The Evolutionary Psychology of the Country-of-Origin Effect

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Material abstract

Adopting the applicational protocols of the epistemological method of evolutionary psychology, this thesis examines the evolved cognitive biases that facilitate the country-of-origin effect, namely a consumer preference for home country or domestic products and brands as opposed to foreign, alternative equivalents. This thesis presents cumulative evidence, through the construction and presentation of a sequential analysis undertaken at both the proximate and ultimate levels of explanation, three distinct investigations exploring the effectiveness of common heuristic strategies adopted by manufacturers that seek to incite nationality biased behaviours of consumers within the field of consumer psychology, how such behaviours can be explained through the causal view offered by group-based behavioural dynamics within social constructivism, whilst ultimately concluding how evolved, adaptive group-based preferences facilitate a nationality bias within the field of evolutionary psychology. In doing so, differing yet complementary explanations of the country-of-origin effect are offered.

Chapter Two investigates country-of-origin labelling frequency, design and consumer response across the Fast-Moving Consumer Goods industry within the United Kingdom during a time of an immense shift within the socio-political landscape in response to the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union, providing evidence of its widespread application and its importance as a marketing strategy by manufacturers whilst exploring consumer responses. Chapter Three investigates the distinct group-based cognitive biases that are activated within different consumer groupings when exposed to such labelling heuristics from the perspective of social constructivism. Conceptualising the effect within group-based behavioural dynamics allows for an exploration of the perceived reciprocal motivations that result in ingroup loyalty and outgroup avoidance behaviours. Chapter Four investigates such group-based motivations through the lens of evolutionary psychology, specifically acknowledging the evolved mechanisms that facilitate biased behaviours towards ingroups and outgroups whilst providing evidence of the adaptive, cognitive functions and conditioned emotions in operation, thereby offering an ultimate explanation of ingroup loyalty behaviours associated with the country-of-origin effect.

The key findings of this thesis are:

1. Widespread usage and design diversity of country-of-origin indicators were observed across FMCG product categories, with variations found to possess differing cognitive, affective and normative implications within consumer evaluations and decision-making.

2. Through the conceptualisation of the country-of-origin effect within theories of group-based behavioural dynamics, it is found that approach and avoidance consumer behaviours towards domestic and foreign products can be explained via the ingroup/outgroup paradigm, with behaviours specifically motivated for engaging with the ingroup and avoiding the outgroup.

3. The strength of the country-of-origin effect, or the effectiveness and influence of ingroup and outgroup product heuristics, can be manipulated depending upon the relationship and perceived threat of the outgroup through an understanding of evolved group-based behaviours.

Table of Contents

List of tables

List of figures

List of abbreviations

B2B: Business-to-business

BA: British Airways

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

BIS: Behavioural Immune System

BT: British Telecoms

CETSCALE: Consumer Ethnocentric Tendencies Scale

COO: Country-of-origin

COSO: Country-of-service-origin

CST: Cost Signalling Theory

DEFRA: Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

EEA: Environment of Evolutionary Adaptedness

EEM: Evolution of Epistemological Mechanisms

EET: Evolutionary Epistemology of Theories

EU: European Union

FIC: Food Information to Consumers' Regulation

FMCG: Fast Moving Consumer Goods

FSA: Food Standards Agency

GST: Genetic Similarity Theory

ICT: Intergroup Contact Theory

IET: Intergroup Emotions Theory

KST: Kin Selection Theory

NATSCALE: Nationalism Scale

PDO: Protected Designation of Origin

PGI: Protected Geographical Indication

ROO: Region-of-origin

SIT: Social Identity Theory

UK: United Kingdom

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Chapter One: Introduction

1. The local consumer in a global world

Since the new millennium especially, the persistent and rapid onward march towards market globalisation and integration has led to worldwide investment of global brands, including multinational production, distribution and sales strategies (Steenkamp, 2019a). As a result, consumers are increasingly exposed to products and services from new, diverse cultures and countries (Liu *et al*., 2021; Cleveland and Bartsch, 2018). The behavioural consequences of consumers exposed to such global offerings are far-reaching and multifaceted (Samiee, 2019). Compounding these behavioural effects, the current global and domestic environment is characterised by social, financial, political and economic tensions, all capable of influencing brand associations, product evaluations and purchasing decisions (Santos *et al*., 2021; Loxton *et al*., 2020; Testa *et al*., 2020). Changes within international relations or domestic socio-economic and socio-political landscapes all possess influencing characteristics upon the psyche, as connections between product and provenance entwine to form behavioural stereotypes of both (Ismagilova *et al*., 2020; Motsi and Park, 2020; Kolbl *et al*., 2019; Davvetas and Halkias, 2019). Such changes within consumer sentiment have recently been observed within the United Kingdom (UK) and its departure of the European Union (EU), giving rise to overtly separatist attitudes amongst the population as various political upheavals and economic consequences become the impetuses of a radical change within the collective as a patriotic or nationalistic mindset appears (Snower and Bosworth, 2021; Ardley, 2018). Resulting social, economic and political transformations have extensive consequences throughout society on individual and group-based identity and influence, particularly within the realms of retail and consumer behaviour, as a previous overdependence on international trade and political relations become the blame for the disruptive consequences experienced, such as reduced choice and inflated prices, whilst bringing to the forefront a drive to support more local producers and manufacturers (De Nisco *et al*., 2020). As such, the distinction between home country and foreign goods widens, moving from implicit to explicit, including the overarching repercussions of purchasing such goods as consumers become increasingly and acutely aware of the consequences of purchasing products from different origins that may produce eventualities opposite to their own agenda and beliefs (Steenkamp, 2019b).

This thesis seeks to further contribution to the understanding of the country-of-origin (COO) effect against the backdrop of a changing social and political landscape within the UK. Specifically, through its foundations within group-based behavioural dynamic theory and its ultimate explanations within evolutionary psychology, the nationality bias of consumers, that is consumer preferences towards home country products and brands as opposed to foreign alternatives, are investigated through three distinct yet conceptually and theoretically connected Chapters. Through the application of the epistemological method of evolutionary psychology, each Chapter provides individual yet complementary explanations of the nationality bias of consumer behaviour, otherwise known as the COO effect. This includes a contemporary, mechanistic explanation of the current form of the behaviour in the present day, where causal explanations are presented detailing and defining the behaviour and the immediate factors that facilitate it, including the influence and evidence of provenance-based marketing and heuristic strategies. Secondly, ontogenetic explanations are offered through the conceptualisation of the COO effect within social constructivism, where group-based behavioural dynamics are explored to understand sequential motivations that facilitate an ingroup loyalty along with repercussive negative behaviours towards outgroups. Lastly, the ultimate explanations, being the adaptive value and phylogenetic explanations of the behaviour, are explored. Specifically, functional explanations regarding how the nationality bias, conceptualised through behavioural dynamics, is an adaptive trait whose origins within group-based social living arrangements are responsible for facilitating such ingroup prosocial and outgroup antisocial behaviours, before considering the evolutionary explanations that consider the history of the behaviour and its importance within the ancestral past, including acknowledging the selective pressures that shaped the behaviour and its consequences on the physiology of the species. Adopting this evolutionary epistemological approach permits a structed sequential analysis to be presented that seeks to explain one distinct, behavioural principle of evolutionary significance, namely:

Why do consumers prefer home country, domestic products and brands to foreign alternatives?

Through an analysis of existing literature, several key understandings, notable gaps and opportunities for investigation exist:

1. *Country-of-origin labelling strategies as a perceived competitive advantage, their design manifestations and impact upon consumers*

Local and global branding is experiencing a state of flux. Recent political and economic events, such as the UK's withdrawal from the EU (Brexit) or the Covid-19 pandemic and resulting economic crisis have slowed the process of global market integration (Williamson, 2021; Dent, 2020; Kim *et al*., 2020; Steenkamp, 2019a). These events have also fuelled a return of psycho-political and socio-political behaviours within a changing external landscape, as a resurgence of antipathy towards globalisation gives way to ethnocentrism, patriotism, nationalism and other geographical-based and identity-based animosity biases within consumer judgement and evaluation (Snower and Bosworth, 2021; Oramah and Dzene, 2019; Ariely, 2018; Steenkamp, 2017). Within this changing age, a relevant issue within international marketing literature questions the impact that such forces have on consumers' responses to global and local brands, whose provenance information is often communicated through COO marketing strategies and heuristic labelling (Suter *et al*., 2018). Such changing consumer priorities are reinforcing the importance of origin labelling in influencing perceptions and purchasing decisions (Ardley, 2018). In fact, consumption changes within the UK associated within the Brexit transition period found a 6% increase in demand for UK FMCG products, and a 13% decrease in demand for EU FMCG products (Nardotto and Sequeira, 2021).

Renewed consumer interest in the 'Made in Britain' label has been observed, along with an increase of domestic retailers launch their own British-made product ranges, with such provenance associations considered a prominent marketing strategy (Comunian and England, 2018). In the years following Brexit, the demand for UK COO products by domestic consumers remains (Balcombe *et al*., 2020). The membership organisation *Make it British* found that demand for products made in the UK is now higher than during the periods before Brexit, reporting also how many consumers are willing to pay more for UK-made goods (Make It British, 2022). Such consumer demand is influencing marketing strategies of retailers, with Lidl and Aldi, despite being German brands, reinforcing a British provenance or championing British produce both in-store and in their marketing campaigns, using British flags and other origin-based information (The Grocer, 2022). It is not just marketing campaigns however that have been influenced, as Lidl report that two-thirds of its products are supplied by British manufactures (Corporate Lidl, 2022), with Aldi reporting that over 75% of its products sold comes from British suppliers (The Grocer, 2022).

However, a predominant belief within literature advocates that provenance-based attributes or COO labelling is weaker for such frequently purchased necessity goods (Luis-Alberto *et al*., 2021; Balabanis and Siamagka, 2017). Associated studies often present a generalist approach within their methodologies, forgoing consideration that such behavioural sentiments can change in both strength and context in response to certain events within the broader socio-political environment (Gürhan-Canli *et al*., 2018; Dube and Black, 2010; Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). Furthermore, the prevalence of origin labelling, and the actual design manifestations adopted within packaging design or marketing strategies utilised by manufactures in practice, varies considerably, frequently overlooked and seldom investigated (Insch and Cuthbert, 2018; Insch and Florek, 2009). Previous studies are therefore limited in addressing the influence of such labelling practices when assuming that text-based and visual-based COO information, along with the diversity of design that such information can be presented and wider changes within the socio-political landscape, possess the same temporal and contextual mechanisms, and have a universal appeal and influence amongst consumers (Halkias *et al*., 2021; Ahmed *et al*., 2014). Further investigation is needed into the application of provenance marketing and communication strategies, its frequency across different FMCG product categories, its varied design manifestations adopted by manufactures and their specific influences within consumer evaluation and decision-making so recommendations of its usage to be made.

2. *The role of group-based behavioural dynamics in explaining the country-of-origin effect*

Understanding what causes consumers to possess biased attitudes and beliefs towards products, services, or brands with different origins has received considerable attention within international marketing literature. Whilst such devotion to exploring the nationality bias of consumers, often evoked through origin-based heuristic strategies like those explored addressing the previous research opportunity, has resulted in an immense and varied body of work with assorted theoretical frameworks or psychometric scales produced to explore the antecedents and consequences of origin-based biased behaviours (Motsi and Park, 2020; Diamantopoulos *et al*., 2020; Kock *et al*., 2019; Diamantopoulos *et al*., 2019; Balabanis *et al*., 2019; Andéhn and Decosta, 2018; Balabanis and Diamantopoulos, 2016; Samiee *et al*., 2015; Riefler *et al*., 2012; Shankarmahesh, 2006, Shimp and Sharma, 1987). However, this undirected research framework has resulted in a large proportion of empirical work suffering from contextual and methodological issues (Dholakia *et al*., 2020; Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). Such disorganised lines of enquiry offer dramatically contradictory conclusions, limiting both the generalisation of findings and application of knowledge to marketing practice (Dholakia *et al*., 2020; Andéhn and Decosta, 2018; Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). Disagreement among scholars even exists as to whether the COO effect influences the decision-making process of consumers at all (Brand and Baier, 2022; Wegapitiya and Dissanayake, 2018). There is a need therefore to explore and disentangle the web of contextual and methodological ambiguity surrounding and limiting research into the COO effect should any future meaningful lines of inquiry be attempted to further knowledge within this discipline. Any future studies that do not attempt to overcome such issues risk being superficial at best, whose findings, built upon disorganised contextual or methodological underpinnings, will be limited in their theoretical or practical application.

To that end, there is opportunity to explore conceptually and methodologically appropriate research protocols regarding the COO effect that may offer a future pathway through this ambiguity. Such aims should specifically seek to increase the validity and reliability of studies through theoretically sound frameworks to explore the influence of the effect within consumption-based studies. One such opportunity presents the bias within its once original conceptual theory of group-based behavioural dynamics. Doing so presents the COO effect as operating within the ingroup/outgroup paradigm, with nationality biased behaviours recognised as an *ingroup loyalty*. Exploring the COO effect from the perspective of an ingroup loyalty allows for contextualisation issues to be overcome, as the construct is considered as operating within the dynamics of group-based behaviours, where an affinity to one's own group governs attitudes, beliefs and relationships with other groups (Nguyen and Alcantara, 2022; Bartsch *et al*., 2021; Zeugner-Roth *et al*., 2015). Such perspective, not only built upon the constructs' initial foundations of group-based behaviours as theorised by

Tajfel (1982), Tajfel and Turner (1986), Verlegh and Steenkamp (1999), Billig (1995) and Shimp and Sharma (1987), permits the opportunity for novel yet methodologically sound research opportunities to be developed to showcase the influence of an ingroup loyalty within consumption-based scenarios. Proximate explanations are provided as a result, with conceptual origins within social constructivism, the cognitive motivations that facilitate an ingroup loyalty and resulting behavioural biases acknowledged to explain why consumers possess an affinity towards home country products and brands whilst expressing an animosity towards foreign alternatives (Balabanis *et al*., 2019; Balabanis *et al*., 2007).

Such conceptualisation offers a second research opportunity to explore the motivations that give way to ingroup loyal behaviours, that when applied to consumption scenarios, can explain the nationality bias of consumers on a proximate level. Limitations of previous approaches highlight a difficulty in uncovering the underlying motivations towards an ingroup loyalty within studies, where findings often merely describe the degree of relative bias at best (Hamley *et al*., 2020; Fischer and Derham, 2016). As such, many do not fully address the true cause of behaviour, other than an assumption that reciprocity exists where an ingroup loyalty automatically results in an outgroup bias (Pavetich and Stathi, 2021; Moscatelli *et al*., 2017; Romano *et al*., 2017; Brewer, 1999; Tajfel, 1982). Such often overlooked motivations have different consequences on behaviour, including the effectiveness of provenance labelling (Hamley *et al*., 2020). Relying upon the principles of behavioural development within Social Identity Theory (SIT), it becomes necessary to acknowledge not only the strength of relative bias, but also identify the true cause of the behaviour, specifically to understand whether such ingroup loyal consumer biases are motivated because of a desire to protect the ingroup or a desire to vilify the outgroup (Abbink and Harris, 2019; Hogg *et al*., 2017).

3. *The role of evolved group-based behavioural dynamics in explaining the country-of-origin effect*

An all-encompassing theory to explain the COO effect is lacking within associated marketing literature (Lascu *et al*., 2020; Andéhn and Decosta, 2018; Brijs *et al*., 2011). As such, common approaches for many traditional studies explore the cognitive, affective and normative influences that engage approach and avoidance behaviours towards domestic and foreign products, services and brands (Pagan *et al*., 2021; Zeugner-Roth and Bartsch, 2020; Adina *et al*., 2015). What results is a description of how these behavioural and psychological constructs influence behaviour and the decision-making process of consumers. Even conceptualising the effect through the lens of social constructivism by acknowledging the influence of group-based behavioural dynamics as explored within the second research opportunity in providing additional insight into the motivational factors associated with the nationality bias of consumers, a complete understanding is still not achieved and cannot be fully explained using the theoretical perspectives and frameworks found within social psychology literature (Henrich and Muthukrishna, 2021). Whilst such approach attempts to overcome the contextual and methodological issues reported within COO studies, findings at best describe *how* domestic consumers favour domestic products and services when compared with foreign alternatives (Brown, 2020; Tajfel *et al*., 1971).

An opportunity exists, by adopting Tinbergen's (1963) levels of analysis that assisted in the development of the epistemological method of evolutionary psychology (Saad, 2017), to explore the evolved cognitive biases that facilitate the COO effect. Such lines of enquiry have the potential to extended relevant literature once more, including complementing the two research objectives previously stated, by considering the ultimate explanations of the COO effect. Such exploratory perspective seeks to address *why* consumers engage in biased behaviours towards domestic products rather than foreign others. With minimal studies attempting to offer such explanations, further research is needed that acknowledges the evolved and adaptive significance of these biased behaviours (Buss and Von Hippel, 2018). Exploring how tribal behaviours of group-based living and cooperation assisted survival chances within the ancestral past to explain modern day cognition and behaviour when interacting with products, services and brands of different origins offers an interdisciplinary perspective of theorising and evidencing group behaviours, before applying such understandings to uncover new explanations for the nationality bias of consumers (Henrich and Muthukrishna, 2021). Identifying the ultimate explanations of the COO effect not only advocates for a new framework of inquiry exploring the adaptive behaviours that facilitate the nationality bias of consumers but allows for a complete explanation to be offered.

1.1 Introduction to the literature

There has been an extensive body of literature published relating to and extending knowledge of the COO effect, or nationality bias of consumers, over the past 50 years (Gürhan-Canli *et al*., 2018; Wegapitiya and Dissanayake, 2018). This literature can be categorised into two distinct groupings: the *firm-level perspective* of utilising provenance information and the *consumer-level perspective* of being exposed to provenance information and observing resulting biases, with both receiving varying degrees of research investment and consideration. Specifically, the first is a literature concerning firm-level perspectives that considers the COO of a brand or product as a specific marketing or brand strategy intended to create a competitive advantage, with investigations organised exploring both the benefits and liabilities of doing so (e.g. Cowan and Guzman, 2020; Lee, 2019; Baker and Ballington, 2002; Clarke *et al*., 2000; Sethi and Elango, 1999; Agrawal and Kamakura, 1999).

Second is a literature that specifically examines and assesses in detail the effect that provenance attributes of both products and brands have on different consumer groupings across a variety of geographical locations, social and political landscapes, as well as its influence throughout the complete shopper journey (Karoui and Khemakhem, 2019; Papadopoulos *et al*., 2018; Rezvani *et al*., 2012; Abraham and Patro; 2014; Hsieh *et al*., 2004; Piron, 2000; Cameron and Elliot, 1998). Such literature topics are generally presented within isolation but can be complementary with each other. Within this thesis, the opportunity to develop a third category of investigation is advocated through the adoption of an evolutionary psychology perspective. Specifically, through the application of the recommended epistemological framework of evolutionary psychology (Saad, 2017) there exists the opportunity to organise the proximate levels of analysis that largely pertain to existing COO studies, yet both complement and extend such knowledge by investigating the ultimate causes of specific nationality-biased behaviours. Such approach will offer new insight into studying the postulated full explanation of human behaviour, in this case behaviours that facilitate a nationality bias, at both the proximate (causal and development) and ultimate (evolution and function) levels. Therefore, a third category of literature is to be presented, seeking to complement and extend the knowledge offered by the first two literature groupings to provide a comprehensive explanation of such biased consumption behaviour at both the proximate level and ultimate level of investigation.

Within this first Chapter, a review of these literature groupings is presented. Specifically, the first part addresses COO strategies in practice from the firm-level perspective, examining the design manifestations that COO heuristics and labelling are presented, its prevalence and usage across different types of industries and product categories, including legal requirements. Secondly, the conceptual roots of the nationality bias are considered through the lens of social constructivism, specifically addressing the role that group-based behavioural dynamics play in facilitating an ingroup loyalty and the interplay such biases have on outgroup derogation. Applied within a consumption perspective, such theoretical dynamics are utilised to explain the interactions between group-based consumer orientations and associated attitudes towards different categories of domestic and imported goods. Group-based socio-psychological constructs are utilised to further provide evidence of such behavioural biases at the proximate level of explanation. Thirdly, the ultimate causes of the nationality bias are explored through the lens of evolutionary psychology. Specifically, the adaptive, cognitive behavioural biases that facilitate an ingroup loyalty are explored, including their evolutionary functional purpose, before demonstrating such function through the application of an emotional framework, thereby offering an ultimate explanation towards the causes of the nationality bias within a consumption context.

1.2 Introduction to the country-of-origin effect

A customer searching the supermarket aisles for their usual mid-morning snack is dismayed when confronted with an empty shelf and a message informing them it is out of stock. They begin searching for alternatives, hoping to find a reasonable substitute that is still made within the local area, given their distrust and dislike of unfamiliar foreign foods. Becoming increasingly overwhelmed at the choice on offer, their attention is suddenly diverted to a product emblazoned with a red, white and blue colour scheme, and a ‘Made in Britain’ label stamped across the front of its packaging.

Reassured with a sense of familiarity, they select the item from the shelf, drop it in their basket and continue shopping. Explaining this behaviour has captured the attention of scholars for decades (Toal, 2021).

The COO effect, otherwise referred to as the made-in image (Aichner *et al*., 2021) or the nationality bias of consumers (Balabanis and Diamantopoulos, 2004) is a psychological concept attempting to explain how brand or product provenance, or their association with a place of origin, produces specific behavioural biases and consequences upon the consumer, including an ability to influence attitudes, perceptions and purchasing decisions when exposed to such place-based heuristic information (Oumlil, 2020; Andéhn and Decosta, 2018; Otter *et al*., 2018). As one of the first scholars to explore the concept, Ernest Dichter in his article *The World Customer* (1962) highlighted the importance and significance of the 'made in' informational cue within the consumers' product and brand evaluation process. The expansion of global markets and associated brand internationalisation strategies have allowed manufacturers the opportunities to take advantage of provenance associations and stereotypes, thereby proactively capitalising upon their heritage and origins as they become synonymous with brand and product attributes, such as authenticity (Melewar and Skinner, 2020), mastery (Chowdhury *et al*., 2020), luxury (Coudounaris, 2018) and reliability (Hornikx and van Meurs, 2017). The provenance informational cue has been shown to evoke strong stereotyping of a country, its people or product and brand attributes, operating on a cognitive (Pagan *et al*., 2021), affective (Otter *et al*., 2018) or normative level (Rashid, 2017). Various psychometric constructs and scales have been developed by scholars attempting to understand the strengths of such beliefs on purchasing decisions and product evaluation, such as consumer ethnocentrism (Shimp and Sharma, 1987), consumer nationalism (Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989), consumer cosmopolitanism (Cannon *et al*., 1994) or consumer world mindedness (Sampson and Smith, 1957).

1.2.1 Conceptual frameworks for investigating the country-of-origin effect

Exposed to a perceived infinite number of stimuli within their shopping environments, consumers attempt to overcome this informational overload to simplify their decision-making process, according to information and categorisation theory (Zeugner-Roth and Bartsch, 2020). Categorising products based upon provenance is one such strategy employed by consumers and manufacturers alike (Tseng and Balabanis, 2011). In the well-established research field of COO influence during product evaluation or the purchasing decision-making process (such as the COO effect), emphasis is directed towards the psychological and biased behaviours of individuals (or groups of individuals) to understand consumption choices in response to provenance-based heuristic influence and interpretation (Balabanis and Siamagka, 2017; Verlegh, 2001). Alternative to more physical product characteristics or intrinsic attributes such as materials, ingredients, aroma or appearance, communicating a particular COO is an extrinsic cue that affects quality perceptions, price or brand name, whilst often reliant upon associated positive consumer stereotypes or beliefs towards the place of origin, thereby influencing preferences and purchasing decisions (Steenkamp, 1990). The effect itself was once believed to operate exclusively within the conscious decision-making process (i.e. Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999), reflecting an early belief of the *rational actor* who seeks utility maximisation (Simon, 1955). As such most literature published advocated how consumers only consider the origins of products and brands evidenced through cognitive experiments (Andéhn *et al*., 2016). However, this norm has since been challenged due to more recent lines of enquiry, accounting for an increased understanding that considers how most consumer decisions occur via an unconscious, reflexive decision-making process (Andéhn and Decosta, 2018). It is widely acknowledged COO influence operates on both the conscious and unconscious level yet can result in drastically different results (Trentin *et al*., 2020; Bloomer *et al*., 2009).

The psychological processing of a COO cue is generally believed to possess cognitive, affective and normative dimensions (Semaan *et al*., 2019; Adina *et al*., 2015; Chattalas *et al*., 2008; Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999). Cognitive COO effects assume that consumers are rational within their purchasing evaluations or decision-making processes, where shoppers consciously infer intrinsic and extrinsic product attributes from provenance information (Maheswaran *et al*., 2015). Attributes associated with the COO label may include the materials used (Insch and McBride, 2004), quality (Chryssochoidis *et al*., 2007), reliability (Josiassen, 2010), authenticity (Cheah *et al*., 2016), safety (Juric and Worsley, 1998) and durability (Usunier, 2006). However, extrinsic and intrinsic attributes often become entwined with their COO association, highlighting the complexity in distinguishing origin influence. For example, product quality attributes possess both intrinsic and extrinsic dimensions, namely *design quality* which evaluates the process from the conceptual idea of the product to its manufacturing stage, and *manufacturing quality*, being the actual materials used (Insch and McBride, 2004). 'Made-in' labels therefore become informational to the interpretation of quality, both intrinsically (the product itself) and extrinsically (price or brand). This highlights just one complexity of identifying how and when provenance labelling influences the consumer and the true cause of the COO effect.

Origin information may also reduce perceived purchasing risks, serving as a particular inferred attribute when limited information about a product is available (Lobb *et al*., 2007). The COO label may become interpreted as substitute or secondary brand for consumers attempting to engage with an unfamiliar brand (Holdershaw and Konopka, 2018). New or lessor known brands take advantage of such positive associations with provenance to increase their market share, essentially exploiting the reputational successes of others (Williamson *et al*., 2016; Wall *et al*., 1991). Given the assumed influence within cognitive processing, COO is often found to be of key influence within high involvement purchasing decisions (Pegan *et al*., 2020), where the rational consumer is deliberate, considered and aware within their product evaluations (Shaheen *et al*., 2020). Although heavily debated within literature (Brand and Baier, 2022), COO is also influential within low involvement purchase decisions also, although operates within more specific scenarios, where provenance often possesses increased influence than brand knowledge (Wegapitiya and Dissanayake, 2018; Chattalas *et al*., 2008; Ahmed *et al*., 2004) or becomes a strategy for product differentiation (Otter *et al*., 2018; Teuber, 2010).

Affective COO effects are deemed to provoke a purely emotional reaction (Diamantopoulos *et al*., 2020; Kock *et al*., 2019). Rather than the rational actor, consumers become guided by feelings and emotions, identity, cultural pride and personal memories within their evaluations and decisions when presented with COO information (Nes, 2018; Diamantopoulos *et al*., 2020; Fisher and Zeugner-Roth, 2017; Laroche *et al*., 2021; Lee *et al*., 2016). Emotional associations are formed through direct experiences including living within or travelling to the specific country (Otter *et al*., 2018), or indirect experiences of stereotypical-driven attributes (Motsi and Park,

2020) and media portrayal (Semaan *et al*., 2019) that link the product to positive or negative emotional associations with countries. Consumers may connect products or brands with social status or lifestyle, where COO indicators become self-expression attributes to achieve self-esteem (Khair *et al*., 2021; Adina *et al*., 2015). Creating a consumer affinity towards both a country and its brand or product is achieved by emphasising the similarities between the personality traits of a country and the consumer, such as ethnic or national pride or other emotional attachments (Serrano-Arcos *et al*., 2022; Oberecker and Diamantopoulos, 2011). However, such feelings are inherently related to other, sometimes extreme, COO-related psychological and psychometric tendencies such as ethnocentrism, patriotism, nationalism and country bias (Cleveland and Balakrishnan, 2018). The strength of such properties may interact with provenance influence upon decision-making processes. For example, consumers who possess feelings of animosity towards a country will be less motivated to purchase a product or associate with a brand with origins there, with extreme emotions incited capable of reducing product quality perceptions during international crises, showcasing a temporal significance (Antonetti *et al*., 2019). Klein *et al*. (1998, p. 90) defines animosity as the "remnants of antipathy towards a country related to military, political or economic events," with the construct often acknowledged as a specific antecedent of the COO effect (De Nisco *et al*., 2020). Ultimately, it is these concepts of consumer animosity and consumer affinity that moderate the COO effect and the consumers' willingness to purchase, their judgements about products or services, or wider brand evaluation.

Normative COO effects are the social, personal or moral beliefs of purchasing a product or engaging with a brand in response to their origin (Pegan *et al*., 2020). Such effects rarely consider any product or brand-related beliefs, but instead refers to the moral correctness or appropriateness of purchasing products or engaging with brands from other specific countries, or from all broader non-domestic countries (Cheah and Phau, 2015; Chattalas *et al*., 2008). Conceptual manifestations within literature of such beliefs are referred to as consumer ethnocentrism, moderating the relationship between COO and purchase behaviour resulting from feelings of animosity or affinity towards specific countries (Siamagka and Balabanis, 2015). As a multifaceted construct, consumer ethnocentrism is dependent upon not only the culture that evokes it, the groups of peoples towards which it is directed to, but also on the products originating from other or all non-domestic countries (Balabanis and Siamagka, 2017; Balabanis and Diamantopoulos, 2004). Many COO investigations follow this three-component view of cognitive, affective and normative dimensionality, where each component acts independently or in most cases, casually related to one another (Zeugner-Roth, 2017; Adina *et al*., 2015; Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999).

Despite the concept's popularity within marketing and consumer psychology literature, and the wealth of empirical research attempting to validate COO effects, the field remains one marred by controversy, where claims of conceptual and methodological issues, theoretical transparency, or overexaggerated and weak associations within reported findings has produced a body of literature where disagreement has dominated output for decades (Dholakia *et al*., 2020; Zeugner-Roth and Diamantopoulos, 2010; Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007; Peterson and Jolibert, 1995; Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999, Peterson and Jolibert, 1995). Ultimately, it is still unclear, in part due to a disconnected body of research, what, if any effects the COO of a product or brand produces within consumer decision-making and evaluation (Dholakia *et al*., 2020).

The complexity of the discipline, influencing variables and undirected research protocols arguably contribute to the immense variations of findings within COO studies, where the effect is disaggregated within its contextualisation, showcasing its many influencing subcomponents, including country-of-brand, country-of-design, country-of-manufacture, country-of-assembly and country-of-parts, all affecting varying influence upon product evaluation, brand evaluation and purchase intentions (De Nisco and Oduro, 2022). Furthermore, the effect's strength and influence differ among diverse methodological approaches, for example within single- or multi-cue studies (Helgeson *et al*., 2017; Ho *et al*., 2018), product category used (Pagan *et al*., 2021; Zeugner-Roth and Bartsch, 2020) or overall study design, where different scale measurements assessing the effect on purchase intention, product evaluation and brand evaluation all contribute to the variation of reported results (Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). Disentangling this web of anecdotal evidence, differing methodologies and research protocols is needed before a recommended framework of inquiry into the COO effect is offered.

1.2.2 The British brand and its associations

1970s and 1980s Britain was a period serious economic hardship caused by rapid deindustrialisation and increased import penetration (Clayton and Higgins, 2020). Seeking to combat these issues, the UK Government attempted to introduce a *Buy British* campaign, persuading British consumers to buy British goods amidst continuing struggles to implement its own strategy to limit import penetration and offset the economic consequences that resulted (Fenwick and Wight, 2000). The Buy British movement was in part motivated by the effects of globalisation that resulted in declining employment opportunities and living standards experienced by British nationals due to increased imports that were becoming commonplace within the market. Previous investigations into the possible success of a national campaign to promote British brands instead highlighted risks, where confusion resulted from what exactly a *British* attribute communicated for associated products and services, whilst caution was offered given that emphasising British origin might inadvertently show the superiority of other foreign products compared to what Britain were producing at the time (Clayton and Higgins, 2020).

An investigation commissioned by the UK Government in 1978 found that the success of a Buy British campaign was highly doubtful given, in part, the mixed results confirming that consumers were aware of origin labelling but that it seldom influenced their purchasing decisions, despite 82% of respondents indicating they wanted products to showcase their origin (Marplan, 1978). The attitude-behaviour gap coined by Weatherall *et al.,* (2003) may explain such inconsistency, where positive beliefs do not result in predicted behaviours. Despite such concerns however, in 1982 the Trade Descriptions (Origin Marketing) (Miscellaneous Goods) Order was introduced, applying to all British industries, including those heavily affected by import penetration, requiring that products must indicate their origin. Just three years later however, the Order was declared illegal by European Economic Community, citing its ability to discriminate against imports (Clayton and Higgins, 2020). It seems therefore that the Buy British campaign was doomed to failure from its inception. Instead of promoting nationalistic economic policies during a period of intense globalisation, the warnings that consumers were unperturbed by origin labelling and domestic producers being reluctant to associate their products as having British origins because of negative associations of inferior quality when compared with foreign competitors were ultimately ignored. What it means to be branded *British* is a complex question that British producers still grapple with today.

How and why FMCG manufacturers choose to communicate their product's provenance is multifaceted, yet the prevalence of COO labelling and its design manifestations, whilst so often utilised in practice, varies considerably, is overlooked within literature, and seldom investigated (Insch and Cuthbert, 2018; Newman *et al*., 2014). Using a *British* mark has previously been found to result in the devaluation of brands, with many manufacturers choosing to avoid such promotional techniques (Clayton and Higgins, 2020; Vieira, 2017). Despite this, the inclusion of implicit and explicit provenance information on product labelling and packaging design remains a common heuristic, a practice that became particularly prominent during both the Brexit and subsequent withdrawal period (Ardley, 2018) and during the Covid-19 pandemic (Bentall *et al*., 2021).

Empirical findings from Casadei and Iammarino (2021) investigating firm behaviour within the UK textile and apparel industry uncovered that many had changed their supply and distribution networks, with one firm noting they had "moved all production to the UK in light of Brexit to make us a 100% British brand" (p. 278). Froud *et al*. (2017) observed an increased interest in the *Made in Britain* brand after the Brexit vote, with domestic retailers launching their own British-made range of products. However, Wilson (2017, p.553) noted that the leave vote was disastrous for the *British brand* given how Brexit "reflected both the disturbing rise of authoritarian populism and the inability of the British to adapt to modernity." Ardley (2018, p.443) also acknowledged such concerns, highlighting how these negative sentiments would likely affect brands which have "Britishness powerfully encoded in their associations," and possibly viewed more narrowminded and insular. Yet despite this, British brands have been synonymous with creativity, freedom and rebelliousness for years, supported by a loyal consumer base (Ardley, 2018). Ultimately, brand association with a country is a potentially risky strategy. Brands cannot influence the behaviour of an entire nation or its policymakers, and if they act in such a way that angers or divides a large part of society, their association with the country may make it difficult to manage the fallout, leading to a potential consequence of unintendedly alienating a large part of their targeted consumer base.

1.2.3 COO labelling motivations and benefits for FMCG manufacturers

The motivations for manufacturers to include COO associations on their products or brands is mixed. Generally, manufacturers engaging with origin labelling strategies is typically a result of either a regulated, mandatory requirement to explicitly identify the COO of certain products, or an unregulated, voluntary design heuristic intended to take advantage of a positive country or regional association, usually because of a heightened demand for domestic goods due to consumer behaviour changes (Aichner, 2014). Manufacturers voluntarily communicating provenance information may seek to use the label as a trust building mechanism, a method to signal quality, or a differentiation strategy by firms inexperienced or lacking resources to develop such brand imagery (Baker and Ballington, 2011; Lusk *et al.*, 2006; Niss, 1996). Manufacturers may also provide COO labelling when it is profitable for them to do so, with a belief that consumers associate this label with product quality, particularly by food manufacturers to communicate authenticity or quality through use of specific place references (Lusk *et al*., 2006). This conviction is not totally unwarranted, as food choices and perceptions of quality are both influenced by origin information (Bonroy and Constantatos, 2015). The effect is compounded if consumers have limited or no prior knowledge of a product's intrinsic attributes, instead relying on extrinsic attributes during product evaluation to predict quality (Lusk *et al*. 2006; Johansson, 1993).

It is commonplace for manufactures to include COO information on their products without fully understanding the impacts such practices have on consumer behaviour (Palmatier and Crecelius, 2019). Manufacturers may believe COO labelling results in positive consumer evaluations and therefore increased purchases, often without citing evidence or engaging in appraisal methods (Insch *et al*., 2015). Furthermore, manufacturers may assume such labelling provides positive consumer evaluations and purchases, but interestingly do so without providing any indication that the practice results in the benefits believed to be true (Insch *et al*., 2015). These findings echo the work of Palmatier and Crecelius (2019), who found that manufacturers may include

COO information on their products without fully understanding the impacts such practices have on consumer behaviour, lack efficient monitoring practices, or simply do not evaluate the effectiveness of adopting such communication techniques.

The synonymity between the COO label and other product attributes can be taken advantage of by manufacturers and therefore used interchangeably within marketing strategies. The label's perceptive influence may become ubiquitous with other extrinsic attributes, as food manufacturers for example often believe that COO labelling communicates authenticity (Lusk *et al*., 2006). Food safety or consumer health concerns were cited as motivations by Maloni and Brown (2006), whilst Norris and Cranfield (2019) believed the label offered a method of traceability, becoming synonymous with product reassurance and as a strategy to build consumer trust. The socio-political and socio-economic changes resulting from Brexit and the perceived consumer appetite to support local produce reinforced the importance of country information on grocery labels, influencing UK manufacturers in adopting the label across a variety of product categories (Ardley 2018). Another motivator was to potentially exploit a perceived consumer appetite to support local products and producers during these changes, although manufacturers showcasing their provenance during this time may inadvertently influence brand image, particularly during heightened political tension, as national imageries and symbols become synonymous with a political affiliation (Ardley, 2018). During the first few months of the Covid-19 crisis within the UK, interests in local food produce substantially increased, as many consumers began to support local businesses in response to changing economic conditions and supply issues (Sanderson Bellamy *et al*., 2021). This 'local' appeal and purchasing trend is predicted to remain important in future food consumption (Filimonau *et al*., 2022).

Manufacturers competing against imported goods may believe that the label provides a source of competitive advantage as a product differentiation strategy (Baker and Ballington, 2011), regarded as both a territorial brand management strategy within the domestic market and a defence strategy against larger multinational competitors (Melewar and Skinner, 2020). Smaller, inexperienced manufacturers or those lacking resources to develop such brand imagery may also use provenance labelling as a differentiation strategy (Niss, 1996). The label's influence and effectiveness within individual FMCG product categories, particularly for non-perishable FMCG goods such as household cleaning or health and beauty products, remains inconclusive due to limited empirical investigations, although associations with perceived reliability have been identified (Leonidou *et al*., 1999). However, interchangeable associations between provenance information and other product qualities and characteristics are acknowledged. For example, an origin label for dairy products and ice creams becomes inherently linked with attributes of food safety, quality assurance and traceability, resulting in feelings of trust and reassurance developed with the consumer (Norris and Cranfield, 2019). Origin labelling for beer, particularly micro-breweries, is regarded as both a territorial brand management strategy within the domestic market and a defence strategy against larger multinational competitors (Melewar and Skinner, 2020). Origin labels have also been shown to possess psychometric properties, able to influence taste for products such as biscuits and confectionary (Wilcox *et al*., 2011). Such varied and differentiated findings advocate for additional research into firm specific advantages of incorporating COO labelling on products and the reasons behind why firms choose to adopt such labelling associations (Insch *et al*., 2015).

