Review Article

Ethical and Political Consumption: An Integrated Typology of Practices

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Addressing the diversity of consumer practices requires perceiving and measuring ethical and political consumerism beyond acts of buycotting and boycotting. By viewing consumption as limited to 'purchasing' and 'shopping', the agency of the consumer is bound to certain rules and mechanisms of the market, raising questions on the degree of alternativeness of each practice. Arbitrarily ascribing a strictly 'noneconomic' motivation behind the 'ethical' and 'political' framings of consumption results in excluding private (economic) troubles from the public sphere (ignoring thus their political nature). This conceptual article presents a novel analytical tool that maps consumer practices according to two critical conditions within which practices are performed: monetary transaction and legality. An example of how the proposed typology can be applied in the lodging sector demonstrates the typology's ability to appreciate the diversity found in consumer practices, while also commenting on their degrees of alterity. Overall, the article calls for a reconsideration of the narrow repertoire of consumer action that is often associated with ethical and political consumerism, if we want to understand consumption as an "arena of politics" and a form of political participation in a more democratic manner (where every person gets to "vote").

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1. Introduction

In a landmark article titled Consumption and theories of practice, sociologist Warde (2005) called for an understanding of consumption as: "a process whereby agents engage in appropriation and appreciation, whether for utilitarian, expressive or contemplative purposes, of goods, services, performances, information, or ambience, whether purchased or not, over which the agent has some degree of discretion" (p. 137). Acts of shopping and purchasing, accomplished through monetary transactions, are just one aspect of consumption. Warde argued that consumption "cannot be restricted to, nor defined by, market exchange" (2005), while Firat and Venkatesh (1995), commenting on the example of organized swap-meets, claimed that "much consumption does take place outside the market system" (p. 258). Purchasing might represent the most popular means (practice) of acquiring goods and services within the market of an economic capitalist system. But it's not the only one. Neither is "consumption" only about the acquisition of goods and services.

Alternative consumption patterns and behaviour, such as those frequently framed as "green", "sustainable", "socially responsible", "ethical" and/or "political", and which are conventionally thought to differ from more traditional understandings of "consumption-as-usual" (Koskenniemi, 2021), constitute an important and interesting scientific theme for scholars working within the interdisciplinary area of consumer behaviour. As an indication, in a recent bibliometric review (Paul and

Bhukya, 2021) nine out of the ten most cited articles in the International Journal of Consumer Studies examine issues related to alternative consumption patterns and particularly those fitting the literature of ethical and political consumerism. While literature is bursting with empirical work exploring alternative consumption under various frames, an evaluation of the nature of "alternativeness" for these diverse consumer practices being observed has not yet been properly addressed.

Of all relevant frames used to describe alternative consumption, 'ethical' and 'political' frames appear more inclusive; they are not focusing on a specific social or environmental issue but emphasise respectively the moral and the political dimensions rooted in each consumer practice. Political consumption is "deeply intertwined" to ethical consumption (Koskenniemi, 2021) and the two concepts share noticeable similarities (Shaw et al., 2006). This connection is exemplified by Clarke's (2008) argument that "what we call ethical consumption in the UK is also (maybe even primarily) political consumption" (Clarke, 2008, p. 1976).

There is, however, at least one critical difference that may prohibit the use of these two concepts interchangeably. Political consumption, as a concept, can incorporate "ethics" and moral reasoning behind consumption practices and lifestyles. The opposite, i.e., the extent to which the normative framing of "ethical" consumption can unconditionally embrace all types of "political" reasoning, including illegal consumer practices, is under question. Therefore, this article treats political consumption, that is "consumer choice of producers and products [...] based on attitudes and values regarding issues of justice, fairness, or non-economic issues that concern personal and family well-being and ethical or political assessment of favourable and unfavourable business and governmental practice" (Micheletti, Follesdal and Stolle, 2004, p. xiv-xv), as a blanket term for consumption that may reflect political, ethical and environmental concerns and claims (Jensen, 1998) and which can: (1) embrace all other variants of alternative consumption practices and (2) help highlight the notion of "consumer agency" which, as explained later, is important if we are to ascribe "alternative" consumption practices any power to achieve change.

The present article comments on how focusing on shopping-related practices which require (or involve) "purchasing" entails methodological pitfalls that impact understandings on ethical and political consumerism. Furthermore, it argues that by understating several non-market and illegal consumer practices aiming to communicate a political stance, we underestimate the agency and political involvement of certain (often disadvantaged) segments of the population. To overcome such limitations, this article offers a conceptual typology of consumer practices based on two dimensions (i.e., legality and monetary transaction) which maps the terrain of ethical and political consumerism practices in an analytical manner. This article is not intended to provide an exhaustive systematic survey of the field of ethical and political consumption, but rather to present a new analytical tool.

The remainder of this article is structured as follows: First, agency and alternativeness are discussed as major components in any attempt to distinguish between any "alternative" and "ordinary" consumption practices. The article continues by reviewing existing classifications on ethical and political consumer practices and pinpoints certain corresponding methodological drawbacks. A new integrated typology of practices is consequently proposed and analysed, followed by an example of applying this proposed typology in the hospitality sector. A discussion on the typology's contribution to existing theory is then provided. The article concludes with a few theoretical and methodological limitations accompanying this new proposed typology and provides directions for future research.

2. Agency and alternativeness in consumer practices

2.1. The importance of consumer agency

Agency, understood as one's ability to act or to (autonomously) choose paths of action, is a central concept in theories aiming to comprehend human action. In the context of consumption, consumer agency views individuals through their consumer role as bearers of (at least some degree of) autonomy in their consumer choices and consequently as agents of some sort of change (which predominately takes place within the official market). This idea has long been documented and recognized thought relevant concepts such as "consumer empowerment" (e.g., Shaw, Newholm and Dickinson, 2006), "consumer activism" (e.g., Hustad and Pessemier, 1973), "consumer resistance" (e.g., Penaloza and Price, 1993) and "consumer sovereignty' (e.g., Smith, 1987). It is perhaps not until recently that consumer agency has entered the sphere of politics by being recognized as complimentary to political participation under the concept of political consumerism.

Such recognition fits well with recent attempts to reconnect, or better to eventually admit, the intrinsic interrelation between economy, society and politics. The market is not only a space for individuals to signal preferences on what to produce and at what price, but also a terrain for negotiations about the organizing of society, the development of moral codes and the creation of imaginaries pursuing social, political and economic change. Teleologically speaking, consumer agency often constitutes a precondition for ascribing political (and ethical) consumption the ability to achieve change; "the goal of changing objectionable institutional or market practices" is explicitly declared in Micheletti, Follesdal and Stolle (2004, p. xiv-xv) definition of political consumption. This goal-oriented perspective serves as the link that brings together other conceptualisations of alternative consumption (ethical, green, sustainable, anti-consumption etc.) with that of political consumption. Moreover, it is under this view, i.e., the consumer as an agent of change, that the role of the consumer amalgamates with that of a citizen or an activist.

Prior empirical research has demonstrated this salient aspect of agency shared by consumers and acknowledged by businesses; for example, in Clarke et al.'s (2007) study on fair trade consumption, individuals buying fair trade products portrayed themselves as activists and campaigners rather than consumers; accordingly, organisations selling fair trade products approached their customers less as consumers and more as members of social networks within churches and schools. Consumer agency is sometimes acknowledged by businesses in their everyday marketing strategies (as in Clarke et al.'s study described earlier), their corporate social responsibility efforts (particularly if considered to be rooted in the consumer demand for business accountability), as well as their so-called societal advertising (see Livas, 2021). Goal-oriented and autonomous agency from the part of the consumer appears, thus, certainly important when examining individual consumer practices within the frames of ethical and political consumption (e.g., to explain motivation).

