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IS SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION POSSIBLE IN POLAND? AN EXAMINATION OF CONSUMERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD DECONSUMPTION PRACTICES

Aleksandra Burgiel, Jolanta Zrałek University of Economics in Katowice

Abstract. Deconsumption remains an inherent part of sustainable consumption. Here we argue that collaborative consumption (CC), a new model of satisfying consumers' needs, may also be treated as a symptom of deconsumption. Hence, the goal of this article is two-fold: to characterize consumers' attitudes towards deconsumption and CC and to discuss possibility of such changes in Polish consumers' behaviors that would result in their more sustainable approach to consumption. Data used in the paper comes from two studies – qualitative (in-depth interviews among 15 consumers) and quantitative one (survey among 400 consumers). The results suggest that there is a chance that collaborative consumption will play a significant role in the process of converting Polish consumers' behaviors. On the one hand it may represent the only form of deconsumption accepted by some Poles. On the other hand, CC may be perceived as a first step to broader adoption of deconsumption practices and to more sustainable consumption.

Key words: sustainable consumption, consumption reduction, collaborative consumption, consumer behavior

INTRODUCTION

The negative environmental and social impact of consumption-focused behaviors is already noticed all over the world, but the most visible consequences of overconsumption occur in the developed countries. Therefore one shouldn't be surprised that the idea to slow down the pace of life as well as resources transformation gains growing support in the most affluent societies [Kostecka 2013]. It is where the concept of sustainable consumption was introduced in opposition to overconsumption processes. Although the term "sustainability" is being defined in different ways, there is a worldwide consent that

Corresponding author: Jolanta Zrałek, University of Economics in Katowice, Department of Consumer Research, Bogucicka 14, 40-226 Katowice, Poland, e-mail: jolanta.zralek@ue.katowice.pl

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it connotes three dimensions: economic, environmental and social. Accordingly, sustainability understood as a business goal has been recognized as a "triple bottom line" responsibility [Sheth et al. 2011]. These three aspects of sustainability are also reflected in a definition of sustainable consumption that was adopted by United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD). It claims that sustainable consumption means "the use of services and related products which respond to basic needs and bring a better quality of life while minimizing the use of natural resources and toxic materials as well as the emissions of waste and pollutants over the life cycle of the service or product so as not to jeopardize the needs of further generations" [Fuchs and Lorek 2004]. The relevant implications for the advancement of sustainable consumption derive from achieving a balance between consumption and deconsumption practices. The essence of sustainability lies not only in consumers' preference for environmentally friendly choices but also in non-consumption [Cherrier et al. 2011].

Deconsumption can be described as a conscious limitation of consumption to the reasonable size, i.e. an amount of consumed products that results from natural, individual, physical and psychological characteristics of a consumer [Bywalec and Rudnicki 2002]. There are many products deconsumption of which would benefit both the environment and the society, but reducing their consumption brings consumers personal benefits perceived as only secondary ones because they are associated with the distant future and/or highly intangible [Sodhi 2011]. Furthermore, from the individual point of view adopting the rules of deconsumption in everyday life requires certain change of behaviors or even the whole lifestyle transformation. These changes are costly, may be seen as a sacrifice and need a high level of self-control. So despite the fact that consumers want to depict themselves as "all caring" in surveys, they continue to ignore social and ecological problems and they repeat their traditional product preferences and purchases [Devinney et al. 2006]. Also in historical perspective limiting consumption was commonly associated with economic constraints, and not with an aware, free consumer's choice. Therefore, in spite of many objective reasons for introducing deconsumption, consumers are not very eager to do this. This pessimistic view was also expressed by Izberk-Bilgin [2010] who noted that despite consumers say they want to change the marketplace through their behaviors, they are ultimately blinded by the seduction of consumer goods.

