

**Dressed to Disrupt: Motivations Behind Millennial Women Consuming
Feminist Fashion**

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to demystify the underlying motivations of the millennial women purchasing feminist fashion, by identifying frequently occurring value chains. Following a means-end approach and using in-depth ladder interviews of millennials who have actually purchased feminist fashion commodities, this research found seven underlying values that drive their choice to consume feminist fashion commodities. The ubiquitous 'Girl Power' narrative in fashion stores and online is unmissable. A Fourth wave of feminism has descended onto the marketplace, fuelled by millennials who are using their remarkable online connectivity and consumption habits to take a stand for social justice. Brands are acknowledging the power of associating themselves with empowering female narratives, as a means to expand markets and remain relevant to young consumers. The results offer qualitative insight into how management should market fashion commodities with feminist signifiers, pointing towards a variety of target segments: *Educators, Rebels, Self-Expressors, Community Builders, Self-Esteem Seekers and Helpers*. Each segment is driven by a correlating underlying value including the desire to *educate* others about feminism, *rebellion* in the face of society's sexism, feeling a sense of *belonging to a community*, *self-esteem* and *supporting others*. This study has identified that female millennial consumers purchasing feminist commodities are not solely driven by the desire to present a positive image and/or the desire to remain consistent with internal values, as presented by literature into prosocial behaviour (Kristofferson et al., 2016). Instead, since the nature of feminist fashion commodities is controversial, millennial women are also driven by the desire to disrupt the status quo.

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PART I: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

“The fight for gender equality has transmogrified from a collective goal to a consumer brand”

Zielser (2016, p.XV)

The purpose of this study is to demystify the underlying motivations of the millennial women purchasing feminist fashion commodities, by conducting ladder interviews with seven millennial women who are consumers of feminist fashion (from ‘Cats Against Catcalls’ slogan tees, to feminist charity badges). Feminism is a timely research topic, amidst global women’s rights infringements and organised actions of protest, such as the widespread Women’s Marches. The term ‘*Feminism*’, defined as ‘the theory of political, economic and social equality of the sexes’, saw a 70% spike in interest and ‘lookups’ of the term since 2016 (Merriam Webster Dictionary, 2017). A Fourth Wave of feminism has descended onto the marketplace Maclaran (2015, p.1732), fuelled by millennials: ‘Invisible Feminists’ (Schuster, 2013) who are using their remarkable online connectivity and consumption habits to take a stand for gender equality (Gill, 2008).

Amid this explosion of interest around depicting women as ‘more than mothers’, companies are discovering they can gain competitive advantage by ‘meeting demands for strong, independent female role models’ (Intel, 2017a). This commodification of feminism invites women to use props, ‘from bras to coffee’, as cues to their ‘independence (from men)’ (Gill, 2008, p.36). As more consumers join the conversation around feminism, brands are grappling with how to translate this interest into meaningful segmentation strategies, marketing campaigns and sales.

The results contribute to an emerging field of research into millennial feminists, offering qualitative insight into how management should market fashion commodities with ‘feminist signifiers’ (Goldman et al., 1991; Lazar, 2007).

1.1 The growing importance of Feminism in Marketing

Multi-nationals, celebrities and independent creators are now using feminism to sell to the 80% of young women saying they are – or might be – feminists (YouthSight, 2015). The brands commodifying the battle for gender equality include: Dove’s ‘Real Beauty’ campaign, Bodyform’s ‘#BloodNormal’ tag, Microsoft’s ‘Girls Do Science’ initiative, Pantene’s ‘Sorry not Sorry’ campaign, Emma Watson’s ‘He For She’ campaign, the countless ‘Feminist’ slogan t-shirts (Missguided, Nasty Gal, Pretty Little thing,

MissPap, Topshop, NA-KD), Chanel's feminism inspired runway demonstration, Mattel's Barbie 'Imagine The Possibilities' and Dior's £490 'We Should All Be Feminists' t-shirt. Multinationals and popular culture are investing in 'women's empowerment as a worthy cause' (Prügl, 2015, p.616).

Oyserman (2009, p.276) posits that advertising campaigns 'link products and brands to target audience identities by highlighting relevant traits and characteristics'. Gill (2008, p.36) quips that campaigns, such as those aforementioned, linking products to a feminist social identity have made trivial acts such as buying 'a particular brand of cereal bar...recognized as [a gesture] of female empowerment'. Valaei and Nikhashemi (2017, p.523) found that *social identity* is one of the most influential drivers of Gen-Y consumers' purchase intention for fashion since consumers 'use products as ways to identify who they are' (Oysermann, D. 2009, p.257).

1.2 Commodity Feminism

Commodity feminism refers to the appropriation of feminism by advertisers to differentiate products and services, by linking said products and services to notions of independence and equality (Goldman et al., 1991, p.336). Goldman et al. (1991, p.336) state that brands translate feminist discourses into 'stylized commodity signs', so that feminism can be employed to enhance market share and expand markets (McRobbie, 2008, p.531). The commodification of feminism in advertising uses 'visual clichés' and a market-friendly form of feminist cues, reducing feminism 'to a mere signifier' (Goldman et al., 1991, p.336).

The relevance of Goldman et al.'s (1991) research is evident today as Lazar (2007, p.505) notes how advertisers still employ 'feminist signifiers' to increase brand awareness. Adverts featuring feminist ideologies are more effective, with 13% of women finding empowering adverts memorable, versus just 6% of women finding adverts focusing on female models to be memorable (Intel, 2017b).

Goldman et al.'s (1991) definition of commodity feminism is based solely on research into advertisements in the 1980's magazine, *Mademoiselle* – although this research has its merits, the obvious flaw is its limited applicability outside of the magazine, as well as outside of the 1980s era. Despite this, Goldman et al.'s (1991) concept of 'commodity feminism' has been validated by scholars in arenas ranging from popular music (Hains, 2013) to skincare brands (Murray, 2012) – initiating the coining of new phrases, including 'market feminism', 'free market feminism' (Prügl, 2015, p.615), 'femvertising' (Fernandez, 2017) and 'power femininity' (Lazar, 2007, p.505).

1.3 Millennials and Fourth Wave Feminism

Millennials possess ‘remarkable’ purchasing power – they are identified as ‘the largest and best educated’ cohort (Kraljević and Filipović, 2017, p.6). This cohort is characterised by their age (‘born between 1982 and 2001’ according to Sutherland and Hoover (2007)) and by their homogeneity driven by their constant connectivity online (Kraljević and Filipović, 2017, p.6).

Millennials use social media profiles as an extension of their public selves, using online spaces to depict their social consciousness and feminism (Bucic et al., 2012; Harris, 2008). It would be naïve to consider millennial feminism in isolation from their online identities since nowadays “young female citizenship is operationalised through consumption and display” (Harris, 2008, p.483), which inevitably includes online displays.

This new generation of consumers are turning to the internet to engage with feminism (Guillard, 2014; McRobbie, 2008; Schuster, 2013). Harris (2008) and Keller (2011) acknowledge that millennials are turning to online communities and blogs to engage in establishing a public feminist self. Maclaran (2015, p.1732) suggests that this new wave of feminism is incredibly relevant for those in marketing and consumer research, defining millennial feminists as the ‘Fourth Wave’ of feminism, ‘driven by younger women who harness the power of the internet’.

Schuster (2013) refers to the young demographic of virtually vocal feminists as “*Invisible Feminists*” who have chosen online spaces to depict their political activism. Harris (2008, p.483) suggests that millennials are choosing online spaces of ‘peer communities’ to express their social interests ‘away from adult intervention’. There is debate whether internet-driven feminism should be likened to its feminist predecessor waves, or whether online participation (such as sharing posts and signing petitions) remains a token gesture with little ‘meaningful support’ for the feminist cause – referred to as ‘Slacktivism’ (Kristofferson et al., 2014).

1.4 Prosocial Behaviour Online and Offline

The literature states that millennials are susceptible to using products with social claims and messages, such as feminism, as part of online impression management (Bucic et al., 2012; Goffman, 1959; Harris, 2008; Leary and Kowalski, 1990; Mintel, 2015). With reference to Kristofferson et al.’s (2014, p.1149) work, there seems to be two potential motivations behind individuals engaging in prosocial behaviour, such as purchasing and wearing a feminist fashion garment: ‘*a desire to present a positive image to others and a desire to be consistent with one’s own values*’ – this research aims to discover whether these two categories of motivations hold true in the feminist commodity product class.

