Article

Ethical consumption

by Martin Turcotte

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Standard symbols for Statistics Canada

The following standard symbols are used in Statistics Canada publications:

.	not available for any reference period

..	not available for a specific reference period

…	not applicable

0	true zero or a value rounded to zero

0^s	value rounded to 0 (zero) where there is a meaningful distinction between true zero and the value that was rounded

^{p}	preliminary

^{r}	revised

x	suppressed to meet the confidentiality requirements of the *Statistics Act*

^{E}	use with caution

F	too unreliable to be published

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Introduction

One of the significant movements marking the last decade is the greater awareness Canadians have about the impact their daily activities can have on the environment. This new environmental consciousness is reflected in tangible actions and new habits such as participating in recycling programs, using reusable bags, purchasing organic foods, and using environmentally friendly products at home.

A number of ethical issues have accompanied the growing concern for the environment. For example, there has been condemnation of the working conditions and wages of garment and food (particularly coffee) industry workers, the treatment of laboratory animals, certain marketing practices, and anti-union activities.

In addition to numerous calls to boycott certain companies,[1] new products have emerged under the fair-trade banner. These fair-trade products are the result of a production and marketing process considered to be more fair to workers and less harmful to the environment (or at least they are presented as such). Once relegated to a few specialized businesses, products labelled 'fair trade' or 'responsible' are now available in most supermarkets, on stock exchanges, and even through travel agencies.

The idea that citizens can effect change through their behaviour and consumption choices has become an integral part of the environmental and activist discourse. It follows that many political scientists consider ethical consumption, including boycotting, a form of political participation, because its objective is to provoke social change[2] (for other perspectives on the relevance and actual effectiveness of ethical or responsible consumption, see "Conflicting opinions about ethical consumption").

Survey data from a group of industrialized countries show that from the mid-1970s to the early 2000s, boycotting was the form of non-traditional political participation that saw the biggest growth[3] (there are no data on the evolution of ethical purchases over that same period).

What is the consumers' propensity to choose certain products and boycott others based on ethical criteria? Were more of them doing so in 2008 than in 2003? Who is most likely to choose or boycott a product for ethical reasons? And how does the evolution of responsible consumption compare with the evolution of the other forms of political participation? Using data from the 2003 and 2008 General Social Survey (GSS), this article attempts to answer all of these questions (see "What you should know about this study" for details on data and concepts).

Proportion of people who buy or boycott a product for ethical reasons on the rise

In addition to voting, citizens wishing to participate in public life and potentially influence political decisions or society in general can also: volunteer for a political party, sign a petition, attend and participate in public meetings, etc. In recent years, some analysts have become concerned about declining civic participation, notably decreasing participation in elections.

The GSS data show that, in 2008, participation rates for most forms of political activity measured by the survey were either lower than or practically identical to those recorded in 2003. For example, the proportion of citizens aged 25 or older who had attended a public meeting was 19% in 2008, down from 23% in 2003 (Table 1). The proportion that had volunteered for a political party remained virtually unchanged, at approximately 3%. Elections Canada data reveal an appreciable decline in the participation rate in federal elections over the past 20 years: from 75% in 1988; to 67% in 1997; and to 59% in 2008.[4]

However, two types of civic participation increased between 2003 and 2008: searching for political information (up 3 percentage points) and ethical consumption (up 7 percentage points) (Table 1).

This increase in ethical consumption, between 2003 and 2008, was observed among men and women, higher and lower income households, people with and without children, etc. However, there were some significant regional variations. In fact, while the increase in ethical consumption was 8 percentage points in Quebec and 10 in Prince Edward Island it was 1 percentage point in Alberta (Table 2).

Men as likely as women to have chosen or boycotted a product for ethical reasons

Generally speaking, men were more likely than women to participate in political activities, such as attending a public meeting (Table 2). This is consistent with several studies on the subject.[5] However, the GSS found that there was no difference between the sexes regarding ethical consumption. Studies have shown that women are more likely than men to exhibit environmental values and behaviour,[6] and, particularly in the Scandinavian countries, to purchase products with a view to ethical or social considerations.[7] At the same time, other data sources show that, in Canada, men are more inclined than women to participate in a boycott.[8] In the GSS, purchasing and boycotting a product for ethical reasons are measured together, which may explain similarities between men and women.