An acceptance of deconsumption practices seems to be particularly challenging for Polish consumers. A part of them can still remember shortage economy and has comparatively modest experiences of functioning in free market conditions. As a consequence, although the level of Poles' environmental awareness is still rising [Boltromiuk 2010, Zrałek 2013] and a worldwide critique of consumption-oriented lifestyle doesn't omit our country, for Polish consumers it is particularly difficult to give up an overconsumption pattern before they really benefited from it.

Nowadays a significant role in the process of shaping consumers' attitudes towards deconsumption and their actual propensity to decrease consumption is played by the economic crisis. For some consumers it is the time of economic hardship so they perceive the recession as a negative factor forcing them to limit their consumption, lower their level of living and give up some pleasures they were accustomed to. But one could take a different perspective and state that it is exactly the crisis that have made consumers to think over their consumption practices and search for alternative, more rational ways to satisfy their

needs. One of such alternatives is offered by collaborative consumption concept which became popular in the US as the crisis consequences got harder.

Botsman and Rogers [2010] define this term as an economic model based on sharing, swapping, trading, borrowing or renting products and services, mostly between individual consumers who connect via specialized websites. Individuals practicing CC not necessarily need to buy certain assets as they prefer an access to a product than its ownership. That is why they would rather borrow/rent things (especially expensive and durable ones) or share them with others than buy them for their exclusive use. In this way instead of responsibility and costs connected with owning things, collaborative consumers may reap benefits of the temporary but still satisfying usage of lent or shared products. CC manifests also through resale/purchase and cashless exchange of things which represent a burden or excess to one person while can still be useful to others. Some other manifestations of CC include carpooling (ride-sharing), fractional ownership and crowdfunding [Bauwens et al. 2012].

It is clear that CC allows consumers to avoid waste and use their resources more efficiently. In global scale it can lead to lower production and more reasonable consumption of natural resources. These features closely tie collaborative consumption with the sustainable consumption and deconsumption ideas. But this model represents a very specific, one could say "light" version of deconsumption as consumers engaging in CC don't need to suffer from limitations in satisfying their needs. On the contrary, CC solutions help consumers in meeting their individual needs, goals and aspirations but in more sustainable way.

The above statements arouse a question whether collaborative consumption may indicate a way to sustainability in case of Polish consumers. Trying to find an answer we decided to refer to the theory of planned behavior¹ (TPB) [Ajzen 1991] and focus on consumers' attitudes towards deconsumption and CC. According to TPB an attitude affects an intention² to perform an action which in turn directly affects the behavior itself. When consumers have a favorable attitude toward a given behavior, they will have a higher intention to engage in it [Ajzen 1991]. From this perspective a consumer's attitude toward a particular behavior not only represents a crucial determinant of this consumer's behavior but it is also an important basis for predicting the behavior.

In this study we assume that a favorable attitude towards collaborative consumption increases consumer's intention to perform certain behaviors representing collaborative consumption (or more broadly deconsumption) practices. Hence such a positive attitude is a key factor stimulating wider adoption of deconsumption and therefore determining the chances that Polish consumers will use more sustainable ways of needs satisfaction. Accordingly, the first goal of this article is to characterize consumers' attitudes towards deconsumption and CC. In the latter case we try to assess consumers' attitudes towards these behaviors which are the most representative for the CC concept. We call them "collaborative consumption behaviors" (CCBs). On this basis we aim to discuss possibility of

¹ We believe that TPB may be useful in explaining consumers' behaviors engaging in CC. It is not our purpose, however, to examine here the full model of TPB.

² An intention is the cognitive representation of a person's readiness to perform a given behavior, and it is considered to be the immediate antecedent of behavior [Bagozzi et al. 1998].

such changes in Polish consumers' behaviors that would result in their more sustainable approach to consumption which represents the second goal of this study.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

This study contains the outcomes of two independent research projects conducted in autumn 2013. They differed in scope of goals and methodology. The first one had qualitative character and focused on consumers' attitudes towards deconsumption. The second, quantitative in nature, concerned the problem of collaborative consumption. In both projects respondents were inhabitants of the Upper Silesia region in Poland.