2. Direction of research based on Literature Review

Feminism is a paradoxical image to portray as, by nature, it is a controversial and highly emotional cause. Kristofferson et al. (2014) found that one reason that individuals engage in social and/or environmental activism is due to a 'desire to present a *positive* image', however feminism is not always viewed in a *positive* light. According to Kristofferson et al. (2014, p.1158), engaging in token support for a cause elicits the result of presenting a positive self-image 'only if the [organization] being supported is viewed in a positive light'.

Unlike the motivation to portray a '*positive*' image, as with the prosocial behaviours researched by Kristofferson et al. (2014), feminist consumers instead may aim to portray a different kind of image. This research sheds light on how feminist commodities are not always accepted as 'positive' by society, thus the wearers may encounter negative emotions and responses to their purchases that other research fails to acknowledge.

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PART II: RESEARCH AIMS

Aim: the purpose of this study is to identify the underlying values driving millennial women who have bought feminist fashion commodities (including t-shirts, badges and tote bags featuring feminist slogans and symbols), and how online activity is linked to their consumption of feminist fashion.

Research Objectives

- R.O.1. Investigate the impacts of feminism on marketing strategy, through a literature review.
 - R.O.2. Analyse the link between millennial feminism, social media and consumption.
 - R.O.3. Categorise underlying motivations of millennial women consuming feminist fashion into potential market segments.
 - R.O.4. Identify and evaluate consumers' underlying values and general recurring themes through a content analysis.
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PART III: METHODOLOGY

1. Research Philosophies

1.1. The Research Onion

According to Saunders et al.'s (2012) 'research onion', there are four general research philosophies that guide researcher decision-making. This research took an interpretivist approach - *interpretivism* is a philosophy of researching people and 'adopting an empathetic stance' leading to qualitative data, in-depth techniques, and small sample sizes (Saunders et al., 2012).

1.2. Chosen Approach

This research adopted an *interpretivist* philosophy as research into purchase motivations requires value-based data collection to acquire rich, insightful and qualitative data. Similar research into values and motivations behind sustainable fashion consumption by Lundblad and Davies (2016, p.151) used an *interpretivist* philosophy, due to the need to understand 'actual' motivations, rather than theoretical motivations.

This research used a *mono method qualitative design*, as data was collected using in-depth laddered interviews and analysed using a content analysis (Saunders et al., 2012). The nature of the data was *cross-sectional*; it aimed to answer a research question in the current time period (Saunders et al., 2012). Appendix A summarises the methodology of this paper.

2. Data Collection

2.1 Means-End Approach for Values-Based Primary Research

The means-end approach posits that marketers position products 'by associating means with advertising that seeks to tie the consumption of products to the achievement of desired ends' (Gutman, 1982, p.60). Gutman (1982, p.60) suggests that 'means' are products which aid an individual in achieving their 'ends', a desired state. A laddering technique is used in conjunction with the means-end approach.

2.2 Laddering Technique

Laddered interviewing uses three-tiered questioning to uncover product *attributes*, *psychological and social consequences* of these attributes and the *values* that cause these consequences to be desirable or undesirable (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988; Saaka et al., 2004). This technique revealed that apparently

insignificant product features actually ‘appeal to buyers on a very deep level’ (Saaka et al., 2004, p.7), as shown in Figure 1.

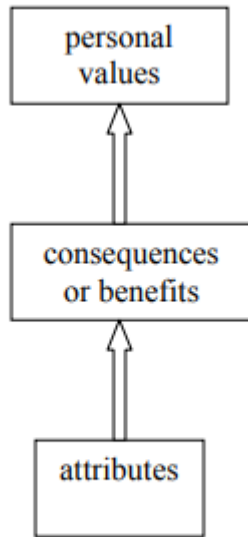


Figure 1.

Value Chain, Saaka et al. (2004)

Table 1 gives justification for the laddered Interview Questions (Appendix B), based on the literature review and correlating research objectives.

Table 1

JUSTIFICATION FOR INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview Questions	Literature Support	Research Objective
1, 2, 3, 4	The literature review acknowledges the growing frequency of ‘femvertising’ (Fernandez, 2017; Mintel, 2017).	R.O. 1
5	Reynolds and Gutman (1988) posit that “that consumers learn to choose products containing attributes which are instrumental to achieving their	R.O. 2 and 3

	desired consequences.”	
6, 7	Examples of consequences are: Socialize, Impress others, Quality (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988)	R.O. 2 and 3
8, 9, 10	Examples of values are: Accomplishment, Family, Belonging and Self-esteem (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988). <i>'A desire to present a positive image' and 'A desire to be consistent with one's own values'</i> (Kristofferson et al., 2014)	R.O. 2 and 3
11	'Slacktivism' (Kristofferson et al., 2014) and online 'invisible feminism' (Schuster, 2013; Harris, 2008).	R.O. 1
12, 13	(Schuster, 2013)	R.O. 2 and 3
14	(Reynolds and Gutman, 1988)	R.O. 2 and 3
15	(Reynolds and Gutman, 1988)	R.O. 2 and 3
16	Discover any unidentified means of engaging in feminism online	R.O. 2

2.3 Sampling

Due to the nature of the researcher's position in the feminist commodity market (as founder of a feminist apparel company (Mude Threads, 2017)), the sample was selected from their online and offline following of millennials that have recently purchased a feminist commodity. This is known as *convenience* sampling, as interviewees were selected due to their proximity to the researcher and their characteristics matched the population of interest (Duignan, 2016). This sampling method was simple, quick, and low-cost (Duignan, 2016). As well as interviews with millennial consumers (Appendix C), an in-depth interview was conducted with one feminist retailer (Ararose) to gain a business point of view on why millennial consumers purchase feminist commodities.

2.4 Advantages and Limitations of Means-End approach and In-Depth Interviews (IDIs)

The nature of this research is sensitive - respondents needed to feel safe talking about their ideas of feminism and consumption, in a private setting. The interviewer must be perceived as a feminist ally rather than as a judgemental professional, in order to gain the most truthful answers; Saaka et al. (2004, p.12) advise the building of a rapport with respondents. IDIs offer the ability to circle back to aforementioned answers to get a better understanding of deeper motivations, that sometimes the respondent isn't consciously aware of (Doyle, 2016). Laddered IDIs can be extremely time-consuming as they require thorough transcription and analysis.

A key limitation of this research is that the researcher is not only a member of the subculture of marketplace feminism (engages in the consumption of feminist commodities), but also runs a small feminist apparel business (Mude Threads, 2017). As a member of the community (online and offline) the researcher may hold preconceived ideas of marketplace feminism that could lead to researcher bias.

3. Data Analysis

The content analysis was 'deductive' as the researcher aimed to test previous research in a new context (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). This research into the purchasing motivations of feminist commodities aims to further previous research by Kristofferson et al.'s (2014) research into prosocial behaviours and Lundblad and Davies' (2016) research into motivations behind consumption of sustainable fashion. The researcher predicts that the consumption of feminist fashion commodities may not portray a 'positive' image, and instead a more controversial image may be a motivating factor.

Firstly, the researcher followed Saaka et al.'s (2004) process of analysing laddered interviews by constructing 'A-C-V' ladders (Figure 1) from respondents' answers (Appendix I). A summary table was then created which coded all of the value chains and the connections between attributes, consequences and values (Table 2). Categorisation and coding is the identification of 'a chunk or unit of data a (e.g., a passage of text of any length as belonging to, representing, or being an example of some more general phenomenon)' (Spiggle, 1994, p.493). Content codes were created for *attributes, consequences and values* - clusters of similar phrases were categorised together, for example: "empowered", "brave" and "proud" were be coded into the coded consequence category of "(7) Positive Feelings" (Appendix G). Since this research took a deductive stance, guidance was taken from Lundblad and Davies' (2016, p.154) A-C-V categories for sustainable fashion consumption such as: Social Justice, Self-Esteem, Self-Expression, Look Good, Support Communities, Good Feeling.

Table 2

SUMMARY CONTENT CODES FOR FEMINIST FASHION

Values	Consequences	Attributes
(17) Education/Raise Awareness	(7) Positive Feelings	(3) Tee: Feminist Signifier
(19) Support and Helping Others	(9) Show I'm a Feminist	(2) Tote: Feminist Signifier
(18) Rebellion	(10) Support Charity or Creator	(1) Bold Design
(14) Fairness, Justice and Equality	(8) Make Others Uncomfortable	(4) Badge: Feminist Signifier
(15) Community/Belonging	(6) Look Cool/Good	
(16) Self-Expression/Identity	(11) Get Noticed	
(13) Self-Esteem (Confidence)	(12) Positive Feedback From Others	
	(5) Good for carrying things	

From this summary table (Table 2), an 'Implication Matrix' (IM, Table 3) was created, displaying 'the number of times each element leads to every other element in the same row' either as a direct link or as an indirect link (Saaka et al., 2004, p.19). Direct links appear on the left of the divider, and indirect links appear to the right. Direct links are defined as elements that occur immediately after each other, with no other elements in between - the Implication Matrix shows that wearing a Tote Bag with a Feminist Signifier leads to '(7) Positive Feelings' 4 times directly, and 1 time indirectly, denoted by '4|1'.