2.2. Alternativeness in consumption practices

A closer look on what renders a certain practice "alternative" contributes further to the understanding of consumer agency and the nature of any anticipated change. As a starting point, it should be noted that drawing distinctions between ordinary (or normal) and alternative (green, socially responsible, etc.) consumption means embracing conceptual dualism and the downsides it entails (for a critical appraisal on this see Koskenniemi, 2021). Nonetheless, as an analytical tool, such distinction helps explore power relations and negotiations taking place within the sphere of consumption. When a consumer practice is

framed as “alternative” it is in relation to some “other” practice. An individual engaging in an alternative consumer practice implies that the individual is capable of, for example, opposing, challenging, or replacing a (usually dominant) practice with another one.

To better grasp what constitutes an alternative consumer practice, insight from the growing body of literature within economic, cultural, and feminist geography which examines the nature and practice of alternative economic and political spaces (Jonas, 2016) will be sought. Gibson-Graham’s (2002; 2008; 2010) concept of “diverse economy” is one of the most influential ones, and particularly relevant to this articles’ aim since it proposes that what is often understood as “the economy” is only one facet of the actual economic activity happening around us (for an overview on diverse economy and alternative spaces see Gritzas and Kavoulakos, 2016). It is thus, Graham-Gibson argue, more appropriate to consider the economy as a realm of diverse economic practices, some of which may re-main hidden to official accounts of economic activity (for example housework, DIY, gift exchange and undeclared work). Such conceptualisation of the economy allows for the inclusion of diverse consumption practices (sometimes overlooked) in the literature of ethical and political consumption.

In terms of economic transactions preformed within such diverse economy, Gibson-Graham (2008, p. 616; 2010, p. 228) identifies three distinguished modes: (1) transactions in the market, (2) transactions in the alternative market and (3) non-market transactions. Inspired by this work, Figure 1 below illustrates these different forms of economic transactions and provides examples of corresponding consumer practices according to four criteria: methods of acquisition for a product or service, framing of the product or service that is consumed (bought or used), means of disposing the product/service and reasoning behind the transaction.

	Market	**Alternative market**	**Non-market**
Modes of acquisition of products/services	established market channels	• alternative currencies • barter • underground/ informal markets • local trading systems • co-ops	• household sharing • gift giving • hunting, fishing, gathering • theft, piracy, poaching
Framing of the consumed (bought or used) product/service	“mainstream”	“alternative” products /services including: • fair-trade • organic	• DIY • self/home produce
Disposal	general disposal	• recycling	• reusing
Reasoning	• economic	• ethical • political	• economic • ethical • political

Figure 1. Modes of economic transactions and consumer practices [Inspired by Gibson-Graham (2008, p. 616; 2010, p. 228) and White and Williams (2014)]. Note: Following the same logic behind Gibson-Graham’s and White and William ‘s classifications, this figure is meant to be read across the rows, not down the columns.

Summarising arguments made in Figure 1, alternative consumption practices are performed through what Gibson-Graham has outlined as “alternative market” and “non-market” transactions; such practices can be further analysed in terms of the prominent criterion that stretches its alternative character (in the table this was done by examining aspects of acquisition, framing, disposal, and reasoning). Consumer agency in alternative consumer practices may, thus, be conceived as the ability to engage in alternative market and/or non-market transactions, irrespectively of whether such transactions are labelled “alternative” due to, for example, their mode of acquisition, their reasoning, the framing of an acquired good or the way of disposing it.

Furthermore, the above table highlights the multiplicity of consumer practices suitable for empirical exploration under the ethical and political consumption theoretical frameworks. Scholars have already critiqued a tendency within ethical consumption literature to focus on certain practices (and particularly buycotting) arguing that “being an ethical consumer has generally come to mean the purchase of products and services labelled as ethical” (Davis, 2011) and that “most empirical research tends to focus on specific expressions of ethical consumer behaviour such as fairtrade shopping” (Papaoikonomou, 2013, p. 181) (see also Koskenniemi, A., 2021, p. 833-4). Consumption practices that involve certain alternative market and non-market modes of acquisition (e.g., alternative currencies, purchasing within informal and illegal markets, piracy etc.) or non-market product frames (e.g., DIY, self-produce etc.) and logics (e.g., economic) are often explored under related frames such as “green”, “sustainable”, “anti-consumption” (e.g. Moisander and Pesonen, 2002; Dobscha and Ozanne, 2001; Papaoikonomou, 2013) or when consumption research embraces theories of practice (e.g. Koznick, 2018; Shaw and Riach, 2011) and lifestyle politics. This may partly be explained by the fact that disciplinary interests often affect the focus of a study; for example, marketing would probably be more concerned with economic market transactions than other disciplines contributing to the scientific field of consumer behaviour such as sociology, geography, anthropology etc. Nonetheless, whatever the reason behind this, non-market and illegal market transactions still appear relatively underrepresented within literature employing the “ethical consumption” and “political consumption” frames.

Building on the work of Gibson-Graham, economic geographers Fuller and Jonas (2003) proposed a classification of alternativeness, which they define as “alterity”. Fuller and Jonas classification refers to institutions and was initially aimed to describe “different senses in which enterprises like credit unions operate as alternatives” (Jonas, 2013, p.33). Nonetheless, the central idea behind their classification was to examine the nature of alter-native economic spaces that those institutions occupy. Hence, it seems appropriate to attempt its application on consumer practices so as to explore alternative economic spaces in consumption. Their classification includes the following categories: (1) alternative-additional institutions, (2) alternative-substitute institutions, and (3) alternative-oppositional institutions. Inspired by Fuller and Jonas’s (2003) conceptual categories and applying this classification, we may thus distinguish between three different types of alternative consumer practices, as presented in Table 1.

Consumer practices	Description*	Examples
alternative-oppositional	• set up to challenge, if not usurp, the mainstream • (often) embodying radically different structures and mechanisms	*occupying, reappropriating, reducing consumption and waste*
alternative-substitute	• needs-driven and motivated by a desire to survive, get by, or be self-sufficient • involved consumers (often) don't consciously strive to develop alternatives	*self-producing, gift giving, bartering, sharing, reusing*
alternative-additional	• operate under different sets of rules • still rely on the mainstream	*buycotting organic and fairtrade, boycotting, recycling*

Table 1. An application of Fuller and Jonas (2003) classification of alterity in consumer practices.

**using Jonas's (2013, p. 34-5) explanation for each category.*

Jonas' (2013) classification assumes that consciousness from the part of an agent-consumer is not a prerequisite to characterise consumer practices as alternative. According to Jonas (2016) "Alternative economic spaces should be regarded simultaneously as alternative political spaces insofar as economic diversity always contains within it the seeds of economic and political alterity, i.e., the hope of genuine material and political alternatives" (p.5). In the context of consumption, this means that practices such as self-producing, gift giving, bartering, sharing and even shoplifting, even if motivated by self-interest and adhere to purely economic criteria, could still be considered alternative modes of consumer behaviour capable of developing economic and political alternatives (i.e., capable of realising change). Such perspective is somewhat antithetical to accounts of ethical and political consumption that embrace only "ethically" or "politically" driven consumer practices and not "economically" driven. As a result, consumer agency motivated by economic hardship is sometimes overlooked within ethical and political consumption literature. For example, in their effort to distinguish between ordinary and political consumption (or the homo economicus from the homo politicus) Micheletti, Follesdal and Stolle (2004, p. xiv-xv) exclude in their definition of political consumerism any practice that involves economic self-interest.