In order to achieve information about attitudes towards deconsumption the total of 15 individual in-depth interviews were carried out. Each discussion was recorded and fully transcribed. Respondents were aged between 21 and 77 and represented comparatively wealthy households (only one person declared monthly household income per capita below 1000 PLN). A detailed characteristic of informants is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Qualitative sample characteristics

Gender	Age	Education level	Household size (number of members)	Income (subjectively assessed)
Female	24	high	2	average
Female	31	secondary	3	slightly below average
Female	38	secondary	4	definitely above average
Female	41	high	4	slightly above average
Female	44	high	4	average
Female	51	secondary	2	definitely above average
Female	51	high	4	average
Female	72	secondary	2	definitely above average
Male	21	secondary	6	slightly below average
Male	22	secondary	3	average
Male	29	secondary	4	slightly above average
Male	40	high	3	slightly above average
Male	48	high	4	slightly above average
Male	64	high	2	slightly above average
Male	77	high	2	definitely above average

Source: Own calculation on the basis of primary research results.

Third-person and word association tests were used during in-depth interviews. In the first test, based on a description of a consumer deconsumption behavior (presented by the researcher) participants had to exhaustively characterize the person who undertakes such activities – his/her appearance, features of character, personality etc. The second test concerned the associations with word "deconsumption". The obtained information was analyzed descriptively.

To estimate and characterize consumers' attitudes towards CCBs the data were collected from 400 adult respondents using self-administered structured questionnaires. A convenience-based sampling procedure was used and the questionnaires were distributed by various routes: 300 were distributed by trained pollsters, who handed them out to shoppers in several shopping centers. The other 100 questionnaires were distributed among students at the University of Economics in Katowice. Details of respondents' demographics are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Quantitative sample characteristics

Percentage	(N = 400)	Percentage	(N = 400)
Gender		Professional status	
Male	39.2	Working	66.8
Female	60.8	Studying/learning	20.5
Age		Retiree, pensioner	7.5
19–29 years	27.3	Neither working nor studying	5.3
30–39 years	18.5		
40–49 years	32.5	Monthly income per capita	
50–59 years	17.5	Less than 500 PLN	2.8
60 years or more	4.3	501–1000 PLN	20.8
Education level		1001–1500 PLN	28.5
Primary and vocational	16.8	1501–2500 PLN	22.5
Secondary	61.2	More than 2500 PLN	10.3
Higher	22.0	Missing Data	15.3

Source: Own calculation on the basis of primary research results.

The attitudes toward CCBs were measured on a 5-point bipolar scale with end points described as 1 – "very negative" and 5 – "very positive". The data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, cross tables and correlation coefficients.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In order to express their attitudes toward deconsumption consumers taking part in in-depth interviews were asked to characterize and evaluate a person who undertakes deconsumption activities in his/her everyday life. These practices were described in a short story that had two versions – male respondents were asked to take into account male hero called Mr X and accordingly female respondents were discussing the case of a female hero called Mrs X. Although both characters were behaving in completely the same way and the only purpose of introducing to the story gender differences was to encourage respondents to better identify with the hero, the descriptions made by male and female respondents differ enough that we decided to analyze them separately.

Both male and female respondents had a friendly attitude toward Mr/Mrs X. They described him/her as a nice, intelligent person, well educated and rather wealthy, a white-

-collar rather than blue-collar worker. He/she was perceived as a mature person in terms of environmental awareness and a propensity to engage in environmental issues. All the respondents emphasized hero's enormous knowledge on sustainable consumption and stated that he/she lives "close to the nature". Researched consumers judged Mr/Mrs X as a person who lives actively, so he/she is rather slim and attractive. His/her physical appearance was perceived in two ways. On the one hand he/she may represent elegant but modest style of dressing. On the other he/she looks like any other person and doesn't stand out.