According to Saaka et al., high frequency pathways, such as '(17) Education and Raising Awareness', are noteworthy as they depict widespread consumer regularities, however weaker pathways (such as '(06) Look cool/good') are still very much deserving of attention since they 'represent an opportunity for a campaign to strengthen this tie' (2004, p.25).

Table 3

SUMMARY IMPLICATION MATRIX

	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	sum
01 Bold Design				0 1			1 0			0 1						1 2
02 Tote: Feminist Signifier	1 0	0 1	4 1	2 0	0 1	1 0	2 1	2 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 1	6
03 Tee: Feminist Signifier		3 0	5 1	0 1	3 3	1 0	1 2	4 0	0 3		0 3	0 2	0 7	0 1	0 1	4
04 Badge: Feminist Signifier				1 0	1 0	1 0							0 2		0 1	3 3
05 Good for carrying things												1 0				1 0
06 Look cool/good							1 0	1 0	1 0				0 1	2 0		5 1
07 Positive Feelings				3 0	1 0	2 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 1	1 3		1 1	13 5
08 Make others uncomfortable					1 0		1 0		1 0				1 0	2 0	1 0	7 0
09 Shows 'I'm a Feminist'							1 0			1 0	2 0	3 1			1 0	8 1
10 Support charity or creator										0 1			2 0			2 1
11 Get noticed										0 1			5 1			5 2
12 Positive Feedback from others									2 0		2 1			0 1		4 2
13 Self-esteem (Confidence)																0 0
14 Fairness, Justice and Equality																0 0
15 Community/Belonging																0 0
16 Self-expression of identity																0 0
17 Education/raising awareness																0 0
18 Rebellion																0 0
19 Supporting/Helping others																0 0
sum	1 0	3 1	9 2	3 2	8 4	4 0	9 3	8 0	4 4	2 4	4 5	4 5	12	4 5	3 4	

The IM acts as a 'blueprint' for creating the 'Hierarchical Value Map' (HVM, Figure 2) (Saaka et al., 2004, p.22). According to Saaka et al. (2004), the HVM can inform marketing strategies by understanding the dominant values that drive consumer purchase decisions. Cut-off points have been used to direct the software to only highlight significant links in the IM - cut-offs of 1 have been used for concrete attributes, functional consequences, psycho-social consequences and values; only elements that were mentioned more than once appear highlighted in the IM and HVM. Using LadderUX software (LadderUX, 2018), the HVM was constructed, which depicts 'the linkages across levels of abstraction' (Saaka et al., 2004, p.10).

Examples Provided by JK Essay

Examples

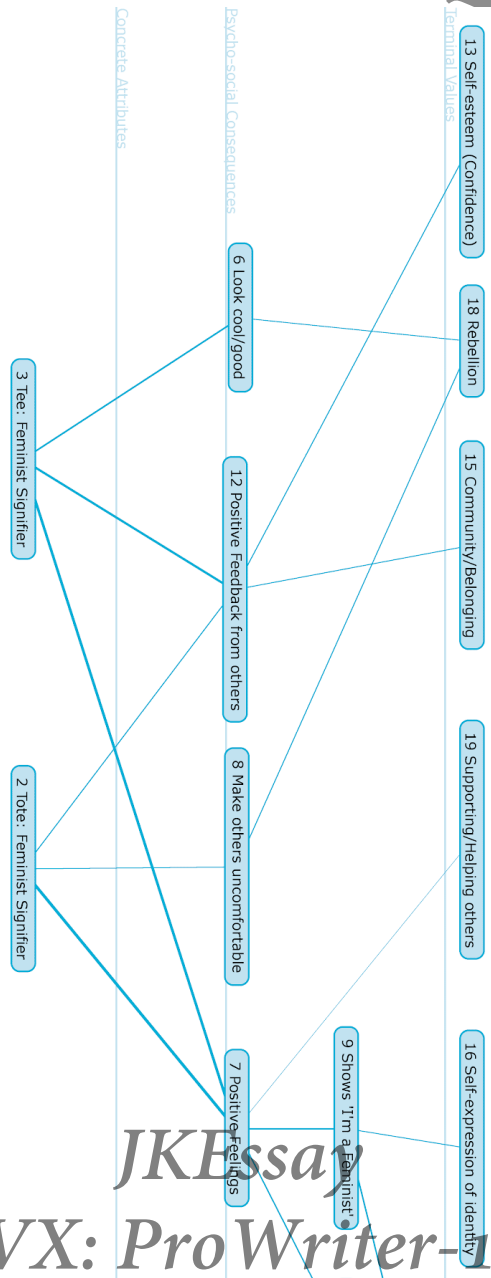


Figure 2

Hierarchical Value Map

Examples Provided by JK Essay

PART IV: FINDINGS

This section translates the quantitative data from the IM (Table 3) and HVM (Figure 2) into meaningful findings, using direct quotes from participants (Appendix G) to bring the data to life.

1. Categories

1.1 Attributes

The interviews generated four broad concrete attributes, consisting of *'Bold Design'*, *'Tote with Feminist Signifier'*, *'Tee with Feminist Signifier'* and *'Badge with Feminist Signifier'*. Examples of garments that were included slogan tees ("The Future is Female", "Cats Against Catcalls", "Society has a distorted perception of beauty"), artistic tees and tote bags featuring nude women ("Free the Nipple" ethos), charity tees and accessories (a charity badge featuring a design of a woman holding a period pad).

The generic attribute of the product having a feminist message has been separated into the categories of Tee, Tote and Badge. This means value chains can at least be traced back to the type of garment or accessory that elicited such chains, producing more meaningful and product-specific results. Many interviewees owned multiple feminist fashion products and tended to speak generally about their purchases, suggesting that value chains can be generalised to all feminist fashion.

1.2 Consequences

The seven interviewees acknowledged a total of seven psycho-social consequences and one functional consequence related to attributes: (6) *Look Cool/Good*, (7) *Positive Feelings*, (8) *Make Others Uncomfortable*, (9) *Show I'm a Feminist*, (10) *Support Charity or Creator*, (11) *Get Noticed*, (12) *Positive Feedback From Others* and (5) *Good for carrying things*.

1.3 Values

Seven underlying core values (motivations) were identified: (13) *Self-Esteem (Confidence)*, (14) *Fairness, Justice and Equality*, (15) *Community/Belonging*, (16) *Self-Expression/Identity*, (17) *Education/Raise Awareness*, (18) *Rebellion* and (19) *Support and Helping Others*. According to the IM, '(17) Education and Raising Awareness' is the core value for the feminist commodity product class, since it has the most direct and indirect links, denoted by '12|18' (Table 3).

The HVM (Figure 2) presents these findings with underlying values appearing at the highest level, attributes occupying the middle levels and product attributes on the lowest level. Dominant linkages (most frequently occurring) are presented with thicker lines.

2. Value Chains

2.1 Value Chain 1: Confidence from good reactions

(13) *Self Esteem* (V) - (12) *Positive Feedback from others* (C) - Tote: Feminist Signifier (A)

As the HVM shows, the value of *self-esteem* is fulfilled solely through the psycho-social consequence of *positive feedback from others*. Consumers recounted times when people had complimented them on their feminist fashion items online and offline:

“I wore it to a tutorial with my teacher...and he was like it's such an amazing idea, it's so good you can wear something like that, and he really loved it... And he was like that's incredible”

“They're always like ‘Oh, I love it’” and “Wow it's amazing” and “Everyone's like ‘Yeah, let's do it’”

Others recollected times when they had shared their feminist fashion item on social media, stating that the photo was “*very well supported, a lot of my friends messaged me*”. Respondents noted that when wearing their feminist commodities it encourages conversations with like-minded individuals. The underlying value of self-esteem from the positive recognition from peers is derived from feeling ‘*better*’ about their purchase and sharing their feminist commodity.