1.2.4 Common COO strategies

An estimated 45% of goods sold within UK supermarkets are imported, but due to disparities with labelling laws however, the actual number of goods is estimated to be as high as 80% (Gov.uk, 2019; Business Insider, 2019). Such discrepancies are a direct result of how goods, particularly food, processed in the UK is permitted to be defined as UK produce, even though ingredients or materials used may have foreign origins (Business Insider, 2019). Furthermore, the percentage of FMCGs sold within supermarkets and other retailers that indicate their provenance, how they communicate such information and types of origin labelling design manifestations is unclear.

Origin labelling manifests through a variety of designs and presentations. The strategies manufacturers utilise to communicate their product or brand's provenance is complex and multifaceted. Such diversity of both visual and linguistic stimuli is evidenced in the most comprehensive and systematic summary work proposed by Aichner (2014), showcasing various dimensions of COO label communication strategies for products and services, and their common identifiable features as summarised in Table 1.1:

COO identification marker	**Example**	**COO**
"Made in…"	Made in England	England
Quality and origin labels	n/a	n/a
COO embedded in company name	British Airways	Great Britain
Typical COO words in company name	Kangaroo	Australia
Use of COO language	Vorsprung durch Technik	Germany
Use of COO flags/symbols	U.S. flag	United States of America
Use of typical landscapes/famous buildings	Houses of Parliament	Great Britain
Reference to a local origin or its inhabitants	Made with Irish beef	Ireland

Table 1.1: Examples of COO labelling strategies as identified by Aichner (2014) (adapted from Hornikx *et al*., 2020)

Although Table 1.1 presents insight into COO identification markers, these are not exclusive nor independent design strategies. For example, whilst British Airways has a COO within its company name, closer inspection of its logo design (Figure 1.1) showcases how the colour scheme of the Speedmarque (colloquially known as the Speedbird logo) and the logo typeface utilise the same colours of the Union Jack flag.

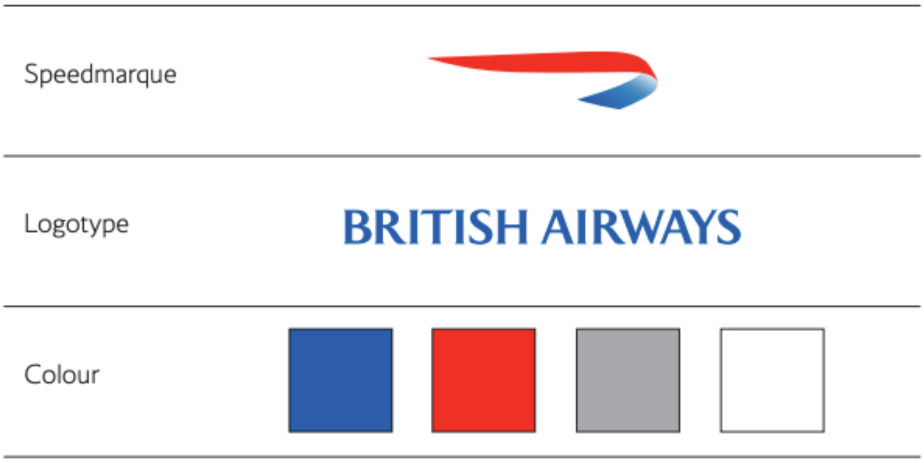

Figure 1.1: British Airways COO indicators (source: British Airways Brand Guidelines)

The brown sauce brand HP sauce has become somewhat of an icon of British culture. It's packaging design once again utilises the same colour scheme as the Union Jack flag, whilst the brand name was designated after London's Houses of Parliament. An image of this building appears upon the label. The brand also holds a Royal Warrant, with the Royal Arms insignia included on the label. Different design variations have emphasised this association particularly, as represented in the following Figure:

Figure 1.2: HP Sauce COO indicators (source: hpsauce.co.uk)

There exist two motivators for manufactures incorporating a COO label upon their packaging design, which in turn can influence its design strategy or appearance: (1) legally regulated labelling and (2) unregulated labelling. Generally, legally regulated COO labelling is a requirement of a country's law mandating that certain products and produce must explicitly identify their origins, or a legal requirement when importing or exporting goods. Unregulated labelling is often the result of a manufacturer's attempt to capitalise on a positive country or regional association or create a positive consumer behavioural response through various provenance heuristics or marketing strategies. The implications of such regulations can influence labelling design. Limited empirical studies have been conducted to understand how brands choose to highlight their COO. Hornikx *et al*. (2020) empirically investigated origin markers in magazine advertisements, finding that the "made in" descriptor was seldom used, and that "COO language" and "COO embedded within a brand or company name" were the most frequently used heuristic strategies. It is important to note however that this study employed a content analysis of Cosmopolitan magazine, therefore the product categories under investigation were limited to beauty, health and lifestyle. Consideration of popular design strategies and their influence on consumers is presented within the next section.

1.2.5 Legal requirements of COO labelling within the United Kingdom

The UK Trade Descriptions Act (1968) and adoption of the EU Food Information to Consumers' Regulation (FIC), dictates via law that a COO must be displayed on a product being sold within the UK if it pertains to one of the following categories: beef, veal, lamb, mutton, pork, goat and poultry; fish and shellfish; honey; olive oil; wine and fruit or vegetables imported from outside of the EU (Gov.uk, 2017). Furthermore, a product's COO origin must be presented if there is a possibility of consumers being misinformed or deceived without the information being explicitly present, for example using a photograph of the Italian countryside on a label of tomato sauce when the sauce is made within the UK. It is mandated that a place of provenance, such as the name or address of the food business operator (which also must be displayed on the product's label), does not constitute an origin statement, therefore the place of origin must be explicitly stated and identifiable on the product's label or packaging.

The Food Standards Agency (FSA) is the non-ministerial government department responsible for providing guidance to producers regarding legal COO requirements within the UK. Where manufacturers choose to provide origin information on a voluntary basis, regulations dictate that the label must adhere to the guidance as if the information were being provided mandatorily (however, the legibility requirements do not apply) (Food.gov.uk; 2018). In 2020, FIC regulations were updated, stating that where the origin of a product's primary ingredient is different to that of the finished product, or where multiple ingredients are used from different origins, additional information must be supplied through labelling to showcase this (European Commission, 2020). (Note: such laws remain accurate at the time of writing. It is expected that additional or modified laws will be introduced over the coming years given the UK's withdrawal from the EU and ongoing law/regulation reform. See Gov.uk for more information).

Numerous organisations exist within the UK offering free or paid memberships that permit affiliates to use a single registered or trademarked logo that can be used on product labelling to identify a product as being *Made in Britain*. The *Made in Britain Organisation* is the largest of such schemes within the UK, operating as a not-for-profit entity and government lobbyist for British manufacturing. Through their *Made in Britain campaign*, the organisation seeks to offer membership to British manufacturers within 33 different product classes and subsequent explicit use of their registered collective COO label (Made In Britain, 2021). This logo (and its three design variations) is protected only through copyright law within the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act (1988), but not via any official UK law on COO labelling requirement or design. Whilst regulations stipulate the product types required to include the label, there is no official UK law that dictates its design or appearance. Such regulation is in stark comparison to other countries such as the United States of America or those within the European Union who have significant different requirements of COO labelling, particularly within international trade laws.

1.2.6 Manifestations of regulated COO labels

How manufacturers choose to communicate their provenance, either through a requirement by law or a voluntary heuristic-based design with the belief of influencing a behavioural bias, manifests in various labelling designs and strategies, an actuality often overlooked within COO research (Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). Given the complexity of the construct, researchers have emphasised the need to distinguish between the different COO dimensions to reflect modern day globalisation of commodity products, where country-of-design, country-of-assembly or country-of-manufacture may all possess different origins to the country-of-brand (Hornikx *et al*., 2020). For example, what is the COO if a product is designed in France, produced in Thailand and marketed as a German brand, and what are consumer perceptions regarding its origin? (Thakor and Kohli, 1996). Unregulated labels have the potential to infer or suggest a COO in these circumstances, rather than explicitly state where the product originates from that is required from regulated labelling (Hornikx *et al*., 2020).

1.2.7 The 'Made in…' label

The '*Made in…*' descriptor characterises a frequently used indicator of provenance, explicitly providing an immediate identifiable origin for consumers (Oumlil, 2020). The place of origin communicated through this label can be classified at a country level (i.e., 'Made in the UK') or through a city, region, or geographical area within a country (i.e., 'Made in the Lake District', 'Made in London'). Presentation of this label on packaging is often small, simple and out of legal requirement to display such origin information, rather than a conscious design heuristic by manufacturers (Aichner, 2014). However, rural or small and medium-sized businesses often voluntary utilise this design strategy to take advantage of positive stereotypes or attitudes associated with a particular region, province or city (Adina *et al*., 2015).

1.2.8 'Locally' made variants

There is no single definition of local produce within the UK. Suppliers and manufacturers use different attributes including product characteristics and designations to signify their place of origin, with definitions commonly based on geography as defined by the Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) (Gov.uk, 2016). Rural food and drink products often adopt the standard government definition of rural areas in England, being settlements within a population below 10,000 inhabitants (Gov.uk, 2016). Local food and drink therefore are defined within a geographical radius as stated within the Food and Feed Codes of Practice, that is "produced within 30 miles from where it is purchased" (ICF International, 2016, pp. 10). However, definitions of local produce depend upon individual manufacturers and stakeholders, with recognition of the confusion this causes consumers (Business Insider, 2019).

1.2.9 Protected geographical indicators and the region-of-origin

65 food and drink products have been granted protected geographical status under both UK and EU law, permitting the names of products to indicate a specific place of origin, that also include Isle of Man and Jersey (Gov.uk, 2020). Such schemes seek to protect the reputation of regional products, promote the often-traditional manufacturing or agricultural activity, and to eliminate non-genuine alternative products that often attempt to mislead consumers, be of inferior quality or utilise brand image successes or reputation (Prescott *et al*., 2020). Within the UK, two types of quality schemes have geographical indicators, offering different categories of protection: (1) Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) (also known as the appellations of origin): this rule applies to products that are produced, processed and prepared in a specific location utilising a specific manufacturing, often traditional, process and (2) Protected Geographical Indication (PGI): this rule applies to products whose production, processing or preparation is undertaken in a specific location (European Commission, 2021). Such scheme was introduced by the EU in 1993 and part overhauled in 2012 to provide increased regulation, however resulting from the UK's withdrawal from the EU, the scheme is now solely governed by UK law (Gov.uk, 2019).

Consumer attitude towards a particular region has both a direct and indirect effect on product preference (de-Magistris *et al*., 2017; Van Ittersum *et al*., 2003). Direct influence is primarily based on affective feelings towards the region-of-origin (ROO) that "bypasses the purely cognitive inferential evaluation" (Obermiller and Spangenberg, 1989, p.455), whereas indirect influences evoke a product-specific regional image, stereotype or product attribution perception within consumers. ROO product information effectively influences consumers' purchasing decision-making for high involvement goods, becoming synonymous with quality but only if the consumer has a better understanding of regional destinations and prior awareness of existence of the product (Chamorro *et al*., 2015). These findings are in opposition to a general awareness that many PDO designations pertain to low-involvement products, such as FMCGs. Both a ROO cue and the PDO label can influence regional product preferences, although this effect is found to be limited to specific customer segments, as influence is strongest amongst those who reside within the product's ROO, although perceived product quality is inferred by other consumers more generally (Van der Lans *et al*., 2001). Furthermore, contrary to the findings of Van Ittersum *et al*. (2001), consumers were found to consider PDO labels as indicators of quality only, if at all (Van der Lans *et al*., 2001).

1.2.10 Manifestations of 'unregulated' or voluntarily provided COO labels (visual and linguistic stimuli)

Unregulated COO labelling for the purpose of this investigation is defined where no legal requirement exists for the inclusion of provenance information on packaging, therefore allowing a distinction between origin labels that adhere to legal requirements and those that are supplied voluntarily. Such voluntarily suppled origin heuristics are utilised as an intended marketing or communication strategy by manufacturers seeking to evoke a behavioural bias by capitalising on positive stereotypes, reputations or associations of locations and places held by consumers. Design strategies of such communication methods often combine both visual and linguistic stimuli (Aichner, 2014). Unless the product pertains to one of the aforementioned product categories, no specific regulations exist for manufacturers providing origin information voluntarily, other than the standard trademark, copyright or consumer misleading infringements associated with brand name or design. The following section attempts to categorise and evaluate the most common COO designs.

1.2.11 Company or brand name COO indicators

Communicating a place of provenance via a brand or company name is commonly practiced by organisations founded by national governments (Aichner, 2014), such as the once British Overseas Airways Corporation (now British Airways) (BA), British Telecom Plc. (BT) or the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) for example. However, this practice is not solely reserved for such types of organisations, as many unaffiliated companies also incorporate a place of provenance within their name, for example Associated British Foods Plc. or British Leyland. Specific regional associations of brand names also exist, such as Caterham Cars (founded in Caterham, Surrey) or general regional names, such as the now defunct Northern Rock Bank. Companies House within the UK control the registration of place or geographical names for use in a company or business name through The Company, Limited Liability Partnership and Business Names (Sensitive Words and Expressions) Regulations 2014, carrying special protection requiring proper approval. From the 134 sensitive words and expressions currently requiring approval, six refer to geographical places, with the description and rules presented within the following Table:

Sensitive word or expression requiring prior approval	**Guidance**
Britain / British / of Britain / of Great Britain England / of England / English Northern Ireland / of Northern Ireland / Northern Irish Scotland / of Scotland / Scottish	1. If the proposed business name does not imply a connection with a government department or body, and 'Britain' or 'British', is intended to be used at the start of the proposed name, or 'of Britain' or 'of Great Britain' or 'of England' anywhere in the name, the business owner must demonstrate that the company is pre-eminent or very substantial within its field. Views or supporting evidence from an independent source, such as a trade association or other private or public body should be provided. a. For England: The situation of the company's registered office should be in England. In the case of a business name, the principal place of business must be in England. b. For Northern Ireland: The situation of the company's registered office must be in Northern Ireland. In the case of a business

Wales / of Wales / Welsh	name, the principal place of business must be in Northern Ireland. c. For Scotland: The situation of the company's registered office should be in Scotland. In the case of a business name, the principal place of business must be Scotland. d. For Wales: The situation of the company's registered office must be in Wales. In the case of a business name, the principal place of business must be in Wales. 2. If this word is not the first word in the name it will normally be allowed. a. For England: If this word is not the first word in the proposed name it will normally be allowed if the company's registered office is in England. In the case of a business name, the principal place of business must be in England. b. For Northern Ireland: If this word is not the first word in your proposed name it will normally be allowed if the company's registered office is in Northern Ireland. In the case of a business name, the principal place of business must be in Northern Ireland. c. For Scotland: If this word is not the first word in your proposed name it will normally be allowed if the company's registered office is in Scotland. In the case of a business name, the principal place of business must be Scotland.

	d. For Wales: If this word is not the first word in your proposed name it will normally be allowed if the company's registered office is in Wales. In the case of a business name, the principal place of business must be in Wales. 3. If this word is a surname, it will normally be allowed if the proposed name included a forename or initials. 4. If the use of this word in any part of your proposed name does imply a connection with a government department, a devolved administration or a local or specified public authority, a letter or email of non-objection from the relevant body must be provided. This also applies if it is a surname.
Sheffield	1. To use this word in the proposed business name, the owner must provide a letter or email of non-objection from the Company of Cutlers.

Table 1.2: Geographical business names that require approval and associated rules (Gov.uk, 2022)

Within the FMCGs sector, an increased use of fictional and stereotypical provenance words, phrases or associations has been found within UK supermarkets. For example, British supermarket retailer Tesco plc. introduced fictional farm names associated with product categories including Boswell Farms (beef products), Woodside Farms (pork products) and Suntrail Farms (fresh fruit). Such practices have been threatened with legal proceedings, with charities claiming purposeful misleading of consumers who may assume such places exist or the actual origin of their products (Barnes, 2017).

1.2.12 Use of people, language and culture to signify provenance

The use of language, dialect and culture is another provenance communication strategy that can be adapted for both physical product labelling or advertising, including printed advertisements, television and radio. Often, but not explicitly reserved for international markets, language depicted via a slogan or brand name often conveys little information to the consumer within a target market (Usunier, 2011). Reliant upon stereotypical gimmicks and colloquial language, consumers synonymise the brand through its language to be of a particular origin, with manufacturers seeking to exploit certain locational attributes or associations to increase perceived authenticity among consumers (Aichner, 2014).

Communicating provenance via the individual(s) portrayed within advertisement or packaging design often relies upon a stereotypical portrayal of a nation's people or appearance, clothing or behaviour, and often attributed to the characteristics of the individual's group membership (Chattalas *et al.*, 2008). Such visualisation strategies of provenance communication are effective in forming positive attitudes towards the advertisement, the product, the quality of the product and on purchase intentions (Roozen, 2013). Visual provenance stimuli are believed to possess effective influence than linguistic stimuli, contrary to previous examples (e.g., Hornikx *et al.*, 2007). Other linguistic stimuli, such as the inclusion of social proof recommendations from specific locational-based consumer groups, can also positively influence product acceptance (Lam *et al.*, 2009). Consumers place increased trust from peoples or cultures they know personally, becoming an effective strategy to facilitate product adoption (Keller, 2007). The cultural values of consumer groups and their recommendation therefore are influential communication strategies (Lam *et al.*, 2009). Advertisements modified to local or cultural tastes can increase their overall effectiveness, however De Mooij (2005) cautions that deep knowledge of the individual culture along with appropriate contextualisation is needed, as one characteristic relevant to one culture could become irrelevant, causing confusion or offense to another. However, marketing strategies with culturally adapted value appeals are more persuasive, including local dialects and languages (Hornikx *et al.*, 2010). Using such language can also reinforce the product's authenticity or genuine quality, with Kelly-Holmes (2016) acknowledging that symbolic associations evoked by language can be more influential than the actual communication message, seeking to connect the product, the origin of the product, the language and the competency of manufacturers, resulting in a powerful influencing strategy.

1.2.13 Use of COO flags, symbols and imagery

Visual COO stimuli are argued as more effective than linguistic practices (Hornikx *et al*., 2007), typically manifesting through flags, symbols, and emblems. Flags themselves however are recognised as possessing both positive and negative associations, capable of evoking positive reinforcement behaviour or inadvertently signalling a political affiliation and thus prompting negative avoidance behaviour, given their ability to inadvertently signal a political affiliation. Shanafelt (2008) noted how the St George's cross is acknowledged by individuals as tainted by associations with far-right political ideologies.

Consumers engage differently with different types of product labels, where less attention is given to text-based information when compared to image-based associations (Penney and Prior, 2014). Previous studies have highlighted how consumers do not necessarily or consistently read information presented on labels, and therefore manufactures may benefit from improved labelling by combining both text-based and visual cues concerning their place of origin (Penney and Prior, 2014). This contrasts with the findings of Balcombe *et al*. (2016), who found that whilst labelling design is assumed to be important within consumer evaluations, they generate minimal influence during purchasing considerations, suggesting further investigations are needed to address conflicting beliefs.

As no universal design standard for COO labelling exists, effectively promoting provenance information is challenging and often used at the discretion of manufacturers. Within the UK, whilst immediately communicating a product's provenance and being instantly recognisable by consumers, adopting the Union Jack flag to highlight both "British" and "local" provenance often results in confusion with regards to its purpose, as it does not communicate an exact place of origin (Penney and Prior, 2014). Therefore, the effectiveness of such labelling is questionable given that consumers may not fully understand what image-based associations are attempting to portray. The Union Jack flag itself was cautioned by Ardley (2018) of becoming diluted or downgraded in terms of its influence or at worst toxic due to its association with the Brexit leave campaign, thereby moving from a symbol of stability and reassurance to one of tainted associations with right-wing beliefs. This highlights the wider complexities of investigating the COO effect, given the disaggregate effects when contextualising provenance. This is achieved in numerous ways, including country-of-brand, country-of-design, country-of-manufacture, country-of-assembly and country-of-parts, each possessing differing influences upon product evaluation, brand evaluation and purchase intentions (De Nisco and Oduro, 2022).

In summary, the debate of whether a product's or brand's identifiable COO influences consumer decisions continues. Samiee (2005) argued that consumers possess limited knowledge of brand and product origin, with Liefeld (2004) showcasing how consumers are mostly unaware of the origin of products they purchase. Herz and Diamantopoulos (2017) also demonstrated how consumers are uninfluenced by origin during brand evaluations. It is possible therefore that the influence of origin labelling is overinflated, and its strength only evidenced in empirical studies, not in actual shopper experiences. However, often overlooked within such debates are the perspectives of the manufacturer and their motivations for including origin labelling as a design or heuristic strategy upon their product or advertisement design. It may be concluded that the more products that include multiple COO cues, the more the COO label is relevant to their strategy. Furthermore, it is unclear not only which design strategies as identified by Aichner (2014) are most commonplace, but also the frequency and in what combinations for specific products in serving as an indication for not only the importance of COO labels in practice, but also their influence upon the consumer. This is useful to distinguish, as Wu *et al*., (2016) found that different COO facets (i.e. brand, manufacture or assembly) are processed differently by consumers. For example, where country-of-assembly is processed cognitively, country-of-design is processed affectively. This 'matchup' effect between COO facets and country stereotypes found how consumers develop favourable attitudes towards advertisements when they view country-of-assembly with a functional country, or a country-of-design with an emotional country. Spielmann (2016) tested the influence of a combination of origin cues and their influence upon the consumer, finding how multiple cues can reinforce positive consumer perceptions towards the product if it is viewed as a typical product originating from that country, suggesting the importance of brand-origin congruity. Lastly, Aichner (2014) makes various unsubstantiated claims within their review, particularly how multiple origin designs are used in combination by manufacturers. A key investigation within this thesis (as reported in

Chapter Two) will seek to uncover evidence of actual labelling practice used by manufacturers, including the design variations that not only communicate provenance, but to explore if variations have differing influence or interpretations by consumers.

1.3 Introduction to group-based behaviours

Individuals belong, or choose to identify as belonging, to a group based on a variety of motivational factors (Baumeister and Leary, 2017). Seeking mutual connectiveness or cohesiveness with others may be influenced by gender (Wood and Eagly, 2015), religion (Bortolini *et al*., 2018), nationality (Spears, 2021), ethnicity (Bey *et al*., 2019) or political orientation (Watkins *et al*., 2016). Group influence upon the individual resulting from their association is dependent upon the individual's degree of self-identification with the group itself (Hogg and Reid, 2006). Social Identity Theory (SIT) is just one such attempt to understand the relationship between the individual and their group, or between other groups, whilst considering what factors motivate individuals to seek group membership and exploring how individual behaviours and interests change due to group influence (Brown, 2020; Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Tajfel, 1982). The minimal group paradigm showcases even how the basic of group association elicits an ingroup bias (Tajfel *et al*., 1971).

More broadly defined, the ingroup represents the group(s) an individual identifies or affiliates with, whereas often generally defined outgroups are regarded as everything else (Sharma, 2015; Zeugner-Roth *et al*., 2015; Turner, 2010). Applying the construct to behavioural studies seeking to understand the influence of group associations often considers the relationships between groups, and the different attitudes directed towards ingroups and outgroups, conceptualised as opposites, with beliefs existing along one continuum (Hamley *et al*., 2020; Allport, 1954). Intergroup behavioural dynamic studies recognise a distinct affective dimension when distinguishing the identities and boundaries between groups, being a positive emotion often reserved towards the ingroup whilst outgroups are considered with suspicion, disdain or a general negative emotion (Brewer, 2017). Such behavioural affect is typically conceptualised within the automatic and reciprocal paradigm of ingroup love/outgroup hate (Hamley *et al*., 2020; Moscatelli *et al*., 2017). Such dynamic is built upon the process of social categorisation within group association results in a classification of *us* (the ingroup) versus *them* (the outgroup) (Dixon *et al*., 2020; Turner *et al*., 1987). Positive attitudes, beliefs, resources or other favourable behaviours are reserved exclusively for the ingroup, providing a distinction and clarification of the boundaries between other groups where benefits are not readily or mutually exchanged (Brown, 2020; Brewer, 1979). Such favourability may also result in, or be driven by, prejudice or general outgroup negative behaviours, where differentiation between groups are often reliant upon stereotyping or other means of generalised categorisation (Dixon *et al*., 2020; Paolini and McIntyre, 2019; Brewer, 1999; Turner *et al*., 1987).

SIT provides just one theoretical foundation for investigations into the COO effect (Zeugner-Roth *et al*., 2015). Conceptualising the effect within group-based behavioural studies commonly recognises the home country being defined as the ingroup, whereas foreign countries represent the outgroup (Skinner *et al*., 2020; Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999). On an individual level, self-identity becomes national identity (Ichijo and Ranta, 2016). Consumers become repeatedly reinforced of their national identity through provenance labelling or other locational related marketing strategies, and as such facilitates a comparison between ingroup domestic products, brands and services to other, foreign or imported alternatives (Ichijo and Ranta, 2016; Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999; Billig, 1995). However, what lacks within studies that conceptualise the nationality bias of consumers within group-based behavioural dynamics is an awareness of what prime motivators encourage ingroup loyal behaviours (i.e. affiliation to domestic produce), how such strength may differ whilst also understanding its effect within consumption scenarios (Hamley *et al*., 2020), given that intergroup behaviours manifest in either a desire to favourably support the ingroup or unfavourably harm the outgroup (Abbink and Harris, 2019; Hogg *et al*., 2017). An opportunity exists therefore to explore the causes of an ingroup loyalty that facilitates the nationality bias.

1.3.1 Historical background of intergroup relations

Understanding intergroup relations consist of observing the activities and behaviours that occur between and among groups, offering far reaching applications to behavioural studies, from explanations of how individuals think differently when associating with a group to how nations become embroiled within international conflict (Brewer, 2010; Kramer and Mackie, 1998; Stephan and Stephan, 1996). The origins of contemporary understandings about intergroup behaviours are found in four key research outputs and developments between 1890 and 1930, as summarised in Alderfer's (1983) review. Political events of nineteenth century France would become the foundational context for Le Bon's (1895) paper *The Crowd*, whose studies into individual and crowd behaviours highlighted key ideas including the effects of race on human behaviour, how the conscious actions of individuals are substituted for the unconscious actions of groups, the effects of altruism within groups, the role of leaders within groups and their ability to influence individual behaviours, and the general variations of group types based upon their purpose and composition (Le Bon, 1895; Alderfer, 1983). These conjectures fuelled the commitment of scholars investigating the transformative qualities of group associations on individual behaviours.

The second key cornerstone of research output into intergroup relations is Sumner's (1906) concept of ethnocentrism. Focusing specifically on conflict within intergroup relations, Sumner theorised the self-serving purposes of groups by describing how "each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boosts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt to outsiders" (Sumner, 1906, p.13). Along with offering insight into the conditions that prompt intergroup conflict, Sumner also provided definitions into the concepts on ingroups and outgroups, with the ingroup being one's own group, and the outgroup being any other group in a state of conflict with the ingroup (Sumner, 1906). Research output over the following century would come to rely upon Sumner's concepts as the basis for explaining and empirically testing theories of conflict, ethnicity, group relations, and most notably, advancing the insight within consumer behavioural studies through Shimp and Shama's (1987) concept of *consumer ethnocentrism* and the attraction towards domestic goods rather than foreign ones.

The third notable yet most contested insight into intergroup relations is Roethlisberger and Dickson's (1939) *Hawthorne effect*. Focusing on organisational behaviour, specifically the efficiency of worker output and productivity, the authors' experiments found how individuals may change their behaviour in response to being observed by others (Jones, 1992). However, contemporary scholars question the conclusions offered, including concerns of author bias (Alderfer, 1983), data reliability and validity issues (Rice, 1982), general methodological inaccuracies (Adair, 1984) and how repeated experiments found inconclusive evidence of the effect (McCambridge *et al*., 2014). The failings of this study highlighted important contextual and theoretical considerations into future research of intergroup relations, including the need to consider social dynamics within intergroup formation and how groups operate within the larger social system, the importance of explicitly defining groups whilst introducing controls that minimise researcher bias and influence (Merrett, 2006; Alderfer, 1983).

The last major advancement into the study of intergroup relations is Anthony's (1971) insights into group treatment methods. This psychoanalytic approach of treating individuals-in-a-group or treating the group-as-a-whole led to discoveries of how interpersonal behaviours are changed, transferred or reproduced by others within the group (Foulkes, 1986). Such insights into group psychology not only advocated the importance of developing working hypotheses to evidence behaviours but uncovered how individual or group behaviours can change or be manipulated depending upon the dynamics and hierarchies existing within groups (Foulkes, 1986). These four key contributions to advancing the understanding of intergroup relations continue to provide the foundations for contemporary research into areas of identity, conformity and conflict resulting from group association.

1.3.2 Group dynamic perspectives through the lens of social constructivism within COO studies

Intergroup behavioural dynamics and the resulting associated biases that occur, along with their motivations, are complex yet commonly conceptualised as being reciprocal (Pavetich and Stathi, 2021; Romano *et al*., 2017; Brewer, 1999; Tajfel, 1982). Tajfel's (1978) Social Identity Theory (SIT) is a principal concept within social psychology pertaining to intergroup behaviour. SIT suggests that membership or a belonging to a social group becomes an important source of influence and reference point towards the development of one's own social identity, with varying consequences for the individual's own self-concept and resulting behavioural actions (Brown, 2020). Tajfel and colleagues (Tajfel *et al*., 1971) developed the minimal group paradigm, evidenced through behavioural experiments to highlight how even the simplest of group classifications can elicit an ingroup bias. Consequently, this theory has become predominant within many research disciplines and associated experiments seeking to explain how group affiliation encourages prosocial and antisocial behaviours.

Power relations is one such aspect of intergroup dynamics that details how individual opinion and behaviour may change through an association with others. Sherif and Sherif (1953) noted two different types of power influence: (1) direct power influence relationships, such as those that exist between employer and employee or superior and subordinate, and (2) social power influence which is often indirect or unobvious, originating via the standards, values, morals or goals of the group, but also may still be created by a superior figure. Conforming to such standards defines the relationships between group members whilst influencing behaviours and expectations, otherwise known as *social norms*. Internalising group social norms to ensure group solidarity and function transforms individual behaviours and opinions to that of the group (Tajfel and Turner, 2004; Sherif and Sherif, 1953). Once instilled, they become a natural part of self-identity due to group relatedness, demonstrating how power has been exerted without direct influence from a senior figure as the individual commits to embodying being a *good* group member. This interplay of self-identity and group-identity will be explored further in later sections.

More recently, Cialdini (2016) detailed a principle of persuasion built upon the concept of group belonging, namely *unity*, detailing how a perceived shared identity with others can influence attitudes and behaviours. Unity can be defined based upon the same ethnicity among individuals, geographic location, nationality, shared interests or values, among others (Cialdini, 2016). The ability of humans to identify commonalities, relate and reciprocate towards one another based upon perceived shared attributes is identified as a key primal tendency that influences behaviours (Tewari and Gupta, 2018; Cialdini, 2016). A recognised evolutionary trait (and explored further in Chapter Four), this tendency to be and act together develops by the age of 2 and operates on a fundamental need to belong (Saad, 2011; Baumeister and Leary, 1995). Creating unity on shared values, interests or demographics builds trust and familiarity, and a shared mentality, where individuals are more likely to comply with those in a group they belong to (or seek to belong to) (Nijssen *et al*., 2022). From a marketing perspective, connecting customers with shared interests and bringing them in closer contact with one another has become an important strategy of persuasion (Vargheese *et al*., 2020).

A principle of intergroup behavioural dynamics illustrates how positive attitudes, beliefs, or allocation of resources and inclusive support mechanisms are reserved exclusively for and shared among the ingroup, resulting in a collection of governed and biased behaviours that collectively facilitate an ingroup favouritism (Brown, 2020; Brewer, 1979). This psychological group membership produces distinct intergroup behavioural relationships including mutual cohesiveness, cooperativeness and uniformity (Brown and Pehrson, 2019; Turner, 2010). However, because of such favouritism, an ingroup bias can also result in, or be driven by, prejudices towards specific groups or a general outgroup negativity, where behaviour is directed unequally and unfairly when compared to the ingroup (Paolini and McIntyre, 2019; Brewer, 1999). Positive and negative behaviours directed towards groups is facilitated through a process of social categorisation, where association towards a group produces a classification of “us” (being the ingroup) versus “them” (the outgroup), whereupon such differentiated beliefs and group attributes are reliant upon the stereotyping, or other perceived categorisation or labelling, of individuals within groups or, more predominately, groups in general (Dixon *et al*., 2020; Turner *et al*., 1987). A positive self-identity originates largely from favourable comparisons made between one’s own ingroup, their interests, values and characterisations, against other groups (Chen *et al*., 2015).

As ingroup members employ tactics to enhance their own self-image by seeking negative attributes of an outgroup, a resulting behavioural tendency is to embellish the similarities of ingroup members to reinforce the positive qualities and behavioural characteristics that support a collective shared identity, whilst seeking to discredit or vilify the outgroup by reinforcing their negative attributes and differences (Hogg *et al*., 2017). This approach of group comparison is particularly reliant upon stereotypical associations or evaluations and used to explain approach and avoidance behaviours within studies investigating selective or biased behaviours stimulated by group association within social science disciplines including communication studies, organisational culture and, of significance to this thesis, consumer behaviour (e.g., Perry *et al*., 2018; Zeugner-Roth *et al*., 2015; Verlegh, 2007).

The act of group comparison can facilitate hostility, conflict and in extreme circumstances, war. The notorious Robbers Cave Experiment (Sherif, 1954; 1961) evidenced how intergroup conflict can occur when two groups attempt to exist alongside each other. The study at the Robbers Cave State Park summer camp in Oklahoma saw 22 white 11-year-old boys attempting to address two group-based conflict principles, being: (1) unfamiliar individuals when needing to achieve common goals will develop a group structure with defined hierarchical roles and (2) when two groups compete, standardised and shared behaviours, and hostile actions relating to the other group and its members will form. During the experiment and once group attachment had been achieved, a series of competitions between the groups over shared resources saw physical and verbal prejudices arise, where members positively characterised their own group whilst negatively describing the other group. Attempts to reduce intergroup conflict by having the two groups increase contact with one another amplified hostilities, however forcing them to work together to achieve common goals reduced prejudice among the groups. Whilst possessing ethical issues and artificial sampling, the findings did support Sherif's (1958) Realistic Group Conflict Theory, showcasing how group hostility occurs, even when groups consist of strangers, from competition over resources, whilst suggesting methods to create group harmony (Fine, 2004; Jackson, 1993).

A defined concept grounded within social psychology and social constructivism of these identified factors prompting an individual or larger group to engage within intergroup conflict behaviours commonly manifests as two main fundamental impulses: *ingroup love* and *outgroup hate* (Moscatelli and Rubini, 2017). The individual's association or attachment to a group and subsequent associated behaviours is conceptualised as an *ingroup positivity*, where an ingroup bias results in (or is the result of) *outgroup negativity* and the prejudiced behaviours towards other groups (Hogg *et al*., 2017). Such perceived reciprocal dynamics of behaviours between groups are used to explain the *love* or general positivity associated towards one's own group members, functions or beliefs, and the hate expressed towards any other group during various situational and behavioural contexts (Hamley *et al*., 2020).

Experiments that seek to investigate the consequences of an ingroup positivity and outgroup negativity defines one group as a reference point within their methodology, thereby permitting the strength of biases between groups to be observed and measured, often through comparison evaluations. This contextualisation however lacks the ability to capture the distinct motivations that facilitate ingroup and outgroup biases, preventing the definitive causes of the observed behaviours to be uncovered. In fact, previous studies have found or confuse the motives for an ingroup loyalty, being the desire to protect the ingroup or vilify the outgroup, through the application of theoretical behavioural constructs and measurement scales (Abbink and Harris, 2019).

1.3.3 Two sides of the same coin: Group-based psychological constructs to explain the nationality bias within COO studies

Key limitations of the approaches investigating the COO effect identifies a difficulty in uncovering and acknowledging the underlying motivations towards ingroup loyalty behaviours due to contextual, methodological and theoretical issues, with findings often merely describing the degree of relative bias. As such, the true causes of such behaviour are conflicting and varied, with studies offering opposing insights to understand the causes of nationality biased behaviours, other than the assumption that an ingroup loyalty results in an outgroup bias (Hamley *et al*., 2020). To overcome this limitation, various psychological constructs have been designed, with origins relating to intergroup behavioural dynamics, but very rarely applied in such a way to uncover the distinct motivations that result in an ingroup loyalty. In fact, both constructs often become misconstrued within investigations given how perceptually, yet not conceptually, similar they are in explaining a negative outgroup behavioural bias, but both possessing distinct motivations of fuelling ingroup loyalty behaviours. Contextually, *consumer ethnocentrism* can be defined as positive associations to the ingroup resulting from negative associations of the outgroup (Siamagka and Balabanis, 2015), whereas *consumer nationalism* is defined as negative associations of the outgroup resulting from positive associations to the ingroup (Castelló and Mihelj, 2017; Balabanis *et al*., 2007). Consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism therefore motivate ingroup loyal behaviours, but for different reasons. For example, consumer ethnocentrism promotes ingroup loyal behaviours based upon the motivations of protecting the ingroup from an outgroup, foreign threat (Balabanis and Siamagka, 2022; Bizumic, 2019; Balabanis *et al*., 2001; De Ruyter *et al*., 1998). Consumer nationalism however promotes ingroup loyal behaviours based upon prejudiced beliefs towards outgroups because of a strong support, association or attachment towards the ingroup (Carvalho *et al*., 2019; Bizumic, 2019; Akhter, 2007; Balabanis *et al*., 2007; Balabanis *et al*., 2001). The observed outcome, being ingroup loyal behaviours, remain similar, but what prompts them results from two differing motivations for the function of the behaviour. Each construct may also possess differing motivational strengths for engaging with ingroup loyal behaviours, as the following sub-sections will demonstrate the dynamic interplay between consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism on the social identity construct of ingroup loyalty as highlighted by scholars including Balabanis and Siamagka (2022).

1.3.4 Interplay between consumer ethnocentrism and ingroup loyalty: Ingroup loyalty resulting from negative associations of the outgroup

Theoretical perspectives of ethnocentrism, supported via empirical insights, highlight how ingroup loyalty behaviours are a product of attitudes forming as a function of intergroup relations, and specifically in this case, of perceived threats from the outgroup (Brewer, 2007). More simply, a conclusion of ethnocentrism identifies the motivations for ingroup loyal behaviours deriving from the perceived negative impacts of the outgroup (Prince *et al*., 2019; van der Dennen, 1987). Such negative threats may include foreign competition or outgroup values and standards (Stephan and Stephan, 2000). In the face of outgroup threat, a positive ingroup reaction is instilled (Cutura, 2020).

Consumer ethnocentrism therefore identifies the threat of the outgroup in guiding ingroup loyal consumer behaviours (Cutura, 2020). The conceptual origin of consumer ethnocentrism, originally offered by Shimp and Sharma (1987), was specifically an economical one, defined as a perceived fear of how the act of purchasing foreign goods at the expense of domestic alternatives will negatively harm the domestic economy. Since its inception, the concept has expanded to account for quality and other product attribute deviations (Balabanis and Diamantopoulos, 2004). The original definition focused on an evidential bias towards alternative foreign options and thereby acknowledging the threat of the outgroup first, without considering the biasing factors relating to intentions of purchasing and evaluating domestic products (Shimp and Sharma, 1987). The concept of ethnocentrism however has since been applied to a plethora of consumption-based scenarios seeking to demonstrate the willingness of consumers to purchase domestic goods as a key reaction when presented with an alternative option of selecting foreign ones, thereby highlighting the reciprocal relationship of ingroups and outgroups as defined within intergroup behavioural dynamics (Bizumic, 2019).