To recapitulate, ethical and political consumption frameworks view certain consumer practices as qualitatively different from what is considered dominant within a given consumer culture. Such alternative practices are vehicles to communicate grievances and tools to pursue change within the social, political and/or economic spheres. Engagement with alternative consumer practices requires that a consumer can express or exert (at least some degree of) agency. Embracing Gibson-Graham's perspective of a 'diverse economy' means that consumer agency reflects the ability to engage in alternative market and/or non-market economic transactions and their respective consumer practices. A further examination on the feature (mode of acquisition, reasoning, framing and/or disposal) that could portray a consumer practice as being 'alternative',

revealed the plethora and diversity of consumer practices falling under such frame. Furthermore, it helped highlight practices which involve alternative market and non-market modes of acquisition (e.g., alternative currencies, informal markets, piracy etc.), non-market product frames (e.g., DIY, self-produce etc.) and logics (e.g., economic). Finally, the application of Fuller and Jonas (2003) classification on degrees of "alterity" revealed the option (if not need) to recognise consumer practices driven by economic criteria and consumer agency motivated by economic hardship as relevant with conceptualisations of ethical and political consumption, provided we acknowledge that such consumer practices also occupy alternative economic and political spaces. Hence, to unravel the full potential of ethical and political consumer agency, it is essential to understand consumption, consumers, and their practices, as concepts capable of including diverse consumer and market paradigms.

3. Existing classifications of ethical and political consumer practices and methodological drawbacks

Framing consumer practices as "ethical" and/or "political" often involves a top-down approach; it is not uncommon for academics and researchers to portray a consumer practice as "ethical" without examining the individual's motivations behind such practice (i.e., without asking the very person that performs it). Despite difficulties in evaluating and classifying *a priory* consumer practices, a few notable attempts to identify and categorise practices of ethical and political consumption can be found in the literature: (1) Tallontire et al.'s (2001) classification of ethical consumption practices, which includes Positive ethical purchase behaviour, Negative ethical purchase behaviour and Consumer action, (2) Harrison et al.'s (2005) classification of ethical consumption practices, which includes Boycotting, Buycotting, Screening of products and companies, Relationship purchasing, Anti-consumption or sustainable consumption, and (3) Boström et al.'s, (2019) classification of political consumption "action forms", which includes Boycotting, Buycotting, Discursive practices, and Lifestyle political consumerism.

All three classifications incorporate two common consumer practices which are directly linked to purchasing decisions, i.e., boycotting and buycotting. The rest of the practices are either too general (i.e., consumer action, discursive practices, anti-consumption, sustainable and lifestyle political consumption) so as to embrace a variety of practices that may not directly relate to purchasing, or too specific (i.e., relationship purchasing and screening of products and companies) but still peripheral to purchase. Such overrepresentation of (positive or negative) purchasing practices amongst classifications of ethical and political consumption is perhaps expected since purchasing is the most common practice per-formed by consumers within a market. If, however, we conceptualise economy as diverse, in the manner Gibson-Graham perceived it, much (if not most) everyday consumer practices do not actually occur within the marketplace. To illustrate this, Gibson-Graham (2002) used the analogy of an iceberg where the tip represents "what is usually regarded as 'the economy'—wage labor, market exchange of commodities and capitalist enterprise" (p. 1) and which "comprises but a small subset of the activities by which we produce, ex-change and distribute values" (p.1).

Appreciating and measuring ethical and political consumption within the confines of practices that involve only purchasing decisions (particularly boycotting and buycotting) has methodological implications which in turn influence research findings. Studies measuring political consumption and utilizing cross-national data sets from large-scale surveys are particularly susceptive to this. The socio-demographic profiling of political consumers from this type of studies often highlights issues of gender (Stolle and Micheletti, 2005; Tobiasen, 2005; Yates, 2011; Copeland, 2014; Theocharis & van Deth, 2016), education

(Strømsnes, 2009; Starr, 2009; Newman & Bartels, 2011; Yates, 2011; Koos, 2012; Ferrer-Fons and Fraile, 2013), age (Yates, 2011; Theocharis & van Deth, 2016) income (Starr, 2009; Turcotte, 2010; Koos, 2012; Ferrer-Fons & Fraile, 2013), level of interest in politics (Tobiasen, 2005; Newman & Bartels, 2011), leftwing leanings (Tobiasen, 2005) and social class (Yates, 2011; Koos, 2012; Ferrer-Fons & Fraile, 2013). Political consumption, thus, appears relevant only to a particular "type" of consumer: a highly educated, middle to upper class, slightly older of age, higher earner woman interested in politics. Research, however, has indicated that when analysis is taken a step further, boycotters differ from buycotters, for example in terms of gender (Neilson, 2010) and buycotting seems to be a more individualistic and resource-dependent practice than boycotting (Yates, 2011). Measuring political consumption only through purchasing decisions and at the same time denying consumer claims based on economic criteria (e.g., free transportation, or free access in museums), excludes a large volume of individuals and relevant consumer action.

The autoreduction (Cherki and Wieviorka, 2007) actions performed as part of the Autonomia movement in Italy in the 1970's, serves as a great example of working-class people who, in their role as consumers, collectively pursed their economic individual self-interest and eventually succeeded in reducing prices of goods, train fares etc. When consumption is a matter of survival as in conditions of poverty, or in times of an economic crisis, the personal becomes political; an economically motivated consumer practice may well deserve a "political" frame if it contributes towards the alleviation of inequality and promotion of social justice. Even in "ordinary" contexts, economic criteria have in the past led much consumer action, giving rise to the development of consumer movements and governmental or non-governmental institutions (e.g., consumer co-ops, consumer associations and national consumer councils) aiming to reinforce consumer claims such as value for money, basic product information labelling, product safety etc. (Lang and Hines, 1993).

The above discussion revealed that failing to recognise and measure forms of political consumerism that do not involve monetary transaction and/or where consumer choice reflects economic motives, underestimates the political involvement (and agency) of certain segments of the population. Under such perspective, consumption as an arena to practice politics is defined only through the official capitalist market (and its' forces) and is exclusively reserved for a certain few. This argument is in line with prior critiques questioning the democratic aspect of such phenomena since, unlike most democracies, in the marketplace one person doesn't get one vote; in this sense "it is possible for people rich in financial and other resources to register their commitments more forcefully than others" (Clarke, 2008, p.1879).

4. An integrated typology for ethical and political consumer practices

4.1 Typology development

The proposed typology in Figure 2 consists of four quadrants and maps all possible consumer practices according to two dimensions (critical conditions) within which practices are performed: monetary transaction and legality. Each quadrant offers examples of consumer practices than could potentially be framed as "ethical" and/or "political" (the list is non-exhaustive).