2.2 Value Chain 2 and 3: You can't stop me!

(18) *Rebellion* (V) - (6) *Look cool/good* (C) - Tee: Feminist Signifier (A)

(18) *Rebellion* (V) - (8) *Make others feel uncomfortable* (C) - Tote: Feminist Signifier (A)

Value chain 2 and 3 have been grouped together since they both lead to the ultimate value of *rebellion* - it is useful to group these chains together since marketers who choose to target consumers who aim to *rebel*, can trace two different consequences that lead to this value.

When asked about how wearing commodities (both Totes and Tees) with feminist cues made them feel, respondents regularly brought up the consequence of *looking good*.

“I’ll pick something that I’m proud to wear: A) That I know I look good and B) that will have a maximum audience.”

Whilst looking good came as a predictable consequence of purchasing a feminist fashion commodity, so too did making people feel uncomfortable. This consequence of evoking an emotional reaction from onlookers was closely linked to the desire to rebel against society’s inequalities. Wearing a feminist statement or signifier was seen as *‘disruptive’* and going against the status-quo:

“Yeah it's [wearing the feminist commodity] kind of a statement, like if it makes them feel uncomfortable then it's because you're doing something that they don't want me to do”

Wearing an explicitly feminist fashion garment or accessory has an effect on the people around the consumer - respondents recounted times when people had reacted positively (aforementioned) but also negatively to their feminist commodities. The possibility of negative reactions equips these women with a shift towards a more rebellious mindset:

“I walk more strongly... I think maybe in my mindset, I'm almost ready to defend like what you're wearing”

“Like a bit of a protest/sticking two fingers up at that system and they really can’t do anything/You can’t ask me to not wear that bag”

As hypothesized, these women do not wear their feminist commodities solely to glean positive reactions from others; they are fully aware that feminism is controversial and one must be ready for others to view them in a negative light. As Kristofferson et al. (2014, p.1158) note, if the cause that the activist (or consumer in this case) is engaging with is not seen as wholly positive, then it is not linked to the underlying motivation of ‘the desire to portray a positive image to others’. Instead, these women seem to have a desire to present an image of *rebellion* and eagerness to disrupt the status quo.

2.3 Value Chain 4: Belonging to the Feminist community

(15) *Community/Belonging* (V) - (12) *Positive Feedback from others* (C) - Tee: Feminist Signifier (A)

Positive feedback from others appeared as a stepping-stone towards the underlying value of both *self-esteem* and feeling a sense of *community and belonging*. When questioned further on why receiving positive feedback from others was important to them, respondents were quick to explain that, despite the desire to disrupt the status quo, it is “*wholesome*” to know that they are not alone in their rebellion:

“You know you’re not alone, you know that everyone has the same thoughts, it's about who vocalises them and who shows them, because I think everyone thinks it”

“Knowing that there are other people that stand for the same message or appreciate the same, even if it's just like a visual appreciation... I kind of like that camaraderie”

2.4 Value Chain 5: You’re not alone.

(19) *Supporting and Helping others* (V) - (7) *Positive Feelings* (C) - Tee: Feminist Signifier/Tote: Feminist Signifier (A)

The underlying motivation of feeling like they were signalling themselves as part of a larger community also came from their desire to make other feminists feel supported. They themselves are acting as the welcoming front-of-house of feminism, urging others to join the community, as well as seeking belonging themselves. Some respondents reflected on the reason they consumed feminist commodities with messages of empowerment and body positivity, noting that:

“It's good to share with other people that it can help”

“I want to show other people that that is something that I support, I want other people to feel supported, because I know there's a lot of people that don't feel like that is a cause that is supported enough....it is like a community”

The link between purchasing a feminist commodity and helping others was further noted in the interview with the Co-Founder of Ararose (an ethical and empowering clothing brand), whereby they suggested that in the face of sexist and unachievable depictions of women in the constant media bombardment online, young women are turning to consumption as a means to act in a feminist way:

“They want to do something about it, and if they can’t do something about it, then they want to buy into something that does something about it.”

2.5 Value Chain 6: I’m a Feminist

(16) *Self Expression of Identity* (V) - (7) *Shows I’m a Feminist* (C) - (6) *Positive Feelings* (C) - Tee: Feminist Signifier/Tote: Feminist Signifier (A)

Perhaps one of the most predictable and significant consequences of publicly wearing a feminist commodity is the effect of “*Showing I’m a Feminist*” which has 16 direct relations leading to and from it. A common value chain sees “*Showing I’m a Feminist*” directly linked to the underlying motivation of self-expression of ones’ identity. Respondents stated that wearing their feminist fashion commodities made them feel “*proud*”, “*empowered*” and “*brave*” ((7) *Positive Feelings*). The reason these feelings arise is because they are publicly exposing their feminist identities - “*To say that I support feminism*” - which allows them to outwardly present their feminist views: “(16) *Self-Expression of Identity*”.

“I want to be able to represent something all the time”

“Yeah I agree with that statement/This is how i feel and this is my opinion/I want to display to the world that this is my opinion/That I’m a feminist and I’m not ashamed of it/making a statement....to maximum audience”

“Show other people that that is something that I support”

When asked why showing their involvement in feminism was important, respondents answered nonchalantly with “*it’s a part of me*” and “*it’s become part of my identity as a lot of people at Uni will tell you*”. It is a significant finding that feminist commodities can aid in the process of expressing one’s identity, so deeply so that not only does feminism become part of the wearer’s

identity, but so too does the commodity.

2.6 Value Chain 7 and 8: Make people think twice

(17) *Education and Raising Awareness* (V) - (9) *Shows I'm a Feminist* (C) - (7) *Positive Feelings* (C) - Tee: Feminist Signifier/Tote: Feminist Signifier (A)

(17) *Education and Raising Awareness* (V) - (11) *Get Noticed* (C) - (7) *Positive Feelings* (C) - Tee: Feminist Signifier/Tote: Feminist Signifier (A)

Value chain 7 and 8 have been grouped for discussion since they both lead to the ultimate value of *education and raising awareness* of feminism.

The underlying value of wanting to *educate others and raise awareness* of feminism is by far the most dominant motivation for all respondents, with a sum of 12 direct links and 18 indirect links to and from the value element. It appears that millennials are not ashamed to glean egoistic consequences from wearing feminist commodities, such as feeling *positive emotions* yet this is not where their value chains end. Positive feelings are often caused because the feminist fashion commodity *shows that the wearer is a feminist* or that the feminist fashion garment *gets noticed*. These consequences are noted as important to individuals because they want to help change attitudes and make others think twice about their ideas of feminism. Respondents used vocabulary such as *challenge*, *provoke* and *reflect* to describe their overarching goal of educating others who agree and disagree with their feminist ideology.

“I think you've got to challenge people/ They're thinking twice”

“They might think about it or reflect on it”

“It does try and change attitudes/makes people kind of question/putting them in a position where they have to question beliefs”

“I bought it so that I could publicly spread awareness”

The value chain below depicts the value chain of one consumer when asked why it was important to wear a feminist tote bag rather than a plain tote bag.

Feminist Tote Bag (A)

|

“I quite enjoy it really”

Positive Feelings (C)

|

“Making people double take”

Get noticed (C)

|

“Question things”

Education/Raising awareness (V)

On a surface level the consumer understands that they “*quite enjoy*” wearing the feminist commodity, yet when questioned further as to why this *positive feeling* was important they reflected on the fact that they enjoy the consequence of making others “double take”. The underlying value that creates positive feelings from making others double take is the consumer’s motivation to educate others and make others “question” their unchallenged beliefs about the female body and feminism. Furthermore, the Co-Founder of Ararose noted how their feminist slogan t-shirts (“Society has a distorted perception of beauty” and “Divine Feminine”) are meant to be “conversation starters” that aim to “challenge beliefs”. This shows that understanding the underlying values of consumers’ willingness to educate others can aid in the decision and design of using provocative slogans.

3. Social media and feminist commodity consumption

Participants were also asked about their interaction with feminism online to address Research Objective 2 (R.O.2). The most notable theme was the prevalent use of Instagram, over all other social media platforms. Participants noted that they felt more comfortable posting about, and searching for their feminist commodities on Instagram since it is seen as a “bit more of an accepting space”. Respondents noted their, sometimes immediate, response after purchasing the feminist commodity was to post it online:

“So, the first thing I did was definitely took a picture of it”

“I also have a feminist tshirt that I did share a picture of on my social media account”

“Yeah, instantly, as soon as I bought it I put an Instagram photo up.”