Such perspective is logical when considering the original definition of ethnocentrism as defined by Sumner (1906), who acknowledged the construct as a two-dimensional concept being "the sentiment of cohesion, internal comradeship, and devotion to the ingroup, which carries with it a sense of superiority to any outgroup" (p.11) and "the view of things in which one's own group is the centre of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (p13). The influence and relationship between an ingroup and outgroup in unison is therefore paramount within this definition: a positive attitude towards one's own group and a negative attitude towards the outgroup (Bizumic, 2018). Consequently, stereotypes are formed, both positively for the ingroup and negative for the outgroup (Brewer, 1999; Judd and Park, 1993).

Many scholars have since adopted the concept to explain observed and specific behavioural biases of the consumer over the last 40 years. Most notably, Shimp and Sharma (1987) established the term "consumer ethnocentrism" to represent the beliefs held by consumers regarding the appropriateness and willingness of purchasing foreign-made products over domestic ones, along with the emotional consequences of doing so. Since then, behaviours relating to consumer ethnocentric phenomena are a widely studied field within marketing research, traditionally exploring how the origin of a product serves as an extrinsic attribute leading to consumer preference or rejection (Herz and Diamantopoulos, 2017). The almost unanimous view amongst scholars is that highly ethnocentric consumers exhibit a stronger emotional attachment to domestic products, with local products favourably considered over imported ones given the perceived threat that imported goods pose to not only the economy but possess lesser standards in various other product attributes also (Shankarmahesh, 2006; Shimp and Sharma, 1987; Watson and Wright, 2000).

The act of purchasing foreign products may be viewed as improper by highly ethnocentric consumers due to a perception of them negatively impacting the economy or domestic jobs, with the behaviour even regarded as simply unpatriotic (Shimp, 1984). The ingroup is not just restricted to persons of the same country, as previous studies have also highlighted a relationship between consumers with high levels of ethnocentrism and favourable attitudes towards products from other culturally similar countries (Watson and Wright, 2000). However, to the non-ethnocentric consumer, foreign products are judged on their own qualities independent of origin, or even evaluated more favourably due to being manufactured or sourced outside of the home country (Sharma *et al*. 1995). Conversely, consumers who admit such ethnocentric beliefs have been found to be no more likely to purchase home products than those who were less ethnocentric (McLain and Sternquist, 1992), yet notably, this specific study confuses the concepts of ethnocentrism and patriotism within its execution. Studies with similar findings also possess some misunderstanding or misapplication of the construct, are limited in scope of fail to account for the variations that origin information influence within different product categories or contexts. Yet despite somewhat conflicting findings, large bodies of literature conclude that a COO does bias behaviour, even to those consumers less sensitive to origin information (Sharma and Wu, 2015).

COO studies that apply consumer ethnocentrism to explain consumer preferences assume and conclude that an ingroup loyalty is a result of an unwillingness to engage with the outgroup, given the constructs definition. The effectiveness, however, of using the construct in uncovering these motivations are debated within literature. Balabanis and Diamantopoulos (2004, p. 91) concluded that consumer ethnocentrism "appears to be more capable of explaining consumers' (positive) bias toward home products ... rather than (negative) bias against foreign products from specific countries." In the case of consumer ethnocentrism, motivation is focused on outgroup derogation through the focus of negative evaluations or indeed fear of the outgroup which in turn subsequently manifests as a desire to protect the ingroup (Shimp and Sharma, 1987). In comparison, motivators for consumer patriotism, or the more aggressive concept of *consumer nationalism*, originate as incentives to favour the ingroup or reinforce ingroup priorities in response to encroaching outgroup influences or threat (Ali, 2021). In this example, and in COO generally, there is a neglect to acknowledge and distinguish the individual motivations and behavioural outcomes that motivate such ingroup loyalty biases.

With domestic and foreign national identity defining the ingroup and outgroup, studies investigating the consequences of the interplay of ethnocentrism and national identity to assess ingroup loyalty confirm they are positively related. Prince *et al*., (2019) found that consumer ethnocentrism has the strongest, positive effect on loyalty out of the five moral foundation behaviours, with Prince *et al*. (2020) finding similar results. El Banna *et al*. (2018) cautioned that the interplay between consumer ethnocentrism in explaining ingroup loyal behaviours is a complex phenomenon reflected in the mixed results observed within their study. Bizumic (2019) found that ethnocentrism can explain an ingroup loyalty, but cautioned that other mediating factors, such as nationalism, may also affect attitudes. The findings of this study suggests that there may be opposing influences within a social group context that can influence ingroup loyalty.

1.3.5 Interplay between consumer nationalism and ingroup loyalty: Ingroup loyalty resulting from positive associations to the ingroup

Consumers engage in purchasing behaviours that reflect their own national heritage (Strizhakova *et al*., 2008). With foundations in SIT and the influence of group association on behaviour (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 2004), the considered classical definition of national identity is "a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith, 1991, p.14). Given the multidimensionality of national identity however, development of an all-encompassing definition is difficult (Triandafyllidou, 1998). Whilst the explanation from Smith (1991) provides a set of criteria for establishing national identity, it is inconsiderate of any repercussions on attitudes or behaviours, particularly if different national identities exist. As such, an inclusive definition of the construct connecting the consequences of national identity on behaviour is preferred.

Such psychological implications are referred as a *sense of belonging* (Connor, 1978) or a *fellow feeling* (Geertz, 1974), both emphasising the link between the individual and the group, namely the home nation. As such, the consequence of a national identity as a social construct incorporating behavioural consequences gives way to nationalism, defined as the "ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation" (Smith, 1991; p. 73). The existence of other nations is an implied, but significant feature within national identity definitions, each with different histories, commonalities and traditions yet all ascertaining an equal right to self-determination (George, 2018; Moore, 1997). As such, nationalism not only constitutes the existence of a specific national community, but also allocates its own position in the world amongst other distinct nations, from which the ingroup much be distinguished all while acknowledging ramifications on behaviour (Triandafyllidou, 1998).

Nationalism therefore comprises of the intrinsic feature of belonging to a home nation, the psychological bond of such belonging, and subsequent opposition to the 'other' due to some form of perceived or explicit exclusion (Gellner, 1964). Such psychological bond based on individuals believing they are ethically related to one another leads to a dichotomous view that divides humanity into 'us', that is fellow nationals, and 'them', being non-members of 'our' community (Connor, 1993). Whilst such description relies heavily on ethnicity and therefore forgoes other group identification associations based on nationality, it does provide the dichotomous view of the world that is fundamental to nationalistic behaviours, whereby belonging to a nation implies an understanding of who 'we' are and who 'others' are.

1.3.6 The conceptual differences between nationalism and patriotism

The conceptual difference between nationalism and patriotism is controversial among scholars attempting to explain an individual's love of country (Ioannou *et al*., 2021). Building upon the original concept of ethnocentric behaviour, Adorno *et al*. (1950) questioned if negative feelings towards the outgroup materialise automatically resulting from a positive attachment to the ingroup, or if a scenario exists where such motivations become independent of each other. The concept of *healthy patriotism* was identified to describe such criteria, where an attachment to the ingroup is unrelated to such outgroup biases. Alternatively, *ethnocentric patriotism* is accompanied by such a bias, being the "blind attachment to certain national cultural values, uncritical conformity with the prevailing group ways, and rejection of other nations as outgroups" (Adorno *et al*., 1950, p.107). In more recent social psychology literature, the terms *patriotism* and *nationalism* are commonly used to provide a distinction between the positive and negative manifestations of national identification and resulting behaviour within intergroup scenarios, in response to many scholars inadvertently blurring these two distinctions (Hanson and O'Dwyer, 2019).

Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) provided a conceptual distinction between patriotism and nationalism through empirical testing, thus finding that patriotism consists of a strong loyalty to the home country without an equivalent hostility towards foreign countries. Patriotism is further cited as a healthy national self-concept, with feelings of pride and a love of country engendered to secure an ingroup identification independent of outgroup hostility (Ioannou *et al*., 2021; Brewer, 1999). Unlike patriotism however, nationalism is defined by an all-encompassing belief that the ingroup home country is the superior and dominant nation, therefore all foreign countries are viewed negatively because of such discrimination, often extremely so (Meier-Pesti and Kirchler, 2003). Nationalism therefore places the home country and its status first (Granzin and Painter, 2001), which is conceptually opposite to ethnocentrism which places the threat of the outgroup first. Although both constructs share a positive ingroup evaluation which facilitates a loyalty, ultimately the difference lies within their relationship to intergroup attitudes (Li and Brewer, 2004). Evaluative judgements and stereotypes are involved in the concepts of both patriotism and nationalism, but unlike patriotism, nationalism involves a negative bias towards other countries (Akhter, 2007).

Within this thesis, the definition of nationalism is adopted from Kosterman and Feshbach (1989), referring to the prejudiced attitudes towards foreign nations based on an ideological belief that an ingroup nation should be superior to that of others. In contrast, ethnocentrism refers to the tendency to favour one's own ingroup over outgroup foreign alternatives as a protectionist strategy (Shimp and Sharma, 1987). When considering other, broader classifications of attitudes so often investigated within similar comparative studies within international marketing literature, for example consumer patriotism or other related constructs, such components are deemed as broader national attitudes and unrelated to the study at large.

1.3.7 Nationalism and consumption

With regards to the foundational theory and more generally, nationalism (and the related but lessor extreme patriotism) as a means of a social identification, are found to be more commonly associated with right-wing, conservative beliefs, authoritarian values and intolerance (Li and Brewer, 2004). Nationalists are more aggressive, prejudiced and materialistic towards foreign countries and peoples within their beliefs and resulting behaviours, often reliant upon extreme stereotypes or exaggerations to promote the differences between groups to further the dominance of their ingroup (Sidanius *et al*., 1997; Druckman, 1994). Such behaviour is compounded in times of economic or social crises between nations or regions (De Nisco *et al*., 2020).

The dedication to a belief that an individual's country is superior, often to ascertain a national dominance, is evidenced to extend not only into divisive antisocial behaviours culminating in violence, terrorism and war (Druckman, 1994), but when applied to a consumption setting, result in economic-dominant practices and behaviours (De Nisco *et al*., 2020; Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989). Specifically, such beliefs encourage behaviours that strengthen local and national economies, such as purchasing only domestic products whilst essentially boycotting foreign alternatives, as evidenced by Castelló and Mihelj, (2017) and Balabanis *et al*. (2001). Known as economic nationalism, the concept has been found to positively correlate with the more general association of nationalism (Baughn and Yaprak, 1996). Stereotyping practices at the expense of outgroup countries also extends to products, manufacturers and services to protect the home country economy, or seen as a defence mechanism to offset encroaching foreign selling opportunities (Mihalyi, 1984). An opportunity is presented, based upon this literature, to investigate how an ingroup loyalty manifests within consumption behaviour, using both the two distinct motivations offered by consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism, but also if a measurement of ingroup loyalty can possess predictive power in assessing the influence of the COO effect upon consumers, thereby offering a third complementary scale. All three constructs become grounded within group dynamic theory, thereby answering the call for investigations into the COO effect to have contextual and theoretical grounding.

1.4 Introduction to evolutionary approaches to investigating behaviour

Over time, psychologists have attempted to understand the idiosyncrasies and quirks of the rational and irrational consumer, observing a plethora of behavioural phenomena and its influences. This colossal body of literature has uncovered the innermost workings of the human psyche that governs various rules and heuristics during the decision-making and evaluation processes of consumers within innumerable shopper scenarios, whilst providing the bases for a multitude of theoretical frameworks attempting to organise and disseminate such knowledge. Such committed exploration has generally provided proximate explanations of the immediate antecedents and consequences of a behaviour, including the often-typical explanations provided within marketing literature (Otterbring, 2021, Cohen and Bernard, 2013; Scott-Phillips *et al*., 2011; Francis, 1990). A complementary and developing body of knowledge, acknowledging the advantages of adopting an experimental and interdisciplinary approach within the fields of biology, anthropology, sociology and psychology is attempting to reorganise and extend previous causal insights and explanations of behavioural phenomena to discover the true ultimate explanations or *evolutionary functions of behaviour* (Saad, 2017; Griskevicius and Kenrick, 2013; Nicholson and Xiao, 2010).

Darwin (1871) ascertained that his theory of natural selection was just as important and applicable in understanding the evolution of human behaviour, otherwise known as cognitive evolution, as it was to the evolution of more physical properties of mammals. Building upon such legacy, the evolutionary synthesis of the 1930s and 1940s was the first major commitment by scholars towards understanding and presenting theories of the evolution of human behaviour through biological, psychological and anthropological perspectives, yet was a topic marred by controversy (Lewens, 2019; Mayr and Provine, 1998). The output of such theoretical exploration from scholars within evolutionary science concludes that human inheritance of behavioural properties, just like physical ones, involves a complex interaction between genetic, epigenetic and learned information to deal with the demands of the physical and social external environments (Jablonka and Lamb, 2014; Bolhuis *et al*., 2011).

Exploring the evolutionary functions of a behaviour requires an acknowledgement that many observed human behaviours have formed to overcome environmental pressures within the ancestral past, adapted within the mind through the process of natural selection, in the same process as physical features have developed (Saad, 2007; Tooby and Cosmides, 1990). Consequently, such exploration provides the opportunity for the reinterpretation of previously documented human behaviours to offer complementary evolutionary-based insights, by acknowledging both their causal and evolved functions (Buss, 2019). Evolutionary psychology scholars are committed in the search of these adaptive traits within the mind, facilitated through evolved cognitive structures, that generate a suite of behaviours that were once ideally placed to overcome the challenges of the past natural environment (Pinker, 2010). For ancestral humans, this environment was hostile and consisted of many threats to survival (Bennett, 2018). Whilst controversy exists over the exact period within history these genetic adaptations occurred, including the extent of the changes, known oddities and imperfect design of cognitive function do offer scholars insight about possible environmental conditions, interactions and relationships with others (Smith, 2020; Caporael and Baron, 1997).

Genetic adaptations likely occurred within the Pleistocene hunter-gather period 2.6 million years ago until the development of anatomically modern humans, around 200,000 years ago (Foley, 1995). However, whilst speculation exists regarding the specificities of both temporal and situational contexts and their influences within human genetic evolution, and the conditions that stimulated it (Daly and Wilson, 1999; Irons, 1998; Symons, 1992), an accepted conceptualisation of the conditions of the external environment in which evolutionary adaptions occurred stems from Bowlby's (1969) attachment theory, being the *Environment of Evolutionary Adaptedness* (EEA). The EEA is not a specific place, but a conceptual environment used to describe the situational and external factors where a behavioural or physical trait adapted over time (Bennett, 2018). Such conceptualisation attempts to overcome critiques of lack of awareness and scientific understanding about the actual conditions of the ancestral environment, where evidencing evolved traits becomes highly speculative given how so little is known (Plotkin, 2004). Buller (2005) cautioned that lack of concrete understanding about the environment may have negative implications on the quality of research, with Buss (2005) echoing that precise selection pressures may never be understood due to context specificity being highly sensitive. However, Tooby and Cosmides (1990) advocate how enough is understood about environmental conditions and ancestral lifestyles throughout evolutionary history to develop valid hypotheses and theories to explain modern human behaviour, including how hunter-gather ancestors managed predictable environmental challenges that imposed significant selection pressures. This included coping with predators and prey, mate and food acquisition and interpersonal aggression or assistance, along with the certainties of existing within a nomadic, kin-based lifestyle in groups that included cooperative hunting or hostility (Tooby and Cosmides, 1990).

Alcock (2001) argued that if an organism diverts too much from its original environment, it is unlikely that these new traits will be adaptive to new conditions and as such risks extinction, thereby highlighting that many traits in humans are presently adaptive. Considering the evolution of human behaviours more generally, three notable categories exist. Adaptive behaviours evolved to overcome recurrent problems and therefore assisted human ancestors in navigating their hostile environment (Li *et al*., 2018). Others are maladaptive, where these once useful behaviours become problematic and may pose increased risks and harm to the individual given changes occurring within the environment (Workman and Reader, 2021). Some behaviours however are spandrels, never truly able to solve recurrent problems within the environment and solely existing as a by-product of another behavioural adaptation (Linde-Medina, 2017; Buss *et al*., 1998). Within this thesis, the nationality bias of consumers is conceptualised within group-based behavioural dynamics. Viewing these biased behaviours that occur within intergroup living through an evolutionary lens requires an understanding of its adaptive origins, which includes identifying the challenges faced by ancestral humans within their environment that stimulated the behaviour's development whilst categorising if behaviours associated with the COO effect are adaptive, maladaptive or a consequence of another behaviour entirely. This perspective offers a conceptual research strategy to interpret, critique and address the inconsistencies offered within previous COO studies, whilst advocating the applicational benefits of research protocol and experiment design that permits the distinct motivations and adaptive traits of ingroup and outgroup behaviours to be examined.

1.4.1 Evolutionary epistemology

A common critique of evolutionary psychology studies is the lack of direction, hypothesis testing or weak links between a given observed behaviour and its evolutionary significance, with scholars advocating for the need of a suitable research framework to support future studies (Tooby and Cosmides, 2015; Huneman and Machery, 2015; Buss, 2009). In response, Saad (2017) proposed the *Epistemological Method of Evolutionary Psychology*, guided by the principles of Tinbergen (1963) that seeks to offer how the postulated full explanation of human (or animal) behaviour can be studied at four different levels: *causation (mechanism), development (ontogeny), function (adaptive value)* and *evolution (phylogeny)*. These four major categories of behaviour are typically separated into *proximate* and *ultimate* causes, allowing for the consideration of the biological mechanisms that govern behaviour, including functionality and domain specificity, to ensure reliable hypotheses are developed following an empirical scientific analysis, instead of relying upon "just so stories" from an idealistic body of literature that merely argues a behavioural trait as being adaptive (Smith, 2016; Bowers and Davis, 2012). An evolutionary approach to group behaviour allows for the development of knowledge seeking to explain the observed phenomena by integrating four converging lines of inquiry:

Object of study

Level of question	**Contemporary** Explaining the behaviour in terms of the *present-day*	**Chronicle** Explaining the behaviour in terms of a *sequence*
Proximate (how) Explaining the behaviour in terms of the *immediate, relevant and/or potentially measurable factors*	**Mechanism (causation)** Causal explanations of the behaviour and trait description. Explanations may include physical morphology, molecular mechanisms, other underlying biological factors or external stimuli to understand function.	**Ontogeny (development)** Developmental explanations of the behaviour, including sequential changes across the lifespan of an individual. These explanations are often concerned with the degree of which the behaviour changes through learning.
Ultimate (why) Explaining the behaviour in terms of *process, adaptive value and forces of evolution that created it via sequencing*	**Adaptive value (function)** Functional explanations of the behaviour regarding the utility of the current form of the behaviour to increasing an organisms lifetime reproductive success, including how the environment has influenced the trait to ensure fitness.	**Phylogeny (evolution)** Evolutionary explanations describing the history of the behaviour, such as when the ancestor first possessed the trait, what the antecedent to the behaviour was and what selective pressures in the past shaped this behaviour.

Figure 1.3: Tinbergen's (1963) four questions, presented by object of study and level of question (adapted from: Nesse, 2019)

Saad (2017) and similar authors (i.e. Zietsch *et al*., 2021; Haig, 2013; Scott-Phillips *et al*., 2011) caution that proximate and ultimate causes should not be regarded as in competition with one another, but that both explanations are needed to provide a complete understanding of the behaviours under investigation. As such, the discipline of evolutionary psychology should not be viewed as a replacement to proximate explanations, but instead as a *complementary companion* to behavioural research (Saad, 2017). Whilst divided opinion exists among scholars arguing what specifically an evolutionary psychology perspective offers in terms of ultimate explanations, instead advocating that modern human behaviour requires an ecological or materialist perspective rather than a Darwinian one (Jonason and Schmitt, 2016), proponents of the discipline campaign how an evolutionary perspective presents an opportunity to uncover new, complementary insights in explaining well-documented behavioural phenomena to further extend knowledge through novel hypotheses and experimentation (Saad, 2017; Buss, 2005).

Evolutionary epistemologies seek to explain knowledge from an evolutionary point of view (Bradie, 2006). Coined by Campbell (1974), such inquiry attempts to understand how biological evolution, including the forces that encourage it, can be explained through an understanding of conceptual change and the development of theories (Campbell, 1987). As biological development considers both ontogenetic and phylogenetic explanations of specific physical and behavioural traits, an evolutionary epistemology embraces both accounts in the development of knowledge, despite biological processes and selectionist processes possessing different epistemological norms traditionally (Nichols *et al*., 2019; Vonk and Shackelford, 2012; Gontier, 2012). Operant conditioning (Skinner, 1984) is one such example where the ontogenesis of human behaviour is based upon selectionist processes found within evolutionary theory (Tonneau and Sokolowski, 2001; Donahoe *et al*., 1993).

The Evolution of Epistemological Mechanisms (EEM) attempts to provide an evolutionary explanation for the development of cognitive structures, using biological theory of evolution to understand cognitive activity of mammals and their resulting behaviours (Gontier and Bradie, 2017; Bradie, 1986). A second distinct yet somewhat interrelated approach is The Evolutionary Epistemology of Theories (EET) (Gontier and Bradie, 2021), attempting to organise and analyse knowledge, including accounting for the evolution of associated general theories, knowledge and culture, using frameworks pertaining to evolutionary biology (Sarto-Jackson, 2021; Renzi, 2009). Scholars argue however that both EEM or EET programmes poorly reflect and are contradictory with traditional epistemologies, defined as a normative discipline, whereas evolutionary epistemologies seek to offer causal and genetic (or descriptive) accounts for the evolution of cognition (Bradie, 2006; Kim, 1988). Furthermore, the relationship between descriptive evolutionary epistemologies and traditional epistemologies is contentious among theorists (Bradie, 2004). Evolutionary epistemologies may be viewed as competitors to traditional epistemologies, seeking to answer the same questions yet offering differing solutions (Campbell, 1990; Campbell, 1975; Riedl, 1984) or successors to traditional epistemologies, as traditional questions are no longer relevant or interesting (Bradie, 2004; Munz, 1993).

A third view advocates how evolutionary epistemologies are complementary to traditional approaches, and therefore should not be acknowledged as competitors or of lessor value but possess the same ultimate objective of extending knowledge (Callebaut and Pinxten, 1987; Bradie, 2006). Such relationship dynamic between approaches views the aim of an evolutionary explanation in providing a descriptive account of knowledge that seeks to exclude norms that conflict or are inconsistent with the understandings of evolved behaviours, whilst perspective accounts are offered by traditional means (Bradie and Harms, 2017; Campbell, 1987). As such, a full account of the behaviour is offered with the theoretical and methodological benefits of doing so acknowledged (Bradie and Harms, 2017).

1.5 Thesis contribution

Exploring the stated behavioural principle of evolutionary significance underpinning the entirety of this thesis, being *why do consumers prefer home country, domestic products and brands to foreign alternatives,* the result of this structured investigation produces key offerings to further and extend knowledge within its associated disciplines. The key contributions of this thesis are as follows:

First, the often-assumed influencing capabilities of COO indicators upon the consumer are challenged. Through the application of expectancy value theory and theories on cue selection, provenance indictors are found to influence consumer evaluation processes for low involvement, habitually purchased necessity goods. Furthermore, widespread usage and design diversity of COO indicators adopted by manufacturers offering these categories of products challenges the common belief stated within literature that such practices are reserved, exercised and commonplace for higher involvement goods. Secondly, conceptualising the COO effect within group-based behavioural theory, particularly manifesting as an ingroup loyalty, presents an alternative theoretically grounded explanation for consumer attraction and avoidance towards domestic and foreign goods, whilst presenting motivations for engaging in such biased behaviours by considering the constructs of consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism as operating as two distinct motives for engaging within ingroups and outgroups. An evolutionary explanation contributes to the identification of higher order explanations that facilitate the adaptive biased behaviours resulting from informational provenance exposure, providing alternative accounts of the COO effect whilst presenting new opportunities and perspectives for future research within this marketing discipline. Lastly, the benefits of an interdisciplinary approach to research investigations are advocated throughout discussions using the practical examples presented within this thesis. This allows for both proximate and ultimate explanations of the behavioural principle to be examined within distinct lines of enquiry, offering independent yet complementary and interconnected contributions of furthering understanding of the behaviours that facilitate the COO effect. These key contributions will be developed and demonstrated in the following Chapters.

1.6 Thesis structure

Three interconnected research investigations are presented to address the research gaps and opportunities identified within this Chapter. The epistemological method of evolutionary psychology is adopted to provide a clear, connected and ordered structure that permits findings to be presented at both the proximate and ultimate levels of explanation, thereby presenting a complementary account of the behavioural phenomena under investigation. Within this thesis, the three research opportunities presented are addressed as follows:

In Chapter Two, a mixed-method investigation is presented that provides a mechanistic explanation of the COO effect, specifically exploring COO labelling practices and their perceived importance by manufacturers. A visual investigation exploring COO labelling frequency and design across Fast-Moving Consumer Goods (FMCGs) product categories within the UK, along with recording consumer responses, is undertaken to provide evidence and address the limitations of previous studies that assume different manifestations of provenance information possess the same temporal and contextual consequences and appeals among consumers.

In Chapter Three, an empirical investigation is presented that provides an ontogenetic explanation of the COO effect, where the nationality biased behaviours of consumers are conceptualised within social constructivism, specifically the group-based behavioural dynamics that facilitate a loyalty towards the ingroup and avoidance of outgroups. A scenario-based questionnaire is deployed to understand the influence of an ingroup loyalty, conceptualised as the nationality bias towards domestic products, whilst exploring the behavioural motivations that facilitate it.

In Chapter Four, a final empirical investigation is presented that provides the ultimate explanations of the COO effect. By considering both the functional and evolutionary levels of explanation, an interdisciplinary view of group-based behavioural dynamics is presented. Utilising an experimental protocol, an investigation seeks to understand how evolved group behaviours are engaged when consumers are presented with specific shopper scenarios that manipulate ingroup and outgroup evaluations, being either a loyalty towards the ingroup resulting from a defensive strategy to deal with outgroup threats, but how such loyalty can be manipulated given that intergroup dynamics are not reciprocal but instead context specific.

Chapter Two: Exploring the country-of-origin label in practice

A visual investigation exploring domestic country-of-origin labelling frequency, design and consumer engagement across Fast-Moving Consumer Goods within the United Kingdom

2. Abstract

How effective is the country-of-origin effect? This Chapter investigates common UK COO labelling strategies adopted by FMCGs manufacturers on domestic products and its influence on consumer purchasing engagement and evaluation. Specifically, this Chapter seeks to contribute knowledge towards the usage and understanding of provenance labelling influence on consumers for products within the FMCGs sector, whilst discussing attributes associated with COO labels that may assist consumers navigating changing priorities and national sentiments experienced during the political crisis surrounding the original date of Britain's withdrawal from the EU following the outcome of the membership referendum (Brexit). The adoption of a visual ethnographic research framework utilising the methods of autophotography and photo elicitation interviews allowed for the exploration of consumers' interactions with the domestic COO label whilst documenting its varied usage and design among manufacturers in practice. The results of the autophotography data collection activity revealed both common product categories and label design variations that manufacturers employ to communicate a COO. The results of photo elicitation interviews revealed both positive and negative cognitive, affective and normative implications of domestic provenance labelling of influence emerging within consumers. Findings are applied to the context of the UK with discussions presented regarding provenance influence in response to external events, product categories and its importance to manufacturers. Findings also provide UK FMCGs manufacturers and retailers insight into consumers' associated attributes of domestic COO labelling practices during socio-political and socio-economic changes.

2.1 Introduction

The inclusion of national symbols, imageries or other provenance information within product labelling or its design to signify a particular COO, whether that is a country of manufacture, development, assembly or brand (Aichner, 2013), has long been utilised by manufacturers as a significant marketing communication and heuristic strategy seeking to influence a positive behavioural bias within consumers, informing product evaluation and thereby prompting buying decisions (Pegan *et al*., 2020; Bilkey and Nes, 1982). This domestic country bias, being a consumers' bias for domestic products over foreign alternatives, or further defined as a consumer affinity or animosity bias towards domestic or foreign products, has received considerable attention within literature over time (e.g. Andéhn and Decosta, 2018; Magnusson *et al*., 2011; Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999; Khachaturian and Morganosky, 1990).

Within the FMCG sector, the influence of COO labelling on such habitual or frequently purchased necessity products is often found to be of weaker influence within empirical studies, where consumers are believed to instead respond more favourably to other comparable extrinsic cues such as brand or price (Pandey *et al*., 2015; Ahmed *et al*., 2014). However, it is evidenced that socio-political or socio-economic crises can affect customer engagement with the COO label (e.g. Coleman *et al*., 2022; Dyer, 2017), as different extrinsic product attributes become prioritised and favoured in response to external changes, beliefs and pressures. Recent examples include shifts within the socio-political and socio-economic landscapes within the UK, resulting from Brexit and the withdrawal of membership from the EU and the Covid-19 pandemic capable of influencing consumer behaviour (Coleman *et al*., 2022), leading to the return of psycho-political forces impacting retail, such as consumer ethnocentrism, local identity and global animosity (Steenkamp, 2017). Such events have changed consumer behaviour whilst reinforcing the importance of COO information on grocery labels in influencing brand perceptions and purchasing decisions during times of economic crisis (Naeem, 2021; Ardley, 2018). These behaviours are encompassed in a wide variety of literature exploring the nationalistic sentiment and tendencies of consumers that not only considers measures of national and international orientation, like consumer ethnocentrism, but also accounts for other facets of economic nationalistic beliefs and their ability to influence cognition, attitudes, evaluations and purchase intentions (Cheah and Phau, 2015). Ultimately, the response of consumers and manufacturers to domestic or international events, and the influence of product provenance during such time, including consumer engagement and desirability, along with general origin-based advertisement prominence, is complex and varied.

Regarding the COO label itself, its prevalence and actual design manifestations adopted within marketing strategies utilised by manufactures in practice varies considerably, is frequently overlooked and seldom investigated (Insch and Cuthbert, 2018; Newman *et al*., 2014). Previous studies are limited in addressing the influence of such labelling practices when assuming that text-based and visual-based COO information, along with the variety that such information can be presented, possess the same universal appeal and influence amongst consumers (Ahmed *et al*., 2004).

Previous case studies assessing the effectiveness of COO marketing strategies convey conflicting results and inconclusive evidence, particularly within domestic case studies assessing such campaigns within the UK. For example, the adoption of a 'British' mark has had previous consequence on the devaluation of brands, with many manufacturers choosing not to embrace such promotional techniques given a synonymity with negative product attributes (Vieira, 2017). Yet, despite such evidence, many manufactures within the UK continue to incorporate provenance information both implicitly and explicitly on their product labelling, packaging design and marketing strategies, with prominence noted during the Brexit political campaign and subsequent negotiation period (Ardley, 2018).

Previous studies have also highlighted a malleability of the COO effect based on both contextual factors, such as product category or provenance representation, or temporal factors, such as scandals or crises impacting nations. For example, Heiman and Just (2021) found how nationalistic sentiment may impact consumer animosity towards products from specific origins, with Amatulli *et al*. (2019) demonstrating how socio-political or socio-economic factors may change COO influence. Contextually, product involvement (Kemp *et al*., 2010), product category (Pagan *et al*., 2021) or a perceived ubiquity of provenance with other product attributes may influence its effect (e.g., Lusk *et al*., 2006; Norris and Cranfield, 2019). Furthermore, how provenance is communicated via COO label designs may further influence its effect as found by Insch and Jackson (2014), where image-based information is found to be more effective than text-based associations, particularly if country-flags are used as provenance representations (Penney and Prior, 2014).

Such overlooked influences and inconclusive evidence within COO research require further investigation into the application of provenance marketing and communication strategies, its frequency across different FMCG product categories, the varied design manifestations adopted, whilst understanding their specific influences within consumer evaluation and decision-making during times of change. The need for such audit of province-based marketing applications on product and packaging design and consumer interpretation is important, given how such heuristic strategies are used by manufacturers, often casually so, before evaluating the types of costs and benefits such COO labelling produces.

As a result and to address such shortcomings, this Chapter seeks to contribute to the knowledge and understanding of the contextual and temporal specificities that may influence the COO effect by evidencing the use of provenance labelling and its different design strategies adopted by UK FMCGs product categories during a period of changing national sentiment, along with the specific influence the many manifestations of the provenance label have upon consumers. To do so, this Chapter has two complementary research objectives presented. First, this investigation seeks to demonstrate that domestic COO labelling practices are not only commonplace within the FMCGs sector for low-involvement purchases but seeks to systematically identify types of COO label and label designs that are most predominant across certain product categories within the UK. Secondly, and with foundations in Expectancy Value Theory and cue selection theories, this investigation seeks to explore the cognitive, affective and normative beliefs of consumers' interaction with the domestic COO label during the political, social and economic crisis surrounding the original date of Britain's withdrawal from the UK, given that contrary to previous empirical studies (e.g., Kemp *et al*. 2010) the label has been evidenced to influence consumer behaviour for FMCGs, particularly during times of changing national sentiments (e.g. Dyer, 2017). Through the adoption of a visual ethnographic research approach, this Chapter seeks to understand consumer engagement with domestic products and brands, with specific focus on their influence, reliance and experiences of such goods during times of change and turbulence. Specifically, COO labelling frequency and design, and consumer engagement with such labelling strategies, were documented and explored using the methods of autophotography and photo elicitation.

Such visual methods are underemployed and lack abundancy within marketing research, although its usage is increasing as scholars begin to recognise their value (Boch, 2023). Autophotography and photo elicitation methods offer the potential to generate greater knowledge and understanding within a variety of marketing subdisciplines, including consumer corporeality and sensoriality studies that seek to investigate the body or physical attributes related to consumption activities and marketing communications, consumer interactions with their material and social environment, consumer health and wellbeing, and alternative ways to analyse consumer tourism and experience (Boch, 2023). Generally, visual methods have been successfully integrated into advancing theoretical and practical knowledge relating to consumer culture identity theory (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006) and the impact of culture on the self (Sjöberg and D'Onofrio, 2020). More specifically, such methods offer a legitimacy into investigations of consumer identity, self-concept, and the influence they possess within the consumption experience (Burke and Dollinger, 2005; Boch, 2023), key facets to be explored within this thesis.

Findings document widespread usage of domestic provenance labelling across FMCGs product categories within the UK, with varied and common representations of provenance catalogued. Furthermore, participant responses indicate varied cognitive, affective and normative associations when exposed to such imagery and their perceived influence within shopper situations. This Chapter showcases the rich insight afforded by visual methodologies within marketing research, whilst providing marketing practitioners recommendations of adopting provenance-based labelling strategies and the importance of considering the wider socio-political and socio-economic conditions that may impact its influence upon consumers.

2.1.1 Chapter structure

This Chapter begins with a review of literature and theoretical concepts pertaining to the influence of COO labelling strategies, critically evaluating the label's effectiveness across spatial and temporal dimensions. Relying upon the literature presented in Chapter One, including the motivations for FMCG manufacturers in adopting such provenance labelling and a critical review of their consequences, the systematic review presented of common COO labelling practices and their varied designs support the development of an applied coding scheme. Research objectives are developed to understand the extent of FMCGs adopting such COO indicators, their representativeness across different product categories and the most common labelling manifestations, before investigating their impact on consumer evaluation. Through the adoption of an exploratory visual ethnographic framework, the chosen methodology and activities are presented, including a discussion of the systematic approach of collecting evidence to understand the prominence of such labelling strategies within FMCG product categories and their effects on consumers. Through a thematic analysis of collected data and the application of two coding schemes to analyse both categories of products and categories of indications, results highlight the FMCG product categories most likely to communicate provenance information and common COO design strategies adopted. Through photographic elicitation interviews, the influences such labelling practices have on the consumer are considered. The Chapter concludes with research implications on both theory development and managerial practice, whilst acknowledging limitations of the Chapter and suggesting future research directions.

2.2 Literature review

2.2.1 The influence of COO labels within consumer decision-making for FMCGs

Previous studies have provided a theoretical foundation and research direction for investigating the COO effect, but very few have attempted to understand whether differing effects, and the strengths of such effects, exist for different COO strategies or design manifestations of the COO label (Roozen and Raedts, 2013; Insch and Florek, 2009). One key explanation of consumers evaluating products contingent upon provenance indicators can be found within Expectancy Value Theory, detailing how normative salient beliefs are engaged by COO stimuli and their ability to affect product attribute judgement and wider general attitudes about the brand (Bloemer *et al*., 2009). However, theories relating to cue selection suggest that consumers also evaluate products and brands depending upon stimuli possessing high predictive and confidence value, meaning that cognitive and affective processing may also influence behaviours (Johansson, 1989). Within the FMCG sector, this relative importance and influence of a product's provenance within various consumer evaluative scenarios remains a challenged issue and constantly debated (Brand and Baier, 2022; Wegapitiya and Dissanayake, 2018; Insch *et al*., 2015). For example, the COO label may possess limited appeal or influence for low involvement goods during consumer evaluations or purchasing decisions in UK supermarkets (Kemp *et al*., 2010). Given that FMCGs are often habitual purchases associated with unconscious decision-making, similar findings may conclude that COO labelling is only influential for high-involvement purchase decisions for higher price-related or premium goods (Ahmed *et al*., 2004). Many previous empirical studies have found the COO to possess increased influence and desirability for luxury products than non-luxury ones (i.e. Boisvert and Ashill, 2018; Godey *et al*., 2012) These findings are not universal however, as COO has also been evidenced to have greater influence than brand knowledge during low involvement purchasing decisions (Adina *et al*., 2015; Merlo *et al*., 2008).

2.2.2 COO effect change during crises

Semaan *et al*. (2019) attempts to address such mixed results found within literature regarding the effectiveness and influence of the COO label, suggesting that the heuristic has different effects on different consumers in different temporal or evaluation contexts. The perception of a product's COO is malleable, with the appeal able to change over time because of evolving historical and contemporary beliefs and events (Amatulli *et al*., 2019). The changeable appeal to the British COO label for example is evidenced throughout history. The Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy crisis, known colloquially as mad cow disease, resulted in the EU banning exports of British beef in 1996, which would last for ten years and initiated various trade wars across the continent and beyond (Marsden *et al*., 2009). Consumers reacting to this crisis engaged in various panicked and risk-averse behaviours, as emotive-driven and irrational decisions caused immense damage across a variety of food sectors whilst consumer confidence and trust in informational product sources plummeted (Sinaceur *et al*., 2005; Pennings *et al*., 2002, Smith *et al*., 1999). The 2001 foot and mouth disease crisis within the UK not only instigated a change in consumer behaviour towards meat produce, but also generated a debate over local vs. commercial purchasing (Hartnett *et al*., 2007). Brexit further evidenced changes in consumer purchasing, highlighting a perceived overreliance on imported goods, with consumers recognising the importance of supporting more local producers during this time (Dyer, 2017). Such similarities in beliefs were also observed during periods of lockdown within the UK during the Covid-19 crisis, with consumers recognising, asides from the advantageous practicalities of travelling shorter distances, limiting their exposure to others or overcoming availability issues, the importance of purchasing from and supporting local producers during times of emergencies rather than larger corporations (Palau-Saumell *et al*., 2021; Gordon-Wilson, 2021).