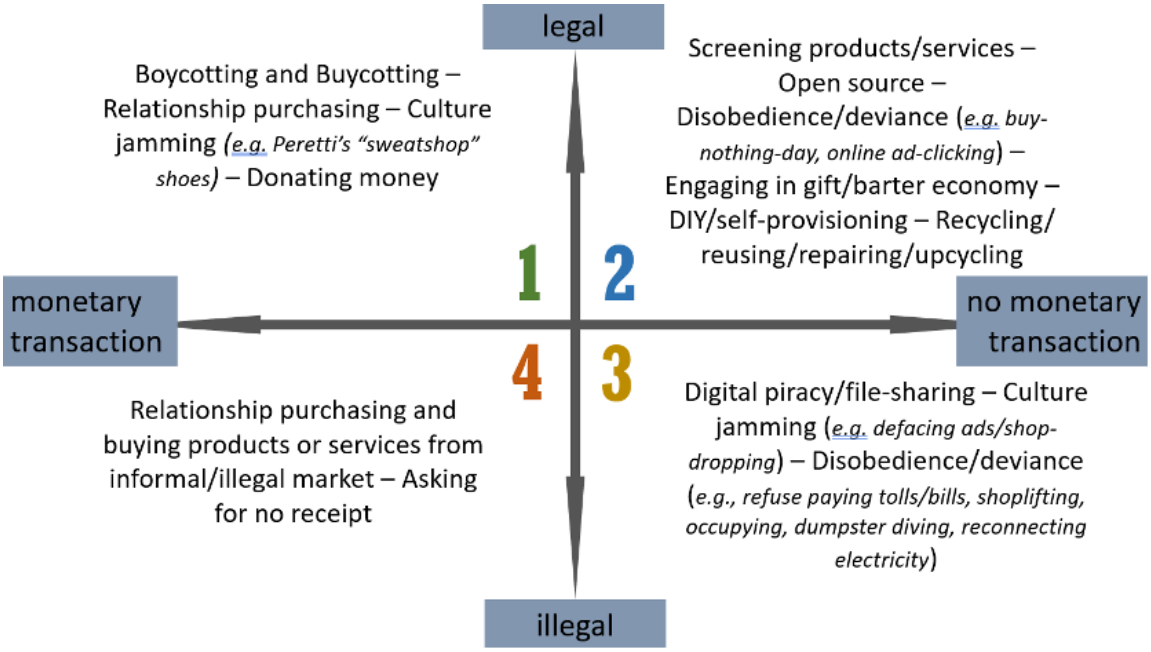

Figure 2. Typology of consumer practices with examples of ethical and political consumerism practices.

The monetary transaction axis represents one key condition of the official market (which for consumption translates into a shopping/purchasing practice) and a defining characteristic of capitalist economy. Separating practices along this axis serves the need to consider practices of non-monetary transaction as valid and significant to attain a holistic conceptualization of ethical and political consumption.

The legality axis represents a regulating mechanism of the market which upholds and reproduces the market's logic (Baars, 2019). While legislation is country specific, capitalist markets are commonly protected by law with regards to private property rights (North, 1991, p. 101); property rights constitute one important "rule" that contributes to the structuring of a market (Fligstein, 2022). The axis also provides an indication of the degree of institutionalisation of the moral norms within a given society. Law and ethics although overlapping should better be conceived as two intersecting domains (Crane and Matten, 2004); there can be legal acts that are immoral and moral acts that are illegal. This axis helps to explain the qualities of the "ethical" and "political" frames in consumer behaviour, and is important when considering consumer action, agency, and change.

Accordingly, regarding consumer practices, we can distinguish between the following four categories:

- **Quadrant 1.** Legal practices entailing monetary transaction (legal market practices): consumer practices that follow the rules of the official market, i.e., legitimate monetary transaction in the official market. In terms of ethical and political consumption, this quadrant includes buycotting ethical and political framed goods, boycotting, relationship purchasing, donating money and certain forms of culture jamming such as in the case of Peretti's "sweatshop" shoes (Micheletti, Stolle, Nishikawa and Wright, 2005).
- **Quadrant 2.** Legal practices entailing no monetary-exchange (legal non-market practices): consumer practices that have achieved (or retained) a certain degree of social approval, and often difficult to commercialise since there is not (or cannot

be) monetary transaction involved. Such practices include the screening of products and companies, distributing open-source software, engaging in gift or bater economy, DIY and self-provisioning, reducing/reusing and recycling/upcycling (provided it does not involve monetary transaction), as well as certain practices of market disobedience/deviance (such as joining buy-nothing-day or online ad-clicking campaigns).

- **Quadrant 3.** Illegal practices entailing no monetary-exchange (illegal non-market practices): consumer practices which are difficult to commercialise (since there is no monetary transaction involved) and usually have not achieved (or retained) a certain degree of social approval since they are considered (depending on national legislation) illegal. Examples of such practices include digital piracy/file-sharing, culture jamming (e.g., defacing ads/shop-dropping), and other forms of market disobedience/deviance (e.g., refuse paying tolls/bills, collective shoplifting, occupying, dumpster diving, reconnecting electricity).
- **Quadrant 4.** Illegal practices entailing monetary-exchange (illegal market practices): consumer practices that involve monetary-exchange but considered illegal, since they do not follow all rules set by the official market. Practices in this quadrant may include buycotting/boycotting and relationship purchasing within an informal or illegal market, asking for no receipt etc. Here, boycotting and buycotting take place in a totally different context than what is often portrayed in the literature, and it can be both "political" and (on the condition that is socially approved) "ethical", as in the case of supporting an informal fundraiser for a local school or an immigrant facility.

Incorporating Gibson-Graham's (2008) and Fuller and Jonas's (2003) frameworks, we can now offer a new perspective that helps advance our understanding of the ethical and political dimensions of consumption.

Some first insights can be drawn by comparing Quadrant 1 and Quadrant 3. The first quadrant includes all market and some alternative-market transactions, as defined by Gibson-Grahams conceptual framework. Both dominant ("mainstream") frames and "ethical"/ "political" frames of a product/service consumed (bought or used) may exist, and reasoning for such actions may be either economic, ethical, or political. Nonetheless, the acquisition of an ordinary/ethical/political good is done only through legal market channels. Therefore, ethical/political practices which involve purchasing (such as "ethically" labelled products), are better conceived as alternative-additional (Fuller and Jonas, 2003) practices since they might operate under different "sets of rules" (for example fairer trade or no pesticides), but still rely on the system of the market economy (legality and monetary transaction).

On the contrary, Quadrant 3 includes only non-market illegal transactions, i.e., non-market (in the sense of not involving monetary transaction) modes of acquisition of goods that are considered illegal (such as refusing to pay tolls/bills/ticket, shoplifting, occupying, dumpster diving, reconnecting electricity). Such practices would fall under the alternative-oppositional (Fuller and Jonas, 2003) consumer practices since they are usually set up to challenge the mainstream and often embody a radically different view on property ownership than the economic system of capitalism. In this respect, it is rather a paradox that consumption practices which oppose the very structure of the dominant (capitalist) market are scarcely studied within existing literature on political consumption. Furthermore, the illegal character of practices in quadrant 3 limits the easiness to consider them as adhering to moral motives. The "ethical" frame's inability to unconditionally embrace illegal practices constitutes a major difference between conceptualisations of ethical and political consumption, even if morality and law are not always compatible.

Another insight comes from the acknowledgment that a consumer may engage in some or all these practices at the same time and/or during their life course. Research on ethical and political consumption that focuses only on a few popular practices, such as boycotting or buycotting, fails to see the wider picture of how individuals organise and manage the diverse consumption practices available to them. Attempts to explore and evaluate consumer agency from this perspective become susceptible, particularly when ethical and/or political framed goods enter the mainstream and when consumption is reduced to practices involving monetary transactions.