When questioned about why it was important to post their purchase online, reasons included: to show that they weren't ashamed to be publicly feminist (similar to how they felt when wearing the commodity), to engage with other feminists who showed 'excitement' and 'positive reinforcement' towards the purchase, and the opportunity to support an independent business by tagging the product. As noted in the literature review, feminism is no longer shunned to the "shadow of social stigmatization", instead it seems that "declaring oneself a feminist is cool" (Medina-Vincent, 2018, p.69). The need for reinforcement online is echoed by Boyd's (2007) research which posits that young people construct identities online that they expect to be perceived as 'cool' by their peers, in an attempt to gain peer validation.

Nevertheless, feminist consumers did note an element of hypocrisy in their willingness to display their feminism commodities publicly on social media sites other than Instagram:

“Facebook is mainly family members that would interact with me on Facebook, and I know that like I sound like a hypocrite now because I just said that I want to make people take a second glance but then I'm not posting stuff on Facebook because my family woulddisagree with it.”

Closely linked to the perception of Instagram's younger, more accepting cohort, was the importance of purchasing from an authentic feminist brand. Consumers noted that they prefer to purchase their feminist commodities from, and interact with, small businesses run by women, as opposed to corporate retailers such as ASOS and Missguided:

“I look at a lot of Instagram pages rather than going ASOS and stuff like that”

“I've spent a lot more time on like Instagram, looking at independent artists....that are feminist and to me that's like even more feminist because you're getting down to the nitty gritty...and it's almost more rewarding than just going on ASOS and buying a tee that says girl power.”

This generation of feminists are disillusioned by the 'hijacking' of feminism by corporations that have historically been positioned as distinctly neutral or non-feminist:

“Obviously from corporate companies it is just, ah this looks pretty, I'm gonna put this on a top...to know that it's actually come from a person that spends their free time on it, that has a message that wants to show the world what it is, means a lot more”

“High street brands have jumped on the bandwagon, even if it's just by like a few statement items...I don't think like I would then describe ASOS as a feminist brand”

Table 4
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Sum of IM links (Direct and Indirect)	Underlying Value	Value Chain Name	Consumer Segment
30	Education and Raising Awareness	Make people think twice.	<i>Educators</i>
9	Rebellion	You can't stop me.	<i>Rebels</i>
9	Self-expression of Identity	I'm a Feminist.	<i>Self-Expressors</i>
9	Community and Belonging	Belonging to the feminist community.	<i>Community Builders</i>
8	Self-Esteem	Confidence from good reactions.	<i>Self-Esteem Seekers</i>
7	Supporting and Helping Others	You're not alone.	<i>Helpers</i>

PART V: DISCUSSION

The following discussion of findings achieves R.O.3.

1. Relevance to Literature

Kristofferson et al. (2014, p.1149) posit that observable and private prosocial behaviours can fall into two categories of motivation: ‘*a desire to present a positive image to others*’ and ‘*a desire to be consistent with one’s own values*’. This research aimed to broaden the category of ‘prosocial behaviours’ by acknowledging the growing trend of millennials who are engaging in observable support for feminism, by wearing feminist fashion and accessories. The purchasing and consequent wearing of a feminist good is a prosocial act, since it is a “behaviour that is positive and calculated to promote the interests of society”(Colman, 2015). As aforementioned, participants sincerely view their action of wearing feminist commodities as helping to make others feel supported (“*You’re not alone*”) as well as *raising awareness* for the cause and *educating others* (“*Make people think twice*”) in society.

The six underlying motivations do not all fit coherently into Kristofferson et al.’s (2014, p.1149) two categories, and in fact the nature of feminist commodities requires a third category: “*A desire to disrupt the status quo*” (Table 5).

Table 5
CREATION OF NEW MOTIVATION CATEGORY

<i>1. A desire to present a positive image to others</i>	<i>2. A desire to be consistent with one’s own values</i>	<i>3. New category: A desire to disrupt the status quo</i>
Self-Esteem: Confidence from good reactions	Community and belonging: Belonging to the feminist Community	Rebellion: You can’t stop me
Supporting and helping others: You’re not alone	Supporting and helping others: You’re not alone	Education and raising awareness: Make people think twice
Self-Expression of identity: I’m a feminist.	Self-Expression of identity: I’m a feminist.	

In certain social situations consumers noted how they engaged in purchasing and wearing of feminist commodities as part of impression-management; to show that they are a feminist. The consumer wears the feminist commodity to present a positive image to other feminists, since they know they will receive positive reactions. Presenting oneself as a feminist can be perceived as positive by others who may not yet have the confidence to show their prosocial opinions on feminism. As Kristofferson et al. (2014, p.1150) posit, “consumers can satisfy these impression-management needs by engaging in a publicly observable token act of support for a positively viewed, prosocial cause”; these findings suggest that this remains true for consumers displaying feminist opinions on clothing, but only when they know that their support for feminism will be received positively.

The second category consists of motivations that derive from the consumer desiring to remain consistent with their inner feminist values: the feeling of belonging to a community when they cue their feminism to others, the feeling of helping others to be confident in showing their own feminism and naturally, the feeling of being unashamed to “*advertise*” themselves as feminists.

The third, new category of motivation is necessary since consumption of feminist commodities opens the wearer up to potential criticism and disagreements from strangers and friends. Respondents noted that they do not purchase feminist commodities to present a positive image, but instead to disrupt, rebel and even present a negative image to others who disagree with feminism.

The purchasing of a feminist commodity straddles the fine line between these two categories of prosocial support; since *token support* is defined as: allowing “consumers to affiliate with a cause in ways that show their support to themselves or others, with little associated effort or cost.”, and *meaningful support* is defined as: “consumer contributions that require a significant cost, effort, or behavior change in ways that make tangible contributions to the cause”(Kristofferson et al., 2014, p.1150). Purchasing a feminist commodity can incur a significant ‘cost’ due to the pricing of the good (meaningful support), but could also be seen as token support since there is little ‘effort’ associated with wearing the good. This research calls for an extension of prosocial support categories to include a third category of prosocial commodity purchasing, since for example, Dior’s ‘We Should All Be Feminists’ T-shirt has an astounding cost of £490.

Previous research into motivations behind consumption of sustainable fashion, following a near-identical means-end approach, offers a useful comparison of findings (Lundblad and Davies, 2016). Lundblad and Davies (2016) also widened the notion of prosocial behaviour to include the consumption of sustainable

clothing, using laddered interview techniques to discover similar underlying values of ‘the self (self-expression and self-esteem)’, as well as identical consequences including ‘looking good’, ‘support communities’ and ‘good feelings’.

According to Lundblad and Davies (2016, p.159), sustainable fashion consumers “demonstrate reticence about the idea of changing others”, whereas consumers of feminist commodities underscored how important it was to educate and change others’ opinions of the cause. This research suggests that, unlike sustainable fashion consumers who “would actively resent consumers that follow in their wake” (Lundblad and Davies, 2016, p.159), consumers of feminist commodities are eager to educate and for others to join them.

Findings support research which notes that young feminists are particular about their choices of online spaces to express their views in a public, yet controlled manner; on platforms “away from adult intervention” (Harris, 2008, p.483). This research strengthens the notion that the construction of feminist identities online is carefully controlled by these young consumers who are more comfortable posting on Instagram, than on Facebook. Future research could benefit from an analysis of engagement levels with feminist brands on their Facebook pages versus their Instagram pages, and discovering underlying reasons for the findings.

2. Managerial and Marketing Implications

This research provides a grounding for marketers and designers to understand where the real value of a feminist commodity derives from. According to Reynolds and Gutman (1988): “the values orientations in a person’s ladder may serve as the basis for classification” in the form of psychographic segmentation. Potential psychographic segments deriving from these findings include: *educators, rebels, helpers, community builders, self-esteem seekers* and *self-expressors*. Each segment appreciates different marketing campaigns, since they are all driven by differing underlying values.

A key market segment for feminist fashion retailers is the *rebels*: managerial implications hereby point towards marketing campaigns that link fashion brands and products to rebellious (feminist) symbols, icons and personalities.

The most significant underlying value that drives purchase decisions for millennials when consuming feminist fashion is the promise of educating others to join the cause and raising awareness of feminism. Retailers and brands should acknowledge the importance of marketing campaigns that aim to reach feminists and non-feminists, as the segment of *educators* will appreciate the effort to raise awareness of the cause.

There is a risk of large corporate fashion retailers being viewed as ‘jumping on the bandwagon’ of feminism - corporate giants must be sure to increase the authenticity of their feminist commodities by collaborating with smaller, female-led business or by donating proceeds to a truly feminist cause.