Table 1   Participation in political activities, 2003 and 2008

	2003 †	2008	Change from 2003 to 2008
	percentage		percentage point
In the 12 months prior to the survey...			
Searched for information on a political issue	24	27	3*
Volunteered for a political party	3	3	0
Expressed views on an issue by contacting a newspaper or a politician	14	13	-1*
Signed a petition	28	24	-3*
Boycotted or chose a product for ethical reasons	20	27	7*
Attended a public meeting	23	19	-4*
Spoke out at a public meeting	10	8	-2*
Participated in a protest or march	5	3	-2*
Was a member of a political party	5	6	1*

† reference group
* statistically significant difference from the reference group at p < 0.05
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2003 and 2008.

It has been well-established that the most politically involved people are generally better educated.[9] The GSS data confirm that education is strongly and positively associated with both political participation and ethical consumption (Figure 1 and Table 2). Specifically, in 2008, the proportion of university graduates who chose or boycotted a product for ethical reasons was 41%, compared with 8% of individuals without a high school diploma. When the impact of other factors (e.g., household income, immigrant status and place of residence) are controlled for, university and college graduates remain more likely than less educated people to have chosen or boycotted a product for ethical reasons (Table A.1).[10]

Generally speaking, a certain amount of information is required to actively incorporate ethical or political considerations into consumption choices. People with more education have a greater tendency to read newspapers and use the Internet to find information. The Internet is an excellent way to learn about ethical products or boycotts that have been organized.[11]

It was also observed that, among people who said they had chosen or boycotted a product for ethical reasons, a higher proportion had used the Internet to look for information about products or services in general (81% compared with 60% for others) (results not shown).

An association similar to that observed between education and ethical consumption also existed for income: the higher the household income, the higher the proportion of individuals who engaged in ethical consumption. For example, 24% of people living in households with an annual income between $40,000 and $59,999 had chosen or boycotted a product for ethical reasons, compared with 40% of those with an annual household income higher than $100,000. It often costs a little more to purchase products that have been fair-trade certified and this additional cost will have less impact on the personal finances of people with higher incomes. In addition, those with the highest income normally spend and consume more than others, whether it be for food, entertainment and recreation, or home renovations. All else being

equal, the greater the quantity of goods and services purchased by an individual, the more likely that at least some of those products were purchased for ethical reasons.

Ethical consumption less frequent among those 65 years and older

People aged 65 or older, who are the most likely to vote in elections,[12] were the least likely to choose products for ethical reasons (15% compared with 30% of those aged 45 to 54, for example). They were also less inclined to sign a petition (Table 2). Studies have shown that 'post-materialist' values are positively associated with ethical consumption[13] and boycotting.[14] Post-materialist values include self-expression (i.e., emphasizing autonomy, quality of life and freedom of expression) and secularization (e.g., challenging authority and religion). In Canada, as in many other industrialized societies, these values developed in the generations born after the Second World War—as a result, they are less prevalent among those aged 65 or older.[15]

Chart 1   People with the highest level of education are more likely to participate in the different activities