A third insight underscores that some consumer practices belonging to the second, third and fourth quartile fall under the so-called underground, hidden or informal economy (Portes and Haller, 2005). Literature on informal economies has indicated that participation in informal economies could, under conditions, represent a safety net for low-income population (Bonnet and Venkatesh, 2016) and, under a "popular economy" approach, a potential space for social resistance (Gaiger, 2019) and/or for the development of alternative, more humanistic, forms of economic exchange (such as the ones found in social and solidarity economy). The proposed typology identifies informal (and illegal) economy as a space that could potentially foster and promote consumer agency. Moreover, it maps the diverse conditions, based on (il) legality and (non) monetary transactions, under which such practices are performed. Illegal markets (Beckert and Dewey, 2017) constitute a promising but underdeveloped space to study political consumerism. A recent study in the US and Canadian cannabis markets, (Bennett, 2019), illustrated how political consumption may influence the market's legal status, but most importantly how in a newly legalised market political consumption activities "shifted away from alternative lifestyles and toward ethical purchasing". In the proposed typology, this can be illustrated by a movement from Quadrant 4 to Quadrant 1.

Finally, in line with previous classifications of ethical and political consumer practices, the proposed typology is in favour of including consumer practices that extend beyond mere economic transactions. Discoursive practices and other consumer action per-formed within all four processes (production, acquisition, use and disposal) that constitute the "circle of consumption" (Arnould et al., 2002) are acknowledged as integral features of ethical and political consumption.

4.2. Applying the proposed typology: an example from the lodging sector

This section offers an example of how the proposed typology of consumer practices could facilitate identification and evaluation of the variety of consumer practices performed within the hospitality industry and particularly within the lodging sector. Lodging is defined here as temporary accommodation. To narrow down the discussion, the following analysis focuses primarily on types of lodging and booking arrangements, and excludes other peripheral aspects such as modes of travel to and from such accommodations, destination choices etc.

4.2.1. Identifying diverse practices

As a starting point, the proposed typology can help recognise and compile consumer practices in a manner that promotes diversity. Quadrant 1 of the proposed typology preconditions a regulated market that entails monetary transactions. Lodging arrangements in this quadrant could include staying in conventional short-term accommodation such as hotels and inns, as well as other types of somewhat less conventional accommodation such as villas, hostels, cabins, camping tents, trailers, guesthouses, homestays etc. Quadrant 4 encloses practices performed within an unregulated market, but which entail monetary transactions. Such practices would include staying in all types of accommodation found in Q1 but escape regulation,

as when no receipt is issued or when the entire business is unregistered, resulting in the provided service remaining unregistered (i.e., hidden from tax records and thus illegal). This quadrant also includes staying in any other similar types of lodging under arrangements that would be considered illegal even within the formal market (e.g., when subletting is explicitly illegal).

Quadrants 2 and 3 include all lodging arrangements that do not entail monetary transactions. Such logging arrangements would be classified under either Quadrant 2 or Quadrant 3 depending on the degree in which they are considered legal at a given society. Some relevant consumer practices would include couch-surfing, staying with friends and relatives, staying at emergency shelters, squatting, dispersed ("free", "wild" or "dry") camping and boondocking, home swapping, etc.). From the previous, it should have become apparent that the proposed typology has a heuristic value, in the sense that it can assist in developing a holistic account of the different practices found in the lodging sector. This typology could aid the identification of diverse of consumer practices related to other sectors such as food provision, transport, education etc.

4.2.2. Observing alternativeness in consumer practices

The proposed typology can also aid the exploration of alternativeness in consumer practices. As discussed earlier, alterity of a practice is better conceived in relationship to the dominant "other" practice, which in this case will be a mainstream market-based practice. Thus, when the mainstream in a consumer society is to make lodging arrangements through the official market, then all practices in Quadrants 2,3 and 4 are (by definition) "alternative" to mainstream practices since they exemplify non-market and/or un-registered economic practices. [Note: this would not be that case in other contexts where the mainstream is shaped by practices performed outside the official market, as for example the practice of parenting].

Moreover, alternative practices may also be identified within the official market (within Quadrant 1). Alternativeness for consumer practices within this quadrant could vary greatly since choosing an "alternative" lodging arrangement could range from choosing a less conventional type of accommodation (e.g., staying at a hostel instead of a hotel room) to expressing environmental responsibility by renting an eco-friendly dome. It thus follows that alternative practices are apparent across all quadrants of this typology. Nonetheless, the important issue here is not whether alternative practices do exist across all quadrants, but the degree to which they can evoke change, and to which direction would that change lead. Besides, it is exactly this potentiality of change that ethical and political consumption aspires to.

4.2.3. Evaluating alternativeness: sharing and gift economy

An interesting insight can be drawn with respect to the degrees of alterity for different practices when applying the proposed typology within the lodging sector: Quadrants 1 and 4 do not contain any, as defined by Fuller and Jonas (2003), alternative-oppositional consumer practices (i.e., practices that challenge the mainstream through radically different structures and mechanisms). This is not to say that opposition to a certain structure is the only way forward to achieve some sort of change within a structure. But it is important to recognise that developing and realising radically different structures from the dominant one signifies an ability to radically challenge and change a certain status quo. Hence, put simply, consumer practices that profoundly challenge the mainstream are most probably performed outside the official market, and do not involve any form of monetary transaction (i.e., be performed outside the informal market too).

In general, this idea is not new, if we think of anti-consumption and unconsumption (Albinsson and Perera 2012). In the context of lodging, such consumer practices would mean to either a. refrain from lodging arrangements altogether, or b. make other non-market lodging arrangements such as, staying with friend and relatives, staying at an emergency shelter, free camping, and squatting. For this second option (b), the former two examples bring forward the notion of gift and sharing economy, whereas the latter two examples bring forward the notion of commons. Both sharing economy and the commons challenge property ownership, although arriving from different directions.

Sharing, although not really a new practice, has lately gained the attention of scholars interested in alternative consumer practices. One major factor contributing to this revival of interest is technological advancement, which facilitated the creation of digital artifacts capable of reproducing without cost, and aso the construction of new networks of exchange between strangers on virtual platforms that resemble older "kinship structures" (Wahlen and Laamanen, 2017, p. 99). In the literature, sharing is often examined in conjunction to gifting, since the two both represent practices which, at least in principle, escape the market (for a historical perspective on the emergence of sharing economy see Wahlen and Laamaen, 2017; for a brief literature review on sharing see Belk, 2010; for a comprehensive critical review on gift and sharing economy see Graeber, 2001; for a systematic literature review on sharing economy and hospitality see Cheng, 2016).

According to OECD (2016), accommodation is one major subsector of tourism which sharing economy has transformed, with only a small number of platforms dominating the marketplace. Airbnb is often (but inaccurately) perceived as a prime example of the sharing economy (see Cheng, 2016). This incorrect assumption generates false paradoxes shaped by the limits of the capitalist market that end up questioning the potential of alternativeness in sharing economy (see for e.g., Arias-Sans, Quaglieri-Domínguez & Russo, 2022; Celata and Stabrowski, 2022; Wahlen and Laamanen, 2017). Belk (2010, p. 720) is rather clear on this when he declares that "sharing involves joint ownership", only to continue that "This mutuality of possession is an important characteristic of sharing". A "host" and a "guest" should not be engaged in a monetary transaction for the service offered, and perhaps most importantly, they should not have a separate role; "there are no separate terms to distinguish the parties in sharing" (Belk, p. 720). Instead, we may better conceive such arrangements of temporary accommodation in private property under a similar but somewhat different notion, that of gift. Under this perspective, the host temporarily transfers the right to use the space (e.g., room, entire house) to the guest, thus creating an expectation to reciprocate (in the case of Airbnb this would be done though a monetary transaction). Home-swapping is another case framed under the idea of sharing economy (Forno and Garibaldi, 2015), which perhaps might better be explained through the lens of gift economy.