Brands must recognise that despite feeling ‘proud’ to wear their feminist commodities in the streets, consumers are more reserved about posting these purchases on social media platforms with mixed generation users, for example Facebook. Marketing campaigns should be structured around the more ‘accepting’ space of Instagram sharing and hashtagging rather than a multi-platform approach.

3. Limitations and Future Research

This research was conducted within time constraints - this meant a limited number of interviews could be conducted and transcribed, as well as there being less opportunity to organise convenient meeting times with interviewees. Results would be more generalisable to the broad female millennial feminist population had more interviews been conducted, highlighting an opportunity for a larger study to amplify these findings. It is possible that since the researcher is a member of the online and offline Fourth Wave feminist subculture, there may have been interviewer bias. Only one coder was used in the content analysis procedure, suggesting an opportunity for future research to employ a multiple coder technique to eliminate potential bias. However, supervision from a mindful thesis tutor has helped to minimise this bias.

Examples Provided by JK Essay

PART VI: CONCLUSION

This thesis answers the research question set out at the beginning: to understand the underlying values that are driving the surge in millennials consuming feminist fashion. Using ladder interviews, this research extracted eight value chains that revealed seven underlying values, fulfilling Research Objective 4 (R.O.4). These underlying values have been used as a basis to identifying consumer segments within the feminist fashion market.

The most dominant underlying value (based on the sum of direct and indirect links) is 'Educating others/Raising awareness' of feminism, suggesting an opportunity for successful marketing campaigns targeting *educators*. This finding achieves Research Objective 3.

Respondents noted their preferences for social media platforms with a more accepting cohort of users (such as Instagram), thus addressing Research Objective 2 (R.O.2). Despite literature debate that millennials are paying virtual lip-service to feminism (Schuster, 2013), this research finds that these young women are actually driven by their underlying value of educating others and raising awareness of feminism, through their visible (and sometimes costly) fashion consumption choices. Previously researched prosocial behaviours (Kristofferson et al., 2014) were found to be driven by the desire to present a positive image to others and to remain consistent with one's values. This research extends Kristofferson et al.'s (2014) framework to include the fact that the consumption of feminist fashion is also driven by the underlying desire to disrupt the status quo.

Examples Provided by JK Essay

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Examples Provided by JK Essay

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Overview of Methodology

Strategy	Aim	Sample	Type of Questions	Method of analysis
Qualitative, one-to-one, in-depth interviews using 'laddering' technique	Understand the motivations (values) behind purchasing feminist commodities	Convenience sample of 7 millennial women who have purchased a feminist commodity	Semi-structured interview and open-ended questions	Content analysis, Implication Matrix (IM), Hierarchical Value Map (HVM)
Qualitative, in-depth interview	Understand a business perspective on millennial purchasing habits of feminist commodities	Retailer (Ararose) selling feminist slogan t-shirts with a feminist, empowering and sustainable supply chain)	Semi-structured interview and open-ended questions	Content analysis

Appendix B: Interview Session Plan

Interview Guide:

Date/Time, Setting, Respondent characteristics

- Introduce self
- Establish rapport
- Permission to record
- Purpose of study
- Laddered Questioning explanation (Laddered questioning can seem frustrating and repetitive if unexplained)
- Interview

The aim of these consumer interviews is to create a conversational, relaxed, and open atmosphere.

The following list of questions are used to guide the interviewer, but other directions of questioning are expected:

1. Would you identify yourself as a feminist?

2. Could you name some brands that you know have feminist messages, causes, slogans, products?
3. Please name your recent purchases of feminist commodities.
4. Please describe your purchases.
5. Why did you choose X purchase?
6. Why was that *attribute* important to you?
7. Why didn't you choose a different (non-feminist) brand or product?
8. Why is that *motivation* important to you?
9. How does it make you feel when you use/wear your feminist commodity?
10. Why is that feeling important to you?
11. What does feminism mean to you?
12. What did you do with the product after your purchase?
13. Did you choose to share your purchase with friends? (Online and/or offline)
14. Why was it important for you to share your purchase?
15. Why was that result important?
16. How does your feminism use online spaces?

Appendix C: Interviewee Details and Consent

Interviewee (number)	Date conducted	Consent gained (Digital Signatures)	Audio and Full Transcript
1 (Millennial Woman) CH	22/12/2017	Written	Available on request
2 (Millennial Woman) CS	27/12/2017	Written	Available on request
3 (Millennial Woman) CM	28/12/2017	Written	Available on request
4 (Millennial Woman) LWP	28/12/2017	Written	Available on request
5 (Millennial Woman) MB	29/12/2017	Written	Available on request
6 (Millennial Woman) EU	10/01/2018	Written	Available on request
7 (Millennial Woman) RE	12/01/2018	Written	Available on request
8 (Hannah Rashad, Ararose)	02/01/2018	Verbal	Available on request

Appendix D: Excerpt from Interview with Millennial Woman 3

Researcher: Yeah okay, please could you name any recent purchases of feminist commodities

CM: [Laughs] lots of Mude things! Mude tshirts and four Mude totes.

Researcher: so literally just describe them as simply as possible as their crude, bare form...

CM: totes with naked women embroidered on them or painted on them,boobs painted on them, butts painted on them. T-shirts with naked women embroidered on. Yeah.

Researcher: Okay so if you wanna choose which purchase you wanna talk about the most in this interview and then we can go forward

CM: Uhhh, I've got two! Both totes! The electric blue boob bag, [laughs]

Researcher: okay, hand-painted with boobs on?

CM: okay the second is that tote with the hand painted orange total nude on it

Researcher: Mhmm, okay. So if we do the blue boob bag first... why did you choose that product versus a different type of tote bag, a plain tote bag for example, or a tote bag with a different kind of message on it

CM: Uhhmm, because it's so bold that it makes people uncomfortable and you can't not see it like the pattern is so bold, and it's in electric blue, like if you're walking around people are gonna see it And either people love it, which is great, or even greater you make people feel uncomfortable, yeah.

Researcher: Yeah. And why is it important for you to make people feel uncomfortable or the opposite that you're saying to me to have people that really like it, so if that's the effect it's having, why is it that you like to go out with that and cause that effect?

CM: [Motions that she needs a moment to think]

Researcher: Yeah, that's fine.

CM: Ok, I think with the uncomfortable side of things, I think that we are often made to feel uncomfortable even when people don't realise like, you're on the tube and like I dunno, manspreading, or

like men, y'know, they push into you in the street because they know they got that like physical power, whatever. And these tiny things make us feel uncomfortable all the time, so then like swapping it around and purposely making someone else feel uncomfortable because normally it will be like the same people that are doing things to make you uncomfortable that will find the bag uncomfortable. So I think that like, i dunno, it's not a very nice or humble reason to want to do it but just...

Appendix E: Excerpt from Interview with Millennial Woman 4

Researcher: Okay so it's a tote bag with a naked lady on and why did you choose that tote bag versus a plain tote bag or a tote bag with something else on?

LWP: Uhm, because, I use tote bags all the time, like travelling around london uhm and I quite like them to have a bit of a message, so I also have a tote bag from a charity called 'reporteurs enfantier' and they, it has like a picture of kim jong un on it like swearing at the camera..

Researcher: Oh my gosh, that's awesome.

LWP: I think like a bit of protest almost and that's what I felt with the feminist one too, something that might make people feel a bit uncomfortable, if they see it but there is no reason they should feel uncomfortable by seeing it.

Researcher: Yep. Okay and so why is it important for you to know that you're making people feel uncomfortable or thinking twice about wearing that?

LWP: Well, for me, so im entering the barristers profession and I walk around in the ins of court which is basically like clubs for barristers, so it's where they like work, it's where the libraries are it's where the social events are, uhm and that profession in itself is very male dominated, it's very traditionalist, they don't like, for example you can't go into lunch in hall, so lunch in the hall in the temple, without wearing certain clothes, like it's very, very traditional so I feel that this tote bag for me is kind of a bit like a sticking two fingers up at that system and they can't really do anything about it, because it is just a bag, what are they going to say you can't ask me not to wear that bag, there's nothing wrong with the bag, but i know that it does kind of try and change attitudes, even if it doesnt change attitudes it kind of makes people kind of like question why they are so uncomfortable with seeing it .

Researcher: Yeah, yeah. Uhm, and how does it make you when you wear that and you know you're making people think twice?

LWP: Uhm, good. Yeah, it is a bit sad, because like on the tube and stuff i do notice people looking, and I'm just like oop. I dunno i quite enjoy it really. The same way that like if you wear an outrageous coat, you kind of just like that you're making people like double take and question things

Appendix F: Excerpt from interview with Millennial Woman 5

Researcher: Ok, so, throughout this interview we will talk about one of your feminist commodity purchases, so you're here because you have purchased a feminist commodity.