2.2.3 Contextual and temporal impacts upon the COO label

Subsequently, many studies within the disciplines of marketing and consumer psychology attempt to provide evidence that consumer behaviour, being the decision-making process of the consumer and their subsequent evaluation of products or services, can be impacted during crises, scandals, and change, whether political, economic or social (Loxton *et al*., 2020; Deli-Gray *et al*., 2013; Viktoria Rampl *et al*., 2012). Whilst consumer attitudes are often believed to evolve slowly and over a longer-time period (Karimov and El-Murad, 2019), perceptions of a country, its people and its products can evolve more quickly in response to rapidly changing socio-political or socio-economic events, thereby rapidly changing consumer behaviours also (Caskey *et al*., 2020).

Recent efforts attempt to further investigate the contextual and temporal specificity of such labelling in determining its effectiveness, both on a product category level, consumer involvement level or even during changes within the wider domestic landscape (given how associated design indicators are often conflated with political imageries such as country flags) or socio-economic crises (as panic buying increases, limited available goods or changes in consumer behaviour towards more local suppliers) (e.g. Heiman and Just, 2021). Nevertheless, whilst conflicting insights from literature have been presented, it is convincing that such labelling practices can be of key influence for consumers within their purchasing decisions for FMCGs, but different and underlying socio-political, socio-economic and other psychological concepts or cues may interact with its influence (Amatulli *et al*., 2019). Research has begun to support the idea that the label's effectiveness not only varies across different product categories and consumer groupings, but that its influence also varies across temporal and spatial dimensions in response to changing external conditions. However, whilst COO labelling is influential to consumers in their purchase decision-making, it has been found that consumers often misinterpret this information given the many manifestations of COO visual and linguistic information, but develop assumptions regardless (Insch and Jackson, 2014). This not only questions the effectiveness of this communication strategy by manufacturers, but also the competencies of consumers in their knowledge, understanding and biased associations of such labels.

2.2.4 Discussion and summary of key literature

Communicating the provenance of brands and products is a well-practiced, well researched topic within marketing strategy and consumer behaviour literature. Whether manufacturers are legally required to include such information, or whether a competitive advantage is sought by voluntarily incorporating such heuristics within marketing communications, the design manifestations of these symbols, imageries or textual descriptions are incredibly varied within their execution. Manufacturers may choose to combine multiple design strategies to create an explicit and complex COO message, or subtly utilise such information to acknowledge provenance but not overly rely on such heuristics as their only extrinsic cue. Such strategies seek to inform product evaluation and influence the buying decisions of consumers (Pegan *et al*., 2020), however consumer perception and response when exposed to provenance information varies significantly dependent upon several psychological-based behavioural factors and will be explored in more detail in the upcoming Chapters.

Whilst often recognised as possessing weaker influence within the consumer decision-making process for FMCGs, political, economic or social crises have been found to alter labelling influence in response to such events (e.g. Loxton *et al*., 2020; Hartnett *et al*., 2007; Dube and Black, 2010). The response of manufacturers and consumers to crisis events and the connection to product provenance influence during such time, along with its advertisement prominence, consumer engagement and desirability is complex and varied. For example, given the impulsive and routine purchasing of most FMCGs, the influence of provenance labelling within this product category is often cited as being of weaker influence when compared to other extrinsic attributes (Balabanis and Siamagka, 2017). Many scholars agree that the effectiveness of such labelling only pertains to high involvement products rather than such habitual purchases of FMCGs (Ahmed *et al*., 2004). However, this belief is challenged by scholars such as Koschate-Fischer *et al*., (2012) and Hausman (2000) demonstrating that provenance labelling is indeed of key influence for FMCG purchases whilst recognising its synonymity with other attributes. Indeed, the label has been shown to have greater persuasion over more extrinsic attributes such as brand knowledge for low involvement purchasing decisions (Merlo *et al*., 2008). The label's influence has been found as situational or context specific. Transformations within the wider socio-political landscape have been highlighted as just one variable impacting the label's effectiveness, highlighting its contextual and temporal sensitivity or influence (Loxton *et al*., 2020; Dube and Black, 2010; Hartnett *et al*., 2007). The design of such label or communication strategy can also be of influence, as considered already within the literature introduced in this thesis. The belief and recommendation of reserving the label for only high-involvement goods therefore is generalist at best.

The use and prevalence of provenance information within the retail environment and FMCGs sector remains unexplored, with little known about the explicit use of COO associations on these items as a means of product identification and differentiation (Melewar and Skinner, 2020). Furthermore, consumer confusion and misunderstanding questions the label's effectiveness as a marketing or heuristic strategy. Manufacturers make simplistic assumptions that provenance labelling assumes a positive consumer evaluation without citing evidence nor evaluating the effect. As the distinction between *British* and *local* become entwined, the resulting confusion stemming from inconsistent labelling practices or definitions communicating an exact place of origin questions its actual influence within the consumer evaluation process.

Previous studies investigating the effectiveness of such labelling practices is obstructed given a tendency to group different product category types within the umbrella of FMCGs or low involvement processing, contributing to assorted insights and inconclusive principles. However, such findings also suggest a complex association between the origin label, product category type and consumer interaction, suggesting both a context specificity that extends the generalist belief of product category or involvement and that many current investigative approaches employ. Alternative and innovative approaches therefore are necessary to intersect the complex, multifaceted relationship of the COO label, its representation across different product categories and ultimately how the consumer interacts with it. Such lines of enquiry are important given how the many manifestations of the COO label cause confusion, given different regulations existing for product categories but a freedom to incorporate such designs in various stylisations. An audit is needed to identify how provenance is communicated to consumers to not only offer recommendations to manufactures on efficient heuristic design, but to understand how consumers engage with such divisive symbolic imagery.

In summary, product labelling and packaging design remains an important source of information for consumers and a possible marketing strategy to achieve a competitive advantage for manufacturers within retailing. This information has been shown to influence consumer perceptions of quality, authenticity or even safety, especially where prior knowledge and experience with the product is limited. It has been discussed that a COO label can influence consumers when unfamiliar with a brand, and the overall influence of COO labelling is intensified when FMCG manufacturers aim to emphasise the positive links between product source and origin. Despite the extremely large body of work and knowledge about the role of COO and its influence on consumer behaviour, particularly on different categories or groups of consumers, little is known about the extent of COO design manifestations on product design and marketing, including the prevalence of such labelling at the point of purchase within retail environments. Literature heavily suggests that product-country image congruence matters, but it remains unclear what types of associations are predominantly used across different product categories by manufacturers within the FMCGs sector.

Asides from the two streams of knowledge pertaining to consumer behaviour influenced by COO labelling or the more anecdotal evidence generated from legal requirements for its usage, limited knowledge exists on the extent, prevalence and types of COO indicators that FMCGs manufacturers routinely and voluntarily utilise on product labels, packaging design or advertising, along with an assessment of their effectiveness. However, it is argued that although it is difficult to provide exact costs or benefits for the inclusion of such indicators, it is suggested that the inclusion of origin information may provide companies that source or manufacture their products locally or nationally a point of differentiation within the domestic market, particularly to gain a competitive advantage over imports (Baker and Ballington, 2011). Therefore, if FMCG manufacturers want to use COO as a means of effective product differentiation, further knowledge is needed regarding the variety of COO labelling design, the most predominant strategy and the differences in their features on specific product categories, along with associated consumer responses.

2.3 Research aims and objectives

The following section outlines the research aims and objectives of this Chapter, including the research methodology adopted to gain an understanding of the examples and types of COO manifestations on products within the FMCG sector in supermarkets and retailors, and its influence on consumers. Through an adopted visual ethnographic research approach, a two-part integrated data collection activity utilising the methods of autophotography and photo elicitation was undertaken during a period of heightened and intense socio-political change (April 2019), a time deemed most influential given the original Brexit withdrawal date and when brands were capitalising on their provenance within their marketing communications (Ardley, 2018; Barnes, 2017). The first research activity was to investigate the diversity and provide examples of domestic UK COO labelling and communication strategies within FMCG product categories, with the second activity investigating how domestic consumers interact and evaluate such marketing initiatives. This two-part data collection effort is supported by the following research questions:

RQ1: What FMCGs product categories typically use UK COO labelling?

RQ2: What types of visual or textual UK COO labelling are typically used on FMCGs product?

RQ3: What impact does UK COO labelling have on consumer evaluation?

As a result of this investigation, a developed understanding of the usage and design variations of UK associated COO labelling within FMCGs categories is ascertained, with an assessment conducted of the impact of such communication strategies for both manufacturers and consumers. The findings offer a novel contribution to the existing body of literature commentating on provenance labelling and the COO effect yet extends such knowledge through an original study investigating the often-overlooked influences of different provenance labelling design, specifically during times of crisis, whilst seeking to highlight the prevalence of such strategies within the FMCGs industry in the UK.

Adopting a pragmatist epistemology allows for an innovative methodological approach to address the research questions of this Chapter. Specifically, adopting the methods of autophotography and complementary photographic elicitation within visual ethnographic research across two distinct, yet complementary studies allow for the creation of a rich data set reliant on a participant-driven methodology, combining evidence of marketing practice and subsequent consumer experience and evaluation. The mix of both a visual and textual data set facilitates the integration of practice and narrative at both the level of knowledge and level of evidence.

2.4 Research methodology

To achieve this investigation's dual research aims, an integrated data collection activity pertaining to a visual ethnographic methodology of autophotography and photo elicitation was undertaken in April 2019, a period deemed most significant within subsequent literature given the original date of the UK's withdrawal of the EU and when brands were highlighted as capitalising on their provenance within their marketing communications (Ardley, 2018; Barnes, 2017). To overcome methodological and analytical reporting criticisms often attributed to utilising autophotography methods (e.g. Balomenou and Garrod, 2016; Jenkings *et al*., 2008), a detailed account of such procedures follows.

2.4.1 Visual methodology

Visual ethnography is applied extensively within interdisciplinary research, incorporating visual media into research practice, thereby improving the accessibility and understanding of data (Pink, 2021; Glaw *et al*., 2017; Harper, 2002). A visual methodological approach within marketing, particularly consumer behaviour research, however, is rare which, when considering the often-visual nature of the discipline itself, seems contradictory and counterproductive (Arnould and Dion, 2018). Those marketing studies that do incorporate the visual within their methodologies, including photographic data specifically, are often subject to criticism within their design, quality of data collected, attempts to analyse it, or lacking in overall rigor (Switzer, 2017). However, the effectiveness and possibilities of visual methodologies is demonstrated across social sciences (Pink, 2021; Mannay *et al*., 2019; van den Scott, 2018) and often acknowledged as most effective when focusing upon characteristics of a group or culture, or its associations (O'Regan *et al*., 2019). The opportunities of improving accessibility and understanding of data and knowledge is advocated by scholars dedicated to adopting visual methods (Belk *et al*., 2018). Traditionally, researchers capture and collect their own photographs (Collier and Collier, 1986). However, two specific and complementary, yet underutilised techniques within marketing possessing the opportunity to blend perfectly the graphic and its subsequent influence on behaviour, are the participatory visual research methods of autophotography and photo-elicitation (Balomenou and Garrod, 2016). An interactive ethnographic approach of utilising visual data encourages participants to collect their own photographs to capture experiences (Pink, 2021, Drew and Guillemin, 2014). The photographs collected, used in parallel within photo elicitation interviews of participants, allows for a collaboration with the researcher, using visual evidence collected to the explore meanings and beliefs pertaining to the individual (Pink 2021; Brace-Govan, 2007; Zaltman, 1997).

Methodologically, the difficulties and limitations of collecting experiential participant-generated data are addressed (Glaw *et al*., 2017). Participants, viewed less as research subjects and more as collaborators in the cocreation of an integrated dataset, collect photographic evidence later relied upon within interviews to elicit expressions of thoughts, feelings and beliefs (Frasso *et al*., 2018; Bignante, 2010). Combining participant collected photographic data and the eliciting of experiences through interviews, with a subsequent thematic analysis conducted to identify key or common ideas, offers an integration of data existing at both the level of knowledge and the level of evidence (Brace-Govan, 2007; Mason, 2002). Specifically, photo elicitation validates the findings portrayed, whilst offering a rich insight from visual evidence and representation of the subject investigated (Liebenberg, 2019; Heisley and Levy, 1991). Such methodological approach ultimately results in an enhanced data set, enriched through increased participant insight and communication that permits the documentation of expressed emotions, tacit knowledge and reflection (Holm, 2018; Pain, 2012). It is further noted that analysis procedures should not be restricted to purely the qualitative or quantitative (Shannon-Baker and Edwards, 2018). A mixed-methods approach permits the verification of findings via triangulation, addressing concerns of academic rigor and reliability (Plano Clark and Ivankova, 2016). What results are two complementary datasets at the level of evidence (photographs) and the level of knowledge (participant commentary), extending insights beyond conventional methods within marketing research (Mason, 2002).

2.4.2 Autophotography

Autophotography is a participant-driven ethnographic research method allowing the use of photographs within investigations to be considered as an actual data set, with images taken by participants of their environment (Garrod and Balomenou, 2021; Thomas, 2009). A variety of terminology is present within literature to signify participant-generated research, including photovoice, autophotography and visitor-employed photography (Bapiri *et al*., 2021; Suprapto *et al*., 2020; Balomenou and Garrod, 2016). Such methodological approach attempts to overcome the difficulties of participant experiences within research activities when required to communicate their own thoughts, feelings and beliefs, as photographic evidence may subsequently be relied upon to elicit discussions within later interviews to complement and triangulate the data collected (Dawson, 2019; Glaw *et al*., 2017). Consequently, the methods of autophotography can greatly enhance conventional approaches to qualitative data collection, resulting in greater expressions of ideas and opinions by participants through their collected imagery (Grange and Lian, 2022; Noland, 2006). Once reliant upon the use of disposable cameras, digital photography development, particularly within smartphones, has increased the accessibility of these research methods, thereby increasing its popularity and acceptance within qualitative studies across a variety of disciplines (Derr and Simons, 2020; Glaw *et al*., 2017).

2.4.3 Photo elicitation

The complementary process of photo elicitation utilises participants' own collected imagery to generate verbal discussion within an interview setting, commonly used alongside the methods of autophotography (Nuttavuthisit, 2019; Bignante, 2010; Thomas, 2009). Such procedures evoke feelings, emotions or memories, or allow for an exploration of cognitive and experiential factors, thereby identifying different perspectives and engaging in deeper discussions than what conventional interviews can provide (Vassenden and Jonvik, 2022; Pyyry *et al*., 2021; Tchoula and Copes, 2021; Roddy *et al*., 2019; Harper, 2002). Participant responses are encouraged through the symbolic representations within photographs to identify different layers of meaning and interpretation (Munro and Shuttleworth, 2020; Glaw *et al*., 2017). Furthermore, encouraging participants to discuss their own photographs reduces interviewer intimidation and cultivates a relaxing environment, whilst overcoming the difficulties of conventional research methods (for example, questionnaires), of eliciting emotional responses towards study subjects (Pink 2021; Noland, 2006). The interview process therefore is regarded as a collaborative experience between the interviewer and participant, increasing research rigor and allowing for triangulation between different information sources (Richard and Lahman, 2015; Bigante, 2010).

2.4.4 Data collection procedures

To collect the expected diversity of not only visual strategies of domestic COO label design on different products within the FMCGs category, but also how consumers interact and evaluate such labels, an integrated data collection and generation process was designed using methods pertaining to visual ethnographic research. The photographic data collection activity, subtly titled *'The Great British Brand Hunt'* was a month-long research investigation requiring participants to visually log, using their smartphone camera, any FMCG product or brand they encountered during routine instore shopping activities that possessed a visible UK COO label or design manifestation incorporated on the product, brand name or promotional material. Upon conclusion of the data collection activity at the end of the month, participants were instructed to email all photographs captured to a dedicated email address. In accordance with the visual methodology approach, participates were then invited for photographic elicitation involving a series of additional interviews to discuss the photographs collected to uncover behavioural responses and evaluations (Pink, 2021).

2.4.5 Participant recruitment

Individuals involved with the data collection activity were recruited following an open call for participants during March 2019 (the original Brexit withdrawal date) in preparation for the photographic collection to commence in April 2019, a period deemed most influential within literature when brands were committed to showcasing their provenance to the British consumer (e.g., Ardley, 2018). 25 individuals were recruited and participated in the photographic data collection and following photo elicitation interviews through the non-probabilistic sampling method of self-selection. Such recruitment methods are most common, with 36.7% of all previous autophotography studies utilising the same sampling procedures and 67.4% having a sample size of less than 50 (Balomenou and Garrod, 2016). Reviews into participant-generated image methods within social science disciplines have found little evidence of best practice with regards to such photographic collection methods yet the methodology itself is increasingly becoming accepted within academic journals as a powerful tool for contributing to knowledge (Balomenou and Garrod, 2016). 72% of participants were female and 28% male with an average age of 41, and all UK citizens. Participants required no forementioned skill or ability other than possessing a smartphone with camera functionality and an email account to forward photographs to a specified address. There was no minimum number of photographs that participants were requested to take. A demographic overview is presented below:

Demographics	*n*	%	*M*	*SD*
Gender				
Male	7	28%		
Female	18	72%		
Age			41	14.4

Table 2.1: Demographic profiles of sample

2.4.6 Ethical considerations

The necessary ethical procedures for primary data collection were followed in accordance with Durham University's standards of ethical conduct. Participants under the age of 18 were not permitted to participate in the data collection activity. Participants were provided with an information sheet prior to the activity with informed consent obtained by those who agreed to progress with data collection. Participants were also informed that they were permitted to ask questions and able to withdraw from the activity at any time. It was vital that the welfare of participants was considered during the task, as ethical considerations are often overlooked within similar studies, particularly when asked to take photographs in situations that are unusual to do so (Milne and Muir, 2019; Wiles *et al*., 2012). Capturing photographs in public spaces may has been found to cause nervousness or embarrassment (Clark, 2020). Participants were therefore informed of a dedicated email address where they could report any difficulties or hesitations, with regular updates sent to participants by the author to ensure they were supported. All data was collected and stored confidentially.

2.5 Part one – autophotography data collection phase

The methods of autophotography were employed to investigate the usage and appearance of domestic COO labelling strategies within the UK. The autophotography data collection phase lasted one month (April 2019). Participants were instructed, during their regular or routine shopping experiences, to capture photographic evidence of products or packaging within the FMCGs category that incorporated a domestic UK provenance label or indicator. Specific instructions provided to participants once the data collection activity commenced on 01 April 2019 included to identify, photograph and log as many products or brands that feature representations of Britain within its packaging design or advertisement during their shopping experiences. It was clarified that accepted associated terms included England, UK, United Kingdom, Britain, GB and Great Britain, along with any other reference indicating a further local or regional provenance located within Britain. Participants were informed that both textual and visual associations were accepted indications of provenance, along with product categories, however the author was available for contact at any time should questions or clarification be required, or if doubted, log the item for later clarification. Participants were also asked that once photographs had been collected, they could be submitted at any time but before the deadline of Tuesday 30 April 2019 by emailing it to britishbrandhunt@gmail.com.

Completion of the data collection activity resulted in 615 photographs received. This response is above average with previous similar studies that often deploy similar data collection methods (Balomenou and Garrod, 2016). Such efforts assisted in the creation of a rich data set consisting of both product category occurrence and label design strategies, addressing the first two research questions. Acknowledging how the instructions provided to participants may account for the data obtained, many duplicate photographs of product items were received as participants were not tasked with visiting different stores but to engage in their regular shopping routines, therefore it was accepted that different participants may use the same store for their shopping. The photographs received may possibly be representative of participants' favourite brands and not representative of prevalence, an acknowledged limitation, but as the data collection activity had dual purpose (i.e. follow-up photo elicitation interviews to reflect on COO provenance influence), it was important that participants engaged with their normal shopping routines as much as possible. Lastly, store-layout and other situational factors may have influenced the data set and could not be controlled for, however participants were not required to document all occurrences of provenance indicators, and for the purpose of the photo-elicitation interviews, only engage with their familiar purchases and shopping habits to understand how provenance may, if at all, be of influence during this. Additionally, follow-on participant interviews assisted with photographic elicitation, uncovering behavioural responses and evaluation when exposed to such labelling and addressing the third research question.

The rationale for inviting participants to capture their photographic data was made in part given the visual nature of the research objective (i.e., to highlight the various design manifestations that the domestic COO label) whilst eliciting interpretations and reactions to such information, therefore requiring the data collection activity to be conducted through pictural formats (Garrod and Balomenou, 2021; Pink, 2020; Moisander and Valtonen 2006; Mason, 2002; Rose, 2001). A visual ethnographic approach therefore was deemed most effective to capture photographic evidence in parallel of eliciting participants' responses, whilst using such collected imagery to generate verbal responses within interviews. This resulted in two distinct, yet complementary studies to achieve the research objectives of this Chapter. Incorporating the visuality of the shopping or retail experience can increase participant engagement through novel methods of obtaining or generating data during routine behaviours, with no real prior knowledge or skillset needed (Pink, 2020). Increased quality and depth of data obtained has been found by scholars adopting such visual research techniques (Garrod and Balomenou, 2021; Pink, 2020; Moisander and Valtonen, 2006; Rose, 2001; Harper, 2000; Mariampolski 2005, 1999).

2.5.1 Coding scheme development

Two coding schemes were developed: category of products and category of indicators. The content analysis procedures applied allowed validity to be achieved (Weber, 1990). Following an initial data cleansing exercise of the 615 photographs received to remove duplicates, damaged files, uninterpretable images or photographs of products not meeting the requirement of the research objective (i.e. images of products not within an identified FMCGs product category or not displaying a domestic COO label), 23 categories of products were identified and developed into the coding scheme in Table 2.2. In total, each of the useable 586 photographs of products were assigned to one of the 23 identified product category types to assist in addressing the first two research questions. These categories were informed, organised and named following an initial review of the collected photographs, and adapted from previous categorisations utilised within studies investigating products within the FMCG sector (i.e. Hoskins and Griffin, 2019; Chimhundu, 2018; do Vale and Duarte, 2013; Esch and Winter, 2010; Insch and Florek, 2009; Francis, 2009), industry and economic investigations of the UK FMCG sector (i.e. Jaravel and O'Connell, 2020) and from a review of industry analysis reports (i.e. Kantar, 2019).

Category	FMCG
A	Baking products
B	Beer, wine and spirits
C	Biscuits
D	Breads
E	Cereal and cereal bars
F	Condiments (salts, pepper, sauces)
G	Confectionary
H	Dairy products (butter, cheese, cream, milk, yoghurts)
I	Drinks and juices
J	Eggs
K	Fresh and frozen meats
L	Fresh fruit and vegetables
M	Frozen desserts, ice creams
N	Health, beauty and toiletries
O	Household cleaning and accessories
P	Packaged and processed meats
Q	Packaged foods (pies, ready meals, sandwiches)
R	Pet food and accessories
S	Plants and flowers
T	Snacks and crisps
U	Spreads and conserves
V	Teas, coffees
W	Tinned foods and jars

Table 2.2: Categories of FMCG products

Following an initial review of photographic data, a content analysis procedure was designed and applied to provide consistency within the analysis proceedings and improve validity of the findings. This required the development of an accurate coding scheme, influenced by a review of literature presented in Chapter One, of commonly identified COO labelling design strategies. Specifically, a second coding scheme was developed to capture the design of domestic COO labelling strategies, allowing for the diversity of such provenance manifestations to be captured and organised. Such provenance categorisation included words, phrases, descriptors, logos, symbols and other relevant imagery. This followed the protocol of Weber (1990), allowing for the development of a coding scheme with an objective criterion created in a simple, accurate and reproducible approach. As a result, the development and application of both coding schemes prevents an influence of subjective judgement, instead permitting the researcher to simply record the presence of certain emphasised features identified within the collected data, being domestic provenance labelling and design, whilst cataloguing their frequency.

In total, eleven domestic COO categories of indicators were developed in the second coding scheme across three distinct groups: (1) visual based COO associations, (2) linguistic based COO associations, (3) other COO associations, as detailed in Table 2.3. As no official COO labelling design requirements exist within the UK, coding scheme development was informed in part following an initial review of the collected photographs combined with a literature review of mandatory origin labelling and popular COO design strategies as presented within this Chapter, particularly influenced by the insights from Aichner (2014) and Hornikx *et al*. (2020). Specifically, the COO categorisation index developed by Insch and Florek (2009) and successfully deployed in similar studies (Pegan *et al*., 2020) was adapted to record both image and linguistic based associations.

Image based association – categories of indicators:	
1	Union Jack flag (full)
2	St George's flag (full)
3	Union Jack (other than the Union Jack symbol used in isolation, for example incorporated into brand's logos or packaging design)
4	St George's flag (other than the Union Jack symbol used in isolation, for example incorporated into brand's logos or packaging design)
Linguistic based associations – categories of indicators:	

5	Phrase “Made in United Kingdom” or variant (e.g., “sourced within the United Kingdom”, “made in the UK”)
6	Phrase “Made in Britain” or variant (e.g., “sourced within Britain”, “made in Great Britain”)
7	Phrase “Made in England” or variant (e.g., “sourced within England”, “made in England”)
8	Descriptor “British”
9	Descriptor “English”
10	Phrase “Made in […] [local region]”
Other association:	
11	Other national symbols (e.g., Royal Crest, Royal Seal)

Table 2.3: Categories of COO indicators

2.5.2 Autophotography data analysis procedures

Coding and data entry was performed by the author, following the recommended thematic analysis protocols by Braun and Clarke (2006) in applying the pre-determined coding schemes of product categories and labelling indicators. Thematic analysis is defined as a “method of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within the data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.77). Photographs were first coded according to categories of products, assigning one category out of the 23 identified. A second coding exercise applied the categories of indicators of both image and language-based design associations in accordance with the 11 features identified in Table 2.3. Multiple COO labelling indicators occasionally appeared collectively for one product, so multiple categories were assigned where necessary, with all results catalogued into an excel file. A structured analysis followed where results were aggregated and compared across each of the categories of products and categories of indicators to identify frequency of themes. Upon completion of the coding activity, accuracy checks were conducted by the author by randomly selecting photographs within each product category, ensuring indicators were recorded correctly.

2.6 Part two – photo elicitation phase

Following a thematic analysis of collected photography, a subsequent photo elicitation activity was undertaken, with each participant of the study invited to interview in accordance with the common methodologies of visual ethnographic procedures (Pink, 2020). Specifically, this involved verbally discussing a selection of their own photographs to evoke feelings, memories, and beliefs, ultimately furthering the contribution to the development of a rich data set combining COO labelling usage, design and consumer evaluation. Photographs chosen for this purpose ensured that there was evidence present of both product category and COO labelling design variations, which were subsequently displayed to participants during the interview session. Questions were organised to ascertain beliefs of COO labelling influence, interpretation, and experiences during the autophotography collection phase within the first task. Discussions also explored assumed manufacturer incentives and the effectiveness of the different design strategies captured of domestic provenance labelling, including their perceived influence upon fellow consumers within different product categories.

A semi-structured approach was adopted within photo elicitation interviews, due to different participants collecting different photographs within both product category and COO label design. The influence of product provenance has been recorded as possessing three distinct psychometric processing capabilities (Andéhn and Decosta, 2018; Adina *et al*., 2015). As such, questions were organised into categories to uncover meanings and beliefs pertaining to COO labelling influence in three distinct lines of enquiry: (1) cognitive based questions, (2) affective based questions and (3) normative based questions. Questions were specifically contextualised within the then current socio-political crisis of the Brexit debate. Cognitive based questions sought to elicit associations between country-image perceptions or domestic COO labelling with product quality or trust attributes, opinions regarding manufacturers' intentions when including provenance labelling on their own products, the consequences of doing so during a heightened period of socio-political divisiveness, and the overall usefulness of origin information during the shopping experience. Affective based questions prompted discussion of specific evoked emotions when viewing origin labelling on products along with the overall affective experiences during shopping or product purchase evaluations. Normative based questions sought to uncover the moral, social and personal values that may prompt consumers to purchase domestic products, and why such labelling representations might have different levels of appeal or attractiveness to other categories of shoppers. These three distinct constructs are often used to address an acknowledged lack of overarching theory that can explain the COO effect (Andéhn and Decosta, 2018; Brijs *et al*., 2011). Such lines of questioning have been successfully utilised within similar studies exploring provenance evaluation (i.e. Pegan *et al*., 2020; Tellström *et al*., 2006).

2.6.1 Photo elicitation data analysis procedures

Following the first study to determine frequency of domestic provenance labelling on both product category and its design, the second analytical approach adopted an interpretive thematic analysis of the collected imagery in combination with interview responses to ensure a comprehensive examination of the data. Such combination of verbal and visual data is summarised in the analytical protocol as recommended by Glaw *et al*. (2017), building upon the seminal work of photographic elicitation analysis by Collier and Collier (1986), and further developed by Noland (2006) and Thomas (2009). Participants of the data collection activity were invited to interview to assist with the photo elicitation activity. Specifically, this involved verbally discussing a selection of their own photographs to evoke feelings, memories and beliefs, ultimately furthering the contribution to the development of a rich data set combining domestic COO labelling design, usage and consumer evaluation. Photographs selected for discussion ensured that there was evidence present of product category and COO labelling design variations.

Responses to interview questions were first organised into three categories (cognitive, affective and normative), allowing for the identification of common themes regarding provenance labelling strategies and their influence. A detailed analysis followed using the thematic protocols of Braun and Clarke (2006), with each theme recorded using an identified word or phrase, creating a detailed data set. For example, a cognitive response to the design variation of the 'Made in…' label was *"I have always associated the use of Made in Britain or similar to appeal to consumers that are looking for higher quality products,"* so 'quality' became the identified theme within the design category. Key themes emerging from interview data were identified as a result, allowing for the identification of common or representative responses. Quotes were also recorded to evidence and support the emerging themes within the interview response data.

2.7 Analysis of findings – part one (photographic data)

Unregulated products (as defined within this study as a COO label not required by law and provided voluntarily by the manufacturer), accounted for 64.85% of photographs received, with the most representative FMCG product categories including household cleaning and accessories (9.56%), dairy produce (9.39%), frozen desserts and ice creams (8.19%) and health, beauty and toiletries (5.46%). 35.15% of photographs contained legally required COO information, with packaged and processed meats, fresh and frozen meats, and fruit and vegetables most represented. Product categories including snacks and crisps (0.51%) and baking goods (0.51%) were the least represented within the sample. Table 2.4 provides details of the prevalence of indicators according to the categories analysed within the data set:

Category	**FMCG**	**Number of photographs received**	**%**
A	Baking goods	3	0.51
B	Beer, wine and spirits	28	4.78
C	Biscuits	27	4.61
D	Breads	11	1.88
E	Cereal and cereal bars	5	0.85
F	Condiments (salt, pepper, sauces)	10	1.71
G	Confectionary	19	3.24
H	Dairy (milk, butter, cheese, cream, yoghurts)	55	9.39
I	Drinks and juices	26	4.44
J	Eggs	6	1.02
K	Fresh and frozen meats (chicken, beef, pork, lamb, turkey)	66	11.26

L	Fresh fruit and vegetables	60	10.24
M	Frozen desserts and ice creams	48	8.19
N	Health, beauty and toiletries	32	5.46
O	Household cleaning and accessories	56	9.56
P	Packaged and processed meats	76	12.97
Q	Packaged foods (pies, ready meals, sandwiches)	15	2.56
R	Pet food and accessories	5	0.85
S	Plants and flowers	12	2.05
T	Snacks and crisps	3	0.51
U	Spreads and conserves	10	1.71
V	Tea, coffee and long-life milk	6	1.02
W	Tinned foods and jars	7	1.19

Table 2.4: Product category representation

The design of domestic provenance labelling indicators varies considerably, with 582 image-based domestic COO associations catalogued in comparison to 576 text-based associations. The most frequent occurring image-based design identified was the Union Jack in two distinct varieties: the full, standard Union Jack flag, represented on 36.52% of all products received, with the second being a variant of the Union Jack flag incorporated into the brand's logo or product packaging design (other than the full Union Jack flag used in isolation), represented on 54.27% of products received. Notably, despite literature previously highlighting the expected increase in provenance post-Brexit for products produced both in England and the wider United Kingdom, just 2.05% of products were identified that solely used the imagery of the flag to communicate a place of origin, with 3.07% products having the St George's flag incorporated into the brand's logo or packaging design.

Figure 2.1: Example of the Union Jack flag incorporated into the packaging design

The most frequent occurring text-based indicator was the descriptor "British" appearing on 52.22% of products received. Among its variations, a common design manifestation was the descriptor being utilised in many social proof heuristic statements, such as "as recommended by British shoppers" or "trusted by British families". Notably, and with similar results from image-based associations, the prevalence of the descriptor "English…" was scarce, amounting to 5.29% representativeness on the photographs of products received. The second highest percentage of UK origin representation was depicted through the phrase "Made in […] (local region)", appearing on products including beer, wine and spirits, and drinks and dairy produce and represented on 20.31% of the total photographs received. Regarding regionality and labelling, notable regions included "Made in Yorkshire", "Made in London" and "Made in the Lake District."

The third most representative text-based COO association identified within the data set was the descriptor "Made in the United Kingdom" occurring on 15.02% of all total photographs received. However, this descriptor manifested in variants too, with notable examples including "Proudly made in the UK" and "Lovingly made in the UK." The prevalence of the only official trademarks governed by law and described as a ‘national symbol’ such as the Royal Crest or Royal Seal (but does not include registered trademarks of brands that might feature ‘unofficial’ variants of these symbols) was also included within the analysis. Among the photographs received, a total of 3.41% of these types of imageries were represented within the data. A full, detailed account of indicators are presented in Table 2.5 (note that total percentage data exceeds 100% as many products were labelled with more than one origin association).

Figure 2.2: Example of regional association within product name

Image based association:		Total representation on products	% of products received	Used in isolation
1	Union Jack (full, standard)	214	36.52	33
2	St George’s flag (full, standard)	12	2.05	2
3	Union Jack (other than the Union Jack symbol used in isolation, for example incorporated into brand’s logos or packaging design)	318	54.27	48

4	St George’s flag (other than the St George’s flag used in isolation, for example incorporated into brand’s logos or packaging design)	18	3.07	2
	Linguistic based associations:			
5	Phrase “Made in United Kingdom” or variant (e.g. "sourced within the United Kingdom", "made in the UK")	88	15.02	6
6	Phrase “Made in Britain” or variant (e.g. "sourced within Britain", "made in Great Britain")	22	3.75	5
7	Phrase “Made in England” or variant (e.g. "sourced within England")	10	1.71	10
8	Descriptor “British…”	306	52.22	13
9	Descriptor “English…”	31	5.29	5
10	Phrase “Made in…[…] (local region)”	119	20.31	26
	Other association:			
11	Other national symbols or official trademarks (e.g. Royal Crest, Royal Seal)	20	3.41	14

Table 2.5: COO indicators representation

2.7.1 Instances where multiple COO label designs are used simultaneously

The occurrence of multiple provenance indicators was frequently identified. In total, 422 products identified (72%) included multiple indicators located on the product or packaging design, usually exhibited as a text-based association accompanying an image-based association. Common design combinations included the image-based association of the Union Jack symbol (not used in isolation but instead incorporated in the brand’s logo or packaging design) and the text-based description of “British…”, found on 19.45% of product photographs. Other frequently occurring design combinations included a full, unaltered Union Jack symbol alongside the description of “British…” found on 9.56% of product photographs, and combinations of the Union

Jack used both independently unaltered and incorporated into the design alongside the description of “British…” found on 6.83% of product photographs.

Figure 2.3: Example of multiple uses of COO indicators

2.7.2 Product categories most likely to feature specific origin labelling designs

The frequency of specific origin indicators within different product categories is varied. The most representative product categories identified commonly featured the Union Jack as their image-based origin association and the descriptor “British” as their text-based origin association. Specifically, 84% of fresh and frozen meat produce featured the descriptor “British” with 74% of packaged and processed meat products also using this descriptor. 77% of fresh and frozen meat produce also featured the Union Jack symbol incorporated into the brand’s logo or packaging design. 66% of fresh fruit and vegetables featured a Union Jack image incorporated into the packaging design, with 64% featuring the origin descriptor “British”. 69% of dairy produce also featured the same origin descriptor.

Figure 2.4 Example of ‘British’ descriptor variant

2.8 Analysis of findings – part two (interview data)

Seeking to elicit how provenance information operates across distinct behavioural dimensions during times of crises, questions were split into three categories: (1) cognitive based questions, (2) affective based questions and (3) normative based questions. Adopting the photo elicitation and analysis methods to maintain collaborative interaction as recommended by Glaw *et al*. (2017), interviewees were shown a selection of their own collected photographs to generate discussion.

2.8.1 Cognitive responses

Cognitive based questions sought to explore how country-image perceptions or COO labelling becomes synonymous with quality or trust attributes of products and manufacturers. Questions also sought to explore why manufacturers may include provenance labelling on their products as a design or marketing strategy. Emerging from the interview data was the belief that such information becomes synonymous with specific product qualities and thereby taken advantage of by manufactures as a signal for quality or as a trust-building mechanism to encourage a purchase, where product quality is reinforced through UK COO labelling:

"I have always associated the use of 'Made in Britain' or similar to appeal to consumers that are looking for higher quality products, therefore brands would use this as a way to promote just how good English products are. Featuring Britain on product packaging might give some consumers a sense of trust in what they are buying."

Female, 31

Considering the advantages of communicating domestic origin information of products to consumers, common beliefs were that manufacturers were able to rely upon a perceived trust to reassure the customer during anticipated future difficulties:

"I trust British businesses and I imagine that it's going to be more and more important to support them in the future if Brexit means we can no longer import food and drinks."

Male, 47

Similar reflections were observed when exploring the perceived quality of domestic products, where links between origin, quality, and consumer trust was discussed. Participants signalled beliefs that shoppers would want to be reassured by such labelling of product quality, thereby increasing trust:

"I like to know where food is produced or grown. We import far too much stuff when we have it on our own doorstep. They would trust that it is likely to have been subject to vigorous quality checks at the time of production."

Female, 55

However, anticipating possible future restrictions impacting choice and availability, concerns were shared that the label may become attributed within higher prices:

"*We have good food standards in this country, I would be happy to buy more British products if I had too. I think that things might be more expensive though if more people have to buy British."*

Female, 41

Positive sentiments were not shared by all, where UK provenance labelling does not equate to reliable or quality indicators for all products:

"I think [the label] has been tainted. It's useful for finding goods that I want to purchase from the UK that I know are good quality, but 'British' does not mean that all products are going to be of good quality…even though the label might want to us to think that it does."

Female, 47

Similar concerns were also shared when such limited choice may result in product standards suffering:

"'British' doesn't mean the same thing. It also doesn't mean necessarily good quality either. If we have limited choice in the future and are forced to buy more British food, then there are certain products or meals I would choose to avoid, as we're not good at making everything."

Female, 50

Considering the advantages of communicating origin information of products to consumers, common beliefs were that manufacturers were able to rely upon a perceived positive reputation for high quality to reassure the customer during difficult political or economic times, whilst allowing the customer to positively support local producers by purchasing these types of goods, and more generally believing that origin labelling will assist with sales or result in repeat business:

"I think brands will be able to appeal to consumers who want to continuously support local businesses and products to help them survive during the rocky roads ahead."

Male, 28

Exploring the overall usefulness of provenance information, a common belief within responses indicated that knowing the origin of products provides reassurance of the quality, particularly of food, when deciding upon a purchase. Interestingly, this reassurance stems from perceived consumer knowledge of food safety or other manufacturing regulations within the UK and a general mistrust of other countries' production laws:

"I saw it a lot on veg. This information is good for somethings such as finding my favourite apples. There is an implication of quality, but other elements would also play a part in judging quality. Also, when it comes to food, we have much better standards of food. Other countries have poor hygiene when they make their products."