percentage participating

Legend:
- Less than a high school diploma
- High school diploma
- Diploma from a college or trade school
- University degree
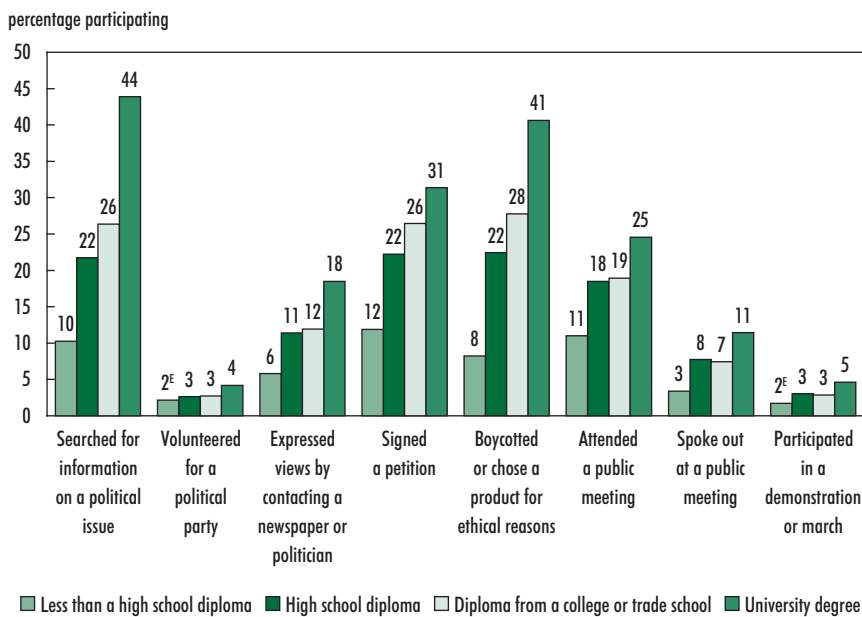
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2008.

Quebecers and British Columbians more likely to choose or boycott a product for ethical reasons

In general, ethical consumption was more common in the larger census metropolitan areas (CMAs) than in census agglomerations (CAs) and outside these regions (Table 2). It may be that some products that are easily accessible in larger centres like Toronto, Montréal, Vancouver or Ottawa–Gatineau are more difficult to find in more remote areas. Among the largest CMAs, Ottawa–Gatineau and Québec had the highest levels of ethical consumption (34% and 35% respectively in 2008).

In both 2003 and 2008, ethical consumption varied a great deal by province. In 2008, British Columbia (31%), Quebec (29%) and Ontario (27%) recorded the highest proportions of citizens who had consumed or boycotted certain products for ethical reasons. The lowest proportions were observed in Newfoundland and Labrador and New Brunswick (14% for both).

While ethical consumption was less frequent outside CMAs, CAs and in the Atlantic provinces, the same cannot be said for attending public meetings, an activity that requires a higher level of engagement (particularly in terms of time). Participation in public meetings was highest outside CMAs and CAs and higher in the Atlantic provinces, particularly Newfoundland and Labrador and Prince Edward Island than in other provinces.

Recent immigrants less likely to choose or boycott a product for ethical reasons

Some studies have demonstrated that recent immigrants, particularly those from countries with more limited democratic rights, are less likely than others to participate in non-traditional political activities or 'protests,' like boycotting a product.[16] Some studies have also shown lower participation by recent immigrants in more traditional political activities, like voting in elections.[17] According to the 2008

GSS, recent immigrants were less likely than individuals born in Canada to have chosen or boycotted a product for ethical reasons, to have contacted a newspaper or politician, to have signed a petition, or to have participated in a public meeting (Table 2).

Previous studies have also shown that the longer immigrants had lived in Canada, the more likely they were to have similar behaviour to non-immigrants in terms of political participation.[18] That is also what happens when it comes to ethical consumption and other types of participation: in 2008, 29% of those born in Canada had purchased or boycotted a product for ethical reasons, compared with 24% of immigrants who arrived in Canada before 1990 and 12% of those who arrived between 1990 and 2008 (Table 2).

Ethical consumption more frequent among people who have less confidence in major corporations

Market research has shown that there are certain values and attitudes characteristic of people who make purchases based on ethical criteria. For example, one study found that those who liked fair-trade coffee, in addition to being better educated than average, were more idealistic and less conventional than other consumers.[19]

The GSS data are consistent with these conclusions. Individuals who expressed the least confidence in major corporations had a higher tendency than others to be ethical consumers (37% compared with 13% of those who reported more confidence in major corporations). Not surprisingly, individuals with the lowest level of confidence in major corporations were much more likely to sign petitions (Table 2).