MB: Many! Many!

Researcher: Ok so, do you want to describe all of them and then maybe we'll decide on one.

MB: So I'm a big big fan of Mude. I've got almost all the different types of Mude that you could possibly have! Uhm, I have...

Researcher: So describe those products, quite literally what are they?

MB: So I have a tshirt, multiple t-shirts which are all of naked women, embroidered or printed. Uhm, there's full frontal boobs on there, nipples and all, I have a tote bag with boobs on, I have a tote bag with a bum on, I have used these at the same time, so I am just a walking...Somebody actually said to me the other week, they just asked me, they'd met me a coupled of times like 'Meghan, is naked people just your aesthetic?', I was like Yes!

[Laughter]

Researcher: Now it is!

MB: That's what I'm going for. And they were like, 'I like it', I was like thank you that's the biggest

compliment you could pay me!

Researcher: Awww. So your Mude, feminist commodities...

MB: The Mude collection.

Researcher: What other ones do you have?

MB: Uhm, I also have an Ararose tee that says 'Society has a distorted perception of beauty'

Researcher: Nice, yeah.

MB: And, I have a tee that says 'Cats against Cat Calls', which is basically a picture of a cat, y'know looks quite angry because somebody has probably just cat-called him.

Researcher: And why is that a feminist commodity for you?

MB: That's, like, that was one of the first things that I ever properly purchased and I was like yeah I agree with that statement, okay I love cats and I'm a cat woman, but it kind of, the actual message is we shouldn't cat-call because nobody likes it, there's just no point to it, it's derogatory, it's unnecessary. And that was one of the first things i've ever purchased and I was like you know what actually yeah, I don't wanna like get into a debate with people in the street about it, but if i'm wearing this tshirt, just this is how i feel and this is my opinion.

Researcher: Ok so, I think that cats against catcalling tee is quite an interesting one, so do you mind if we do the interview on that?

MB: No. go for it.

Researcher: So why did you choose that t-shirt with that slogan, I'm guessing it's got an image on it as well.

MB: Yep.

Researcher: Why did you choose that purchase over, for example, a plain tshirt or something with a different slogan?

MB: Uh, I chose it, I don't really remember that slogan in particular, it probably had something to do with the cats at the time [Laughs]. But I think I'd rather wear something with a statement that other people might find kind of controversial, or might raise their eyebrows or maybe double-take, because it kind of like provokes some thought. It's not just a plain white tshirt or a tshirt that has just a cat on, because there is a picture of a cat on it, and I love cats, but it's the statement that made me buy it. Like, you know what, I want to *display* to the world and that this is my opinion, and I am against catcalls.

Researcher: Yep. So why was it important for you to have that effect on people. Like you said, that second glance and provocative. Why is it important for you as a wearer of the product?

MB: I think for me, like I'm kind of an introverted person, and I will quite happily get into a debate with some of my friends, about something feminist, something controversial, but I...in the oast haven't been the type of person who's very vocal in groups where I don't feel comfortable. For me, it's a lot easier if like, now I feel more *confident* when I wear something that displays my opinion, it says to the world that 'I'm a feminist, I'm not ashamed of it', it's kind of if people have an issue with it, or if they even just take a second look, and they kind of go away and they think about it then I've achieved something and letting them know that a) it's okay to have opinions like that and be feminist, and express my views.

Appendix G: Category/Code Identification Process

Interviewee	Quote	Category	A/C/V
Millennial Woman 2 CS	"The Future is Female", quite simple, just a day-to-day tshirt.	Feminist Slogan Tee	A
	Second glances	Get noticed	C
	I like the message that came along with it	Like the message	C
	I think you've got to challenge people/ They're thinking twice	Education	V
	It's a part of me	Self-expression Identity	V
	Show other people that that is something that I	Show I'm a Feminist	C

	support		
	Want other people to feel supported	Support others (women, creators)	V
	It is like a community, almost	Community/Belonging	V
	You want to be a part of it	Community/Belonging	V
	And showing you're a part of it	Show I'm a Feminist	C
	Makes people look and go, 'Oh did i just see that?'	Get noticed	C
	'She thinks that'	Show I'm a Feminist	C
	Quite satisfying/I find it quite satisfying	Positive Feelings	C
	Online post of feminist tee (Instagram)		A
	Very well supported, a lot of my friends messaged me	Positive feedback from others	C
	It was very wholesome in that other people also felt the same way and also supported that viewpoint	Community/Belonging	V
Millennial Woman 3 CM	Totes with naked women on them or painted on them, boobs painted on them	Feminist Tote Bag	A
	The electric blue tote bag, because it's so bold	Bold Design	A
	Makes people uncomfortable	Makes others uncomfortable	C
	You can't not see it	Get noticed	C
	Either people love it	Positive feedback from others	C
	Purposefully making someone else feel uncomfortable because normally it will be like the same people that are doing things to make you uncomfortable	Fairness/Justice	V
	They don't want you to express	Rebellion	V
	They might think about it or reflect on it	Education/Raise awareness	V
	Empowering in itself if you can start a conversation	Positive Feelings	C

	Knowing that there are other people that stand for the same message	Community/belonging	V
	I kind of like that camaraderie	Community/Belonging	V
	Mainly, badass.	Positive Feelings	C
	I'm conscious of my entire like visual presentation	Positive Feelings	C
	Empowering to me	Positive Feelings	C
	I walk more strongly/More confidence	Positive Feelings	C
	Ready to defend what you're wearing	Education/Raise awareness	V
	Portray I'm serious about this shit/Like an interpretation of who I am or what I stand for	Self-expression Identity	V
	I wouldn't want people to think that I was like that [apathetic towards any movement] essentially/I like people to visually kind of like acknowledge that 'she's probably a feminist' or she thinks that.	Show I'm a Feminist	C
	Give myself an injection of confidence	Positive Feelings	C
	Because I know what I'm doing is....disruptive	Rebellion	V
	Like the satisfaction of power dynamics being reversed	Fairness/Justice	V
Millennial Woman 7 RE	I want to be able to do everything that a man does	Fairness/Justice	V
	Has a naked lady on it	Feminist Tshirt	A
	I'm trying to get to that stage where you really love your body	Positive Feelings	C
	I want to be able to represent something all the time	Show I'm a Feminist	C
	Just show it off	Get noticed	C
	Like it's such an amazing idea/everyone's like 'yeah lets do it!'/they're always like 'oh i love it!'/Wow it's amazing'	Positive feedback	C
	Because you know you're not alone/Everyone has the same thoughts/Everyone thinks it	Community/Belonging	V

	I do believe in supporting local businesses....that has a message that wants to show to world what it is	Supporting others (local businesses)	V
	I just want everyone to feel comfortable with who they are	Self-expression Identity	V
	Can't we do that without being judged?	Fairness/Justice	V
Millennial Woman 5 MB	Everybody deserves to be equal	Fairness/Justice	V
	It's become fashionable to wear things with kind of feminist slogans/I know I look good	Look good	C
	Cats against catcalls: basically a picture of a cat...	Feminist Tshirt	A
	Yeah I agree with that statement/This is how i feel and this is my opinion/I want to display to the world that this is my opinion/That I'm a feminist and I'm not ashamed of it/making a statement/Maximum audience	Show I'm a Feminist	C
	Statement that other people may find controversial/raise their eyebrows/maybe double-take	Make others uncomfortable	C
	Provokes some thought/Provoke their own you know, opinions/have a debate	Education/Raise Awareness	V
	I feel more confident when I wear something that displays my opinion/Proud/I'm proud and I'm like more confident because I feel like more empowered/positive reinforcement	Positive Feelings	C
	I feel more confident when I wear something that displays my opinion	Self-esteem	
	Supportive, like I'm gonna do it so I'd like to see it if you did it	Supporting others	V
	It's like showing off/I want to display/for other people to see/ I don't think I could ever imagine it and not sharing it with somebody	Get noticed	C
	Low-key kind of way of standing up to people that disagree/ 'f-you'	Rebellion	V
	It's become part of my identity	Self-expression Identity	V
	They support that [friends]	Community/Belonging	V