In general, homestays (i.e., staying at another individual's home for a short period of time) is an informal consumer practice that would generally fall under Quadrant 1. However, depending on the booking arrangements, the legislation and the absence (or not) of monetary transaction, this practice could be classified under either Quadrant 1, 2, 3 or 4. When homestays are mediated through for-profit market platforms such as Airbnb, where both the mediator and the host receive a fee (in the form of money), they resemble market-exchange. This type of practice would fall under Quadrant 1 of the proposed typology. Lodging arrangements made through platforms such as Couchsurfing, where only the mediator receives a fee (in the form of money) are somewhat more complex to describe. In this instance, the actual practice of homestaying would be falling under Quadrant 2 or 3 (depending on the relevant legislation in place), whereas booking arrangements would fall either under Quadrant 4 or Quadrant 1, depending on the (in) formal status of the platform. Non-market and non-for-profit hospitality

exchange platforms, such as BeWelcome.org, would be placed in either Quadrant 2 or 3 (depending on the laws of the examined society). This latter case is expected to exhibit the characteristics of ideal gift-giving, as a more personal transaction that promotes qualitative relations between people (see table 1 in Belk, 2010, p. 721).

Another interesting, albeit not widely known, case of free lodging facility is the bothy. Bothies are buildings that used to accommodate farm workers mainly in the Scottish Highlands and which over the years became abandoned. They are "very simple buildings, often a single room only and with few, if any, basic amenities" which are left unlocked and provide overnight shelter to "outdoor enthusiasts" (Crowe and Reid, 1998, p. 205). Nowadays there are over 100 bothies across the UK, being managed by the Mountain Bothies Association which was formed in 1965 (and received charity status in 1975) with the aim "to negotiate access with estates and organize the restoration and maintenance of such shelters on a voluntary basis" (Crowe and Reid, 1998, p. 206). Staying at bothies would fall under the second Quadrant of the proposed typology. Although this type of lodging arrangement does not really transfer ownership, it represents a good example of how private property could be transformed into an open-access facility. The way bothies operate brings them closer to being thought as a communal space, or a gift that doesn't the raise expectations of reciprocity (at least towards the owner).

This brings the discussion to other types of alternative consumer practices mentioned earlier which are thought to directly challenge the idea of private property, such as squatting and free camping. As an illegal (at least to most of the western world) way to acquire shelter, squatting would most probably be placed under Quadrant 3. Despite its illegal character, squatting could represent an ethical and political consumer practice; an example of this could be the thirty-nine-month squatting that turned the three-star seven-story hotel "City Plaza" in the centre of Athens into a shelter for refugees from Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, and Syria (see Crabapple, 2017). The City Plaza squat represents a case of private property being appropriated to provide free accommodation for people in need, something that appears to be close to how bothies operate; albeit appropriation of the lodging was forced and not in agreement with the proprietor.

4.2.4. Lodging arrangements and the commons

In a somewhat similar manner, we could explain consumption of "commons". Free (or wild) camping is a rather popular practice which is often motivated either by a need to be thrift, a lack of other accommodation (supply) nearby or simply due to lifestyle preferences. Free camping usually involves the assumption that the land on which the travellers will sleep on is communal (camping in the wild). If the land is privately owned it could be considered a gift by the owner or simple trespassing (and thus may be illegal). Therefore, depending on the property status of the campsite, free camping can be placed under Quadrant 2 or Quadrant 3. Nonetheless, in both cases the practice of free camping ultimately reflects free appropriation of land, and use of land as if it is a communal (sharable) resource, similar to squats and bothies.

The above practices appear to overcome certain limits imposed by capitalist market which is often accused of reproducing inequality and weakening social ties. Literature, however, has documented the hazards of this type of free lodging, such as wild camping and bothies, highlighting their potentially negative impact on the environment: damage to soil and vegetation, impacts on water and on wildlife (Stott, 2019). This is often explained through the commons failure thesis, a.k.a tragedy of the commons (Hardin, 1968), although later literature (e.g. Ostrom, 1990, 1999) illustrated that under certain conditions the idea of commons can thrive.

Overall, the above analysis illustrated how monetary transactions in the lodging sector impede the ability of a consumer practice to profoundly challenge status quo. Hence, radically alternative (or alternative-oppositional) practices are to be found only within the second and third Quadrants of the proposed typology. On the one hand, it is certainly encouraging to recognise that radically different consumer practices do exist. On the other hand, the question remains as to what the viability and actual outcome of such alternative consumer practices is.

4.2.5. Certifications and labelling in the lodging sector

Certification and labelling schemes that emerge in the hospitality industry advance the visibility of ethical and political frames for consumer practices in the lodging sector. With regards to sustainability, there are already in place organisations setting the standards for sustainable travel and tourism (such as the Global Sustainable Tourism Council) and relevant market-based certifications (such as Green Globe, Green Key, Green Sign, EU Ecolabel and Earthcheck). Other certifications found in the hospitality industry may concern issues of quality and management (e.g., ISO 9001), accessibility (e.g., Tourism and handicap), energy management (e.g., ISO 14001) and security (e.g., CovidClean™). Labelling schemes and certifications typically (if not only) refer to accommodation arrangements offered within the first Quadrant (i.e., formal market lodging types). Therefore, returning to the issue of alterity, certifications and labelling reflect consumer practices that can be described as alternative-additional.

Consumer choice of lodging based on certification and labelling might reflect a non-conventional economistic logic (i.e., consideration about for e.g., the environment, local society or in general sustainability), but is nonetheless governed by fundamental market conditions (e.g., property rights and monetary transactions). In this sense, the type of change pursued through such practices is confined to market mechanisms, and even, to an extent, reproducing them. This might be one reason why, in general, alternative products and services offered under the defining conditions of Quadrant 1 are perhaps easier to become somewhat mainstream or fashionable (think of fair-trade and organic produce in food provision, as well as organised camping or AirBnB in lodging provision). Nevertheless, it is commonly thought that development and support of such schemes can help shape alternative lodging provisions, and thus address important ethical and political issues faced by society today.

In their study on ethical food labelling, Evans and Miele (2017) argued that labels act as both “icons” and “devices”, summarising and signalling a particular form of provision as well as acting upon and intervening with “not only consumption practices and forms of political lobbying, but also with broader economic, ethical and aesthetic dimensions of food (p. 200). Such perspective on labelling can also explain how certification and label-ling functions within the lodging sector. Following this line of thought, market-based certifications such as the Green Globe, can help both signify the possibility of developing alternative forms of lodging provision, and contribute to the reshaping of the lodging sector. Their contribution is not limited to suggesting alternative business and consumer practices but extends beyond the economic sphere to intervene with fundamental questions on the ethics and aesthetics of the lodging sector. Still, identifying the limitations of ethical labelling, Evans and Miele (2017) are sceptical on the extent to which labelling alone can successfully resolve relevant threats faced by society today, calling for more “radical state-led reforms” (p. 201). This view is in agreement which what the proposed typology suggests, i.e., that alternative-additional consumer practices performed within the official market, such as supporting labelling schemes, actually have limited capacity to evoke radical change.