Individuals who are religiously active are more likely to vote in elections,[20] volunteer and make donations to organizations;[21] and, when they make donations, they tend

Table 2 Percentage of people who chose or boycotted a product for ethical reasons and rate of participation in various forms of political activity, select characteristics, 2008

	Chose or boycotted a product for ethical reasons		Searched for information on a political issue	Contacted a newspaper or a politician	Signed a petition	Attended a public meeting
	2003	2008	2008			
	percentage					
Total	**20**	**27**	**27**	**13**	**24**	**19**
Men †	21	27	32	15	24	22
Women	20	27	23*	11*	25	16*
Age						
25 to 34	26*	32	35*	8*	25	13*
35 to 44	24	29	29*	13	27	18*
45 to 54 †	22	30	26	13	27	21
55 to 64	19*	27*	26	16*	25	24*
65 and older	8*	15*	20*	14	16*	20
Highest level of education						
Less than a high school diploma	6*	8*	10*	6*	12*	11*
High school diploma †	17	22	22	11	22	18
Diploma from a college or trade school	22*	28*	26*	12	26*	19
University degree	35*	41*	44*	18*	31*	25*
Household income						
Less than $20,000 †	13	15	18	8	16	13
$20,000 to $39,999	15*	19	21	10	20	16
$40,000 to $59,999	20*	24*	25*	12*	24*	19*
$60,000 to $99,999	27*	30*	28*	13*	28*	20*
$100,000 or more	33*	40*	39*	17*	31*	24*
$100,000 to $149,999	…	38*	37*	14*	30*	22*
$150,000 or more	…	42*	42*	20*	32*	28*
Marital status						
Married †	19	26	28	14	24	21
Common-law	25*	36*	29	11*	28*	18*
Widowed	8*	13*	15*	10*	14*	14*
Separated	21	27	26	12	28	19
Divorced	21*	26	22*	12	24	18*
Single	25*	31*	33*	9*	25	15*
Children aged 0 to 12 years in the household						
No †	20	26	27	13	24	24
Yes	22*	29*	29*	12	26	26
Immigrant status						
Born in Canada/Canadian citizens by birth	22*	29*	27	13*	27*	20*
Other immigrants (arrived before 1990)	17*	24*	29	14*	21*	19*
Recent immigrants (arrived in 1990 or after) †	11	12	28	8	10	11
Province of residence						
Newfoundland and Labrador	11*	14*	18*	12*	30*	25*
Prince Edward Island	12*	22*	24*	21	19*	29*
Nova Scotia	16*	24*	22*	16	23	20
New Brunswick	12*	14*	19*	13	19*	22
Quebec	21	29	21*	7*	24	15*
Ontario †	20	27	31	14	24	20
Manitoba	17*	24*	27*	15	23	20
Saskatchewan	17*	19*	25*	14	18*	21
Alberta	22	23*	33	16	20*	21
British Columbia	25*	31*	30	15	31*	22*

Table 2   Percentage of people who chose or boycotted a product for ethical reasons and rate of participation in various forms of political activity, select characteristics, 2008 (continued)

	Chose or boycotted a product for ethical reasons		Searched for information on a political issue	Contacted a newspaper or a politician	Signed a petition	Attended a public meeting
	2003	2008	2008			
			percentage			
Region of residence						
Toronto	21*	28*	35*	14	21*	17*
Montréal	25*	31*	21	6*	23	12*
Vancouver	23*	30*	31*	12	26	16*
Ottawa–Gatineau	23*	34*	36*	15	30	22
Calgary	26*	28*	39*	17*	18*	18*
Edmonton	24*	22	32*	14	17*	18*
Québec	21*	35*	28*	9 E	22	14*
Winnipeg	19	29*	29*	16	21*	16*
Other census metropolitan areas	21*	28*	29*	14	28	20*
Medium-sized urban areas (census agglomerations)	16	25*	24*	13	24	20*
Outside census metropolitan areas and census agglomerations †	16	21	20	13	26	25
Confidence in major corporations						
A great deal of confidence †	10	13	20	9	16	14
Quite a lot of confidence	18*	23*	25*	11	21*	19*
Not very much confidence	27*	34*	32*	15*	30*	21*
No confidence at all	35*	37*	34*	17*	31*	21*
Religious affiliation						
No †	31	36	34	14	27	19
Yes	18*	25*	26*	12*	24*	19
Feeling of personal control						
1 to less than 3 †	12	18	21	12	19	17
3 to less than 3.5	16*	21*	22	11	21	16
3.5 to less than 4	22*	28*	28*	12	25*	19
4 to less than 4.5	26*	29*	30*	13	26*	20*
4.5 to 5	36*	43*	41*	19*	34*	25*
Participation in organized groups (number)						
None †	11	16	18	6	14	8
1 or 2	19*	25*	23*	9*	20*	13*
3 or 4	24*	31*	32*	15*	29*	22*
5 or more	36*	42*	44*	26*	41*	40*