Female, 30

However, the perceived usefulness of COO information during reflective exercises as opposed to during the actual shopping experience was debated. Those who stated origin information is not useful commonly cited an equal enthusiasm to purchase both national and foreign goods, questioned how informative such labelling realistically is to the consumer, or simply admitting possessing a general unawareness of the label, with one participant noting:

"I honestly don't think I have noticed this advertising prior to this exercise! It would definitely not inform my decision to purchase a product."

Female, 37

2.8.2 Affective responses

During the second phase of the photo elicitation interview, questions sought to uncover emotions and feelings when viewing British COO labelling and associated imagery on products, with discussions including what effect this may promote during their shopping experience. An overwhelming majority recorded a positive response is engendered during such evaluations, with commonly cited beliefs being a sense of pride, reassurance or general enthusiasm to see such representation on products. Specifically, positive emotional responses were engendered when acknowledging how purchasing actions supports suppliers during difficult events:

"I feel that by purchasing local products, I am helping Britain's economy. It makes me feel part of something, but that I am also helping the little person."

Male, 24

Participants reflected upon feelings of pride when viewing such imagery, resulting in a building of trust with the supplier whilst recognising an opportunity to support both businesses and the wider economy during difficulties:

"It evokes a sense of pride, approval and trust. It makes me feel that by buying British I am supporting British businesses and helping the UK economy."

Female, 31

The reasons behind viewing such imagery positively were explored. A common theme emerging was how viewing origin information evokes a sense of patriotism, which when acted upon through the opportunity to purchase becomes synonymous with those consumers who are also seeking to support home country manufactures:

"It makes me have a sense of pride and patriotism. I'm more inclined to purchase these goods as you know money is going back into our own country."

Male, 26

However, negative reactions towards domestic provenance labelling were also observed, stemming from a perceived association, confusion or potential confusion from utilising such designs often seen as representing political symbols or ideologies, noting that the type and design of COO labelling is influential:

"If I felt that a product was overly marketed with the Union Jack, overly stating that it is proudly Made in Britain (so labouring the point) I might be less inclined to buy it as I would see it as overly nationalistic and/or xenophobic."

Female, 42

With regards to specific types of design manifestations or provenance communications, more detailed distinctions were made when viewing local associations on produce as opposed to wider national representation, with an increased sense of loyalty to the local producer highlighted:

"I would be inclined to be pleased to see that it is made in Britain, I might associate it with being high quality, and want to try it based on that. If it were locally produced, I would be very inclined to try it in order to support local business."

Female, 30

2.8.3 Normative responses

Final interview questions sought to explore normative beliefs of participants. Specifically, discussions explored the moral, social and personal values of purchasing domestically against the backdrop of Brexit, however it is noted that that normative level responses can be influenced by both cognitive and affective processing (Adina *et al*., 2015). Analysing the themes of why fellow shoppers might find this information appealing or attractive, themes including patriotism were explored. As noticed with previous responses, the conflation of country image or symbols and a political association was discussed:

"If a customer feels closely associated to Britain, then packaging, imagery or association of this kind would make a product significantly more attractive to them. They would want to support British business because doing so supports their political standpoint. The likelihood is that the presence of Britain would subconsciously impact them when making a purchase."

Male, 28

Exploring why shoppers would engage with purchasing domestically, themes of helping others or how purchasing actions supports the economy during difficult events were observed:

"I believe it's to reinforce the belief that the product is produced in the UK, giving the consumer an idea that they're supporting their country."

Male, 26

It was believed that the label is used to create a sense of, or take advantage of, the national pride of consumers during difficult times, particularly those who have instilled patriotic beliefs and wish to act upon them, as one participant reflected:

"To create a sense of national identity, self-sufficiency and self-reliance during change, which in turn can generate sales through a sense of belonging to Britishness as a concept."

Female, 27

The use of specific designs and an association of using such COO imagery to advocate a political agenda was commonly cited as reasons why individuals might find this information on products unattractive or unappealing, providing an opportunity to discuss previous links further. Possible perceived associations to right-wing politics were highlighted given how often national flags are utilised in such origin communication labelling, suggesting that imagery, not text-based associations, are more influential:

"People could assume this symbolic or national imagery is associated with particular political beliefs given how often it is used within political messages and with certain ideologies that use this imagery, and therefore that particular brand or manufacturer also shares the same beliefs. I imagine this could be off putting to those who do not share the same beliefs. People can view it as unwelcoming or racist".

Female, 63

Specifically, a connection between the values of individuals who voted for Brexit may be the same ones that will prompt increased domestic purchasing behaviour:

"People who support Brexit will want to support the country and purchasing these types of products is one way of doing so. Loyal British residents who voted for Brexit will want to support local farms. You have got to support your own people".

Female, 42

Lastly, design types of COO information and their effectiveness was considered. Many considered symbolic references such as country flags may prove divisive, given their ability to evoke a sense of patriotism for certain consumer groups, but often used more generally to signify a certain political agenda or alliance. Concerns were identified of UK imagery commonly used to indicate origin, such as the Union Jack flag, possibly resulting in confusion or suggest a link to political affiliations or beliefs.

Participants questioned whether such practices are necessary for manufacturers and whether brands needed to display or communicate such provenance information through their marketing or design activities. This highlights a potential source of negative misattribution, where types of domestic country symbols or imagery becomes synonymous with a particular political alliance, therefore resulting in the two becoming confused when interpreted by the customer:

"Some people feel that this emphasis of British is now distasteful, synonymous with patriotism, anti-immigration sentiment, prejudiced against others as well as opposed to [being] proud of British products. The flag is all over [this] Brexit madness."

Female, 30

2.9 Discussion of key findings

Debate within marketing literature continues to question the effectiveness and overall purchasing influence of COO labelling for frequently purchased necessity goods, regularly cited as weaker when compared with other extrinsic cues such as brand or price (Ahmed *et al*. 2014, Balabanis and Siamagka, 2017). Furthermore, product category and higher involvement purchases are also alleged to moderate the effectiveness of origin labels, often having greater influence for higher value products, higher involvement decisions or complex purchases (Adina *et al*., 2015). Such arguments may therefore lead to a possible expectation that COO labelling is an infrequent heuristic design choice by manufactures within the FMCG industry. However, this investigation has not only provided evidence of its widespread usage by FMCG manufacturers, but also presented varied design manifestations of the origin label and communication strategies adopted, thus highlighting a potential disparity between literature and actual marketing practice.

2.9.1 Part one – photographic evidence

Firstly, the large amount of photographic evidence received is noteworthy, being 586 individual images submitted and catalogued over a 30-day period. The findings of this investigation evidenced a widespread practice by manufacturers communicating provenance information across a variety of product categories, despite many scholars arguing the minimal effect of origin labelling on consumer behaviour and decision-making within low involvement, FMCG purchases. Furthermore, brands communicating their provenance through such labelling practices during a time of intense socio-political or socio-economic changes were cautioned of the potential negative associations that can be attributed by specific consumer groups linking country symbols and imagery to political affiliations (Ardley, 2018). The occurrence of origin labels observed within this study and the impacts (both positive and negative) on potential consumers, combined with discussions within literature questioning its effectiveness for high frequency purchased goods, suggests that manufactures themselves may not be fully aware or possess limited understanding of the influences provenance labelling practices have on consumer behaviour, or possess suitable mechanisms in place to effectively monitor these marketing practices and the their influence on brand image or product sales (Baker and Ballington, 2011).

2.9.2 Regulated vs non-regulated products

The product categories most representative within the data set were packaged and processed meats, fresh and frozen meats, and fruit and vegetables, accounting for 34.47% of all photographs received. This finding is not wholly unexpected, given that food regulation standards dictate that these products must feature a COO indicator on their packaging by law. When considering evidence of other products also subject to this regulation, being wine where only four photographs were received, the total percentage of products catalogued that are subject to COO regulations is 35.15%. It is argued however that mandatory COO labelling policies not only add costs to the manufacturer, but also increase misconceptions to the consumer, questioning the efficiency of this practice in the first place (Insch and Jackson, 2014).

In contrast, it was evident from the findings that 64.85% of products identified consist of brands choosing to include a COO indicator voluntarily. The largest non-regulated product categories identified were household cleaning and accessories (9.56%), dairy produce (9.39%), frozen desserts and ice creams (8.19%), health, beauty and toiletries (5.46%), beer, wine and spirits (4.78%) and biscuits (4.61%). Whilst COO labelling for dairy produce is unregulated in the UK, previous studies highlight how food safety, quality assurance and traceability are attributes inherently liked with COO for dairy produce and ice creams (Norris and Cranfield, 2019), potentially explaining why these product categories are highly representative within the findings as manufacturers seek to reassure consumers through the COO label.

The product category of household cleaning and accessories specifically has received little attention within literature regarding provenance label influence during shopper evaluations, including the motivations for manufacturers choosing to incorporate the label upon their products. However, the limited studies that have been conducted suggests an association with quality and reliability of the COO label (Leonidou *et al*., 1999). The motivations of manufactures adopting provenance labelling practices is inconsistent and varied. COO labelling practices of beer specifically has been suggested as a territorial brand management technique, particularly with micro-breweries, as a way of communicating the brand's origins to domestic, export and tourist consumers whilst also an explicit defence strategy against large multinational competitors (Melewar and Skinner, 2020).

2.9.3 COO design manifestations

The most common image-based COO indicator to appear on products was the Union Jack in two distinct formats: (1) the full flag (appearing on 32.42% of products) and (2) the Union Jack incorporated into the brand's logo or packaging design (49.49% of products). Frequently applying the national image on a branded product such as the Union Jack is an increasingly common practice by those manufacturers who are competing in international markets, or where international alternatives are available (Rashid *et al*. 2016, Gilroy 2003). Least represented was the St George's flag, with the full version of this national image appearing on just 3.41% of products. Instances of the flag design being incorporated on brand or packaging design was even less, just 1.37%. Considering the characteristics of national imageries, flags are symbols with both positive and negative associations. The relationship that England has with the St George's flag is acknowledged as tainted by association with far-right political ideologies (Shanafelt, 2008), which may explain the lessor enthusiasm by manufacturers to include this imagery on their products.

“British” was identified as the most common text-based COO indicator, appearing on 52.22% of products. The phrase “Made in…[local region]” was the second most represented, appearing on 20.31%. Despite its popularity, previous studies have highlighted the misperception that such labelling can cause consumers as they begin to confuse local produce with items labelled as “British”, with the distinction between “British” and “local” becoming blurred (Penney and Prior, 2014). Similar to image-based associations, text associations of “England” or “English” were the least represented. Other national symbols and official trademarks that can also indicate an origin were less representative in the sample, amounting to only 3.41% of all photographs received. Given the strict criteria of products permitted to feature this imagery, this result is somewhat expected. In total, 582 image-based COO associations were catalogued in comparison to 576 text-based associations. However, 72% of products featured multiple COO indicators, often combining a text and image-based associations. Previous studies have argued that consumers do not actually read the information on labels, with recommendations from scholars being that manufactures may benefit from improved labelling by combining both text-based and visual cues about their place of origin (Penney and Prior, 2014).

2.9.4 Product categories and COO label design

When considering the occurrence of different COO indicators within specific product category types, the Union Jack flag and the descriptor “British” were most likely to feature on goods where origin information is a legal requirement. Specifically, packaged and processed meats were more likely to feature the image-based association of the Union Jack either stylised into packaging design (accounting for 71.05% of products) or the full version of the flag (located on 51.32% of products). 73.68% of this type of product also featured the text-based descriptor “British”. Similar occurrences were found with fresh and frozen meat products, with the Union Jack design and “British” descriptor being the most common indicators identified. This suggests that a common, standardised design strategy has been informally and unofficially adopted by manufacturers legally required to present origin information.

With regards to the most representative unregulated products, an increased variety of design indicators and combinations is observed. 21.42% of household cleaning and accessories featured the St George's Flag, the most out of any category, with 10.71% of products featuring the descriptor "English". A variety of indicators were found on diary produce, common variants being of the Union Jack and the descriptor "British", with 21.82% of products also featuring the descriptor "Made in [local region]", however 58.33% of frozen desserts and ice-creams also featured this description, the most out of any other product category and highlighting the regionality of their origin. This supports the findings of Penney and Prior (2014) where dairy manufacturers and other regional producers specifically can benefit from visual cues highlighting the locality of farm produce given the positive associations that they engender in consumers, which can often result in consumers switching from branded products.

2.9.5 Part two – Photo elicitation interview data

Distinct themes were recorded during elicitation interviews conducted with participants of the photographic data collection activity. On a cognitive processing level, participants admitted origin information is a useful cue within their supermarket shopping decisions and believed origin labelling will assist with increased sales during times of crisis. This is in stark comparison to previous studies highlighting the ineffectiveness of origin labelling for low involvement or frequently purchased necessity goods (Balabanis and Siamagka, 2017). In an attempt at explaining this behavioural disparity, Weatherall *et al*. (2003, p. 234) discovered an attitude-behaviour gap during such purchasing evaluations, stating that "interest in local foods is strong […] actual demand is weaker because these benefits are traded-off against more prosaic 'expediency' factors such as price, accessibility and convenience."

Participants believed that such labelling reinforces product quality and thereby used as a trust building mechanism between manufacturer and consumer, whilst also possessing the ability to reassure the consumer during difficult times. This belief was also found by Bonroy and Constantatos (2015), highlighting how food choices and perceptions of quality can be influenced by origin information. On a manufacturer level, this technique is commonly used as a differentiation strategy by smaller firms with little experience or resources to develop a strong brand image (Lusk *et al*., 2006), whereas on a consumer level, shoppers will often place an increased trust from people, cultures or brands they are more familiar with when attempting to seek reassurance (Koschate-Fischer *et al*., 2012).

With regards to visual-based design manifestations, previous studies have found that despite assuming to be self-evident that COO attribute format might be important in consumer evaluations, only minimal impact on willingness to purchase occurs across different format designs, with previous studies finding no statistical difference in value of COO label type (Balcombe *et al*. 2016). However, given the somewhat blurring of distinctions of country information particularly in the UK (i.e., "British" as opposed to "English" or "local") suggests that this belief is more complex than represented within literature and warrants further investigation.

Acknowledging the affective processing of such labels, interviewees stated that they felt positively about their choices when purchasing home nation products, seen as supporting both UK based manufacturers and the economy during a crisis. The feeling increased further when discussing local produce. Participants believed that origin labelling allows consumers to support local producers, local jobs and the local economy willingly and actively, often seen as a common emotional motivator (Groves, 2005) but also allowing the preservation of local heritage and tradition during a crisis (Seyfang, 2006). However, an intention-behaviour gap has been evidenced within literature where positive attitudes towards local produce does not necessarily lead to actual purchases (Carrington *et al*., 2010).

Several interviewees simply stated that they felt proud when viewing national imagery on products, with reasons exploring such a feeling pertaining to patriotism and a love of country that are compounded during difficult times. Negative feelings of viewing imagery often associated with political agendas or ideologies were discussed, with particular focus on viewing country flags on products. This contrasts with the findings of Balcombe *et al*., (2016) who found that whilst COO format is assumed to be important within consumer evaluations, only minimal influence is generated during purchase considerations, suggesting further investigations are needed to address conflicting beliefs.

Many participants indicated fellow shoppers' love of country or patriotic beliefs would influence their assessment of a product's appeal or attractiveness during normative questioning exploring the perceived consumer groups (or type of consumer) who would find such imagery appealing or unappealing. Discussions were dominated by viewing certain types of origin information in association with a political belief. The consequences of using national flags have been found to risk inadvertently signalling a political affiliation (Shanafelt, 2018). Furthermore, participants also signalled fellow shoppers would be reassured when viewing national imagery in attributes such as quality and increased trust, as a national effort to support more local producers and suppliers takes hold. However, those who are of different political beliefs were believed to be more likely to view such imagery as unwelcoming, highlighting the possible mistaken association between COO label and political agenda. A shifting socio-political landscape has been shown to impact the label's effect and associations over time, so the strength of influence of these highlighted beliefs may change also (Dyer, 2017).

The relationship between supplier and consumer was explored further. Respondents acknowledged a perceived responsibility of consumers to support domestic producers or the wider national economy during crises (Palau-Saumell *et al.*, 2021). Furthermore, increased emphasis was placed on supporting local manufacturers and producers during this time, with provenance labelling seen as a vital mechanism for customers to do so via their purchasing power. However, concerns were recognised within discussions that indications of origin represented visually as flags or other national symbols may become synonymous with political affiliations or ideologies. Whilst flags can immediately draw attention to the provenance of a brand or product, the risk associated with such imagery involves signalling an unintended and inexistant political affiliation which could alienate certain customers (Shanafelt, 2018; Penney and Prior, 2014). Inclusion of the Union Jack, whilst attempting to show inclusivity of all nations within the UK can also be a source of confusion as it does not communicate the exact country or place of origin (Penney and Prior, 2014).

2.10 Conclusion

This Chapter aims to contribute to the knowledge of domestic COO labelling used by FMCGs manufacturers, specifically during an intense change within the socio-political and socio-economic landscape within the UK, along with the behavioural responses of consumers when exposed to such marketing practices through the adoption of a visual methodology in two complimentary studies. Specifically, this study sought to identify what FMCG product categories are most likely to use UK COO labelling, if visual or linguistic representations of provenance were the most common design strategies used by manufacturers, and to explore what impact such labelling has on consumer evaluations. The key findings of the study are summarised with specific contributions presented. The implications of these findings for FMCG manufactures are considered. The limitations of this Chapter are acknowledged and suggestions for future research provided.

2.10.1 Key findings and contribution

Through the adoption of a visual ethnographic methodology framework, this exploratory investigation sought to evidence the prevalence and usage of domestic COO labelling and their varied design strategies adopted by FMCGs manufacturers within the UK. Secondly, this investigation also sought to uncover the cognitive, affective and normative behavioural interpretations of consumers when exposed to such marketing practices. Frequently believed as a somewhat ineffective heuristic strategy for habitual or frequently purchased necessity goods in the well-established field of research on the effects of COO in buyer decision-making, many researchers continue to focus on the behavioural effects of consumers when exposed to such heuristics, but with little acknowledgement of the variations such labelling across product category types and the effects of such design choices. On the contrary to such beliefs, this investigation evidenced both the widespread adoption of provenance labelling within frequently purchased goods and the variations of design strategies used to communicate origin.

To address this shortcoming within literature and to achieve the research objectives, traditional approaches to autophotography and photo elicitation were innovatively adopted within this study through a pragmatic epistemological methodology. A month-long data collection activity during April 2019 requiring participants to visually log any FMCG product or brand displaying a visible UK origin label or design yielded a total of 586 photographs within 23 product categories. Following a systematic analysis on the collected data including the application of two coding schemes, insight was generated into product categories adopting UK COO labelling and the design varieties of such indicators. To answer the first research question, being what FMCG product categories are most likely to use UK COO labelling, it was found that the most represented categories of products featuring UK provenance labelling were those required by law to provide such provenance information, with common provenance design strategies observed. However, such product categories accounted for one-third of all products documents, demonstrating that despite being voluntary, many manufacturers use provenance indicators as part of their brand or product identity. Exploring the different design strategies in more detail and to answer the second research question of what types of visual or linguistic UK COO labelling are most common, this study uncovered significant design variations and combinations across product categories providing provenance information voluntarily. Image-based associations were more frequently observed compared to text-based associations, although many products catalogued featured a combination. The image-based Union Jack flag design and the descriptor 'British' were discovered as the most representative strategies. Noting how national symbols such as the St George's Flag are not utilised as widely may suggest that FMCGs manufacturers have become aware of the significant political associations with such imagery, or that alternative imagery such as the Union Jack has greater credibility or is more inclusive when distributing products across the four nations of the UK.

Whilst the insights of this study could have been achieved through solely investigating product origin data, the purpose of this investigation was to understand how COO labelling are used in product promotion and advertising. Differences in design strategies confirms its widespread use and importance within the FMCG sector, with positive associations between origin and other product attributes such as quality or reassurance exist. The lessons to be learnt from socio-political and socio-economic change regarding the domestic provenance of brands and products do have implications for retail. Therefore, when considering the final research question of understanding what impact UK COO labelling has on consumer evaluation, consumers seek reassurances by brands during periods of crises, something which a domestic provenance label was acknowledged as providing within this study. Furthermore, compounded by supply issues, consumers recognise the importance of local producers and retailers to acquire the goods they seek as an alternative to shopping in larger supermarkets who are susceptible to panic buying and supply shortages. Consumers who develop positive relationships with local manufacturers, suppliers and producers during times of crisis benefits both parties, as consumers seek reassurance of acquiring the produce they seek whilst retailers benefit from consumer engagement and purchasing. Positive emotions and feelings were documented when purchasing domestic goods during periods of uncertainty or difficulty, as consumers recognise their own ability to support UK-based manufacturers and the wider domestic economy. Such feelings are compounded when applied to a more local level, where consumer support of regional producers and suppliers are viewed as vital to ensure the continuation of local heritage, manufacture and tradition.

Whilst COO labelling is regularly cited as a weak extrinsic cue for FMCGs, instead being influential for higher value products, higher involvement decisions or complex purchases, such arguments within literature would lead to an expectation that COO labelling is an infrequent heuristic design choice by manufactures within the FMCG industry. However, this investigation not only provided evidence of its widespread usage by FMCG manufacturers, but also presented varied design manifestations of the origin label and communication strategies adopted, thus highlighting a disparity between literature and actual marketing practice. Combined with fallouts of Brexit and shifts within the socio-political landscape resulting in the re-emergence of psycho-political forces changing consumer behaviour and reinforcing the importance of COO information on grocery labels in influencing brand perceptions and purchasing decisions, the topic is deemed worthy of further investigation given its prevalence as a communication strategy, its varied execution and limited studies previously conducted.

2.10.2 Limitations of the study

An acknowledged limitation of the adopted methodology is the random identification of FMCGs by participants and therefore a possible sample bias, as products were not sampled in proportion to the actual number of units available. As a result, the photographic data collected may not be a true representation of all FMCG items within the UK that utilise provenance labelling or design as a communication strategy. However, given the dual purpose of not only identifying the usage of such labelling and its design but also investigating behavioural responses of consumers when exposed to such heuristics to assess their effectiveness across different design strategies and product categories, the research protocol was deemed appropriate. As acknowledged within the methodology, the photographs obtained may be representative of participants' favourite brands and not representative of prevalence, however it was important that normal shopping habits were encouraged as possible for authenticity. Other situational factors not controlled for, including store layout, may have influenced the data set, with future studies recommended to consider such impacts. Lastly, given the exploratory nature of this investigation along with the adoption of a visual ethnographic protocol that advocates for consumer involvement within the data collection process required such a compromise be made and is acknowledged as an explicit limitation within this Chapter. To overcome this limitation or to extend the knowledge from the results gained, similar research methods could be adopted independently, for example through an audit of a FMCG retailer or focus groups with consumers, with the findings of this Chapter contrasted.

2.10.3 Recommendations for future research

This investigation has highlighted the complex relationship between provenance information on FMCGs and its perceived effectiveness on consumers and purchasing influence. There is a need to understand the distinct design strategies of the COO label and their influences on consumer behaviour, given that many variations exist. As this study has shown, there are distinct interpretations and beliefs regarding a national flag or a made in descriptor, yet many studies ignore such differences and consider all design strategies as a general COO indicator. Future studies could extend the generalisability and scope of findings through detailed audits of product categories adopting COO labelling and promotion to further contribute to the understanding of this widely adopted practice. Future studies should also address the limited research conducted into perceived tangible and intangible benefits of FMCG manufacturers employing COO labelling, as this study has demonstrated that many manufacturers do adopt COO labelling strategies yet considered how many lack an understanding of the perceived benefits or consequences. Therefore, future studies should also seek to uncover what the varying motivations for adopting such practices are and offer recommendations to manufacturers regarding opportunities to measure the effectiveness of such practices.

Recommendations are also made for researchers adopting a visual methodology within their own investigations. When using such methods like autophotography or photo elicitation, participants simply need to capture photographs that fit the scenario brief, usually relying on their smartphones given digital photography development and accessibility (Balomenou and Garrod, 2016). However, often overlooked is a necessity to consider the welfare of participants and their susceptibility to feelings of apprehension or intimidation when taking photographs in situations that are uncommon or unusual to do so (Wiles *et al*., 2012). The author discovered that whilst participants were initially enthusiastic given the novel experience, collecting photographic data, particularly within public spaces, was met with hesitation, nervousness and embarrassment. Caution, care and appropriate feedback and monitoring mechanisms must be a top priority, as a common critique of adopting this methodology is the ethical and welfare responsibilities often disregarded by researchers (Milne and Muir, 2019). Appropriate monitoring and feedback mechanisms must be designed to deal with ethical challenges, albeit this is one small facet of addressing criticisms of a visual methodology (Clark, 2020; Teti, 2019). Ultimately, the possibilities for enriching theoretical and practical knowledge through the visual, within a discipline that is inherently visual itself, are great. The flexibility afforded by such methods warrants, particularly in the current stage of adoption within the discipline, experimentation, innovation and constructive conversation as researchers navigate visual techniques in pursuit of a reliable visual methodology.

The Brexit crisis affected both the economy, political sentiment and wider society as consumers experienced heightened feelings of uncertainty with supply, quality and availability issues of goods and services during the earlier stages of the transition period. Similar sentiments and parallels can be observed with the Covid-19 crisis within the UK, as consumers are once again subject to potential restrictions and future uncertainties affecting their purchasing abilities. The findings of this study therefore provide opportunity for future studies to extend the knowledge and understanding of domestic provenance labelling on FMCG product categories and its influence on consumers during crises.

Lastly, interpreting the views on consumers regarding their exposure to provenance labelling from a theoretical perspective was achieved through cognitive, affective and normative dimensions. However, such organised inquiry and interpretation of results is limited given a lack of overarching theory to explain an affinity towards domestically produced goods for domestic consumers. Whilst evidence has been provided of consumer responses to COO labelling, there is a need to further explore, from a grounded theoretical perspective, the causes of such affinity or animosity towards specific COO appeals. Understanding these biased behaviours resulting from an association towards a particular country, ethnicity or group, and how this fuels an attraction or an avoidance of products from different origins, grounded in a reliable and testable theoretical framework, provides the investigative direction within the upcoming Chapters.

Chapter Three: Proximate explanations of the country-of-origin effect

Exploring behavioural group dynamics associated with the country-of-origin effect through the lens of social constructivism

3. Abstract

Can the COO effect be explained through an understanding of group dynamics? This Chapter considers how a loyalty towards the ingroup results in motivations to engage with nationality-biased behaviours within consumption scenarios, thus providing proximate explanations of the effect. A critical review of common theoretical, conceptual and methodological approaches to investigating the COO effect is presented, highlighting the ambiguity of findings and disorganised methods of inquiry that contribute to contradictory conclusions and disorganised practical applications. To overcome such obstacles, the COO effect is theoretically grounded in group-based behavioural dynamics. Doing so allows for the exploration of ethnocentrism and nationalism constructs within group dynamics in the context of consumer behaviour, uncovering how an ingroup loyalty results from motives of protecting the ingroup from outgroup threats, or viewing the ingroup as superior over outgroups. Among demonstrating the effectiveness of a shopper scenario investigation in explaining how ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs, explored within group dynamics, are associated with domestic and foreign purchasing, the implementation of a scenario survey demonstrates how an additional measure of an ingroup loyalty, grounded specifically within group dynamic theory, can further identify motivations of group-based purchasing. Findings are applied to the context of the UK with discussions presented regarding how an ingroup loyalty can explain the nationality bias of consumers. Findings provide UK FMCGs manufacturers insight into consumer motivations for engaging with the domestic COO label from these two distinct perspectives for exploitation within marketing messages.

3.1 Introduction

Common theoretical, methodological and contextual approaches adopted by many published studies aiming to provide evidence of the COO effect are built upon the foundations of and explained via, knowingly or unknowingly, group-based behavioural dynamics and their assumed interrelationships (Balabanis and Siamagka, 2017). Contextually, consumers are organised through various group-based associations categorised through psychological, sociological, or demographic traits, associations, or beliefs, whereas product classifications are controlled in relation to their COO or other location-based characteristic, allowing for the identification of an *ingroup* or an *outgroup* (Andéhn and Decosta, 2018). The COO effect is normally contextualised and evidenced through product evaluations and purchasing behaviours of domestic or home country (*the ingroup*) products, product categories, brands or services against foreign alternatives (*the outgroup*) (e.g., Nguyen and Alcantara, 2022; Bartsch *et al*., 2021; Zeugner-Roth *et al*., 2015).

The COO effect and its associated influencing strength can therefore be evidenced by traditional methodologies that explicitly position and consequently require participants to compare home country ingroup brands and products against outgroup foreign alternatives (Balabanis *et al*., 2019; Magnusson *et al*., 2011). Choice-based empirical tests using structured questionnaires are employed within studies seeking to compare the attributes of domestic and foreign goods whilst emphasising and evidencing how the origin of a product influences purchasing intentions or other extrinsic beliefs such as quality or reliability through the organisation of explicit consumer groupings (e.g., Cowan and Guzman, 2020; Sharma, 2011; Kumar *et al*., 2009). This explicit categorisation of consumer and product groupings allows for identified intergroup biases to be evidenced through various contextual and methodological approaches, tested through psychometric behavioural scales, resulting in proximate explanations describing how group-based consumer affiliations influence product evaluations and purchasing behaviour towards items from the *ingroup home country* compared to *outgroup foreign alternatives* (Diamantopoulos *et al*., 2019; Shankarmahesh, 2006).

These proximate findings and explanations however are often contradictory among the extremely large body of literature developed within the last fifty years that often suffer from validity and generalisability issues due to the diversity of methodological and contextual approaches to COO studies. A consensus exists somewhat, recognising that consumers affiliated with the ingroup will generate positive ingroup purchasing behavioural responses directed towards home country products, and consequently respond less favourably to the outgroup and reject foreign product alternatives during comparative or evaluative empirical studies (e.g. Wegapitiya and Dissanayake, 2018; Dinnie, 2004). However, harmonious agreement among scholars is non-existent, with Dholakia *et al*. (2020) reflecting upon such discourse given the complexities of origin labelling within a globalised world.

Nevertheless, the somewhat accepted belief and approach to the study of the COO effect and its rationalisations, assumes that positive ingroup and negative outgroup motivations are mutually related (Wegapitiya and Dissanayake, 2018; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1986). COO studies infer such behaviours through a variety of psychometric scales, but very rarely explicitly acknowledge the reciprocal nature of ingroup/outgroup behaviours during experiments or empirical testing to understand the direction of influence that results in an *ingroup loyalty* (Katsumata and Song, 2015). If group behavioural dynamics are indeed reciprocal, then the behaviours resulting in a COO effect, which essentially is founded upon an attraction to the ingroup because of outgroup prejudices, should be reciprocal too. The direction of influence however, that is what fuels the motivation towards an ingroup loyalty, can either stem from a foundational desire to protect the ingroup or a prejudice to vilify the outgroup (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1986).

To address such shortcomings, the objective of this Chapter seeks to explore how the COO effect can be grounded within a suitable theoretical framework of group behavioural dynamics and exhibited in empirical shopper scenario investigations. Specifically, this Chapter seeks to uncover the origins of ingroup loyal motivations and therefore is an important step in extending the knowledge pertaining to the COO effect, by first disentangling its often-misappropriated applications that are frequently assumed to produce a nationality bias. Viewing the construct through the lens of its conceptual origins within social group dynamics may help overcome the limitations of previous studies that often overlook or generalise such biased behaviour, resulting in mass variations of findings within previous international marketing studies (Dholakia *et al*., 2020; Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). Such motivations are demonstrated through the analysis of two common constructs often deployed to explain the COO effect: consumer ethnocentrism and nationalism, where their distinct motivations for engaging with the ingroup are uncovered. Whilst they can uncover the distinct motivations, they do not provide a full account unless used together in a study (i.e. if consumer ethnocentrism is solely used, it will inform that consumers will engage with ingroup domestic products because of wanting to protect the ingroup from outgroup threat, or if consumer nationalism is used, it will inform that consumers will engage because of viewing the ingroup as superior from the outgroup).

Through the deployment of a scenario-based empirical investigation contextualised within intergroup behavioural dynamics, this Chapter documents how an ingroup loyalty motivates consumers' interaction of domestic and foreign goods, whilst demonstrating the effectiveness of an alternative measure of ingroup loyalty, grounded within group dynamics specifically (the ingroup loyalty scale), is a useful measure given that it encompasses both the distinct motivations of consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism in one scale. This Chapter advocates for and offers a theoretical grounding of the COO effect to overcome previously documented contextual and methodological issues, whilst providing marketing insights to practitioners to take advantage of the driving forces for engaging with domestic provenance labelling that may be incorporated into communications.

3.1.1 Chapter structure

This Chapter begins with a critique of contextual and methodological issues of COO studies that account for the immense variations of results observed within literature. An alternative discussion of ingroup/outgroup behavioural dynamics from a social constructivism perspective is presented that can interpret a nationality bias resulting from reciprocal behaviours that fuel a loyalty to the ingroup, with the ingroup in this perspective being the home nation and its products. With grounding in Social Identity Theory (SIT), the constructs of consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism are explored as two related, yet often confused, functional theories that seek to explain ingroup loyalty. A critique of both constructs is presented to uncover their psychological makeup in facilitating opposing motivations for ingroup loyalty that give way to a nationality bias. To offer evidence that the COO effect can be explained through group behavioural dynamics, a scenario-based questionnaire is deployed to understand the effectiveness of utilising both constructs together using common heuristic designs of COO indicators within the design as investigated and evidenced within Chapter Two, and if the ingroup loyalty construct itself can be deployed as a suitable predictor of such biased behaviours. Specifically, commonly used marketing techniques of group-based heuristics pertaining to a nationality bias manifesting in a COO indication and utilised either with the packaging design, such as a 'made in…' label (a product COO attribute) or used as a special proof recommendation (a person COO attribute), are presented within two novel scenario-based shopper surveys to seek evidence if such appeals can be explained within group-based behavioural dynamics to explain the nationality bias of consumers. This Chapter demonstrates that a consumer's loyalty to the ingroup is linked to appeal and aversion behaviours of domestic and foreign shopper scenarios. Finally, the proximate findings begin a critique of common approaches to investigating the COO effect that extends into the final empirical study as detailed within Chapter Four.

3.2 Literature review

The immense variety of contextual and methodological approaches into the study of the COO effect contribute to a wealth of contradictory conclusions observed within the literature, where fragmented inquiry consequently restricts the generalisability of findings whilst offering minimal insight to marketing practitioners (Dholakia *et al*., 2020; Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). The strongest casualty of this research indirection is an inability to principally agree upon whether COO influences purchasing decisions at all. For example, Dekhili and Achabou (2015) uncovered no effect between COO and product evaluation, with Agrawal and Kamakura (1999) also concluding COO possesses a limited influence on consumers' valuation of a brand. Conversely, Magnusson *et al*. (2011) demonstrated how a product's origin significantly influences brand attitudes. Fuelling these complications are the additional influences identified to affect the strength of the COO effect. For example, Koschate-Fischer *et al*. (2012) highlighted how moderating influences including brand familiarity or high and low involvement processing may alter the strength of origin influence upon consumers. Otter *et al*., (2018) highlighted the complexity of the label's influence across food quality perception, whilst Lu *et al*., (2020) investigated COO influence within the service sector, whose findings presented further mixed results.

Demonstrating such complexity, varying perspectives, influencing variables and undirected research protocols within COO studies is evidenced within the meta-analysis of De Nisco and Oduro (2022), uncovering disaggregate effects on COO contextualisation and its subcomponents, including country-of-brand, country-of-design, country-of-manufacture, country-of-assembly and country-of-parts, on product evaluation, brand evaluation and purchase intentions. The multitude of variations of explaining and evidencing the COO effect lies in part not only on the countless opportunities for influence within various stages of the consumer's decision-making process, but also the many components of the effect that can be contextualised within studies. Furthermore, such effects were found to have considerable, differing strength of influence within varying methodological approaches including single- or multi-cue studies, product category and overall study design, along with scales measurements assessing the effect on purchase intention, product evaluation and brand evaluation. It seems necessary therefore to disentangle these differing perspectives and research protocols that contribute to such anecdotal, mixed results before any attempt is made to offer a future recommended framework of inquiry into the COO effect and associated nationality bias of consumers.

3.2.1 Contextual and sampling issues within COO studies

Previous studies seeking to understand and evidence the COO effect have investigated its influence on consumer beliefs, attitudes, purchasing intentions and the overall consumer decision-making evaluative process within a variety of contexts, experiments, empirical tests and shopper scenarios. A common perspective adopted within investigations considers the country image in general (Cheah *et al*., 2018), particularly within studies where tourism and the likelihood of travel are often the context employed, with findings demonstrating a positive influence between country image and travel intentions (Chaulagain *et al*., 2019; Prayag *et al*., 2015). However, such contextualisation of the COO effect within international investigations are often critiqued for being too simplistic or lacking rigour, with Lascu *et al*. (2020) cautioning that country image influence is far more complex, where differing levels of influence deriving from both macro and micro hierarchical image dimensions. When these dimensions are acknowledged and controlled for within studies however, they offer the potential to overcome validity and reliability issues within this context of COO research whilst increasing investigative rigour.

When applied to the product level, the multi-dimensionality of country image is explained via these two hierarchies. Specifically, the macro country image relating to consumers' beliefs of a country is measured by its economic, political and technological characteristics (Martin and Eroglu, 1993). The micro country image however refers to consumers' beliefs about the products of a country (Pappu *et al*., 2007). Both macro and micro country image attributes possess moderating and mediating effects within different purchasing contexts and therefore must be considered and controlled if any meaningful findings and associated dialogue is to be established (Almousa *et al*., 2018). The consequences of such negligence are highlighted in studies applying country image influence on the product level, where mixed results are observed. Lee and Robb (2022) uncovered differing country image influence among products sourced from different countries. Jin *et al*. (2018) found differing influences of micro and macro country images among both countries and product categories. Pucci *et al*. (2017) found country image and product country image impact purchasing decisions differently even when the same country is under investigation. Consequently, overall country image and product-specific country image have the potential to offer drastically different insights into explaining a nationality bias given that many studies disregard the multi-dimensionality of the concepts. The dissimilarities observed within findings highlights the importance of considering and indeed controlling for the origin, nationality or ethnic ties of the consumers (i.e. participants) included within the sampling frame, given that these factors strongly influence attitudes towards different countries (Zeugner-Roth *et al*., 2015). Ultimately, unconsidered contextual factors influence findings and may account for their widespread differences across methodologically similar studies.

Aside from country image and product-country image, further contextual issues arise from the comparison of different product categories with origins of different countries, particularly if such countries exist at differing levels of economic development (Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). If these contextual factors are unaccounted for, the generalisability and validity of the findings suffer because COO has been shown to possesses a halo effect (Woo, 2019). The halo effect within COO studies stems directly from widely held national stereotypes or beliefs within and between countries and its population (White *et al*., 2021). Studies investigating differences between countries and country products do little to advance theoretical understanding of the COO effect, yet simply seek to, at best, conclude that consumers in developed countries consider their own domestically produced products to be superior to similar alternatives from developing countries (Carter, 2020; Pentz *et al*., 2013). These studies also convey how consumers in less developed countries consider foreign products from more developed countries to be superior to domestic alternatives (Wang and Ding, 2021; Oumlil, 2020). Furthermore, as the strength of a nationality bias has shown to become fluid in response to an event, whether political, economic or social (Semaan *et al*., 2019), the temporal specificity of studies may also become an unaccounted variable related to the halo effect, further impacting results. In fact, Amatulli *et al*. (2019) have found that COO perceptions are neither static nor atemporal, as temporal dynamism challenges the often assumed or uninformed belief that COO values are not stable nor static and can in fact be perceived differently across ensuing periods of time.