	Independent artist, with a feminist message and maybe they're giving to local charities	Supporting others	V
Millennial Woman 1 CH	Tote bag and on the side are some boobs, hand-painted	Feminist Tote Bag	A
	I'm supporting a female creator/I love stuff that's like by women and for women	Supporting others	V
	Makes me feel brave to wear it/I'm a strong woman, I don't care what people think, it kinda gives me that power/I just kinda feel like, braver	Positive Emotions	C
	Why should I not be able to wear a tote bag with boobs on?/Girls to kind of not feel ashamed of their bodies	Fairness/Justice	V
	It's good to share with other people that it can help	Community/Belonging	V
Millennial Woman 4 LWP	I'm pro-female empowerment/pro-equality	Fairness/Justice	V
	Tote with a naked lady on it	Feminist Tote	A
	I use tote bags all the time for travelling around London	Functional	A
	I like them [totes] to have a bit of a message	Feminist Message	A
	Like a bit of a protest/sticking two fingers up at that system and they really can't do anything/You can't ask me to not wear that bag	Rebellion	V
	Make people feel a bit uncomfortable	Make others uncomfortable	C
	Does try and change attitudes/makes people kind of question/putting them in a position where they have to question beliefs	Education/Raise awareness	V
	I do notice people looking/Making people double take	Get noticed	C
	I quite enjoy it really	Positive Feelings	C
	Friends have seen it and a lot of them have commented	Positive feedback from others	C
	It quite like a cool piece	Look good	C

Millennial Woman 6 EU	Badge with a woman holding a period pad	Feminist signifier	A
	Support what PADS do as a charity	Support charity	C
	It's quite vulgar	Make others uncomfortable	C
	It's actually bought with the purpose of supporting good people	Support others	V
	It was quite self-explicit...you can put two-and-two together and know who I am supporting	Show I'm a Feminist	C
	Proud/I can be involved	Positive Feelings	C
	I bought it so that I could publicly spread awareness	Education/Raise awareness	V

Appendix H: Ladder Chains

Millennial Woman 4 LWP

Feminist Tote Bag (A)

|

“I use tote bags all the time like travelling around London”

Good for carrying things (C)

|

“I like them to have a bit of a message”

Self-expression/identity

Feminist Tote Bag (A)

|

“Might make people feel a bit uncomfortable”

Make Others Uncomfortable (C)

|

“Sticking two fingers up at the system/You can't ask me not to wear that bag”

Rebellion (V)

Feminist Tote Bag (A)

|

Talks about wearing it into male dominated barristers lunch hall

Get noticed (C)

|

“It does kind of try and change attitudes/makes people kind of like question”
Education/Raising awareness (V)

Feminist Tote Bag (A)

|
“I quite enjoy it really”
Positive Feelings (C)

|
“Making people double take”
Get noticed (C)

|
“Question things”
Education/Raising awareness (V)

Feminist Tee (A)

|
“Friends have seen it and a lot of them have commented”/“My female friends want one”
Positive Feedback from others (C)

|
“It's quite a cool piece to have”
Look Good (C)

|
“It's a bit rebellious”
Rebellion (V)

Millennial Woman 2 CS

Feminist Slogan Tee (A)

|
“I find it quite satisfying to wear those kinds of things”
Positive Feelings (C)

|
“The second glances that it makes people have”
Get noticed (C)

|
“I think you've got to challenge people”
Education/Raising awareness

Feminist Slogan Tee (A)

|
“Advertise” her views
Show I'm a Feminist (C)

|
“It’s a part of me”
Self-expression/Identity (V)

Feminist Slogan Tee (A)

|
“Show other people that that is something that I support”/”Showing that you’re a part of it”
Show I’m a Feminist (C)

|
“Want other people to feel supported”/”Like a community, almost”/”You want to be a part of it
[uprising]”
Community/Belonging (V)

Feminist Slogan Tee (A)

|
“It makes people look”
Get noticed (C)

|
“She thinks that”
Show I’m a Feminist (C)

|
“I find it quite satisfying to make them think twice”/”Spark interesting discussions”
Education/Raising awareness (V)

Feminist Slogan Tee (A)

|
“Supported, a lot of friends messaged me”
Positive feedback from others (C)

|
“Quite motivating and made me feel very wholesome”
Positive feelings (C)

|
“Other people also felt the same way and also supported that viewpoint”
Community/Belonging

Millennial Woman 1 CH

Feminist Tote Bag (A)

|
“I’m supporting a female creator”/”I love stuff that's by women for women”
Supporting others (C)

|
“Makes me feel brave to wear it”

Positive feelings (C)

|

“Why should I not be able to wear a tote bag with boobs on”

Fairness/Justice (V)

Feminist Tote Bag (A)

|

“It kind of gives me that, power”

Positive feelings (C)

|

“I wouldn’t get that from a plain tote bag”

Self-Esteem/Identity (V)

Feminist Tote Bag (A)

|

“It's certainly helped me”[body positivity]

Positive feelings (C)

|

“It's good to share with other people that it can help”

Support others (V)

Millennial Woman 5 MB

Feminist Tee (A)

|

“It's become fashionable! To kind of wear things with kind of feminist slogans”

Look good (C)

|

Self-Esteem/Identity (V)

Feminist Tee (A)

|

“Yeah I agree with that statement”/”Just this is how I feel and this is my opinion”/”I want to display to the world that this is my opinion”

Show I’m a Feminist (C)

|

“I’d rather wear something....that other people might find kind of controversial”

Makes others uncomfortable (C)

|
“Provokes thought”
Education/Raising awareness (V)

Feminist Tee (A)

|
“Now I feel more confident when I wear something with my opinion on”
Positive feelings (C)

|
“They kind of go away and think about it then I’ve achieved something”
Education/Raising awareness (V)

Feminist Tee (A)

|
“Supportive, like i’m gonna do it so id like to see if it you did it”
Support others (C)

|
“Provoke their own...opinions”
Education/Raising awareness (V)

Feminist Tee (A)

|
“Proud”
Positive emotions (C)

|
“To say that I support feminism”
Show I’m a Feminist (C)

|
“Supporting other people”
Support others (V)

Feminist Tee (A)

|
“Showing off”
Look good (C)

|
“Low key way of like standing up to people”/”an f-you”
Rebellion (V)

Feminist Tee (A)

|
“I’m proud and I’m like more confident because I feel like more empowered”

Positive feelings (C)

|
“It's become a part of my identity”

Self-expression/Identity (V)

Feminist Tee (A)

|
“I know I look good”

Look good (C)

|
“Have a maximum audience”/”are gonna see this”

Get noticed (C)

|
Education/Raising awareness (V)

Feminist Tee (A)

|
“They support that”

Positive feedback from others (C)

|
“I feel better about sharing it”

Self-esteem/Identity

Millennial Woman 7 RE

Feminist Tee (A)

|
“I’m trying to get to that stage where you really love your body”

Positive feelings (C)

|
“I wanted to be able to represent something all the time”

Show I’m a Feminist (C)

|
“This is about ‘us’”

Education/Raising awareness (V)

Feminist Tee (A)

|
“They are always like ‘I love it’”

Positive feedback from others (C)

|

“Because you know you’re not alone”/”Everyone thinks it”

Community/Belonging

Feminist Tee (A)

|

“Wow it's amazing!”

Positive feedback from others (C)

|

“I just want people to feel comfortable with who they are”

Self-esteem/Identity

Millennial Woman 3 CM

“Because it's so bold”

Bold Design (A)

|

“You can’t not see it”

Get noticed (C)

|

“Makes people uncomfortable”

Makes others uncomfortable (C)

|

“Swapping it around and purposefully making someone else feel uncomfortable because normally it will be like the same people that are doing things to make you uncomfortable”

Fairness/Justice (V)

Feminist Tote (A)

|

“Makes them feel uncomfortable”

Makes others uncomfortable (C)

|

“They don’t want you to express”

Rebellion (V)

Feminist Tote (A)

|

“They might think about it or reflect on it”

Get noticed (C)

|

Education/Raising awareness

Feminist tote (A)

|

“Empowering in itself if you can start a conversation”

Positive feedback (C)

|

“Knowing that there are other people that stand for the same message”/”Camaraderie”

Community/Belonging (V)

Feminist Tote (A)

|

“Mainly, badass”/”I walk more strongly”/”With more confidence”

Positive feelings (C)

|

“Portray like I’m serious about this shit”

Show I’m a Feminist (C)

|

Self-expression/Identity (V)

Millennial Woman 6 EU

Feminist Badge (A)

|

“I support what PADS do as a charity”

Support charity (C)

|

“Wear what they do”

Education/Raise awareness (V)

Feminist Badge (A)

|

“Some would say vulgar” [design on badge featuring woman holding period pad]

Make others uncomfortable (C)

|

“If anyone didn’t like it I wouldn’t feel bad because it’s for a charity”

Support others (V)

Feminist Badge (A)