† reference group
* statistically significant difference from the reference group at $p < 0.05$
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2003 and 2008.

to give more than others. However, individuals who reported a religious affiliation were less likely to choose products based on ethical criteria than those who did not declare a religious affiliation (Table 2). Married people were also less likely to have chosen a product for ethical reasons than single people or those living common-law (Table 2 and Table A.1).

People involved with organizations more likely to participate in various activities

Political scientists have demonstrated that citizen participation in associations and organizations of all sorts (political or not) encourages civic and political participation. In fact, people who participate in political life often do so because they have been in contact with someone who encouraged or mobilized them. The results show that the people who were most involved in organizations were also the most likely to choose or boycott products for ethical reasons (42% of people who were members of 5 or more organizations versus 16% of those who did not belong to any organization).

A greater feeling of control associated with ethical consumption

People who choose products based on ethical criteria may do so because they believe that their actions, combined with those of others who do the same, can have an impact. In keeping with this idea, people who had the greatest feeling of personal control were also more likely to participate in ethical consumption (43%) compared to those who felt they had less control (18%). People with a greater feeling of personal control generally believe that they can influence what happens to

Conflicting opinions about ethical consumption

Opinions related to ethical or responsible consumption vary. According to some critics, this form of individualized political action requires relatively little effort and, while attractive due to its relative simplicity, will never be as effective as legislation and regulations when it comes to 'changing things.'[1] One of the obstacles to being a more effective form of political action is the inability of consumers to assimilate the huge amount of information necessary to make ethical purchasing decisions on every occasion. Other authors point out that some 'socially acceptable' or 'green' products are not necessarily so, particularly when it is the manufacturers themselves who designate their products as such.[2] Finally, the truly cynical believe that ethical consumption is just a way for the more fortunate to stand out socially without being concerned for anything other than their personal prestige and their reputation, for example, to appear green or morally superior to others.[3]

In contrast to these viewpoints, others believe—and support their arguments with historical examples—that consumers can have a great deal of power and influence over corporate conduct and government policy.[4] Organized movements against sweatshops in the garment industry, for example, led some large companies to overhaul their practices by opening their doors to independent monitoring, increasing minimum salaries and improving health and safety conditions in their factories.[5] Some experts also point out that, for many young people, ethical consumption constitutes a new

and important way to become politically engaged.[6] Finally, recognized fair-trade certification agencies, like TransFair Canada, claim that there is a real improvement in working conditions when this production process is put in place.

1. Low, William and Eileen Davenport. 2007. "To boldly go… exploring ethical spaces to re-politicise ethical consumption and fair trade." *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*. Vol. 6, no. 5, p. 336-348.

2. Carrier, James G. 2007. "Ethical consumption." *Anthropology Today*. Vol. 23, no. 4. p. 1-2.

3. For the various motivations of responsible consumers, see Freestone, Oliver M. and Peter J. McGoldrick. 2008. "Motivations of the ethical consumer." *Journal of Business Ethics*. Vol. 79, no. 4. p. 445-467. Some people suggest that, to a certain extent, the desire for personal gain characterizes all types of behaviour having social and political influence—see, for example, Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper; Olson, M. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press; and Riker, William H. and Peter C. Ordeshook. 1968. "A theory of the calculus of voting." *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 62, no. 1. p. 25-42.

4. Stolle, Dietlind, Marc Hooghe and Michele Micheletti. 2005. "Politics in the supermarket: political consumerism as a form of political participation." *International Political Science Review*. Vol. 26, no. 3. p. 245-269.