Another contextualising issue are the types of products used within investigations to convey an origin. COO influence on consumer behaviour fluctuates across product categories, particularly those pertaining to high or low involvement buying processes (Pagan *et al*., 2021; Zeugner-Roth and Bartsch, 2020). Whilst the COO effect is assumed to possess weaker influence for low involvement or frequently purchased necessity goods (Balabanis and Siamagka, 2017; Kemp *et al*. 2010), not only did the findings of Chapter Two provide conflicting evidence to such beliefs, but similar studies have also found product origin to have greater influence than other extrinsic attributes such as brand knowledge during low involvement purchasing decisions (Adina *et al*., 2015; Merlo *et al*., 2008). Extremely differing strengths of COO influence for luxury and non-luxury goods is observed (Bryson *et al*., 2021; Cheah *et al*., 2020), with disparities compounded when authors neglect to consider factors between homogenous groups of countries used within the context of such investigations, including market maturity or economic status (Godey *et al*., 2012). With regards to services, COO can influence the perceptions of quality being provided (Berentzen *et al*., 2008). The findings of Thelen *et al*. (2010) also support a connection between country-of-service origin (COSO) and quality attributes, however Kashif *et al*. (2015) found no clear link between COSO and perceived service quality.

The contextual issue of products with hybrid origins further complicates COO investigations. Hybrid origins exist where perceived brand origin and country-of-manufacture or country-of-assembly are different, blurring the identification of a true COO and preventing an actual diagnosis of the causes behind such biased behaviours (Chattalas *et al*., 2008). Perceived brand origin, whilst able to influence consumer perceptions (Sichtmann *et al*., 2019), is believed to generally have an overall insignificant effect (Liu *et al*., 2021; Balabanis and Diamantopoulos, 2008). It is also regarded to be of lessor concern or influence on consumers who often lack the ability or general interest to distinguish between country-of-design and country-of-manufacturer (Li *et al*., 2000). Yet, scholars still advocate that country-of-brand should be controlled for within COO studies (Usunier, 2011). To overcome such issues, scholars have attempted to use fictious brands with country-specific sounding names, particularly to counteract the effect of brand familiarity within studies inadvertently impacting findings (Moriuchi, 2021; Herz and Diamantopoulos, 2013). The creation of such fictious names however often relies upon stereotypical language and sounds of those countries under investigation, questioning the appropriateness and effectiveness of such practices (Dholakia *et al*., 2020). Interestingly, minimal studies account for labelling variations and design, along with their ability to influence the COO effect (Insch and Florek, 2009). This identified research gap within the literature was explored in detail within Chapter Two, where it was found origin label design has the potential to effect consumer evaluations of products with varying degrees of influence.

Varied sampling procedures within COO studies cause generalisability and validity challenges. Differing market segmentation strategies or demographic variables are represented yet often unaccounted as a moderating influence on COO impact (Dholakia *et al*., 2020). Simplistic approaches to sampling acknowledge participants as general, undefined consumers (Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2006), with no attempt to control potential demographic influence. Attempts are made however to segment such samples, usually upon demographic characteristics or locational-based attributes (Diamantopoulos *et al*., 2020). One method is the identification of a place of residence, classifying participants as urban or rural consumers. Such approach attempts to demonstrate variations relating to origin through the contextualisation of purchasing of rural food and drink produce (i.e. Williamson *et al*., 2016. Schnettler *et al*., 2008; Davidson *et al*., 2003). Other segmentation strategies include gender, age, educational level, income and social status (Ahmed and d'Astous, 1996). Whilst Zain and Yasin (1997) found no evidence connecting demographic variables to COO importance, Balabanis *et al*. (2002) found demographic characteristics to be of weak influence. On the contrary, Abraham and Patro (2014) and Josiassen (2010) demonstrated a strong influence of demographic variables connecting the COO of products and brands to biased consumer decision-making. Acknowledging those specific consumer characteristics, certain age groups are demonstrated to possess significant influence on COO influence, where younger customers are found to be more accepting of foreign goods (Ahmed and d'Astous, 2008; Good and Huddleston, 1995). In comparison, older customers regard foreign goods as untrustworthy, being of lessor quality, or overall exercise caution within their evaluations whilst displaying a reluctance to purchase (Otter *et al*., 2018; Smith, 2015). Studies that attempt to evidence the influence of such demographic variables on COO influence often provide limited knowledge or suffer from contextual issues that prevent the capture of reliable findings. For example, Sotiropoulos *et al*. (2009) attempted to evidence the connection between age and COO influence, yet the study neglected to consider extraneous factors between such young and old demographic attributes that may account for differing beliefs, including changes within boarder socio-economic conditions of the country over time, thereby offering nothing more than evidence of a simple causation without acknowledging any further influences. Such basic approaches are regarded as a general limitation often present in many studies that attempt to associate age with COO influence.

With regards to other demographic categories, Diallo and Cliquet (2016) found no evidence connecting perceived COO importance to household income classes, whereas Profeta (2008) and Ahmed and d'Astous (2008) found that income levels do possess the capability of influencing the COO effect, as consumers with lower levels of income tend to favour more domestic produce whereas consumers with high levels of disposable income are more accepting of foreign, imported products. Such findings are not universal however, varying between developed and less developed countries (Smaiziene and Vaitkiene, 2013). With regards to gender, previous studies have found conflicting results connecting gender and the evaluations of a product's origin. Balabanis *et al*. (2002) found that women favour national products over foreign alternatives. Women evaluate imported goods more positively than men according to Good and Huddleston (1995), with Blair and Chiou (2014) supporting the belief that gender dimensions affect domestic and foreign brand knowledge. Those with a lower educational level are also more likely to possess an aversion to foreign goods (Thøgersen *et al*., 2019). Consumers possessing a high level of education may either consider origin to be of minimal significance or unimportant (Schweiger *et al*., 1997). However, (Sharma *et al*., 1995) demonstrated higher education levels resulted in favourable perceptions of foreign products. Perhaps most limiting to all studies are the use of students within a sampling frame, with Bhaskaran and Sukumaran (2007) cautioning that such convenience within the sampling method limits validity and the generalisability of findings given students possess limited knowledge, experience or a suitable reference frame when interpreting COO indicators.

The COO effect is not restricted to the domestic consumer. Studies also sample industrial or professional buyers, including business-to-business (B2B) buying scenarios (Mohan *et al*., 2018) and professionals responsible for organisational procurement (Uddin *et al*., 2022). Variations in the strength and relevance of the COO effect are observed within such contexts, with Forza *et al*., (2014) highlighting that purchasing managers often rely upon their own stereotypes to guide not only purchasing behaviour, but to try and identify the purchasing behaviour of potential private customers and industrial buyers too. Chen *et al*. (2011) found that COO has minimal influence in terms of brand equity evaluations within a B2B setting.

In summary, differing sampling procedures generate differing results within COO studies, with overlooked or unconsidered demographic variables often the main cause of disparities and variations. For example, education level is positively linked to income, prior knowledge and prior experience of other countries, all possessing the ability to influence beliefs of products with foreign and domestic origins (Abraham and Patro, 2015). The interconnectivity of demographic variables has the potential to cause representativeness issues within a given sample and can dramatically skew results, as demonstrated in the example study by Thøgersen *et al*. (2019) and may account for such variations of results within COO studies, even when the same countries have been contextualised within different studies (Semann *et al*., 2019). Further procedural issues include the use of non-probabilistic sampling, preventing the application of statistical significance tests and generalisability to the population (i.e. Guina and Giraldi, 2014) to a general ignorance of even simple demographic variables recognised as being able to influence buyer behaviour within COO contexts (Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). The sample size itself may also affect the findings of the influence of COO indicators, as studies with larger samples often produce larger effect sizes than smaller ones (Liefeld, 1993).

3.2.2 Methodological and measurement issues within COO studies

Contextual issues notwithstanding, complicating matters further and contributing to such varied findings with COO literature are the widespread use of varying methodological approaches, data collection tactics and measurement scales employed within COO studies, all seeking to offer causal, proximate evidence of a product's origin and its influence on consumer behaviour. Traditional measurement scales place emphasis on the cognitive dimension of a country image, since popularised by Shimp and Sharma (1987) and acknowledged as the most reliable measurement in COO studies (Herz and Diamantopoulos, 2013). However, it is documented that country image possesses cognitive, affective and normative aspects in COO product evaluation (Adina *et al*., 2015). On a cognitive level, COO is both an intrinsic and extrinsic cue for perceived product quality, including both design and manufacturing quality, in addition to reliability, safety and durability (Adina *et al*., 2015). On the affective level, COO becomes an emotional influencer shaped by past experiences of a particular country, or indirectly through stereotypes, word-of-mouth or media representations (Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999). On the normative level, group-based influences conceptualised in examples of ethnocentrism or nationalism seek to acknowledge both personal and social values in explaining such affinity or animosity behaviours (Adina *et al*., 2015). However, such structural relationships are found to possess differing strengths of behaviour influence within COO contexts. For example, Papadimitriou *et al*. (2015) found varying degrees of cognitive, affective and normative influence across different consumer groups when evaluating country image perceptions and behavioural intentions. Li *et al*. (2014) found that affective processing of a product's COO is more influential than cognitive processing, whereas Stylidis *et al*. (2017) found cognitive processing has a stronger influence. However, past studies have also highlighted the hierarchical relationship between the three constructs, with the cognitive component possessing the ability to positively affect the affective component, which in turn then affects the normative component, but with each relationship possessing varying degrees of strength (Woosnam *et al*., 2019). The three constructs are often used to address an acknowledged lack of overarching theory that can explain the COO effect yet are at best moderators when the effect is viewed as a linear entity (Andéhn and Decosta, 2018; Brijs *et al*., 2011).

Differing methodological design further complicates research efforts. Such dichotomy is strongly evidenced through the use and findings of single- versus multiple-cue studies. In single-cue studies focusing solely on COO influence on product evaluations and purchasing decisions, ambiguous findings are generated due to an oversimplification of causality (Helgeson *et al*., 2017). The strength of COO influence is found to be stronger within studies employing a single-cue design, as greater emphasis is often placed on demand artifacts (e.g. De Nisco and Oduro, 2021). Within multiple-cue studies however, the presence of other cues somewhat dilutes the influence of origin (Ho *et al*., 2018). Usunier (2006, p.60) contends that the COO effect is inflated within single-cue studies as "relevance has been sacrificed for the sake of convenience" and that other cues or variables, including intrinsic or extrinsic attributes, the accessibility or availability of COO information, and the promotion of such information via labelling is often of lessor importance to manufacturers than other types of labelling cues.

Furthermore, the cues available to consumers at the point of purchase are not restricted to COO information, therefore studies evaluating COO as a single-cue are criticised, presenting biased findings as significant impacts are often assumed, yet evidenced within a methodological vacuum (Helgeson *et al*., 2017; Bilkey and Nes, 1982). Studies have found that under a single-cue design, the influence of COO is often reported as having greater influence than found within a multiple-cue design (De Nisco and Oduro, 2022; Hornikx *et al*., 2020). However, contradictory findings of Meshreki *et al*. (2018) and Prendergast *et al*. (2010) suggest a multi-cue format generate noteworthy effects. Additionally, the strength of the COO effect differs depending upon the cues used within multi-cue studies. The findings of De Nisco and Oduro (2022) suggest that not only the number of cues, but brand name, product type and product category can all impact COO influence during comparative studies.

Separately from single- or multi-cue intrinsic or extrinsic cues, single-country versus cross-national designs is also a common feature within COO studies (Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). The effect has been found to offer minimal influence when a single-country measure is used (e.g. Dholakia *et al*., 2020). However, other single-country studies contradict such beliefs, with Oumlil (2020) and Apil and Kaynak (2010) discovering a significant influence. Multi-country studies often uncover a degree of multidimensionality in their findings depending upon the country under investigation, as observed within the results of Boguszewicz-Kreft *et al*. (2019) and Meshreki *et al*. (2018). Such studies offer little explanation of the COO effect given the underlying complexities of uncovering the distinct biases and possible unique sentiments that may exist between countries. A manifestation of this methodological approach is the comparison of home-country against foreign imported products and brands. However, country selection and the associated comparative exercise can produce varying results due to a multitude of influencing factors, including developing and emerging economies versus developed ones, along with their economic distance (Tshuchiya *et al*., 2021; Zeugner-Roth and Bartsch, 2020), enterprising tendencies of countries (Vrontis and Basile, 2022), political disputes between nations (Hoang *et al*., 2022), ethnographic variables (Khair *et al*., 2021) and conflict, all giving rise to negative sentiments (Caskey and Warden, 2021).

The data collection methods employed further yield contradictions, regardless of whether a single- or multi-cue experiment or survey is adopted. It is observed within literature that qualitative methods of interviews, focus groups and case studies, or quantitative methods of structured questionnaires, all generate different results. Brodie and Benson-Rea (2016) adopted a case study methodology investigating COO branding as a strategic tool for organisational success, using only one case pertaining to the umbrella brand *New Zealand Wine*. Whilst the study's findings provide practical advice of utilising a COO as a strategic brand concept, it neglects to consider complex social processes that may influence brand image and how in turn such image influences the consumer within different contexts, both spatial and temporal, and therefore assumptive in the perceived strength of the COO effect and different categories of consumer. With regards to study design, significant differences are found between those that employ survey design as opposed to experiment design. Experiment design studies are recognised with an ability to provide a greater explanation of causality (Wang and Yang, 2008), with survey studies limited in their ability to control groups (Vieira, 2017). The meta-analysis by De Nisco and Oduro (2022) found that study design does influence between-study variance within results as a moderating variable, where experiments were able to produce larger results than surveys. However, Peterson and Jolibert (1995) found that the size of the COO effect observed is uninfluenced within studies that employ within- or between-subjects design.

To summarise, studies attempting to capture evidence of how different consumers respond to domestic or foreign goods and services, defined as the nationality bias of consumers and presented as the COO effect, suffer from both contextual and methodological issues that gives way to questioning whether the bias, or its strength and influence within certain shopper scenarios, exists at all. Such influencing factors are widespread, varied and complex than what is generally acknowledged and captured within studies. The combination of differing contextual and methodological approaches gives way to a discipline that has resulted in a body of literature conveying both inconclusive and contradictory findings that span beyond the last fifty years of research.

As such, there continues to be little consensus within studies regarding the influence of COO effects, including its strength and importance to consumers and thereby relevance to practitioners. Dominating such discourse are issues within investigations that seek to evidence the effect within consumption scenarios, where concerns over internal validity, generalisability and overall reliability of findings are questioned. The fragmentation of studies, unclear research frameworks, undirected scope and overall inconsistencies of findings continue to weaken the efforts to develop and extended knowledge within this discipline. Furthermore, and with reference to the literature review presented within Chapter Two, the very relevance and need of such investigations are also questioned given continued efforts for globalisation and therefore different regulations existing among countries that require the disclosure of COO information, or whether origin labelling can be used as an advantageous marketing strategy by manufacturers. To disentangle this multifaceted web of contextual and methodological approaches within international marketing literature, this Chapter revisits the foundational principles governing the perceived nationality bias to shed light on reconceptualising group-based influences of the effect. This Chapter does not first ask what is affected by COO, but what first affects COO behaviours. In other words, by taking the effect back to basics, this Chapter seeks to understand country-biased behaviours of consumers via the perspectives of the behavioural dynamics of group-based loyalty, the original foundational and guiding principles that the nationality bias was first built upon.

3.2.3 Social Identity Theory within COO studies

Behavioural exchanges between ingroups and outgroups often manifests through interchangeable terminologies of references within literature, further contributing to differing accounts in evidencing group-based biases (Brown and Zagefka, 2005). However, modern and accepted definitions include ingroup favouritism (Brewer, 2017), intergroup discrimination (Anier *et al*., 2018), outgroup prejudice (Marchlewska *et al*., 2020) or outgroup derogation (de Zavala *et al*., 2020), with many studies ultimately concluding that ingroup love and outgroup hate are mutually related and reciprocal within most examples of intergroup behavioural dynamics (Hamley *et al*., 2020; Moscatelli and Rubini, 2017; Masuda and Fu, 2015). Despite the variations of terminology or experiment design, the context, based upon the original work of Tajfel (1978) continues to provide the foundations in modern group-based studies, being a strong association with the ingroup automatically results in a negative, vilification of the outgroup (Hamley *et al*., 2020).

SIT and the associated ingroup/outgroup paradigm provides a theoretical basis for investigations into the COO effect (Zeugner-Roth *et al*., 2015). Practically, the ingroup is defined by the consumer’s own home country or nationality whilst specific foreign nations or general regions and locations become categorised as the outgroup, whereas from a product-based perspective, domestic products with same origins as the consumer become classified as ingroup products, whilst those of other foreign nations are defined as outgroup products (Skinner *et al*., 2020; Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999). National identity becomes connected with self-identity, whereby consumers are repeatedly reinforced of their national identity through origin labelling or advertisement, whilst becoming aware of those alternatives that do not share such identity (Ichijo and Ranta, 2016; Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999; Billig, 1995). Although this perspective is commonplace within literature, it becomes difficult to uncover distinct underlying motivations of ingroup and outgroup biases facilitating intergroup behaviour within this context, specifically the bias of preferring domestic products or reacting unfavourably to foreign or imported ones, whilst practically, most measurement techniques do not facilitate a separation during experiments attempting to showcase intergroup bias within COO studies (Hamley *et al*., 2020; Fischer and Derham, 2016). Experiments may attempt to evidence the degree of relevant bias through comparison tasks relating to group-based or general product attributes and evaluations (Hamley *et al*., 2020). Previous studies have focused on domestic (Verlegh, 2007) or foreign (Riefler, *et al*., 2012) product preference and attribute comparisons during practical experiments or attempted to consider simultaneous scenarios of both (Zeugner-Roth *et al*., 2015). However, excluding the issues related to such approaches already presented within this Chapter, the underlying perspectives of investigating intergroup behavioural dynamics remains the same. That is, conceptualising and explaining an ingroup loyalty bias is a result of positive or negative motivations pertaining to either the ingroup or outgroup.

3.2.4 Empirical attempts to measure ingroup loyalty

SIT provides one explanation of ingroup loyalty. Strong identification with one's own group becomes the facilitator of group loyal behaviours, influencing the personal decision-making process (Hogg, 2018; Branscombe *et al*., 1993). Newson *et al*. (2016) found that individual priorities become merged with adherence to the group, where instinctual traits of togetherness and belonging creates a sense of unity between the personal self and the group identity. Such loyalty has consequences on judgement and morals, as definitions of right or wrong form in view of the affinity towards the group, according to the empirical study by Iurino and Saucier (2020). Schwartz (2007, p.712) noted such behaviour forms to achieve "goals that vary in importance and serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or a group." Such ingroup loyalty and its susceptibility to influence personal behaviour is acknowledged as a moral foundation of judgement (Strupp-Levitsky *et al*., 2020; Davies *et al*., 2014; Graham *et al*., 2008). This theoretical view of group-influenced behaviour seeks to offer practical evidence in view of the Schwartz Value Scale (Schwartz, 1992) by specifically addressing attitudes towards ingroups and outgroups (both positive and negative) and the resulting behaviours of a group loyalty, including the differences across groups (Graham *et al*., 2012).

To conceptualise perceived right or wrong behaviours amongst individuals within their social environment, the moral foundations theory identifies five core moral, adaptive values evolved to elicit social decisions and judgements (Stewart and Morris, 2021). Such foundations include harm, fairness, authority, purity and (pertinent to this study) *ingroup loyalty*. The loyalty component is based on the strength of attachment towards groups, such as a country or social group, resulting in a supportive and reciprocal bond between all persons who contribute and maintain the group's welfare and cohesion (Haidt, 2012). These five domains are grounded within evolutionary psychology theory and supported by evidence within cognitive neuroscience (Demaree-Cotton and Kahane, 2018; Suhler and Churchland, 2011) and ethnographic evidence from international studies (Doğruyol *et al*., 2019; Clifford *et al*., 2015; Graham *et al*., 2013; Haidt and Graham, 2007). The individualising foundational beliefs facilitates in the binding to a group, encourages trust and cooperation within them whilst defining the boundaries between ingroups and outgroups (Choi and Winterich, 2013). From a consumption perspective, loyalty behaviours are assumed to be linked to consumers' values, and in turn be the driving forces behind *ethnocentric beliefs* (Colby and Kohlberg, 1987). However, binding moral foundations emphasise loyalty *and* betrayal, thereby also promoting feelings of intergroup competition and ingroup cohesiveness. When applied to a consumption perspective, competitive loyalty behaviours may also result in consumer values of *nationalistic beliefs* (Balabanis *et al*., 2001). Both ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs facilitate an ingroup loyalty via two distinct approaches.

From a nativist approach, these moral behaviours, or *intuitive ethics*, are adaptive, innate psychological mechanisms formed within the human brain through a process of co-evolution with other cultural practices (Winget and Tindale, 2020). Such evolved, psychological adaptions aided ancestors to live and function within social groups, take advantage of such support opportunities whilst possessing an ability to dominate others (Pinker, 2003). These reciprocity behaviours not only facilitated a cooperation between individuals within groups but given the unequal distribution of strength and skill of individuals and therefore the wider group at large, allowed for the dominance over other groups (Haidt and Joseph, 2004). The evolved dynamics of group behaviour will be explored further in Chapter Four, with specific focus upon the ultimate causes of ingroup loyalty, given that existing studies generally assume that such loyalty behaviours can be both inherent and learned (Prince *et al.*, 2020). This viewpoint incidentally highlights an acknowledged limitation of previous studies that do little besides offer causal explanations of such biased behaviours, therefore providing the opportunity for further exploration within the next Chapter.

Consequently, a further limitation of the moral foundations theory is an inability to ascertain the distinct motivations that result in such moral judgements, particularly regarding approach and avoidance behaviours (Winget and Tindale, 2020; Prince *et al.*, 2020). Whilst the strength of an ingroup loyalty can be measured, the motivation behind such devotion is omitted and regularly overlooked within studies (Hamley *et al.*, 2020). Therefore, within this current consumption-based study, the motivations behind such loyalty will be assessed through the constructs of *ethnocentrism* and *nationalism*. As identified previously, both facilitate an ingroup loyalty, but with motivations originating from a desire to either protect the ingroup or to vilify the outgroup. By measuring not only the strength of ingroup loyalty, but the underlying motivations of ethnocentrism and nationality, a comprehensive analysis is provided to explain the proximate motivations that facilitate a nationality bias of consumers.

3.2.5 Empirical attempts to measure the strength of consumer ethnocentrism

The Consumer Ethnocentric Tendencies Scale (CETSCALE) developed by Shimp and Sharma (1987) is facilitated through a multi-item self-report style questionnaire to identify the beliefs of consumers regarding the appropriateness of purchasing foreign products. Completion of the questionnaire allows for the strength of ethnocentric beliefs to be identified, subsequently permitting the researcher to categorise participants as possessing high ethnocentric beliefs (assumed automatic affinity to the home nation and its products because of a belief that purchasing foreign goods is inappropriate). There exists an automatic, implied assumption therefore that an unwillingness to engage with foreign products results in a positive attraction to domestic alternatives (Ortega-Egea and García-de-Frutos, 2021; Siamagka and Balabanis; 2015). As a result, the authors make clear that the scale is a measure of 'tendency' rather than 'attitude' as the latter term "suggests a greater degree of object specificity than the CETSCALE is intended to capture" (Shimp and Sharma, 1987, p.281). Balabanis and Siamagka (2022, p. 748) highlight how "items within the CETSCALE extend beyond ingroup favouritism and include assessment of outgroup bias" also, using this construct alongside ethnocentrism and nationalism are appropriate. Two widely used versions of the CETSCALE exist and available to researchers: 17-item and 10-item.

The CETSCALE is a popular construct within consumer research and despite its age, continues to be utilised within publications whilst found in numerous works to possess a high degree of reliability (i.e. Makanyeza and du Toit, 2016; Pentz *et al*., 2013; Sepehr and Kaffashpoor, 2012). Notably, these studies were undertaken in very different settings (South Africa, Zimbabwe and India) suggesting a universal application. Whilst infrequent, the unidimensionality of the scale is questioned within international studies (Yu and Albaum, 2002). Studies that do uncover multidimensionality become reliant upon the reciprocal mechanisms of group-based dynamics to explain such findings, accounting for ethnocentric behaviour possessing two dimensions: an individual's aversion towards foreign products and the individual's preference for domestic production, including the protectionist belief due to perceived aversion. Such findings are often acknowledged as 'hard' and 'soft' ethnocentrism (i.e. Chryssochoidis *et al*., 2007; Teo *et al*., 2011) whereas Hsu and Nien (2008) identify the same phenomena as *protectionism* and *defensive patriotism*, yet conceptually merging with the definitions of consumer nationalism also.

3.2.6 Empirical attempts to measure the strength of consumer nationalism

Limited attempts have been made to develop an explicit measurement scale for consumer nationalism, highlighting a lessor consideration of the construct within international marketing literature. Furthermore, the entwining of nationalism and patriotism constructs generate ineffective attempts at creating such a scale. Disagreement amongst scholars, even within the same discipline, as to the definition of nationalism, further contributes towards the non-existence of a universally accepted scale, as opposed to the CETSCALE to measure consumer ethnocentrism for example (Karasawa, 2002; Motyl, 1992). Yet, scholars who investigate its impact commonly agree its ability to influence buyer behaviour (Balabanis *et al*., 2001). A frequently adopted approach within international marketing studies relies upon the conceptual foundations of nationalism in general, as emphasised by Kosterman and Feshbach (1989), which provides the foundations for their nationalism scale. Specifically, the scale seeks to investigate the perception of national superiority, and the strength of such perception, such as assessments including the beliefs of a national dominance at the expense of defamation of foreign nations. The scale has been successfully applied to international marketing studies investigating how nationalism translates into consumption behaviour (e.g. Cheah and Phau, 2015; Balabanis *et al*., 2001; Rawwas *et al*., 1996).

3.2.7 Discussion and summary of key literature

This Chapter sought to evidence a multitude of contextual and methodological issues that have plagued investigations seeking to offer substantiation of the COO effect for decades through a review of both empirical evidence and associated theoretical insight. What results is a body of literature consisting of contradictory findings, validity concerns and problems of generalisability, thereby constraining the development of both theoretical knowledge and practical insight due to the lack of a suitable research framework and overall fragmented approaches of inquiry within this discipline of international marketing studies. Contextually, the COO effect is not limited to the product, but possesses disaggregate effects when considering its subcomponents (i.e. country-of-brand or country-of-manufacture), types of products used (i.e. high or low involvement product, luxury or non-luxury goods) and its ability to influence any part of the consumer decision-making process (i.e. product evaluation or purchase intention). This review demonstrated how studies may confuse or neglect to consider the diversity of both COO constructs and its consumer influencing potential, where terminology is used interchangeably.

Regarding different approaches of contextualising the COO effect, concentrating on a general country image has the potential to offer evidence into the likelihood of engaging with products or services from the country under investigation, but studies often lack academic rigour or insight, offering little more than establishing a basic causality on a construct that is inherently complex and multifaceted (Lascu *et al*., 2020). The multidimensionality of country image consists of both macro and micro attributes and differing influences yet are often unaccounted for within studies (Almousa *et al*., 2018). On a product-country image level, the halo effect can skew results if stereotypes or historic animosity are unconsidered, or if a drastic difference exists between the countries under investigation within the areas of market maturity, economic status or culture (Diamantopoulos *et al*., 2019). The products themselves used to evidence to the COO effect is another contextualising factor that can influence results, particularly within varying product categories or product involvement. Given the many subcomponents of the COO effect, hybrid origins where a product is produced in more than one country or possesses a country image association can also produce varied findings (Usunier, 2011). Furthermore, differences in the development of sampling frameworks and overall sampling procedures were observed. Demographic variables, particularly age, gender, income levels and location were highlighted to possess a strong moderating influence on COO effect strength, yet many studies neglect to control for such. Such variety in contextualising factors have the potential to limit investigations and further contribute to the assortment of findings.

Evidence showcasing the variety of methodological approaches of COO studies, including scale design and data collection procedures were also presented and critiqued. Given the acknowledged lack of a foundational theory explaining the COO effect, studies often present the effect as a linier entity (Andéhn and Decosta, 2018), whereas due to the varied findings and immense body of literature pertaining to the research topic, would suggest the effect is much more complex. Single-cue studies often provide an oversimplification of causality to such complexities, whereas multiple-cue studies have the potential to dilute the true influence of origin. Furthermore, single-country designs often find differing levels of influence, whereas multiple-country investigations struggle to control for the many moderating factors and neglect the multidimensionality of such approaches. Qualitative data collection approaches, particularly case study designs, often convey limited knowledge given the neglect of wider contextual influences, however quantitative approaches can demonstrate and provide greater explanations of causality, although the ability to control group variables can be limiting.

Literature presented also investigated the motivational origins that stimulate an ingroup loyalty bias, by considering their foundations within group-based behavioural dynamics through the lens of social constructivism. Whilst the reciprocal nature of these biases was acknowledged, such perspectives are often misconstrued when applied to COO studies seeking to evidence consumer preferences for home country products over foreign alternatives. The previous Chapter reviewed the origins of consumer ethnocentric and consumer nationalistic tendencies by considering their group-based dynamics within social psychology. It was presented that both concepts embody a conceptualisation of somewhat related, albeit fundamentally different ways of identifying the direction of influence in facilitating the strength of an ingroup loyalty. Whilst both measure the strength of affiliation towards ingroup loyalty through consumption scenarios, their underlying motivations for doing so stem from two conceptually opposite perspectives. Specifically, motivations for ingroup loyalty arise automatically because of either a principal desire to protect the ingroup or to vilify the outgroup. Such often overlooked motivations have different consequences on resulting behaviour, and as such, the effectiveness of the COO label itself. There is potential however, that using both constructs as measurements within studies will provide a more capable approach of capturing the motivations that result in a nationality bias.

Although much knowledge and evidence has been obtained from extant literature on consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism, few studies have sought to acknowledge, then position, both constructs with regards to their motivational origins for ingroup loyalty, assuming that they are similar constructs both within their beliefs and resulting behaviours, or as commonly presented, antecedents of each other.

However, through consideration of their origins within group-based behavioural dynamics, it was uncovered that nationalism and ethnocentrism interact differently during intergroup evaluations because of two different motivations towards an ingroup loyalty.

Many studies have presented a somewhat natural assumption that constructs like ethnocentrism and nationalism are similar, given that they both provide a measure of strength towards ingroup loyalty that equates to an outgroup prejudice. However, the causes of such loyalty are conceptually different. Whilst both ethnocentrism and nationalism are rooted in the desire for ingroup cohesion, the influences of ingroup protection and outgroup prejudice stem from different foundational desires. In view of social constructivism theory, ethnocentrism and nationalism are based on two different forms of social comparisons or sources of national identity, yet often considered as related concepts within literature. Ethnocentrism is based on a fear of outgroup encroachment, whereas nationalism is based on social comparisons between nations, as individuals search for a positive distinctiveness of their own nation, they engage in behaviours that devaluate the achievements of others. This results in two very different ways of essentially protecting the ingroup or reaffirming loyalty to it. Attitudes and behaviours resulting from ethnocentrism seek to offset outgroup advances, whereas nationalism seeks to ascertain an ingroup dominance.

It is practical to note that some constructs do offer an alternative explanation where such reciprocal behaviours can indeed operate independently, with Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) alluding to such construct as patriotism, being strong feelings of attachment to the ingroup country without the expense of a corresponding foreign nation. It therefore could be possible that a favourable ingroup bias towards home country products may not necessarily result in a negative one for outgroup countries, a concept explored further in Chapter Four. What this review has shown however is that their motivations towards an ingroup loyal behavioural bias have two very different foundations.

Both constructs seek to explain ingroup attachment, yet studies seeking to uncover if the motivation stems from an ingroup loyalty or perceived outgroup prejudice, and what this means for consumption behaviour. Increasing our understanding of the composition and characteristics of ingroup attachment and what is fuelling it is particularly important not only because of recent political events such as the UK exiting from the EU, but as evidenced in the previous Chapter, the extent of which brands adopt such nationalistic labelling and advertising practices but without possessing the behavioural insight of how consumers respond, and what makes them respond in different ways. Ethnocentric consumers fear that purchasing foreign products could hurt the domestic economy, part in due to pressures of beliefs that other countries produce superior or inferior products (Obermiller and Spangenberg, 1989). Nationalism however is based on the strength of positive associations to the ingroup home country, meaning that negative associations and subsequent ingroup bias stems from an emotional significance attached to that membership, resulting in comparisons made between products from the ingroup and the outgroup (Hogg, 2006; Tajfel and Turner, 2004).

Consumer ethnocentrism and the associated CETSCALE measure are conceptually defined as consumers' beliefs regarding the appropriateness of purchasing foreign-made products. Highly ethnocentric consumers avoid purchasing such products because of a desire to protect the ingroup. In comparison, highly nationalistic consumers display prejudiced attitudes towards foreign nations based on an ideological belief that an ingroup nation should be superior to that of others. Nationalists are associated as being more competitive and materialistic, believing in the superior of their ingroup whilst holding negative stereotypes of the outgroup (Druckman, 1994). Nationalism and ethnocentrism differ from one another given that their ingroup loyal motives result from differing associations with the outgroup. Whilst ethnocentrism displays a consistent influence on consumer buyer behaviour, nationalism does not enjoy the same success, as its effects are believed to be country specific (Balabanis *et al*., 2001). Such inconsistencies may be a result of its consideration as an antecedent of ethnocentrism. However, the view adopted within this study departs from traditional approaches and seeks guidance from the very foundational theory of which such construct is built upon, being reciprocity behaviours within SIT.

The combination of contextual and methodological interpretations and variances produce disagreement on the existence, strength and in some cases, the very existence of a COO effect. As such, illuminating the path forward through an entangled web of approaches requires to reconsider past foundations of what exactly the COO effect was first built upon. With the COO effect being manifestation of a positive affiliation to an ingroup, considering the foundational principles of such biases from the perspective of group-based behavioural dynamics may provide the structure needed to understand the antecedents and consequences of such affinity. More recent studies seek to re-conceptualise the COO construct (i.e. Andéhn and Decosta, 2018) given the somewhat limited view that solely focusing on one country origin can provide, however this review has identified that such efforts may be in vain, given the variety of both contextual and methodological issues observed within literature. The solution therefore requires further refinement still, so by taking the construct back to its foundations can provide the insight required to understand this consumption-based phenomena through the perspectives of group interaction.

3.3 Research aims and objectives

Literature presented explored the grounding of the COO effect within group-based behavioural dynamics by specifically evaluating the conceptualisation of ethnocentrism and nationalism, and how such behaviours are influenced by ingroup and outgroup associations. The following empirical data collection activity seeks to build upon the Chapter's objective to exhibit how such beliefs are associated within group-based shopper activities. Specifically, a scenario-based questionnaire was deployed to understand the extent and strength of motivational beliefs that facilitate a nationality bias, conceptualised as a loyalty to the ingroup. The aim of this investigation, and wider Chapter, is to ground the COO effect (and techniques to measure it) within theory address previous concerns that explanations suffer from conceptualisation issues (e.g. De Nisco and Oduro, 2022; Andéhn and Decosta, 2018; Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). To address this, the argument presented within this Chapter (and the thesis at large) is that the COO effect can be grounded within group-based behavioural dynamic theory. To do so, the previous literature review considered ethnocentrism and nationalism as motivations for engaging with the ingroup and avoiding the outgroup. Whilst both constructs have been discussed to uncover the distinct motivations for ingroup loyal behaviours, they do not provide a full account unless used together in a study (i.e. if consumer ethnocentrism is solely used, it will highlight that consumers will engage with ingroup domestic products because of wanting to protect the ingroup from outgroup threat, or if consumer nationalism is used, it will inform that consumers will engage because of a view that the ingroup as superior from the outgroup). This investigation therefore seeks to demonstrate that another measure that is grounded within group dynamic theory specifically (the ingroup loyalty scale) is a possible useful alternative measure to deploy, as it encompasses both distinct motivations from consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism in one scale. As section 3.2.4 discussed, an ingroup loyalty from the moral foundations index may explain how loyalty behaviours are linked to consumer values and are the driving forces of ethnocentric beliefs, however the index also emphasises intergroup competition that often manifest as nationalistic beliefs too.

The aim of this investigation therefore is to seek evidence of how an ingroup loyalty manifests in varying shopper scenarios, and if such loyalty can be predicted using not only the consumer ethnocentrism and nationality scales, which given the conceptual review of these two constructs will help to identify the underlying motivations for the approach and avoidance behaviours associated with ingroup and outgroup heuristic influence, but if the ingroup loyalty scale can also be a reliable predictor of COO heuristic influence, thereby offering a theoretically grounded measure of the nationality bias. By considering consumer ethnocentrism and nationalism together, this investigation seeks to understand if such ingroup loyalty beliefs within a consumption-based scenario can be explained via the two distinct motivations of protecting the ingroup from foreign threats or prejudiced beliefs towards the outgroup. Then, by considering the ingroup loyalty scale as an alternative effective measure that considers both motivations in its scale, its use can help steer COO investigations to more theoretically grounded explanations within group-based behavioural dynamics. Utilising the moral foundations index alongside marketing-specific behavioural scales measuring constructs such as ethnocentrism and nationalism has produced insightful and interesting findings in similar associated literature and is the basis for this study's design (e.g. Im *et al*., 2023; Prince *et al*., 2020; Prince *et al*., 2019). The data collection effort is supported by the following research questions:

RQ1: Can the constructs of consumer ethnocentrism and nationalism be theoretically grounded in group behaviour theory and be suitable explanations of COO-related behaviours within group-based shopping scenarios?

RQ2: Can the moral foundations of ingroup loyalty be theoretically grounded in group behaviour theory and be suitable explanations of COO-related behaviours within group-based shopping scenarios?

To address these research questions, a series of hypotheses are developed to identify correlations for engaging or avoiding group-based provenance appeals, whilst also investigating if the ingroup loyalty construct is also a reliable associator of consumption behaviours related to the COO effect. Furthermore, the empirical data collection effort seeks to demonstrate if a shopper scenario study can evidence such biased behaviours associated with the COO effect as opposed to the usual standardised contextual approaches identified and critiqued within the previous literature review. To that end, a series of hypotheses are presented that attempts to exhibit the effectiveness of the consumer ethnocentrism and nationalism scales within a series of shopper scenario examples where provenance heuristics are used as indicators to ground associated COO effects relating to ingroup and outgroup influence. Once the effectiveness of these to scales is demonstrated, a third scale, being the ingroup loyalty scale taken from the moral foundations index, will be analysed to investigate if an ingroup loyalty can also be exhibited within the same shopper scenarios:

Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs on ingroup influence

H1: Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs exhibit a strong, positive influence on ingroup product appeals.

H2: Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs exhibit a strong, positive influence on ingroup product recommendations.

Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs on outgroup influence

H3: Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs exhibit a strong, negative influence on outgroup product appeals.

H4: Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs exhibit a strong, negative influence on outgroup product recommendations.

Moral foundations of ingroup loyalty beliefs on ingroup influence

H5: Moral foundations of an ingroup loyalty exhibit a strong, positive influence on ingroup product appeals.

H6: Moral foundations of an ingroup loyalty exhibit a strong, positive influence on ingroup product recommendations.

Moral foundations of ingroup loyalty beliefs on outgroup influence

H7: Moral foundations of an ingroup loyalty exhibit a strong, negative influence on outgroup product appeals.

H8: Moral foundations of an ingroup loyalty exhibit a strong, negative influence on outgroup product recommendations.