Taking into account the insights disclosed by male respondents we have to notice that they assigned Mr X their own features in a more direct way than women. Some of them even declared that they had "a lot of common views" with the hero. They didn't determine the exact age of Mr X and stated that "he doesn't need to be old to represent maturity in terms of self and environment consciousness". They were admiring his rationality and the fact that by undertaking deconsumption activities Mr X constantly follows the rules he had once adopted. Although the overall judgment of the hero was positive, the male respondents had some critical remarks. They noticed that the idealism, which characterizes the hero, has also its "dark side". Mr X may be so devoted to the idea of sustainable consumption that he loses the linkage with the real life. Even if he is perceived as a friendly person, it makes him an outsider in society. This point of view is represented by the statements: "He may have some troubles with reality. It means that he is so absentminded that may not be able to remember about the minor issues of everyday life like paying bills. From this point of view it is hard to deal with him, it makes him a 'difficult' person'; "He is idealistic but sometimes it is not good because for his own ideals he forgets about the other people".

Slightly different portrait of a consumer who consciously restricts his/her consumption was derived from information provided by female respondents. They were able to precisely define the age of Mrs X (about 40 years) and were admiring the hero mostly for her resourcefulness. Female informants were convinced that Mrs X is a wife and a mother and she can perfectly deal with all her obligations derived from these roles. She was perceived as a good housekeeper who is able to manage without wasting the food or other resources. Contrary to the males' opinions none of female informants suggested possible negative features of Mrs X. Instead of absentminded solitary person they saw her as "full of fantasy and life curious woman" or a "restless being". It goes hand in hand with the statement that Mrs X probably works as a freelancer.

An existence of above-mentioned negative insights concerning deconsumption practices was also confirmed by the outcomes of word association test carried out during the in-depth interview. The first thing that came to respondents' minds after hearing the word "deconsumption" was not always connected with rationality and environmental awareness. Researched consumers gave a lot of words related to economic constraint like "crisis, poverty, insufficient salaries" and associations regarding negatively judged consumer's features and behaviors like "asceticism, excessive control, someone who goes against the flow".

Summing up the results of qualitative study we can say that consumers' opinions about deconsumption are complex and rather ambiguous. Some of them are highly positive, indicating favorable attitude towards this concept. But deeper associations revealed

by the second test are not so positive and suggest that consumers may not be ready to limit their consumption since they perceive such a behavior as too demanding and austere.

Moving on to the results of quantitative research regarding more specifically collaborative consumption we see that the collected data clearly indicate that respondents' opinion about different CC initiatives is generally positive (see Table 3). In case of seven out of ten analyzed CCBs the percentage of people with positive or very positive attitude exceeds other indications, while only in two cases the number of negative ratings is higher than the number of positive and neutral opinions. These two cases include two initiatives that can be considered as the most problematic and difficult to adopt, i.e. renting a private car to others (52% of negative ratings) and renting spare space in a private home (approximately 38% of negative ratings).

Definitely the most favorable is consumers' attitude toward the practice of donating unnecessary things to other people. Nearly nine out of ten respondents considered this behavior as positive or very positive. Scores for mutual borrowing things between friends, relatives or neighbors are only slightly lower (81% of positive ratings). For both of these activities mean values of ratings exceed 4. Also the purchase and resale of used items and carpooling activities are approved by the respondents (71 and 66% of positive ratings respectively), however almost every fourth respondent was not able to express their attitude towards these actions and carpooling was one of the initiatives for which consumers' attitudes were the most diversified

Table 3. Respondents' attitudes towards some chosen collaborative consumption behaviors – descriptive statistics and frequencies^a

Collaborative consumption behaviors	Mean	Mode	SD	% of answers "positive" and "very positive"
Donating unnecessary things to others	4.4	5	0.758	88.0
Borrowing/lending things between friends, relatives, neighbors	4.2	4	0.857	81.0
Selling/purchasing second-hand goods	3.9	4	0.822	71.0
Carpooling	3.7	4	1.011	66.0
Renting products from companies	3.6	4	0.832	54.3
Goods swapping	3.5	4	0.886	55.3
Renting products from private persons	3.1	3	0.913	34.3
Buying for fractional ownership	2.9	3	0.934	23.3
Renting spare space in private home (e.g. couchsurfing)	2.8	3	1.038	25.5
Renting/lending private car to others	2.5	2	0.978	15.5

^aItems were measured on a 5-point bipolar scale where 1 – very negative, 5 – very positive.