5. Micheletti, Michele and Dietlind Stolle. 2007. "Mobilizing consumers for global social justice responsibility-taking." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 611, no. 1. p. 157-175.

6. Micheletti, Michele and Dietlind Stolle. 2006a. "Political consumerism." *Youth Activism: An International Encyclopedia*. Lonnie R. Sherrod, Constance A. Flanagan and Ron Kassimir (eds.). New York: Greenwood Publishing Group.

them, that they have the resources to meet various problems, and that their future depends mostly on their actions.

Summary

In Canada, between 2003 and 2008, participation in ethical consumption increased while participation in most other types of political participation declined or remained the same. In 2008, the proportion of people who had purchased or boycotted a product for ethical reasons rose to 27%, compared to 20% in 2003.

Levels of education and income had an effect on the probability of having chosen or boycotted a product for ethical reasons. For example, in 2008, 41% of people with a university degree had purchased or boycotted a product for ethical reasons, compared with 22% of those whose highest level of education was a high school diploma. Also, people with the highest income were much more likely to have consumed or boycotted a product for ethical reasons than those with a lower income.

The other factors associated with greater participation in ethical consumption were being born in Canada; living common-law or being single; living in a metropolitan area; having little confidence in major corporations; not having any religious affiliation; having a greater sense of personal control; and actively participating in several organized groups.

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1. Newholm, Terry and Deidre Shaw. 2007. "Studying the ethical consumer: a review of research." *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*. Vol. 6, no. 5. p. 253-270.

2. Stolle, Dietlind and Michele Micheletti. 2006b. "The gender gap reversed: political consumerism as a women-friendly form of civic and political engagement." *Gender and Social Capital*. Brenda O'Neil and Elisabeth Gidgengil (eds.). New York: Routledge.

3. Stolle, Dietlind, Marc Hooghe and Michele Micheletti. 2005. "Politics in the supermarket: political consumerism as a form of political participation." *International Political Science Review*. Vol. 26, no. 3. p. 245-269.

4. Elections Canada. *Voter Turnout at Federal Elections and Referendums, 1867-2008*. www.elections.ca (accessed November 24, 2010). Official participation rates are preferred to the rates of participation in elections obtained through the General Social Survey. Experts in this field believe that surveys tend to overestimate electoral participation when compared with other administrative data.

5. See, for example, Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Sidney Verba. 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

6. Grønhøj, Alice and Folke Ölander. 2007. "A gender perspective on environmentally related family consumption." *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*. Vol. 6, no. 4. p. 218-235.

7. Stolle and Micheletti. 2006b.

8. World Values Survey. 2006. Online data analysis tool. Data for Canada. www.worldvaluessurvey.org.

9. Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

10. The impact of education was somewhat lower, however, in the full model where all the variables were controlled. This suggests that the greater tendency of more educated people to be ethical consumers can be explained in part by their feeling of personal control, which tends to be higher, the fact that they participate in more organizations, and their increased likelihood to live in metropolitan areas.

11. Carrigan, Marylyn and Ahmad Attalla. 2001. "The myth of the ethical consumer: do ethics matter in purchase behaviour?" *Journal of Consumer Marketing*. Vol. 18, no. 7. p. 560-578; Micheletti, Michele and Dietlind Stolle. 2007. "Mobilizing consumers for global social justice responsibility-taking." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 611, no. 1. p. 157-175.

12. Elections Canada. 2008. *Estimation of Voter Turnout by Age Group at the 39th Federal General Election, January 23, 2006*. Working paper.

13. Brooker, George. 1976. "The self-actualizing socially conscious consumer." *Journal of Consumer Research*. Vol. 3, no. 2. p. 107-112; Stolle and Micheletti. 2006b.

14. Inglehart, Ronald. 2008. "Changing values among western publics from 1970 to 2006." *West European Politics*. Vol. 31, no. 1 and 2. p. 130-146; Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

15. Inglehart. 1997; Nevitte, Neil. 1996. *The Decline of Deference: Canadian Value Change in Cross-National Perspective*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

16. Bilodeau, Antoine. 2008. "Immigrants' voice through protest politics in Canada and Australia: assessing the impact of pre-migration political repression." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Vol. 34, no. 6. p. 975-1002.