As a result of this investigation, a developed understanding of the distinct motivations leading to a nationality bias is ascertained by grounding the constructs under consideration within group-based behavioural dynamics. The findings offer a novel contribution to the existing body of literature by discussing how such constructs can be used to explain approach and avoidance behaviours towards ingroups and outgroups, and how such behaviours are demonstrated within a shopper scenario study, as opposed to other empirical approaches whose contexts and methods have been critiqued previously within the literature. Lastly, recommendations for organising future studies within international marketing research are provided that seek to connect group identification with the nationality bias of consumers.

3.3.1 Research philosophy

A positivist epistemological framework supports this research investigation, through a reductionist ontology stance to address the research questions and hypotheses of this Chapter. Such scientific investigation of complex cognitive and affective systems complements both the research objectives of this Chapter and the adopted perspective of the thesis, specifically considering the research methodology and study of observed psychological phenomena as a science (Dafermos, 2014). Through a positivist approach to data collection, the knowledge gained, and its associated measures embraced are considered trustworthy, given that the researcher is limited to data collection and interpretation, thus maintaining an objectivity (Obermiller and Spangberg, 1989).

3.4 Research methodology

This sub-chapter seeks to discuss and justify the chosen methodology to address the research objectives and test the aforementioned hypotheses. Consideration will be given to the philosophical approach adopted, before presenting the research design including stimuli selection and measures, along with sampling, methods of analysis and ethical issues. Such research procedures have been informed by the literature review conducted, the specific research aims and overall perspective of the thesis at large.

3.4.1 Research design

Previous and common approaches of investigating COO influence within consumption-based surveys generally require foreign countries to be explicitly defined, to facilitate comparisons of certain product attributes or features against the home country (Bhaskaran and Sukumaran, 2007). When considering examples of countries to include in such investigations, authors seek to identify those that may be economically or culturally similar or possess other comparable distinctive traits. For example, country selection prerequisites may involve consideration of both current and previous conflicts, minority segregation, suppression (such as political, economic or ethnic) or past changes within economic, political or geographical status (e.g. Chryssochoidis *et al*., 2007). Investigations that consider such prerequisites are generally interested in assessing how COO influence have changed over time. Other approaches may rely upon specific economic factors such as import practices (both arranged or restricted), GDP of countries or trade agreements (e.g. Agnoli *et al*., 2014). Investigations that consider these prerequisites are generally interested in COO influence within international trade. Lastly, other approaches may seek to explain COO influence through demographic or cultural differences, where an ethnographic approach is adopted to compare people and practices that may be involved within the design or manufacture products to be compared during the test (e.g. Amine, 2008).

Aside from country and culture comparisons, many studies also compare product category and product attributes. Comparisons provoke biased evaluations, providing evidence on the interplay of ethnocentric or nationalistic constructs as a cause, whilst assessing which constructs are most influential. However, the motivations of such biased evaluations are rarely acknowledged or tested to uncover the source of an ingroup loyalty. Contrary to popular approaches of explicitly defining not only the ingroup home country, but the outgroup as specific countries, which evokes specific biases and beliefs one may have of that country and thus result in both contextual and methodological challenges, this investigation adopts a more general view of group behaviour through the definition of ingroup and outgroups from SIT, that is an outgroup being *any* group that is not the ingroup. As such, the investigation aims to first measure the strength of participants' ingroup loyalty, second the motivations that drive such loyalty, and third assess the susceptibility of nationality-based heuristics that seek to take advantage of such loyalty.

3.4.2 Participants recruitment and sampling

The investigation was conducted through a self-administered online questionnaire, hosted via the web-based survey tool Qualtrics. The survey was open for a two-week period. There were no defined prerequisites, other than participants requiring access an internet connected device to complete the online survey. Within this study, the population of interest is *Great Britain*, thereby defining the ingroup as *British nationals*. A non-random sampling approach was adopted. The sample was screened to fit the criteria of nationality of respondents from Great Britain whilst ensuring representativeness from the devolved nations. This is due to the ingroup being defined for the purpose of this survey as *British nationals*, thereby ensuring the assessment of the associations towards ingroup and outgroup, and its influence on consumer evaluation and purchasing judgement can address the research objectives. This approach of collecting, screening and analysing data within consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism studies is commonplace, having been employed successfully in past studies (e.g. Eng *et al*., 2016; Balabanis and Diamantopoulos, 2008; Ahmed and d'Astous, 2003). The approach of sample screening was adopted over other sampling types due to the restrictions of both time and resource in collecting a nationally representative sample, therefore the current study does not aim to make projections about the UK consumer population, but instead should be considered indicative of British consumers' ingroup loyalty-based biases. Following the initial data screening procedure, 156 complete responses were taken forward for analysis. A summary of the participant demographics can be found in Table 3.1:

Demographics	***n (156)***	***%***
Gender		
Men	68	43.59
Women	83	53.21
Undeclared/other	5	3.21
Nationality		
England	69	44.23
Scotland	48	30.77
Wales	39	25.00
Age		
<20	8	5.13
20-29	46	29.49
30-39	38	24.36
40-49	34	21.79
50-59	16	10.26
≥60	14	8.97

Table 3.1: Demographic profiles of sample

3.4.3 Construct measurements

The motivations driving an ingroup loyalty were assessed, namely loyalty stemming from a protectionist viewpoint of defending the ingroup from foreign outgroup threat (consumer ethnocentrism) or prejudiced beliefs towards foreign outgroups because of a strong support towards the ingroup (consumer nationalism). Such motivations were recorded using both the 17-item CETSCALE developed by Shimp and Sharma (1978), which has been used widely and psychometrically tested and validated, and the nationalism scale (NATSCALE) developed by Kosterman and Feshbach (1989), which measures the belief of a perceived national dominance at the expense of foreign nations. The scale also possesses strong psychometric properties and commonly applied to consumption-based investigations (Cheah and Phau, 2015). Consumers responses were used to compose two indexes that facilitate an ingroup loyalty: motivation to protect ingroup and motivation to vilify outgroup. Such categories were defined through the responses obtained from both the CETSCALE and NATSCALE.

To measure the strength of ingroup loyalty, the moral foundations questionnaire by Graham *et al*. (2011) was adapted. The original 30-item self-report measurement scale assesses the extent to which individuals prioritise the five moral domains as explained within the moral foundations theory (i.e. harm/care, fairness/reciprocity, ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect, and purity/sanctity). For this study, only the ingroup/loyalty subscale was utilised, allowing to ascertain the strength of such loyalty towards the home country. Previous studies have also utilised an adapted construct measurement scale successfully within their own research protocols to focus on limited parameters within the moral foundations theory (i.e. Stewart and Morris, 2021). The scale has also been adopted successfully in consumer-based studies (i.e. Prince *et al*., 2020). A copy of these questionnaires can be found within the Appendix.

To assess the susceptibility of group-based influence, the consumption scenario by Lee and Green (1991) was adapted to measure the degree of influence from a COO heuristic during a specific purchasing decision, instead of adopting a more general, non-specific context susceptibility to such influence (Hildebrand *et al*., 2013). An example scenario used reads as follows:

You are instore shopping for your usual choice of XXXX when you notice it is out of stock. You are considering the alternative options available to you. How likely are you to purchase one of the alternative options if that product was: [Produced within in Great Britain] [Imported from foreign overseas countries] [Recommended by shoppers of Great Britain] [Recommended by foreign overseas shoppers]?

Product category selection was informed by the findings of the previous study in Chapter Two, using the most representative categories within the scenario-based question. The same process was adopted for country-based heuristic design description, utilising prominent examples found within both categories of products and categories of indicators. Each participant indicated their purchase likelihood for each scenario (on a scale from 1 = very unlikely and 5 = very likely). For each scale category, four scenario questions were presented, with 16 scenarios asked across the four categories: (1) ingroup product origin influence, (2) ingroup product recommendation influence, (3), outgroup product origin influence, (4), outgroup product recommendation influence for participants to answer. The questionnaire was designed using a five-point Likert scale where appropriate, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Whilst there exists no preferred measurement, both the CETSCALE and NATSCALE were conceptually designed with a five-point scale, hence this was the scale range chosen for the entire questionnaire. The results of the scenario-based questionnaire then produced four indexes in two distinct groups: ingroup product influence and ingroup product recommendations, and outgroup product influence and outgroup product recommendations.

3.4.4 Data analysis procedures

Following the data screening process along with identifying errors or incomplete responses, a total of 156 responses were collected and analysed in SPSS to test the hypotheses. The descriptive information for the constructs under investigation are presented in Table 3.2:

Scale / index	Description
MF(INGROUP)-SCALE	Results of the moral foundations questionnaire
CETSCALE	Results of the CETSCALE to measure consumer ethnocentrism
NATSCALE	Results of the NATSCALE to measure consumer nationalism
PI-INGROUP	Product origin influence (domestic)
PR-INGROUP	Product recommendation influence (domestic)
PI-OUTGROUP	Product origin influence (foreign)
PR-OUTGROUP	Product recommendation influence (foreign)

Table 3.2: Scale information

Robustness checks, testing for common method bias and multiple linear regression were performed on the data, with outputs reported in the following sections. Such data analyses were referred from previous studies utilising the same design, including testing for common method bias (Hildebrand *et al*., 2013). Multiple linear regression for testing path coefficients to address the hypotheses were referred from previous studies investigating and comparing similar constructs used (Amarullah and Handriana, 2022; El Banna *et al*., 2016; Josiassen *et al*., 2011).

3.4.5 Ethical considerations

The necessary ethical procedures for primary data collection were followed in accordance with Durham University's standards of ethical conduct. Participants under the age of 18 were not permitted to complete the survey. Participants were provided with an information sheet prior to the survey with informed consent obtained by those who agreed to progress with the activity. Participants were also informed that they were permitted to ask questions and able to withdraw from the survey at any time. All data was collected anonymously and stored confidentially.

3.5 Findings

Before hypotheses testing began, robustness checks using Cronbach's alpha measure of internal consistency were undertaken on both the scale measures and indexes to ensure reliability. A summary of this reliability analysis is detailed in Table 3.3, along with a summary of the scale mean values and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of normality values. A series of Q-Q plots showcasing the normality of the data are presented within the Appendix.

Scale / index	**Alpha**	**Mean**	**Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of normality**	
			Stat	**Sig.**
MF(INGROUP)-SCALE	.889	3.41	.101	<.001
CETSCALE	.950	3.15	.105	<.001
NATSCALE	.941	3.42	.132	<.001

PI-INGROUP	.851	3.16	.097	<.001
PR-INGROUP	.756	3.51	.122	<.001
PI-OUTGROUP	.833	2.82	.117	<.001
PR-OUTGROUP	.821	2.62	.184	<.001

Table 3.3: Reliability analysis

Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs on ingroup influence

H1: Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs exhibit a strong, positive influence on ingroup product appeals.

Multiple linear regression was performed to test if ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs possessed a significant correlation to ingroup product influence. The overall regression was statistically significant ($R^2 = .717$, $F(2,153) = 194.192$, $p = <.001$). It was found that ethnocentrism significantly correlated with ingroup product influence ($\beta = .378$, $t = 5.854$, $p = <.001$). It was also found that nationalism significantly correlated with ingroup product influence ($\beta = .526$, $t = 8.150$, $p = <.001$). H1 is therefore accepted.

H2: Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs exhibit a strong, positive influence on ingroup product recommendations.

Multiple linear regression was performed to test if ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs possessed a significant correlation to ingroup product recommendations influence. The overall regression was statistically significant ($R^2 = .800$, $F(2,153) = 305.645$, $p = <.001$). It was found that ethnocentrism significantly correlated with ingroup product recommendations influence ($\beta = .736$, $t = 13.539$, $p = <.001$). It was also found that nationalism significantly correlated with ingroup product recommendations influence ($\beta = .199$, $t = 3.657$, $p = <.001$). H2 is therefore accepted.

Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs on outgroup influence

H3: Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs exhibit a strong, negative influence on outgroup product appeals.

Multiple linear regression was performed to test if ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs had a significant correlation to outgroup product influence. The overall regression was statistically significant (R^2 = .456, F(2,153) = 64.082, p = <.001). It was found that ethnocentrism significantly correlated with outgroup product influence (β = -.202, t = -2.258, p = .025). It was also found that nationalism significantly correlated with outgroup product influence (β = -.511, t = -5.965, p = <.001). H3 is therefore accepted.

H4: Ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs exhibit a strong, negative influence on outgroup product recommendations.

Multiple linear regression was performed to test if ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs had a significant correlation to outgroup product recommendations influence. The overall regression was statistically significant (R^2 = .518, F(2,153) = 82.251, p = <.001). It was found that ethnocentrism significantly correlated with outgroup product recommendations influence (β = -.189, t = -2.237, p = .027). It was also found that nationalism significantly correlated with outgroup product recommendations influence (β = -.568, t = -6.733, p = <.001). H4 is therefore accepted.

Moral foundations of ingroup loyalty beliefs on ingroup influence

H5: Moral foundations of an ingroup loyalty exhibit a strong, positive influence on ingroup product appeals.

Regression was performed to test if the moral foundations of ingroup loyalty had a significant correlation to ingroup product influence. The overall regression was statistically significant (R^2 = .633, F(1, 154) = 265.771, p = <.001). The moral foundations of ingroup loyalty significantly correlated with ingroup product influence (β = .796, t = 16.302, p = <.001). H5 is therefore accepted.

H6: Moral foundations of an ingroup loyalty exhibit a strong, positive influence on ingroup product recommendations.

Regression was performed to test if the moral foundations of ingroup loyalty had a significant correlation to ingroup product recommendations influence. The overall regression was statistically significant (R^2 = .871, F(1, 154) = 140.731, p = <.001). The moral foundations of ingroup loyalty significantly correlated with ingroup product influence (β = .933, t = 32.360, p = <.001). H6 is therefore accepted.

Moral foundations of ingroup loyalty beliefs on outgroup influence

H7: Moral foundations of an ingroup loyalty exhibit a strong, negative influence on outgroup product appeals.

Regression was performed to test if the moral foundations of ingroup loyalty had a significant correlation to outgroup product influence. The overall regression was statistically significant (R^2 = .382, F(1, 154) = 95.320, p = <.001). The moral foundations of ingroup loyalty significantly correlated outgroup product influence (β = -.618, t = -9.763, p = <.001). H7 is therefore accepted.

H8: Moral foundations of an ingroup loyalty exhibit a strong, negative influence on outgroup product recommendations.

Regression was performed to test if the moral foundations of ingroup loyalty significantly correlated with outgroup product recommendations influence. The overall regression was statistically significant (R^2 = .422, F(1,154) = 112.238, p = <.001). The moral foundations of ingroup loyalty significantly correlated with outgroup product influence (β = -.649, t = -10.594, p = <.001). H8 is therefore accepted.

A full table of correlation is provided in Table 3.4. The corelation values presented between the four scales of ingroup/outgroup product and recommendations are lessor than 0.8, a generally accepted value for the detection of multicollinearity (Young, 2017).

	E	N	IL	WtB UKp	WtB UKr	WtB Fp	WtB Fr
Ethnocentrism (E)	----	.747*	.912*	.771*	.884*	-.583*	-.613*
Nationalism (N)	.747*	---	.769*	.809*	.748*	-.662*	-.709*
Ingroup/loyalty (IL)	.912*	.769*	----	.769*	.933*	-.618*	-.649*
Willingness to Buy (UK produced)	.771*	.809*	.796*	----	.770*	-.763*	-.638*
Willingness to Buy (UK recommended)	.884*	.748*	.933*	.770*	----	-.602*	-.733*
Willingness to Buy (Foreign produced)	-.583*	-.662*	-.618*	-.763*	-.602*	----	.560*
Willingness to Buy (Foreign recommended)	-.613*	-.709*	-.649*	-.638*	-.733*	.560*	----

*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 3.4: Table of correlations

3.5.1 Testing for common method bias

All construct measures and indexes were obtained using the same self-report data collection procedure, with the responses used to measure both the independent and dependent variables. It was important therefore to investigate if common method bias existed within the data set. To check for this potential problem, Harman's single-factor test was conducted on all variables identified, which included the three psychometric scales (moral foundations, consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism) and the four ingroup and outgroup scenario indexes. An exploratory factor analysis found the variance explained to be below the accepted threshold of 50% (Podsakoff *et al*., 2003). Common method bias therefore does not appear to be a significant problem identified within this investigation.

3.6 Discussion of key findings

The objective of this chapter was to investigate how the COO effect can be explained within group behaviour theory and identify how behaviours related to the effect can be observed. This was undertaken through an account of group-based behavioural literature and review of key conceptual and methodological designs of previous empirical studies.

Specifically, this Chapter set out to explore the ingroup loyal motivations that manifest in the COO effect, being the attraction to home country (ingroup) products whilst avoiding foreign (outgroup) products. Through a detailed review of associated literature on group behaviours, including acknowledging group-based psychological constructs that offer explanations of the nationality bias within COO studies, and the motivations of ingroup loyal behaviours resulting of ingroup and outgroup associations presented in section 1.3, afforded the opportunity to explore the conceptualisation of the constructs consumer ethnocentrism and nationalism, two commonly employed constructs to explain such biased behaviours of consumers. Literature presented within this Chapter further demonstrated an opportunity to ground these two measures of ingroup bias, and COO studies in general, within group-based behavioural theory. A review of both related empirical studies and original theoretical foundations of each construct within group-based behavioural dynamics, such as the ingroup/outgroup paradigm and SIT, presented organised distinctions between each construct. Specifically, ethnocentrically minded consumers appear to be motivationally engaged with domestic products based upon a perceived threat posed by foreign equivalents, with such threats usually manifesting as harmful to domestic producers, economies and markets. Nationally minded consumers however appear to be motivationally engaged with domestic products based upon the perceived superiority of home-country offerings and the opinions that everything else is lessor or inferior.

This study therefore sought to investigate these nationality biased behaviours that facilitate the COO effect. Through the perspective of group dynamics within social constructivism, this study provided an alternative approach to investigating a construct that, whilst enjoying immense attention within literature over the past fifty years, is seen to suffer from an inconsistent research framework, resulting in contextual and methodological issues that contribute to contradictory findings reported. The COO effect within this study was conceptualised as a behavioural phenomenon resulting from an ingroup loyalty, identified within the literature as consisting of two motivations: negative associations to the outgroup with a desire therefore to protect the ingroup or positive associations to the ingroup with a desire therefore to vilify the outgroup. Such motivations were conceptualised via the constructs of ethnocentrism and nationality, where a review of associated literature revealing their ingroup protectionist and outgroup defamation qualities. Within a shopper scenario investigation, these motivations were used to offer evidence to understand the group-based behavioural biases and their founding motivations that can explain how the COO effect can be interpreted through an ingroup loyalty. The effect of such biases was demonstrated to influence behaviour through two common provenance heuristics, being product origin description and product origin recommendations.

The motivation of ingroup devotion is rarely explored within studies (Hamley *et al.*, 2020). The analysis however attempts to overcome this limitation, exploring the precursors to such ingroup loyalty through the constructs of consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationality. Consumer ethnocentrism, having found to create an ingroup protectionist strategy from negative associations of the outgroup (Cutura, 2020) and consumer nationalism, found to create an ingroup loyalty due to beliefs that view the ingroup as superior over outgroups (De Nisco *et al.*, 2020) were used in part to address the research questions. Whilst both constructs can be considered as motivators for engaging with the ingroup (i.e. domestic products) and avoiding the outgroup (i.e. foreign products), they do not provide a full account of the group-based behaviours as stated within SIT and other associated theories unless used together within one study. Such constructs were employed within scenario-based shopping exercises to address the first research question. Participants' levels of ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs were captured through the CETSCALE and NATSCALE. Participants were also presented with a series of shopper scenarios relating to ingroup and outgroup product choices. Both scales were found to exhibit significant effects within group-based shopping decisions. Furthermore, given the conceptualisation of both scales within the group-based paradigm and presented within the literature review, the results provide the opportunity to consider where the desire or motivations to engage with domestic products stems from. The results observed within the study offer evidence to support the belief that the COO effect can be interpreted as the result of ingroup loyal behaviours that can influence consumers within shopper scenarios when exposed to group-based marketing heuristics. The precursors of such loyal behaviours arise from the group dynamics and the interplay between ingroups and outgroups (Brewer, 2007).

Alongside conceptualising consumer ethnocentrism and nationalism within group dynamics, and to further support the belief that the COO effect is a manifestation of such dynamics, the inclusion of the ingroup loyalty subscale from the moral foundations index also observed significant results, thereby addressing the second research question. The strength of an ingroup loyalty (with the ingroup in the context of this study defined as a domestic national identity) was demonstrated to have a significant effect on the influence of both ingroup and outgroup heuristic influence. A strong, positive relationship was found to exist between ingroup loyalty and the influence of products with domestic origins on shopper purchase intention. Furthermore, a strong, negative relationship exists between ingroup loyalty and the influence of products with foreign origins on shopper purchase intention. Alongside the product origin description identified as one COO heuristic within this shopper scenario investigation, a second heuristic used to demonstrate the effect of an ingroup loyalty was group-based product recommendations. As with the first heuristic, a strong, positive relationship was found to exist between ingroup loyalty and the influence of domestic shopper recommendations on purchase intention. A strong, negative relationship was also found between ingroup loyalty and foreign shopper recommendations. Furthermore, the use of a shopper scenario itself demonstrated that the COO effect may also be evidenced via non-traditional methods and contexts like those presented within the literature review, providing an alternative practice of observing the effect within empirical studies. Now that the COO effect and resulting consumer behaviours can be considered as operating within group-based behavioural dynamics, a further opportunity is presented to consider why such approach and avoidance exists between familiar ingroups and unfamiliar outgroups in the final Chapter, grounding the effect once more within evolutionary psychology.

To summarise and to address the original objective, the findings of this Chapter support the belief that the COO effect can be grounded within group-based behavioural dynamics. Conceptualising ethnocentric and nationalistic beliefs as approach and avoidance mechanisms towards ingroup and outgroups was demonstrated within a shopper scenario context, which further highlights the possibilities of developing future empirical studies that may overcome the contextual and methodological issues of investigating the COO effect as previously discussed. Given that a measure of ingroup loyalty may also be linked to these same approach and avoidance behaviours towards ingroup and outgroups, the findings support the idea that the COO effect operates on the principles of group behavioural theories and provides fruitful opportunity for further investigations within this context.

The COO effect being a consequence of ingroup affinity is in support with previous findings of group-based behavioural studies where such loyalty results in behaviours that reinforce an affinity to the ingroup, (Iurino and Saucier, 2020). The consequences of such identity in the context of this study results in approach and avoidance behaviours when group-based heuristics are employed within a shopper scenario, informing consumers' purchasing intentions. The construct of ingroup loyalty within the moral foundations theory is criticised as possessing an inability to identify the distinct motivations that result in biased judgements towards groups (Winget and Tindale, 2020; Prince *et al*., 2020). However, ingroup loyalty guides individual principles of behaviour (Schwartz, 2007), and evidenced within this investigation as capable of influencing the purchasing decisions towards domestic and foreign goods when presented with group-based heuristics. The findings therefore are in accordance with previous studies that identify how ingroup loyalty produces an outgroup bias (Hamley *et al*., 2020). Lastly, the study itself demonstrated that the ingroup loyalty index is just a powerful predictor of behaviours associated within the COO effect when compared with scales measuring consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism. This offers the potential to be explored further in future studies whilst providing theoretical grounding within group-based behavioural dynamics to explain the COO effect, addressing the previous contextual and methodological limitations of previous associated studies that lack theoretical grounding.

3.7 Conclusion

This Chapter aimed to contribute to the knowledge of explaining the COO effect within social constructivism and particularly within theories of intergroup behavioural dynamics and ingroup loyalty behaviours. Conceptualising the nationality bias as a loyalty to the ingroup, this study sought to understand and explain how susceptible domestic, ingroup loyal consumers are towards ingroup and outgroup provenance-based appeals and provenance-based recommendations, whilst offering three distinct scales of measurements that seek to predict associated COO effect behaviours. The key findings of the study are summarised with specific contributions presented. The implications of these findings for manufactures are considered. The limitations of this Chapter are acknowledged and suggestions for future research provided.

To overcome the contextual and methodological issues of COO studies presented within this Chapter, the nationality bias of consumers was considered from its conceptual foundations of *ingroup loyalty*. Grounded within a social constructivist approach and associated theories of group-based behavioural dynamics, adopting this perspective allowed for the exploration of how a loyalty to the ingroup facilitates both defensive and preferential behaviours towards ingroup and outgroup products, stemming from either a protectionist viewpoint from encroaching foreign influence or a vilification viewpoint where the ingroup is seen as dominant. These behaviours were conceptualised as *ethnocentrism* or *nationalism* following a review of associated literature, where the constructs' creation and previous applications were explored, exclusively connecting the original work of ethnocentrism (Sumner, 1907) and SIT (Tajfel *et al*., 1971). A subsequent consumption scenario-based investigation was undertaken where findings offer evidence of ingroup influence in facilitating a nationality bias and its associated motivations of consumer behaviour regarding domestic and foreign goods. Contextualising the nationality bias this way attempts to compensate from an acknowledged lack of overarching theory that can offer grounded explanations to the COO effect, were previous attempts offer anecdotal findings or limited explanations due to many uncontrolled, extraneous or moderating variables that prevent true discovery of the causes of a nationality bias. To overcome the main contextual challenges including the multidimensionality of country image or halo effect, the ingroup defined within this study was the domestic home country, with outgroups identified as foreign nations. To overcome the main methodological challenges including multi-cue and multi-country designs, the scenario-based survey limited the parameters of potential influencing extraneous variables. This approach allowed to not only uncover what is affected by COO, but also what affects COO behaviours.

3.7.1 Key findings and contribution

To address the first research question, it was first necessary to demonstrate how consumer ethnocentrism and nationalism could explain consumption behaviours influenced by ingroup (domestic) and outgroup (foreign) scenarios. Having already grounded the constructs within literature associated with group theory, where it was argued that whilst they can uncover the distinct motivations for engaging with provenance-based heuristics, they do not provide a complete account unless both are used together. This is because consumer ethnocentrism is conceptualised as a motivation to protect the ingroup from outgroup threat, whereas consumer nationalism is a motivation to view the ingroup as superior from the outgroup. Both result in an ingroup loyalty, but an ingroup loyalty itself is argued to have two sides to the same coin, being what motivates it is dependent upon the relationship towards the outgroup within group-based behavioural theories. It was found that they both to varying degrees can predict consumption behaviours related to provenance influence.

However, in addressing the second research question, the ingroup loyalty scale was shown to offer another viable construct measurement, supported by group dynamic theory, for investigations into the influence of provenance-based marketing stimuli. This therefore addresses the call for grounding the COO effect within theory, as it has been demonstrated, through a critical review of literature and within the study presented, that the nationality bias of consumers can be explained through group-based behavioural dynamics and the ingroup/outgroup paradigm.

Exploring and building upon these findings, the study investigated how susceptible domestic, ingroup loyal consumers are towards ingroup and outgroup provenance-based appeals and provenance-based recommendations. It was found that the influence of an ingroup loyalty to the home country was evidenced to possess a significant effect on both domestic and foreign product descriptions and product recommendations. The investigation in Chapter Two uncovered how these two heuristic examples are common origin-based indicators on products within the FMCG category, therefore the results of this Chapter build upon both the theoretical and practical knowledge, and the consequences, of such marketing strategies. Specifically, the consequences of an affinity to the ingroup produces strong appeal or avoidance behaviours when different domestic or foreign origin heuristics are used by manufacturers. A strong ingroup loyalty results in behaviours that reinforces an affinity to the ingroup, thereby producing a stronger effect of engaging with products that offer such a way to reaffirm such loyalty, whilst producing a negative effect of avoidance towards foreign alternatives.

These findings contribute to the theoretical knowledge of the COO effect by first highlighting a potential cause of conflicting and contradictory findings within this research area. Through a consideration key literature and providing examples of previous studies, this investigation uncovered the immense variations within the contextualisation and resulting methods of inquiry of studies seeking to evidence the effect. Presenting such concerns advocates for the necessity of an agreed research framework for investigating the COO effect, as without such guidance future studies will continue to suffer from the same issues and only contribute further to a body of literature that offers confusion instead of clarity. Secondly, this study contributes to overcoming such difficulties through the conceptualisation of the nationality bias as it was originally presented, being a consequence of group-based behavioural dynamics. The COO effect was conceptualised in this case as the result of an ingroup loyalty. Whilst many studies focus on COO effect, this study also presented evidence as to what affects the COO effect in terms of ingroup loyal motivations. Such perspectives have the potential to offer a new line of inquiry into the study of nationality biased behaviours, with the ability to provide an all-encompassing view and move beyond establishing just a basic causality, overcoming a limitation of previous studies that do little to establish the causes of the effect itself or suffer from being atheoretical.

These findings also contribute to the practical knowledge of the potential consequences of labelling strategies of manufacturers that seek to influence consumers through the presence of provenance information. When considering the constructs of consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism specifically and their motivations towards engaging with the ingroup, nationalism possessed a stronger relationship in most cases when assessing domestic or foreign influence. If therefore consumers are motivated to engage with domestic products or avoid foreign products based on the belief that the ingroup is superior, developing marketing strategies that reinforce these motives for purchasing intentions may prove advantageous for manufacturers.

3.7.2 Limitations of the study

Methodological limitations of this study are acknowledged, particularly with regards to the sample procedures. This study was conducted within Great Britain; therefore all respondents were British. However, the interplay between devolved nations and their representation of Great Britain may vary. For example, Davidson *et al*., (2003) found that Scottish consumers showcase favourable responses to products labelled as 'Scottish' than 'British'. However, such differences reported are low, with similar studies producing reliable results when their sample is categorised as British. Whilst nationality was controlled, contextual and methodological limitations of COO studies were critiqued within this literature review identified the potential influencing effects of other demographic variables, temporal considerations relationships between nations. This may have the potential to skew results or present issues with generalisability. Secondly, this study tested the hypotheses using two scenarios (i.e. the influence of group-based product descriptions and group-based recommendations on purchasing intentions). Whilst this scenario can compare the degrees of influence from the strength of an ingroup loyalty and is able to support the hypotheses developed, the consideration of other shopper scenarios through the deployment of more practical data collection efforts would improve the generalisation and strength the external validity of the findings.

3.7.3 Recommendations for future research

This Chapter has also acknowledged the contextual and methodological variations in studies seeking to evidence the COO effect. To disentangle this web of ambiguity, this Chapter considered the nationality bias within its foundations of group-based behavioural dynamics. Contextualising future studies of the COO effect in such view of group behaviour may provide the opportunity to create an accepted research framework and direction, with the ability to begin generating consistency into the approaches of investigation and inquiry when seeking evidence the influence of provenance upon consumers. As such, it is recommended that future research efforts focus on the development of a reliable measurement scale underpinned by group theory, given how this Chapter found distinct differences in the conceptualisation of ethnocentrism, nationalism and ingroup/outgroup behaviours.

Lastly, whilst the causes of the COO effect were explored, establishing such insight has resulted in a body of literature suffering from contradictory conclusions and an undirected research framework. Overcoming such contextual and methodological challenges requires acknowledging the limitations of proximate explanations that seek to offer little more than a causality, where insights into group-based behavioural influence will suffer from an endless regurgitation of defective approaches of inquiry. Chapter Four will build on the insights presented of conceptualising the COO effect within group dynamics and explore the ultimate causes of the nationality bias through the lens of evolutionary psychology, thus culminating in a thesis that not only asks what is affected by COO, or what affects COO behaviours, but asks why these behaviours exist at all.

Chapter Four: Ultimate explanations of the country-of-origin effect

Exploring behavioural group dynamics associated with the country-of-origin effect through the lens of evolutionary psychology

4. Abstract

Can an evolutionary perspective of human group behaviours explain and manipulate the effectiveness of origin-based heuristics? This Chapter explores the origins of evolved tribal behaviours, including the multidisciplinary approach within the fields of psychology, sociology and biology that attempt to theorise and evidence group behaviours, before applying such understandings to uncover alternative explanations for the nationality bias of consumers. Specifically, a gene-based view of intergroup relations is presented to explore how intergroup harmony may be achieved, thus allowing for new marketing insight to be developed from a grounding within evolutionary psychology. Adopting an experimental approach to evidencing intergroup behaviours and strategies that may promote intergroup harmony or outgroup avoidance, it is demonstrated how evolved group behaviours are engaged within consumers when presented with shopper scenarios that activate a loyalty towards the ingroup, particularly as a defensive mechanism to deal with outgroup threats, but how such loyalty can be manipulated given that intergroup dynamics are not solely reciprocal but also context specific. Findings suggest that the strength of the COO effect, being a bias towards home nation goods, can be manipulated depending upon the relationship and perceived threat of the outgroup. Findings are applied to the context of the UK to evidence how provenance labelling influence is malleable depending upon intergroup relations. Findings provide UK FMCGs manufacturers insight into the contextual conditions of COO labelling effectiveness, including situational considerations seeking to achieve maximum impact.

4.1 Introduction

Human beings are social creatures, able to influence and be influenced by others. From an evolutionary perspective, all common human interactions and motivations would have served to increase the survival of individual genes within the ancestral past (Dawkins, 1989; Startup, 2021). So, considering the ability of humans to exist and be influenced within social settings necessities exploring the adaptive functions of the behaviour, which is this case, manifests as group-based social living arrangements (Taylor, 2019). What results are a suite of behaviours perfectly tailored to overcome the demands of the external environment, including the living alongside others within a resource-limited environment whilst effectively competing for and sharing them (Bonin, 2020). Ultimately, this ensures a survival.

Consider the natural environment in which the adaptive cognitive functions of group living evolved. For ancestral humans, the environment was hostile, consisting of many threats to survival and where resources were scarce (Bennett, 2018). Groups provided the mechanism that increased survival and reproductive chances, possessing the ability to gather resources whilst defending themselves from hostilities posed by animals and other groups (Guindre-Parker and Rubenstein, 2020). The evolutionary logic of individuals existing in groups allowed them to adapt to the challenges of social living including intergroup relations, collective decision-making and resource sharing, amongst others (Apicella and Silk, 2019). The biological consequences and conceptual implications of such social living arrangements are that humans evolved an innate suite of cognitive adaptations within the brain that controls, encourages and facilitates these group-based living arrangements, cooperative behaviours and group interactions (Pietraszewski, 2022; Badcock *et al*., 2019; Purzycki *et al*., 2018; Wilson, 2001). This Chapter argues therefore that the cultural evolution of group interactions involves two distinct, yet intertwined components: adaptive cognitive mechanisms or evolved heuristics, and learned heuristics, that in combination facilitate pro-social or anti-social behaviours. These distinctions, for example and put simply, will highlight how an adaptive heuristic may instil the fear of outsiders, and how learned heuristics govern and sustain ingroup prosocial norms (Atran and Henrich, 2010; Kameda and Tindale, 2006). Applying these rules to the COO effect will seek to uncover how such an adaptive fear results in an automatic avoidance of specific goods relating to their provenance, but also how group belonging also influences these avoidance behaviours too.

As such, the theory of evolutionary psychology provides new, complementary insights to explain group-based behavioural dynamics. Tribal behaviours provide the basis for a well-documented literature that explores how and why humans have evolved a range of psychological adaptations that facilitate social and group-based living to overcome specific challenges and opportunities (Pérez *et al*., 2018). Insights provided from interdisciplinary empirical studies from biology, anthropology, sociology and psychology attempt to explain why human ancestors lived within groups, namely the advantages such social arrangements offered by living and working together allowed them to overcome the challenges within a hostile environment (Bergström *et al*., 2021; Hill *et al*., 2011; Hodos and Campbell, 1969). The practical implications permit the discovery of new theories and ultimate explanations of group-based behavioural phenomena.

As previous studies and theorists have attempted to evidence that behaviours associated with an ingroup loyalty are context specific instead of solely reciprocal (Whitaker *et al*., 2018; Balliet *et al*., 2014; Brewer, 1999), this Chapter examines, through the deployment of an experimental investigation, the evolutionary explanations of intergroup relations by acknowledging the functionality and domain specificity of such behaviours that govern the COO effect that extends beyond the simple ingroup love/outgroup hate paradigm. To do this, the experiment relies upon cues to influence perception. Cueing is a well-documented approach to investigating influence upon consumers, with previous studies able to evidence different cues and their impact in various situations, including colour (Tom *et al*., 1987), sustainable behaviours (Cornelissen *et al*., 2008), quality (Bone and Jantrania, 1992), health-related behaviours (Minton and Cornwell, 2016) and, pertinent to this study, COO (Herz and Diamantopoulos, 2017) and emotion (Griskevicius *et al*., 2009). Findings document the contextual importance of intergroup behaviours, as the strength of the COO effect towards domestic and foreign provenance appeals is changeable depending upon the relationship and perceived threat of the outgroup. This Chapter advocates the value of the complementary knowledge afforded via the adoption of an evolutionary perspective to investigations that can result in alternative marketing insights, which in this study, has implications for both domestic and international retailers.

4.1.1 Chapter structure

This Chapter begins with a neo-Darwinian synthesis of the evolutionary origins and functions of groups. Using the Darwinian principles of evolutionary theory to ground perceived superficial methods of inquiry, the following literature review seeks to connect both proximate and ultimate explanations of intergroup behavioural dynamics. Specifically, proximate explanations are presented by revisiting the social identity perspective of group-based behaviours before a gene-based view of social dynamics is evaluated. This biological perspective of group behaviour, combined with an account of adaptive, affectual responses to intergroup relations, provides the foundations of a final empirical study seeking to understand if an evolutionary understanding of ingroups and outgroups can influence the COO effect. Specifically, the adaptive responses that facilitate intergroup relations are manipulated within an empirical investigation that seek to showcase how an evolved understanding of the behaviour can influence the nationality bias of consumers. The findings will be taken forward into the final concluding Chapter to provide complementary proximate and ultimate explanations of the COO effect.

4.2 Literature review

The influence of group membership is profound on consumer behaviour. Every consumer, knowingly or otherwise, is a member of a group. How groups are defined within this context may be as explicit as social groups, lifestyle groups or interest groups, or implicit, taking the form of culture, ethnicity or nationality. The commonality with all groups however is their ability to act as reference, either on a conscious or unconscious level, that influences the behaviour of an individual. Within various marketing-related disciplines, group influence on consumer behaviour has been exhaustively explored over an equally extensive period. This includes reference groups defined broadly, such as demographic variables of nationality (Ramya and Ali, 2016), ethnicity (Trinh *et al*., 2020), geography (Hood *et al*., 2020) faith and religion

(Zakaria *et al*., 2020; Al-Hyari *et al*., 2012), gender (Fenelly and Rajesh, 2018; Gilal *et al*., 2020), age (Johnstone and Lindh, 2018), sexuality (Dib and Johnson, 2019; Aung and Sha, 2016), to specific lines of inquiry relating to a plethora of subcultures and associated lifestyles, including green, sustainable or environmental lifestyles (Amberg and Fogarassy, 2019; Chwialkowska, 2019), veganism (Ploll and Stern, 2020) or even sports teams (Harvard *et al*., 2021). Regardless, the group is defined by common norms, beliefs and values where upon such characteristics transcend to the individual, capable of influencing all aspects of behaviour, including consumer behaviour (White *et al*., 2020; De Mooij, 2019; Terry and Hogg, 1996).