Source: Own calculation on the basis of primary research results.

Approximately half of the respondents have positive attitude toward renting necessary products in specialized firms and toward exchanging (swapping) things with other consumers. At the same time one third of the respondents were not able to clarify their

opinion about these behaviors (hence mean values reached 3.5). The concepts of renting needed items from private individuals and fractional ownership of expensive things seem to raise more concerns. The number of negative and positive ratings is almost equal but the largest groups of respondents were unable to opt for one of two sides, which resulted in mean values reaching approximately 3 for these two CCBs.

To synthesize the above results we calculated a cumulative measure of respondents' attitude towards all analyzed CCBs³ and on this basis we divided them into three groups characterized by positive, neutral or negative attitude⁴. Although the detailed ratings presented above were relatively optimistic, this more general perspective reveals that consumers' favorable attitude towards CCBs is not so widespread. Only 36% of respondents declared positive attitude towards all or majority of the deconsumption practices and as many as 61% of respondents were either neutral or positive about some behaviors while negative about others. What seems the most advantageous result is the fact that only 3% of respondents continually expressed negative attitude towards all analyzed behaviors.

Analysis of contingency tables, results of chi-squared tests and Cramer's V coefficients revealed that the general attitude towards CCBs is weakly but significantly associated with the respondents' education level⁵ and with their age⁶. It occurred that the youngest respondents (below 30 years of age) tend to be more positive about CCBs than the others (almost 46% of them had positive attitude *vs* 36% in the sample). At the same time respondents with primary or vocational education were less positive and more neutral – only 18% of them declared positive attitude towards CCBs and 76% declared neutral one. Other attributes (gender, income, professional status, size of a household) were not related to researched consumers' attitude toward CCBs.

As it was mentioned, we assumed that positive attitude toward CC increases consumer's intention to perform certain behaviors representing the idea of CC. To verify this assumption we calculated Spearman's correlation coefficients measuring relationships between respondents' attitude toward the whole set of CCBs and their behavioral intention to undertake certain actions representing CC concept. The latter (consumers' intention) was measured by asking respondents to estimate the chances that in six specified situations they would undertake certain actions. These actions were used as representatives of different CCBs. The chances were estimated using the ratio scale with ends anchored as follows: 0% – "not a chance I'll do it" to 100% – "I'll certainly do it" (see Table 4).

³ This measure was calculated as the total of points granted by a respondent to all 10 CCB presented in the scale. The score ranged from 10 to 50 (10 items estimated on a scale 1–5) with higher number indicating more positive attitude.

⁴ Respondents who obtained 10–23 points were classified as having negative attitude towards CCB; 24–36 points were neutral and those who reached 37–50 points were described as having positive attitude towards CCB.

⁵ Cramer's V = 0.15, p < 0.001.

⁶ Cramer's V = 0.14, p < 0.001.

⁷ Ajzen [1991] measures intentions as self-predictions or expectations that one will act and uses "very unlikely" and "very likely" bipolar items. Our approach was similar but our scale was more precise.

Table 4. Spearman's correlations between estimation of consumers' attitude towards collaborative consumption behaviors and their intention to engage in such behaviors

Behavioral intention to	Attitude towards collaborative consumption behaviors
Lend a car to a friend (for a small fee)	.346ª
Participate in a swap party organized by a friend	.331ª
Rent a house (flat) to a friend's foreign family coming to Poland	.301ª
Share a car with a neighbor commuting to work in the same direction	.248ª
Lend a drill to a neighbor	.139ª
Give unnecessary furniture to a neighbor arranging an apartment for his daughter	.100 ^b

asignificant at p < 0.01 (2-tailed); significant at p < 0.05 (2-tailed).