4.2.6. Mapping movement across the quadrants

Lastly, this typology inspires and facilitates examination of how consumption practices evolve over time. Mapping the movement of consumer practices in the lodging sector across the quadrants of the proposed typology, opens up the discussion about a major process that the capitalistic system has been accused of fostering: commodification.

Commodification describes the process of "making things exchangeable on markets either actually and/or discursively by framing things as if they were exchangeable" (Sevignani 2013, 733). This process is often perceived to haunt all aspects of modern life to the extent that numerous scholars have been talking about the "commodification of everything" (for a critical review on the concept see Hall, 2022). Such extreme of view of commodification is perhaps far from true, if we take into consideration that "large parts of the natural, human and social environments have so far escaped being commodified" (McNally, 2006, p. 95). The degree to which commodification is taking over our planet is also contested; for example, Williams (2005) demonstrated that the commodification thesis, which postulates that "goods and services are increasingly produced and delivered by capitalist firms for monetized exchange for the purpose of profit" (p. 14), is not really accurate since the "non-commodified sphere [...] is not only as large as the commodified sphere but also growing relative to it' (p. 7).

In the lodging sector, an instance of commodification can be seen in the case of the online hospitality exchange platform Couchsurfing.org, which in 2011 shifted its organisational orientation from a non-market commons-based model to a for-profit company (O'Regan, and Choe, 2019; Schöpf, 2015). Consequently, travelers making lodging arrangements through the specific platform are now required to pay a fee to the platform for the service it provides as the middleman (hosting is, yet, not charged). Therefore, the practice of using the specific platform to make lodging arrangements has moved from Quadrant 2 to Quadrant 1, while generally homestay as a practice, has remained in Quadrant 2.

Moreover, Airbnb represents one more interesting instance of commodification which in this case illustrates the tensions between formality and informality in the lodging sector. Put briefly, Airbnb started as a for-profit online platform website to facilitate ordinary people to rent out their residences as tourist accommodation (Guttentag, 2015). The rapid rise and popularity of Airbnb lead the business world to receive this initiative as one of the most successful start-ups in the lodging sector. At the same time, it raised debates over Airbnb's very ability to be considered as operating within a sharing economy. Studies have already indicated how over the years, the profile of the supply side has changed dramatically from individual homeowners offering a room into commercial multi-unit hosts offering whole apartments (Demir and Emekli, 2021). Moreover, negative externalities such as gentrification and overcrowding (see for e.g., Gutiérrez and Domènech, 2020) raised the need for policy intervention and regulation (Ferreri and Sanyal, 2018). Across all EU, Norway, Canada, United States, Mexico, Colombia and India, hosts are required to provide taxpayer information to the platform (Airbnb, n.d.), and countries are now registering economic activity that for several years has been undeclared. This is illustrated in the proposed typology by a movement from Quadrant 4 (unregistered lodging with monetary transaction) to Quadrant 1.

Analysis of these two platforms, Couchsurfing.org and Airbnb, showcased how consumer practices evolve through time, revealing a tendency towards commodification. A rigorous examination of the whole spectrum of alternative consumer practices in the lodging sector has not been undertaken and it is outside the scope of this article. Such an examination would perhaps provide a better insight on the degree of commodification within the lodging sector.

Overall, from the above application of the proposed typology for consumer practices, we could draw the following three conclusions: a. There is an abundance of alternative practices within the lodging sector, some of which are not really visible within literature that explicitly uses the frame/term of “ethical” and/or “political” consumption (think of free camping, squatting and staying in bothies); b. Alternative-oppositional, and thus in a sense more radical, consumer practices are to be found outside formal or informal markets, they do not involve monetary transaction and, thus, are easier accessible by people deprived of economic capital; and c. Focusing on the issue of alterity facilitates a way to conceptualise the ethical and political dimensions of consumption practices without depending on individual motives. This perspective can allow for diverse motives, including economic, to exist along ethical and political ones (although it is still a top-down approach carrying with it all the advantages and disadvantages of such approach).

5. Discussion

5.1. Theoretical contributions and implications

This article presented a novel typology for consumer practices that synthesises relevant existing typologies. Moreover, the proposed typology does not simply enlist consumer practices, but it develops a coherent theory-led classification which promotes appreciation of the diversity of consumer practices that can fall under the ethical and political consumption frameworks.

With regards to antecedents, and specifically when examining incentives behind consumer behaviour and practice, literature on ethical and political consumption suggests “ethical” and/or “political” motives as the defining features that distinguish an alternative consumer practice from an ordinary one. Under such perspective, consumers and their practices are not considered “alternative” (and thus neither “ethical” or “political”) if they exhibit self-interest mainly based on an economic rational. The proposed typology doesn’t rely on a logic of defining alternativeness of consumer practices according to certain prevalent motives, but instead applies a classification that corresponds to the wider setting within which practices are performed.

Alternativeness, in this sense, is first and foremost demarcated in relation to two critical mechanisms that shape and regulate consumer practices within the dominant (official) market, namely monetary-exchange and law. Thus, in the proposed typology quadrants 2, 3 and 4 represent, by definition, alternative consumer practices, whereas practices in quadrant 1 should be investigated further according to particular criteria (e.g., methods of acquisition, framing, means of disposing and reasoning) in order to identify the characteristic that renders them different (alternative) from the mainstream. Moreover, an examination of the lodging sector using this typology provided further evidence for the limited degree of alterity found in market-based consumer practices (such as booking through Airbnb and choosing ethical certified accommodation).

Consequently, the proposed typology caters for the inclusion of consumer actions and practices motivated by economic interest (for the self or the “other”) in parallel with other ethical and/or political aspirations. In line with Hiltons’ (2009) view, this article embraces a politics of consumption that addresses the needs of both individuals and society as a whole. Such perspective unlocks space for practices that might rest on economic criteria to be viewed as ethical and/or political, as in the case of the auto-reduction movement mentioned earlier, or in the case of, for example, free-exchange bazaars (see Sotiropoulou, 2011), collective shoplifting in supermarkets (see Pautz and Kominou, 2013) and digital piracy (see Downing,

2011). Inclusion of economic motives within conceptualisation of ethical and political consumption could positively adjust the degree of agency usually assumed for the "inadequate" (Bauman, 1998), "defective and disqualified" consumer (Bauman, 2012).

The proposed typology also brings to light the problematic of relying on normative judgments to characterise consumption practices. Practices such as buycotting and boycotting are often guided by moral codes developed and negotiated within a framework shaped (if not governed) by the official market mechanisms. It thus comes as no surprise that significant literature on consumer ethics, such as the Muncy-Vitell Consumer Ethics Scale (Muncy and Vitell 1992; Vitell and Muncy 2005) and, in general, 'unethical' consumer behaviour have vaguely been incorporated in the ethical consumption literature. Morality and legality are often ineptly viewed as inseparable; recycling is legal and would easily be framed as "ethical", whereas shoplifting or squatting would unlikely be considered as "ethical", even if there were strong moral incentives behind such action (e.g., to punish an unethical business or to shelter refugees as in the case of the City Plaza presented earlier).