17. For a review of recent literature, see Nakhaie, Reza M. 2008. "Social capital and political participation of Canadians." *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique*. Vol. 41, no. 4. p. 835-860.

18. Nakhaie 2008.

19. De Pelsmacker, Patrick and Glenn Rayp. 2005. "Do consumers care about ethics? Willingness to pay for fair-trade coffee." *The Journal of Consumer Affairs*. Vol. 39, no. 2. p. 363-385.

20. Blais, André, Elisabeth Gidgengil, Neil Nevitte and Richard Nadeau. 2004. "Where does turnout decline come from?" *European Journal of Political Research*. Vol. 43, no. 2, p. 221-236. Data from the General Social Survey tend to confirm the results of these studies: in 2008, 79% of people who reported a religious affiliation said they had voted in the most recent federal election, versus 70% of people without religious affiliation.

21. Statistics Canada. 2009. *Caring Canadians, Involved Canadians: Highlights from the Canada Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 71-542.

Table A.1 Logistic regressions of factors associated with ethical consumption

	Unadjusted results[1]	Model with socioeconomic variables only	Model with attitudes, values and personality traits	Full model
	odds ratio			
Sex				
Men †	1.00	1.00	...	1.00
Women	1.00	1.02	...	1.10
Age				
25 to 54 †	1.00	1.00	...	1.00
65 or older	0.42*	0.60*	...	0.64*
Highest level of education				
Less than a high school diploma	0.31*	0.36*	...	0.41*
High school diploma †	1.00	1.00	...	1.00
Diploma from a college or trade school	1.33*	1.25*	...	1.19*
University degree	2.37*	2.38*	...	1.88*
Household income				
Less than $60,000 †	1.00	1.00	...	1.00
$60,000 to $99,999	1.63*	1.18*	...	1.16*
$100,000 or more	2.47*	1.49*	...	1.42*
Marital status				
Married †	1.00	1.00	...	1.00
Common-law	1.60*	1.37*	...	1.32*
Other	0.99	1.17*	...	1.14*
Children aged 0 to 12 years in the household				
No †	1.00	1.00	...	1.00
Yes	1.12*	0.94	...	0.91
Immigrant status				
Born in Canada/Canadian citizens by birth	2.88*	4.27*	...	3.16*
Recent immigrants (arrived in 1990 or after) †	1.00	1.00	...	1.00
Other immigrants (arrived before 1990)	2.24*	3.20*	...	2.51*
Region of residence				
Atlantic	0.61*	0.64*	...	0.70*
Quebec	1.08	1.12	...	1.43*
Ontario †	1.00	1.00	...	1.00
Prairies	0.78*	0.79*	...	0.76*
British Columbia	1.20*	1.28*	...	1.13
Type of region of residence				
Census metropolitan areas and census agglomerations †	1.00	1.00	...	1.00
Outside census metropolitan areas and census agglomerations	0.66*	0.81*	...	0.78*

Table A.1   Logistic regressions of factors associated with ethical consumption (continued)

	Unadjusted results[1]	Model with socioeconomic variables only	Model with attitudes, values and personality traits	Full model
	odds ratio			
Confidence in major corporations				
A great deal of confidence †	1.00	…	1.00	1.00
Quite a lot of confidence	1.93*	…	1.70*	1.36*
Not very much confidence	3.44*	…	3.03*	2.61*
No confidence at all	3.97*	…	4.08*	3.64*
Religious affiliation				
No †	1.00	…	1.00	1.00
Yes	0.62*	…	0.63*	0.67*
Feeling of personal control	1.74*	…	1.54*	1.20*
Participation in organized groups (number)				
None †	1.00	…	1.00	1.00
1 or 2	1.70*	…	1.54*	1.29*
3 or 4	2.31*	…	2.04*	1.59*
5 or more	3.77*	…	3.34*	2.50*

† reference group
* statistically significant difference from the reference group at $p < 0.05$
1. Odds ratios when the other factors are not controlled. Corresponds to the descriptive percentages presented in Table 1, but changed to odds ratios to enhance the interpretation of Table 2.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2008.