Source: Own calculation on the basis of primary research results.

In all cases correlation coefficients are positive and statistically significant, though not very high, indicating rather weak relationships. Nevertheless they confirm that favorable attitude towards collaborative consumption is positively correlated with consumer intention to engage in a specific behavior that represents this model. This is particularly evident in the case of readiness to lend a car to a friend, to participate in a swap party and to rent a house, for which the coefficients are the highest. Interestingly, these initiatives are the most "problematic" ones since they need effort and are perceived as risky. This leads to a conclusion that a positive attitude is in fact especially influential (and needed) when it comes to performing a behavior which raises many concerns.

CONCLUSIONS

Taking into account the outcomes of qualitative research we conclude that though the overall attitudes toward deconsumption were positive, we identified certain crucial inconveniences and negative associations related to the idea of consumption reduction. They seem to result from consumers' fears because there are not many individuals who want to be perceived as poor, weirdo, eco-fanatic or as someone spurned by others due to behaviors that go against social norms. These fears may constitute an essential barrier in adopting deconsumption rules in Poles' everyday life. Simultaneously a kind of admiration for a person who reduces his/her consumption that we observed during the interviews proves that consumers perceive and appreciate deconsumption as a way of consumption rationalization and a move in a good direction.

The aspiration to make one's consumption more rational without so many sacrifices seems to be perfectly mirrored in collaborative consumption researched by us with the use of quantitative method. The collected data are rather optimistic revealing respondents' positive attitudes towards different CCBs. This is clear if we consider the fact that CC is not associated with poverty, but rather with reason and smartness. It also requires

cooperation between consumers rather than standing aside which dispels fears listed above and may encourage Polish consumers to engage in such behaviors.

Our outcomes suggest also that favorable attitude towards some practices increases the chances that consumers will adopt them in their own lives. From this perspective a positive attitude represents an important prerequisite for a consumer's involvement in any activity within the CC as well as deconsumption in general. It concerns especially these practices which require some additional effort and/or taking additional risk. Accordingly only the changes in Polish consumers' attitudes towards more favorable ones will allow for wider adoption of all discussed activities, which may lead to more sustainable life.

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CZY ZRÓWNOWAŻONA KONSUMPCJA JEST MOŻLIWA W POLSCE? ANALIZA POSTAW KONSUMENTÓW WOBEC PRAKTYK DEKONSUMPCYJNYCH

Streszczenie. Dekonsumpcja pozostaje nieodłącznym elementem konsumpcji zrównoważonej i może być reprezentowana przez konsumpcję wspólną, która stanowi nowy model zaspokajania potrzeb konsumentów. Celem artykułu jest charakterystyka postaw konsumentów wobec dekonsumpcji i konsumpcji wspólnej, a na tym tle wskazanie szans na zaistnienie takich zmian w zachowaniach polskich konsumentów, które będą skutkować ich bardziej zrównoważonym podejściem do konsumpcji. Informacje prowadzące do osiągnięcia tego celu pochodzą z dwóch projektów badawczych – jakościowego (indywidualne wywiady pogłębione wśród 15 konsumentów) i ilościowego (ankieta wśród 400 osób). Przeprowadzone badania wykazały, że konsumpcja wspólna ma szansę odegrać znaczącą rolę w procesie przekształcania zachowań polskich konsumentów. Z jednej strony może się ona okazać jedyną formą dekonsumpcji, jaką Polacy są skłonni zaakceptować. Z drugiej, można ją traktować jako pierwszy krok do podejmowania szerzej rozumianych działań dekonsumpcyjnych i realizowania zasad zrównoważonej konsumpcji.

Słowa kluczowe: zrównoważona konsumpcja, ograniczanie konsumpcji, konsumpcja wspólna, zachowania konsumentów

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