The proposed typology overcomes this limitation by acknowledging that particular "ethical" framed consumer practices such as relationship purchasing and buycotting (Harrison et al., 2005) may simultaneously be illegal too, such as when performed within the informal/illegal market. Informal economy can be viewed as a space of solidarity and increased social boding (Bonnet and Venkatesh 2016). These illegal but ethically framed consumer practices are represented in the fourth quadrant of the proposed typology. Such approach caters a bottom-up understanding of any moral reasoning behind consumer practices; it *avoids a priori* framings of "ethical" practices and instead encourages exploration of the existence (or not) of normative judgments behind a consumer practice by the consumer performing it.

With respect to the "political" frame, this new typology assumes that all consumer practices could potentially disclose a meaningful political dimension. Practices in all four quadrants of the proposed typology could, under conditions, represent political consumption. Such conditions, which may advance an "ordinary" consumer practice to a "political" one, are better considered as fluid and context specific, as something to be investigated rather than taken for granted. Previous literature on political consumption has attempted to clarify this without much success. Stressing the importance of motivation behind a consumer act, Andersen and Tobiasen (2004) argued that "a deliberative attempt to influence or change society is the only possible criterion that can help distinguish between 'ordinary' and 'political' consumers" (p.207). Nonetheless, excluding self-interest as a motive behind political consumption practices results in refusing to accept personal troubles as public issues. A clear cut between self and society is not only difficult to make but also perhaps inadequate, as is the interpretation of behaviour only under a single motive.

Literature on what constitutes political participation does shed a light into the politicising of consumer practices but doesn't help identify any preconditions that would signify a unique distinguishing trait for a "political" framing in consumption practices. Norris (2002), for example, defines political participation as "any dimensions of social activity that are either designed directly to influence government agencies and the policy process, or indirectly to impact civil society, or which attempt to alter systematic patterns of social behavior" (p. 16). Applying such definition to the context of political consumption, it becomes apparent why some practices such as self-provisioning, sharing, and recycling could represent practices of political consumerism. In the same spirit, Teorell et al. (2007) regards political participation as actions that can be directed against all political, societal, media or economic actors. Targets of political consumption practices may be governments, states, economic actors, and civil society, but also patterns of social behaviour, or even extend to issues of lifestyle (as in "lifestyle political consumerism" acknowledged by Boström et al., 2019). This fits also with Zamwel's et al. (2014)

call to view voluntary simplifiers as political consumers representing “a clear-cut instance of noninstitutionalized political activity realized through individual practices in the private realm” (p. xx). From the above, it could be argued that practicing political consumption may require a conscious/deliberate attempt to achieve some sort of change (including the improvement of personal economic conditions, as discussed earlier). But again, in the attempt to include economic self-interest motivations under a political framing in consumption, the problem of distinguishing between “ordinary” consumption (assumed to be practiced by strictly economic self-interested actors) and “political” consumption remains.

The proposed typology doesn’t rely on specific claims about consciousness or motivation to establish the political dimension for any given consumption practice. Consumer agency is viewed as embedded in all economic activity of everyday life. The political dimension in every consumer practice unfolds according to context and can be appraised on a case-to-case basis by examining respective consumer discourses and the alternativeness of each practice, which in turn is articulated in relation to what is considered at that time as the dominant “other”.

Finally, the proposed typology brings forward the need to acknowledge economy as intrinsically diverse (in the way Gibson-Graham suggested), and an appreciation that certain ethical and political consumer practices may be latent due to dominant discourses that are reaffirmed by the official market mechanisms. Digital piracy represents a prime example of market efforts to formally criminalise such practice, while studies document widespread social acceptability and a certain difficulty from the side of consumers to conceive such practice as “unethical” (Bhal and Leekha, 2008). Proponents of digital piracy have developed and embraced ideological frameworks opposing private property rights (Arvanitakis and Fredriksson, 2016) and even succeeded in entering the main-stream political arena; several national pirate political parties have been formed across the western world, occasionally achieving representation in various parliaments (Fredriks-son Almqvist, 2016).

5.2. Limitations and Future Research Directions

In contrast with previous classifications of ethical and political consumer practices, the proposed typology offers an analytical framework to classify any consumer practice of interest. There is no finite number of practices which may be identified within each quadrant; this is a major advantage since it provides spatio-temporal flexibility in terms of mapping any “new” practices that arise. Nonetheless, while this typology facilitates exploration and appreciation of the diversity found in consumer practices, it is not feasible to assess in volumes the engagement with all ethical and political consumption practices. This may be easier if practices fall under the first quadrant where money-exchange takes place and is officially recorded, but the nature/qualities of a considerable number of practices included mainly in the second, third and fourth quadrant renders them difficult to quantify. Practices hard to register and quantify could for example include economic activity in the informal/illegal economy and other non-collectivised consumer action, such as reusing.

Moreover, the proposed axes along which consumer practices are classified should not be considered as static. Laws are continually involving, social acceptability too. Consumer practices previously “free of charge” may at some point in the future attain a price, as in the case of Couchsurfing.org. What is considered as alternative may at some point become the mainstream. In the words of Jonas (2013) “What we need is a way of thinking about alternatives as evolving processes rather than fixed taxonomic categories” (p. 29). Hence, consumer practices mentioned in all four quadrants of the proposed typology should be considered as examples that could change over time.

Looking beyond the mere act of “shopping” or “purchasing” unlocks terrain for researching less visible alternative practices in consumption. Following the article’s perspective into consumption and consumer practices, some key research areas that may advance existing knowledge on the ethical and political dimensions of consumption practices include the following:

1. How are negotiations between legal and illegal market activity being formed and what are the consequences for conceptualising ethical and political consumption? How do shifts in social norms/social approval of certain consumption practices interact and inform law development?
2. How is the relation between private and public troubles experienced within the context of consumption?
3. To what extent and in what way may economic motivation incentivise moral and political framings of consumption practices?
4. How are moral and political frames articulated in consumer discourses for practices which are illegal?
5. How does ethical and political consumption intersect with informal economy? Who are the ethical and political consumers within informal economy? What enables and restrains their consumer agency?
6. How are different consumption practices (mainstream and alternative) organised in the micro-level of the individual? Which practices, how often and in what terms are they being performed? To what extent could there exist a threshold for consumer practices to reflect who is ‘ethical’ or ‘political’ in their consumption?
7. How important is reflexivity or consciousness in ethical and political consumption practices and how does it develop over time?

Lastly, understanding the processes that shape and give birth to alternative (ethical and political) consumer practices will help clarify if, to borrow Miraftab’s terms (2004), we may ultimately distinguish between “invented” and “invited” spaces of participation in political consumerism (where “invited” are spaces that welcome individuals to participate as citizens-consumers through practices legitimised by the market, and “invented” represent spaces that directly confront the authority of the dominant market mechanisms challenging the status quo “in the hope of larger societal change and resistance to the dominant power relations” (p.1). Aspirations of contributing to the socio-political change of society from our role as consumers may ultimately depend upon our ability to distinguish between these two spaces of participation and their respective potential to realise change.

6. Conclusions

We are habitually attuned to translate “consumption” into “purchasing”. This is reflected in everyday discourse and often in academic thought. There is, however, an overabundance of consumer practices performed daily which escape such dominant conceptualisation of consumption; alternative consumer practices which remain hidden due to their inability to be commercialised, their non-abiding to formal market laws and the absence of monetary transaction. This article offered a typology that brings to light all such practices by mapping them in relation to two defining mechanisms of the official market: law and money. Through this approach, the theoretical framework of political consumption, more than its counterpart ethical consumption, can restore those hidden practices their contributing role in social organising and acknowledge agency for consumers previously considered disempowered and/or uninteresting for the market.

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