. That was a nice vote of confidence.” 	
<p>5. We are dedicated.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From the entryway I heard Renee say, “Thank you everyone for coming. When I check the list and see all of your names there, it makes my heart happy. Thank you for getting up so early to help.” • Felicity said to Sarah, “I’m not sure what they did, but they said they were volunteers. It seemed like they just stood out by the door all morning.” “We can’t afford people that stand at the door,” said Sarah as she continued to wash dishes. 	
<p>6. We care about one another.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I said to Renee, “Whenever I come for this early shift, I think, ‘How am I going to make it through?’ and then I get here and that all changes. Maybe it’s the coffee.” Renee responded, “It’s the love vapor [pause] and the coffee and tea. All the love here. It’s contagious...” • Brad put his hands on Max’s shoulders and said, “You’re moving up in the world, man.” Max laughed, “Yeah, I was in the other room, but then Samuel moved me in here.” “Well, it’s nice to have you,” said Jeff with a laugh, “regardless of where.” Max thanked him and Brad walked away. 	

Tables: *Purchase Dependent Impression Formation: Who Cares Why You Bought It?*

Table 7: Conditional indirect effects of Purchase Motivation on General Impressions at values of the moderators

Materialism	Product Authenticity	Confidence Interval (95)	
Low	Counterfeit	0.16	0.54
	Authentic	0.22	0.63
Moderate	Counterfeit	0.18	0.43
	Authentic	0.25	0.53
High	Counterfeit	0.06	0.45
	Authentic	0.17	0.54

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