Through group interaction, individuals seek to capitalise on their membership and choose products or brands that represent and reinforce their association to the group through their consumption behaviour (Roth *et al*., 2018; Schulz, 2015). Specific product or brand attributes possess a symbolic or functional value which permits the individual to externalise and represent the group's values and beliefs (Jian *et al*., 2019; Mandel *et al*., 2017; Leigh and Gabel, 1992). Contextualising groups within such investigations have provided causal explanations of why consumers engage in specific buying habits, such as committed loyalty to specific brands (Goncalves Filho *et al*., 2021; Thompson *et al*., 2014), conspicuous consumption (Abraham and Reitman, 2018; O'cass and McEwen, 2004), ethical consumption (Kamenidou *et al*., 2019), environmentally conscious consumption (Trudel, 2019; Perera *et al*., 2018) to the more negative consequences of how group affiliation causes detrimental behaviours, including compulsive buying behaviours (Horváth and Adıgüzel, 2018; Wang and Xiao, 2009), impulse buying (Suresh and Abhishek, 2021; George and Yaoyuneyong, 2010) and consumer misbehaviour (Juggessur and Cohen, 2009).

There exists however additional scope for investigation to understand why a group can influence behaviours at all, particularly within consumption settings where individuals engage in specific purchasing behaviours due to their group membership. Whilst most investigations and experimentations provide proximate explanations of causality, an evolutionary explanation seeks to extend knowledge and provide the ultimate accounts as to why individuals exist in groups and thus influenced by group membership within consumption scenarios. This final literature review seeks to explore the ultimate functions of group behaviour to uncover why consumers act in view of their group association, which is this case is defined as their nationality bias.

4.2.1 An introduction to tribal behaviours

Charles Darwin in his book *The Descent of Man* considered the origins and adaptive benefits of human group behaviours: “A tribe including many members who, from possessing in a high degree the spirit of patriotism, fidelity, obedience, courage, and sympathy, were always ready to aid one another, and to sacrifice themselves for the common good, would be victorious over most other tribes; and this would be natural selection.” (Darwin, 1871, p. 132). A developing body of literature within the discipline of social psychology and biological anthropology is attempting to provide evolutionary perspectives of intergroup relationships, resulting in new theories about humans’ ability to exist in, be influenced by, and to compete with, *groups*. Uncovering these evolved group-based psychological and physiological traits offer immense practical application within a variety of contexts and disciplines, and in this case, offers ultimate explanations of purchasing behaviour relating to the nationality bias of consumers.

An evolutionary psychology perspective to uncover such explanations hypothesises that many observed human behaviours exist due to the environmental pressures of the ancestral past, adapted within the mind through processes of natural selection, much in the same way as physical features (Saad, 2007; Tooby and Cosmides, 1990). Consequently, this view presents the opportunity for the entire back catalogue of known human behavioural phenomena to be explored, reinterpreted and extended to uncover insights of their evolved, adaptive functions (Buss, 2019). For one such example, evolutionary social psychology scholars are committed in the exploration of those adaptive traits within the mind, facilitated through evolved cognitive structures, that generate a suit of behaviours that allow for the living and cooperation with others, particularly within social groups (Pinker, 2010). A developing body of literature seeks to investigate and evidence, through the creation of novel hypotheses and experimental methodologies, the specialised circuits within the brain that support adaptive behaviours necessary for group and social living, including the sharing of resources such as food and shelter, potential mating opportunities and intragroup cooperation or outgroup identification, including intergroup aggression and defensive abilities (Whitaker *et al*., 2018; Balliet *et al*., 2014; Brewer, 1999; Lewin, 1947). Ultimately, what results are adaptive behaviours ensuring the long-term survival of both the individual and the group (Aktipis *et al*., 2018; Bowles, 2009; West *et al*., 2007).

Overtime, social living arrangements have produced more specific behavioural traits including the ability to speak a language, the formation of identity and culture, and strategies to manage intergroup conflict (van Vugt and Kameda, 2012). Intergroup conflict is relevant within the wider context of this Chapter, particularly as it is recognised that intergroup living is rarely harmonious, with priorities of protecting and preserving the characteristics of the ingroup from outgroup advances instinctively programmed within the psyche (Kurzban and Neuberg, 2005). As presented within previous Chapters, intergroup behaviours are commonly recognised as consisting of two main motivational priorities: motivations to protect the ingroup and avoidance motivations associated within an outgroup. Each motivation has adaptive significance.

Specifically, intergroup behavioural dynamics, as previously explored, describes the relationship between two or more groups. Intergroup dynamics may create prosocial, harmonious relationships or in other scenarios, create conflict (Brown, 2020; Tajfel *et al*., 1971). When exploring the motivations of group conflict, explanations are provided at two distinct levels: the first is a proximate explanation of how individuals tend to favour the ingroup over the outgroup, engage in defensive behaviours or outwardly display aggressive behaviours in relation to other groups, or simply possess negative reactions towards the outgroup (Hamley *et al*., 2020; Vaes *et al*., 2012; Turner *et al*., 1979). Scholars within social psychology attempt to explain the causes and effects of such dynamics, being the influence of groups on the self and behaviours towards other groups, through SIT (Doosje *et al*., 2002). The second level however interests scholars within evolutionary biology or psychology, namely why have humans evolved to possess behavioural tendances that facilitate ingroup favouritism and resulting intergroup aggression at all? Both scenarios are worthy of investigation to provide a complementary extended account of the behavioural phenomena of intergroup dynamics, although scholars caution that one should not seek to discredit the other (Scott-Phillips *et al*., 2011).

Exploring the ultimate causes of the nationality bias through a conceptualisation of intergroup behaviours are the aims of this final Chapter. Two distinct explanations for behaviours that facilitate ingroup loyalty or outgroup aggression exist. From the perspective of ingroup loyalty, humans possess instinctual traits to cooperate and support those to whom they are socially closer too (Waytz and Young, 2018). Such social cooperation provides increased survival and reproductive chances, whilst identifying the boundaries of the group and as a result, the identification of other groups (Ellis *et al*., 2019). This presents the second ultimate explanation, specifically focussing upon outgroup aggression. Humans have evolved adaptive abilities for recognising and managing intergroup risks, given the possible threat to survival and reproductive chances they present (Schaller and Neuberg, 2008; Brewer, 2007; Faulkner *et al*., 2004). However, given the complexity of intergroup relations and their associated threats, there are a multitude of different behavioural and psychological responses for managing specific interactions with outgroups. Such motivations or responses range from simple avoidance behaviours (Paolini *et al*., 2018), a fear of outsiders (Jonason *et al*., 2020; Rushton, 2005), a fear of external disease-causing pathogens (McGovern and Vanman, 2021; Ji *et al*., 2019), or hostile aggression that results in physical harm (van Vugt and Park, 2010).

Consumption behaviour within groups may also possess self-regulatory functions that result in moderate or excessive purchasing, depending upon the heuristics or governance of the group (Friese *et al*., 2008). For example, increased levels of conspicuous consumption have been observed within specific social groups to reinforce confirmatory associations and perceived membership (Eckhardt *et al*., 2015). The familiar phrase "keeping up with the Joneses" has wry relevance here. Influence of specific referent groups was found to lead to increased consumption of fast food by Dunn *et al*. (2011), where increased levels of consumer misbehaviour has also been observed resulting from association with groups (Harris and Dumas, 2009). The COO effect has been found to influence consumers to spend more for goods with origins of specific locations (Koschate-Fischer *et al*., 2012). Of interest to note within these empirical examples is how such perceived adaptive consumption behaviours may result in harm, whether physical harm relating to health, or personal and financial harm resulting from increased expenditure. If belonging to a group is an adaptive trait, then the benefits of association should result in increased survival chances or other positive consequences. However, unsustainable increased expenditure behaviours, unhealthy consumption or consumer misbehaviour practices seem contradictory to those goals and highlights an important consideration when exploring evolutionary behaviours: just because a behavioural trait once ensured a fitness within the ancestral past may not possess the same adaptive benefits within the modern environment. Once adaptive behaviours become problematic given social developments within the current environment, where instinctual behaviours become maladaptive and cause harm rather than solve problems (Workman and Reader, 2021). Within this Chapter, ingroup loyalty and outgroup avoidance behaviours are explored specifically, including the emotions experienced during such interactions, whose functional rubrics, when practically applied to group-based influences within consumption settings, can be used to offer evidence and extend the literature on the nationality bias, specifically exploring how once adaptive traits prompt present-day biases.

4.2.2 The evolutionary origins and functions of groups

Belonging to a social group was a strategically essential feature of humans. Adapting to a social environment was an equally important survival strategy as the physical adaptations to the natural environment, as Cosmides and Tooby (1992, p. 163) reflect: "Our ancestors have been members of social groups and engaging in social interactions for millions and probably tens of millions of years. To behave adaptively, they not only needed to construct a spatial map of the objects disclosed to them by their retinas, but a social map of the persons, relationships, motives, interactions, emotions, and intentions that made up their social world." The discipline of evolutionary psychology offers many suitable theories and frameworks towards understanding the cognitive processing that gives way to providing the ultimate explanations of intergroup relations. Such committed exploration necessitates the adoption of an evolutionary mindset, as a biological perspective of the brain is required to explore its evolved neurological structure that facilitates adaptive behaviours. Neuroscientific research methods are at the forefront of investigative efforts to evidence the brain's evolved cognition, however additional theoretical perspectives of the brain have been adopted to offer complementary insight base upon such empirical findings.

The origin of evolutionary significant motivations and their categorisation forms the foundations of the *Fundamental Motives Framework* by Griskevicius and Kenrick (2013), founded on the premise that humans have inherited psychological adaptations for solving challenges that were present within the ancestral past. The framework continues to enjoy success within consumer research today, capable of producing empirically sound hypotheses (e.g. Jaeger and van Vugt, 2022; Cook *et al*., 2021; Schaller *et al*., 2017). The challenges presented within the ancestral past required the formation of specific motivations that "have been shaped by natural selection to produce behaviours that increase reproductive fitness" (Kenrick *et al*., p. 63). The challenges are: (1) evading physical harm, (2) avoiding disease, (3) making friends, (4) attaining status, (5) acquiring a mate, (6) keeping that mate and (7) caring for family (Griskevicius and Kenrick, 2013, pp. 372-373). The challenge of making friends transcends into the fundamental motive of affiliation, with theories including reciprocal altruism (Trivers, 1971), Kin Selection Theory (KST) (Hamilton, 1964) and Genetic Similarity Theory (GST) (Rushton, 1984) often used as the evolutionary basis for explaining the development and maintenance of groups, with the affiliation motive recognised as being "activated by cues of old friends, potential new friends, or being part of a group" (Griskevicius and Kenrick, 2013, p. 377). The evolutionary origins of affiliation in explaining group behaviours will be explored further within the next sections. Fundamentally however, modern-day humans have descended from those who preferred group living rather than a solitary existence (Kameda and Tindale, 2006). Exploring why, an evolutionary inquiry into the study of group living recognises how this category of social behaviour is a result of natural selection, capable of influencing both the psychological and neurological processing of human behaviours that facilitate group living and interaction (Taborsky *et al*., 2021; Lehmann and Rousset, 2014). The biological perspective of group behaviour produces both psychological responses, such as cognitive or affective decisions, or neurological, hormonal responses, capable of facilitating interaction with others and have evolved through the process of natural selection (Ambrose, 2017; Bruneau and Saxe, 2012).

Three Darwinian principles of evolutionary theory attempt to ground often criticised superficial lines of inquiry and resulting explanations within such investigations, being *variation*, *selection* and *retention* (Campbell and Price, 2019; Campbell, 1969). First, it is acknowledged that variations exist among individuals within a species. This explains why some individuals prefer solitude where others favour sociality and group living. Secondly, these trait variations of solitude or sociality support survival abilities and the competitive process for reproduction, including the potential for acquiring a mate and the necessary resources required, to differing degrees of success (Buss and Von Hippel, 2018). In this case, group living boosts reproductive success given the collective effort in acquiring and sharing resources, essential to survival, and increasing the likelihood of discovering a potential mate, all whilst defending and protecting the group from outgroup aggression or other external threats. Lastly, the traits of solitude or sociality become inherited by offspring and overtime, the successful traits become dominant within the species, who are well adapted to the environment in which they live (Caporael, 2001). In this instance, if sociality traits increase the chances of individual survival but also the opportunities to reproduce to ensure the survival of the genes, it is reasonable to theorise that this is the successful, adaptive trait that will be selected and retained. Such evolved group dynamics are summarised the core assumptions of van Vugt and Kameda, (2012), who state that: (1) humans possess social brains to facilitate living in large, complex groups; (2) group-level adaptations are shaped via different selection forces (i.e. social selection, a complementary selection force to natural selection reserved for more physical adaptations), based on sexual selection but acknowledged to benefit both the individual and wider group; (3) group-level adaptations contain and manifest in many evolved elements, including physiological, neurological, psychological and behavioural; (4) group-level adaptations are a set of heuristics or decision-making rules that activate depending upon the situation; (5) group-level adaptations are domain specific, resulting from having to solve recurrent group problems within the ancestral past; and (6) adaptive group behaviours reflect such past environments but may not be suitable with modern day conditions. These assumptions will be explored further in the following sections.

A core tenet with the evolutionary psychology of group dynamics is the social brain hypotheses (Dunbar, 2003), proposing that when compared to other primates, humans possess larger, evolved brains designed to facilitate the complexities of group living and social interaction. Empirical studies in support of the hypotheses found positive relationships between the size of the neo-cortex and group size, with '*Dunbar's number*' suggesting that a social network of humans consists around 150 individuals

(Dunbar, 2010). However, theorising that complex evolved group behaviours are the result from one single trait is too simplistic of an assumption. There are a multitude of selection forces just as there are a multitude of ways to live and behave within groups, however most theoretical debates and empirical studies do hypothesise that such traits must benefit the individual, although the benefits may be indirect to the individual if the larger group benefits also (Wilson, 2008). Social selection, a complementary tenet to natural selection, is believed to articulate such scenario, identifying those group-level traits that reflect individual adaptations, such as conspicuous group behaviours or sexually selected traits that increase group acceptance or membership reinforcement, whilst still providing individual benefits (Nesse, 2007). This view of understanding evolved group behaviours provides the framework for future inquiries, as scholars attempt to overcome the once perceived opposition of social evolutionary theories by acknowledging both the individual and group level traits, along with the different selection forces in operation resulting in different and complex behaviours.

Social engagement is just one example of this complexity. Group-level adaptations are believed to instil heuristics that govern the decision-making process, allowing individuals to engage in perusing adaptive choices under different conditions (Kaaronen *et al*., 2021; Wilson and Sober, 1994). These rules may benefit both the individual and the group within scenarios that ensure outcome maximisation, but also govern the boundaries of the group to help distinguish and direct cooperative behaviour towards similar others whilst defending such relationships from unrelated others (Stürmer and Siem, 2017). This scenario highlights the domain specificity of group-level adaptations, where the adaptive behaviour exists to solve recurrent problems within broader group-based context, including intragroup cooperation or intergroup conflict.

The adaptive strategies of intergroup cooperation may be explained through KST (Hamilton, 1964), otherwise known as observed altruistic tendencies of the species (Warneken and Tomasello, 2009; Okasha, 2003) that ensures the continued support and survival of members within the ingroup. However, defending the ingroup from perceived hostile advances or engaging in outward acts of aggression results in intergroup conflict, often explained within social psychology literature of ethnocentric tendencies or stronger malevolent behaviours towards other groups and their members

(Thürmer and McCrea, 2021; Bizumic and Duckitt, 2012; Ryan and Bogart, 1997). Scholars seeking to uncover these adaptive intergroup functions perceive such behaviours as a mechanism for disease avoidance or perceived disease vulnerability (Navarrete and Fessler, 2005), a strategy to preserve the uniqueness (Smeekes, 2015), status (Joseph, 2014), identity (Killen *et al*., 2015) or norms of the ingroup (Everett *et al*., 2015), to prevent ingroup loss (Doyle *et al*., 2017), or as a protectionist and survival strategy for members of the ingroup, where outsiders present a threat to the coalition (Kurzban and Leary, 2001).

Ultimately, many different adaptive functions exist for intergroup cooperation and conflict, facilitated by specific neural domains, with different external stimuli producing different problem-solving behaviours. A clear direction must therefore be identified into any committed inquiry of such adaptive functions, given the plethora of specificities that exist in producing a variety of behaviours (Saad, 2017). Kenrick *et al*. (2003) attempted to identify and categorise the specific adaptations associated from the recurrent challenges of group-based living arrangements that have resulted in a suite of evolved psychological and physiological mechanisms within humans, with six specific adaptations theorised: (1) *coordination* of group activities; (2) *coalition* and the development of alliances; (3) *status* and negotiating group hierarchies; (4) *cohesion* and sustaining groups; (5) *group-decision making* and the processes that support them; and (6) *intergroup relations*, including interactions with outgroups (Brown, 2004; Forsyth, 2006). Each adaptation contextualises a variety of problems needing to be overcome to ensure the successful maintenance and existence of the group. The last, *intergroup relations*, requires defining the boundaries between groups, developing policies to engage with other groups whilst engaging in defence strategies from outgroup encroachment (Brewer, 2007). Adaptive consequences are formed as a result, which may include fear responses or prejudicial behaviours to effectively deal with outsiders that may present existential threats or otherwise present risks to ingroup harmony (Christensen and Radford, 2018). Empirical studies offer insight into how prejudiced behaviours result from exposure to unfamiliar individuals, where conditioned psychological and physical responses evaluate the threat and engages in action, usually an avoidance, defensive or more aggressive response (Cao *et al*., 2022; Wheeler and Fiske, 2005). A developing body of theoretical and empirical evidence is seeking to further integrate an evolutionary explanation to the study of group-based behavioural dynamics. What follows is a proximate and complementary ultimate account of the psychological and biological perspectives of group behaviours.

4.2.3 Psychological and biological perspectives of cooperative ingroup behaviours

In The Descent of Man, Charles Darwin speculated upon the human capacity of compassionate, altruistic and social behaviours, observing the origins and importance of an affiliation motive: "With those animals which were benefited by living in close association, the individuals which took the greatest pleasure in society would best escape various dangers, while those that cared least for their comrades, and lived solitary, would perish in greater numbers" (Darwin, 1871, p. 105).

Scholars within social psychology seeking the origins of group-based behaviours have focused on internal or subjective factors, thus demonstrating how individuals choose to affiliate themselves with social groups because such association can enhance self-esteem, often seen as the driving motivator of human behaviour (Bergami and Bagozzi, 2000). This conceptualisation on the influence of group affiliation upon the self is the guiding principle offered within SIT and resulting behaviours (Hogg, 2016). However, evolutionary psychology offers an alternative explanation, where group affiliation is a natural extension of kin-selected altruism (Craze, 2021; West *et al*., 2007; Griffin and West, 2002). Here, a perceived genetic relatedness towards others provides the motivations for affiliating with the group, where individuals profit from the allocation of socially exchanged benefits (Kurzban *et al*., 2015; Kenrick *et al*., 1993). The genetic relatedness of group members, actual or perceived, consequently allows for the distinction between the ingroup and the outgroup, with more avoidance and discriminatory behaviours directed towards those who are not genetically related (Schiller *et al*., 2014; Krill and Platek, 2009; Ben-Ner *et al*., 2009). Simply put, this view of group-based behaviour recognises that ingroup members are more genetically related with each other that those who exist within other groups, with consequences on resource allocation and wider affiliative behaviours observed as a result. Such perspectives are built upon the foundations of kin-based genetic favouritism, where in this context, ethnically similar individuals are recognised as distant kin (Rushton, 2005; Rushton *et al*., 1984). GST attempts to further explain this behavioural dynamic, where kin-selection altruism and ethnic-nepotism are a result of ultimate, adaptive causes, being how individuals share the same genes and thus able to recognise those who share genetic similarity can influence behaviour (Jones, 2018; Rushton, 2005; Vanhanen, 2001).

The Behavioural Immune System (BIS) concept further develops the connections of evolutionary behaviours and social views of discrimination. The BIS refers to a collection of evolved psychological mechanisms that facilitate in the detection of and subsequent protection against potential disease-causing pathogens occurring within an individual organism's immediate environment, whilst prompting avoidance behaviours seeking to minimise the risk of illness to the host (Schaller and Park, 2011). The BIS is theorised to influence group dynamics. For example, pathogen stress serves as an adaptive advantage within a social environment to detect and avoid potential threats to the individual from unfamiliar others, manifesting as a variety of avoidance-based behaviours such as ethnocentrism or social conformity (Huang *et al*., 2017; Fincher *et al*., 2008). This example of protectionist behaviour offers adaptive explanations of hostility towards unfamiliar outgroups as a strategy for avoiding diseases or becoming ill, but also favouring ingroups to preserve herd immunity.

SIT and GST are ostensibly different. However, the extent of which both theories are mutually contradictory is debated and instead, may describe two different methods of explaining the same phenomenon. SIT may account for those proximate explanations of the ultimate, evolutionary functions of ethnic groups, being the biological mechanisms that facilitate survival and reproduction behaviours to ensure genetic success. From this perspective, both theories should not exist in contradiction and seek competition against one another despite upon first appearances possessing opposing explanations, but instead require an integration of knowledge that provides one whole, detailed account of the phenomena under investigation. Consequently, this provides the aims of this final Chapter in exploring the ultimate explanations, whilst integrating previous proximate understandings to provide one definitive account of the nationality bias when conceptualised as group behaviour. Such aims forgo the recommended scientific methodologies of Chamberlin (1897) or Platt (1964) and instead follows the principle of Consilience (Wilson, 1998), as further advocated by Saad (2017), highlighting a necessity of integrating both the proximate and ultimate explanations of behavioural phenomena. To that end, what follows is an integrated account of both proximate and ultimate explanations of group behaviours offered from social psychology and evolutionary psychology.

4.2.4 Proximate explanations of group behaviour: The social identity perspective revisited

An individual's social identity and its influence upon behaviour is complex (Brewer and Pierce, 2005). Within social psychology literature, the terms *self* and *identity* often allude to specific, although inconsistent and multifaceted, manifestations of conscious and unconscious behaviours (Zacarés and Iborra, 2015; Hammell, 2006). The *self* usually refers to an individual's tangible sense of their own cognitive, conative or affective representation, the ideas they possess and their overall personal characteristics (Hogg *et al*., 2016). *Identity* however refers to the outward 'social face' being an understanding of how an individual perceives themselves when being observed by others, particularly identifying the social groups they do or do not belong to, which consequently influences identity that seeks to reinforce attachment to the group (Hogg *et al*., 2016). This reinforcement of identity also allows for distinctions to be made to understand how an individual's behaviour is different when compared to those who exist within other groups (Roth *et al*., 2018). As Hammell (2006) identifies however, these constructs are not dualistic but instead evolve from social interaction between others, as individuals become active in the process of self-creation and identity-creation (Millward and Kelly, 2003; Bakhurst and Sypnowich, 1995).

Attempting to organise the complexities of such concepts, SIT (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1986) and the subsequent Self-categorisation Theory (Turner *et al*., 1987) originally distinguished the different attributes and interactions between *self* and *identity* formation, resulting in the development of the *social identity* construct, specifically identifying the attributes shared with other members of a social group, or *personal identity* defined as personal attributes and characteristics with specific others (Roth *et al*., 2018; Crocetti *et al*., 2018). Group phenomena is often associated with social, not personal identity, yet its influence on the self can be profound (Hogg, 2018). Whilst both SIT and Self-categorisation Theory possess similarities in explaining intergroup relations, Self-categorisation Theory does so from the perspective that such relations do not exist on a spectrum but operate at differing levels of inclusiveness

(Abrams, 2015; Hornsey, 2008). It is argued therefore that the interplay between the levels of self-categorisation, being the subordinate level of *personal identity*, the intermediate level of *social identity* and the superordinate category of human identity are fluid and changeable, each becoming salient depending upon the required *fit* (Hornsey, 2008; Oakes *et al*., 1991). The level of *fit* manifests depending upon the level of intragroup similarities compared to intergroup differences (*comparative fit*) or by acknowledging that this process is dynamic and relevant to the perceiver, where social category distinction has a higher fit if social behaviour and group membership adhere to stereotypical expectations (*normative fit*) (Hornsey, 2008). Overtime however, the differences between the *self* and *identity* has become increasingly multifaceted within literature. The self has become contextualised in three distinct forms: *the individual self*, traits that offer differentiation between the individual from others; *the relational self*, the individual's relationships with others; and *the collective self*, belonging to a group that results in the characterisation of 'us' and 'them' (Hogg *et al*., 2017; Brewer and Gardner, 1996). The concept of identity has seen similarly extended categorisation, acknowledging its influence on redefining the self in different circumstances: *personal-based social identities,* the incorporation of group properties on defining the self; *relational social identities*, the influence of specific others; *group-based social identities*, the influence of group attributes; and *collective identities*, the individual's perception and interpretation of attributes and behaviour of the group (Hogg *et al*., 2017). Identity fusion occurs when the personal *self* and associated *identity* becomes fused with a *collective self* and associated *social identity*, resulting in a behavioural transformation of the individual who acquires specific group-based attributes. Such attributes vary in strength and scope of influence, manifesting as simple reinforcement behaviours, although can result in extremist, ingroup-centric views of conformity or intolerance to outgroups, exhibiting ethnocentric behaviours (Bizumic *et al*., 2021).

SIT originally conceptualised intergroup cooperation or conflict (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The theory defines how groups view and interact with others, along with ensuring that the group benefitted from such interactions whilst maintaining and protecting their own identity. Intergroup relations are guided by the general principle that if a group perceives their social identity as being threatened, they will react protectively to ensure their distinctiveness remains (Hogg *et al*., 2017; Branscombe *et* *al*., 1999). Such collective action has been previously conceptualised as crowd behaviour, a process where members of a group lose their individuality, becoming a desensitised form of their self that acts upon impulse that often results in antisocial or confrontational behaviours towards outgroups (La Macchia and Louis, 2016; Reicher, 1996). However, contradictory theories reject such mindless, diminished personal responsibility resulting from collective behaviours and instead argue that such behaviours are regulated by the collective social identity (Hogg and Williams, 2000).

4.2.5 Ultimate explanations of group behaviour: Genetic Similarity Theory

Traditional theories regarding human evolution of cooperative ability usually focuses on the individual traits that encourage altruistic behaviours, even if such behaviours carry a cost to the helper (Simon, 1990). These behaviours should be universal to the species; however investigations of evolved altruistic tendencies have extended to other mammals when seeking to offer evidence of the adaptive functionalities of group-based living (i.e. Markham and Gesquiere, 2017) and whilst comparative studies have produced varying degrees of similarity across the spectrum of mammalian altruistic behaviours, there exists specific behavioural traits unique to humans. The unique complexities of individuals possessing the capacity to cooperate and even respond altruistically with others at all is illustrated in the ideas of Hrdy (2009), who praised the human ability to calmy endure the cramped, uncomfortable and restrictive experience of long-haul flying in an airplane. Lock 300 chimpanzees in the same environment and they would likely kill each other. Typical insights of inclusive fitness to explain prosociality in this case do not adequately address the ability of humans to cooperate with strangers. Such large-scale explanations also require consideration of cultural transmission and its interaction with social learning, conformity and empathy (Smaldino, 2019).

Social psychology is awash with such unexpected peculiarities and psychological anomalies (Caporael, 2001). Oddities and imperfect design of cognitive function provides evolutionary psychologists insight about possible environmental conditions, interactions and relationships among individuals that once existed within the ancestral past (Caporael and Baron, 1997). Despite these idiosyncrasies however, social psychology, particularly when applied to marketing disciplines, has the tendency to consider humans as rational, conscious and self-interested individuals able to engage efficiently within their environment to secure an optimal outcome (Zollo, 2021; Haidt, 2001; Scott, 2000; Hechter and Kanazawa, 1997.). What results is an account of perfectly observed behaviours in a particular design setting. However, humans are also perceived to be irrational creatures whose unconscious behaviours, from an evolutionary point of view, are a result of past stresses experienced within a limited environment that necessitated cognitive adaption to ensure a *fitness*. Behavioural peculiarities, both adaptive and maladaptive, often observed within social psychology literature may provide evidence of the evolved human condition (Otterbring, 2021).

SIT is one such oddity when viewed through the lens of evolutionary psychology, being the influence of a group upon the individual and the process of unconsciously redefining the *self* in view of others (Walker, 2021). This automatic, instinctual association promotes behaviours that may become less beneficial to the individual and prompt irrational or risky behaviours that do not fully achieve the individual's best interests (Drury, 2020; Turner, 1975). Such group-based dynamics present an inconsistency to that of a gene-based view of evolution within the theory of natural selection, where individuals would not be expected to engage in behaviours that sacrificed their own survival and reproduction chances in favour of supporting others (van Vugt and Kameda, 2012; Brewer and Caporael, 2006). Yet, many observed group-based behaviours within social psychology precisely demonstrate such propensities, and thus presents the paradox of altruistic behaviours (Churchill and Street, 2002).

The belief that humans evolved within groups is contextualised within the support mechanisms afforded towards ingroup members against the hostilities and aggression of other groups, or wider threats and challenges (Buss and von Hippel, 2018). Such group coalition aided the complexities of overcoming coordination efforts both within the group and outside it. This included the ability in maintaining cohesiveness with others within the group and ensuring a distance was kept with those outside of the coalition, which often amounted to acts of defence or aggression (Tooby and Cosmides, 2010). These dynamics increased chances of survival, particularly against predators or other outgroups, aided in the acquisition of food and shared resources (Tooby, 2020; Cowl and Shultz, 2017; Kingma *et al*., 2014), or increased reproductive chances whilst supporting the identification of potential mates (Buss and Von Hippel, 2018; Bowles, 2006). If there is a noticeable increased chance of success when navigating the environment as a collective group rather than an individual, then not only would this maintain the existence of successful groups, but overtime would facilitate the behavioural adaptation of individuals living within groups (Caporael, 2001). Natural selection, therefore, would shift from the individual level to the group level, with consequences on the affective and cognitive processes that encourage and support the development and maintenance of individuals existing in groups (Caporael *et al*., 1989).

It was Charles Darwin in *The Origin of the Species* (1859), further explored within *The Descent of Man* (1871), who provided the foundational evolutionary explanations of both human and animal moral behaviours, foreshadowing the insights to come in explaining cooperative behaviours. However, one aspect of social evolution threatened to challenge the theory of natural selection, as Darwin reflected the incongruity of a trait being disadvantageous to its bearer but advantageous to another, as in the case observed within insect populations: "I…will confine myself to one special difficulty, which at first appeared to me insuperable, and actually fatal to my whole theory. I allude to the neuters or sterile females in insect communities: for these neuters often differ widely in instinct and in structure from both the male and fertile females, and yet from being sterile they cannot propagate their kind" (Darwin, 1859, p. 149). Fellow evolutionary theorists alike attempted to explore such idiosyncratic behaviours that benefit the group but become detrimental to the individual, originally culminating in the now obsolete theory of blending inheritance, arguing that a descendant inherits the physical and behavioural characteristics as the average of the parent's value of such characteristic (Porter, 2014; Jenkin, 1867). Mendel (1866) subsequently developed three principles of inheritance that sought to explain the transmission of genetic traits, long before the existence of genes would become known (Noel Ellis *et al*., 2011). Despite the resulting neo-Darwinian synthesis contributing to mathematical models attempting to evidence inheritance, no suitable explanation to altruistic behaviours were uncovered at the time (Herbers, 2009).

Within social psychology literature, theorists including Spencer (1896) and Sumner (1911), explored the observed behaviours that occur within group-based social living, including their role in fostering more specific actions of ingroup altruism and outgroup derogation or competition. Ingroup identity, recognising its influence on the self and resulting behaviours, was acknowledged by van der Dennen (1987) to manifest in multiple formations, including tribes, ethnic groups and even countries. Increasing popularity of the discipline, particularly during the new millennium, resulted in novel terminologies, namely *Social Darwinism* to understand individual and group-based behaviours within society that are a direct result of evolved survival and reproductive pressures (O'Connell and Ruse, 2021; Rushton, 2005). However, despite such progress within both disciplines, the evolutionary paradox of altruistic behaviours that plagued Darwin centuries before were still elusive of a suitable explanation, until a newer body of knowledge combined the previous insights of Hamilton (1964) were able to solve the paradox that Darwin could not. Whereas Darwin's focused on the *individual fitness* and associated traits and qualities required to ensure survival, Hamilton (1964) proposed altruism being a result of *inclusive fitness*, that is how social behaviour may evolve when accounting for the combination of genetic relatedness, benefit and cost that ultimately ensures a survival of the *genes* from one generation to the next (Bourke, 2014). What resulted is the gene-based view of evolution.

The likelihood of an individual behaving altruistically towards another is defined as Hamilton's Rule, with theorists using the mathematical calculation to identify the consequences of social interactions including altruism or aggression towards others. The rule states that in this instance, altruistic behaviours have evolved, and therefore occurs when the genetic relatedness between individuals exists. Represented as a simple equation, it states that altruism can evolve if $rb > c$, where r is the degree of relatedness between individuals; b is the beneficiary of the altruistic behaviour; and c is the cost to the bearer. As a result of Hamilton's Rule, four types of social interaction have been defined: (1) cooperation for mutual benefit; (2) altruism; (3) selfishness; and (4) spite (Birch, 2020). This modest directive not only provides a universal application across species to evidence cooperation between others but provides the most widely accepted explanation of social evolution (Levy and Lo, 2022; Queller, 1992).

However, Hamilton's concept of inclusive fitness, otherwise known as KST, does not provide a complete account for all altruistic behaviours observed towards individuals who are not genetically related kin (Kay *et al*., 2019; Zahavi, 1995). A tenet of altruism, *reciprocal altruism*, was proposed by Trivers (1971), occurring when an individual organism provides a benefit to another at a cost to itself because of an expectation to receive a similar benefit in return, or because a benefit has already been received previously. However, even this explanation still does not account for the more randomness of altruistic behaviours that incur large costs never to be reciprocated. Zahavi (1975) established Cost Signalling Theory (CST) to explain such phenomena, arguing that generous altruistic behaviours can become an advertisement of an individual's desirable attributes or beliefs, such as status, wealth or other personal capabilities. This ultimate explanation signifies how gestures of desirability increases the attractiveness of the individual, resulting in the anticipation of potential mating opportunities, the formation of future alliances or expected reciprocation from others in the future with regards to shared resources or other advantageous opportunities (McAndrew, 2019). If such behaviours are engaged for the sole purpose of contending with others over resources or other opportunities, this is *competitive altruism* where those indirectly affected may offer future rewards of benefit to the altruist (Barclay and Willer, 2007), highlighting a clear distinction between *reciprocal altruism* behaviours that requires the individual to be directly reimbursed by those positively gaining from their cooperation in the future (Bowles and Gintis, 2011).

The gene-based view is central in explaining cooperative behaviours and the social dynamics of the species. These categories of social and altruistic behaviours are acknowledged as existing due to the evolutionary process, that is engagement with the environment presented recurrent problems that organisms needed to overcome, so overtime, organisms adapt, both physically and psychologically to successfully meet those challenges (Woodford, 2019; O'Gorman *et al*., 2008). Genes, key to this process, modify themselves through replication to facilitate the necessary adaptions, allowing for an *individual fitness* to be achieved (Ågren and Clark, 2018; Orr, 2009). Ultimately, if replicators are attempting to copy themselves, and they do so within a competitive, limited environment meaning that some will fail, the fitter replicators will succeed (Taylor and Dorin, 2020; Sterelny *et al*., 1996; Dawkins, 1982; Dawkins, 1978). Evolution results from this process. Therefore, if individuals who share a percentage of their evolved genes with their offspring engages in a personal sacrifice for the benefit of their offspring, their behaviour actively ensures the survival of their genes (Rodrigues and Gardner, 2021; Wilson, 2005; Taylor, 1992). This perspective, elaborated further by Richard Dawkins in *The Selfish Gene*, posits that genes use hosts, like humans or any other organism, to replicate themselves, but that does not necessarily mean they take the wellbeing of the host into consideration. According to Dawkins therefore, organisms are *throwaway survival machines*, the temporary puppets that allow genes to replicate and evolve for millions of years (Dawkins and Davis, 2017).

Hamilton's perspective of altruism has been applied to an extended body of literature exploring the influence of national and international groups, such as ethnicities (Jones, 2018) and nationalities (Białek *et al*., 2018), to explain group behaviours, but to also understand why these behaviours exist from a gene-based perspective (Herbers, 2009; Rushton, 2005). GST (Rushton, 2005; Rushton *et al*., 1984) builds upon the theoretical foundations of genetic influences governing behaviour, a process which instils a suite of evolved mechanisms enabling individuals to recognise and cooperate with each other. The theory extends upon the theories of kin selection and reciprocal altruism to provide a gene-based explanation of cooperative behaviours, yet applies the principles on a grander scale, including exploring the likelihood of individuals engaging in altruistic or cooperative behaviours within much larger groups (Jones, 2018). Whereas previous theoretical perspectives concentrated attention on group-based behaviours of smaller size, such as Dunbar's Number, GST presents how group size can be redefined to consider much larger entities, such as the size of a country, as individuals recognise the similarities and perceived relatedness within the genome of an entire population (Jones, 2018; Rushton, 2005). This perspective therefore introduces a gene-based explanation of larger, social group-based phenomena such as ethnocentrism, patriotism and nationalism.

Overall, the guiding principle of this phenomena is that humans engage and associate with others who are genetically similar (Roth and Ivemark, 2018; Rushton, 1989). This extends from smaller friendship groups to entities on a grander scale. For example, those of the same ethnicity or nationality perceive themselves as genetically similar as the wider population, and therefore genetically unsimilar to those that exist within other nations (Rushton, 2005). Consequently, positive associations and cooperation are engendered and reserved for genetically similar members of the group, allowing for the distinction between 'us' and 'others' based on genetic similarity, whilst altruistic tendencies become directed away from those members of other outgroups who do not share similar genetics (Stürmer and Snyder, 2009). The manifestations of a genetically related constructed group results in physical and material attributes created to reinforce associations, with Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) hypothesising that dress, language and style can reinforce ethnocentric attitudes between groups. However, individuals assume to adopt prosocial behaviours that fulfil a genetic self-interest, resulting in cooperative and altruistic actions towards similar others whilst rejecting unsimilar others, with the ultimate purpose of genetic survival (Stürmer and Snyder, 2009; Rushton, 2005). The outcome of such perspective lends new interpretations of engaging in group-based behaviours with similar or unsimilar others, with ethnic identity and genetic similarity used even to explain the particulars of voting behaviour, conflict between nations, or the nationality bias of consumers (Rushton, 2005).

However, the belief that humans have evolved to positively associate with genetically similar individuals whilst automatically rejecting non-related others is too simple an explanation for affinity and animosity behaviours observed within and between groups (Jones, 2018; Dunbar, 1998). Theoretical and empirical research has shown there is considerable variation within group-based behavioural dynamics that extends beyond the simple dichotomy of ingroup love and outgroup hate, particularly when considered through the limited, proximate explanations that social psychology offers in explaining social intergroup processes. The following section therefore offers additional, complementary insight highlighting and attempting to explain such complexities, suggesting that humans evolved within a social ecology where prosocial behaviour often outcompeted antisocial behaviour between groups. The biological perspective embraced argues that such behavioural traits are the result of adaptations of group living within a social environment. The result of such social adaptations therefore may uncover further explanations of resulting ethnic conflict and nationalistic beliefs.

4.2.6 Typology and biology of group behaviours: The evolutionary considerations of affect in groups

As discussed within the previous Chapter and a staple of many theoretical perspectives offered within social psychology attempting to understand the causes and consequences of intergroup behaviours, group dynamics are often summarised as an unassuming, reciprocal construct: *ingroup love and outgroup hate* (e.g. Moscatelli and Rubini, 2017). An initial, simple interpretation offered through the lens of evolutionary psychology would support such claims. Genetically similar others engaging in cooperative, altruistic behaviours would reinforce such bonds through positive affect, whilst negative affect would be engendered to genetically dissimilar others to not only distinguish the boundaries between groups, but to ensure the ingroup remains protected and defended from the outgroup. However, as acknowledged previously, to avoid such simplistic assumptions when viewing these behaviours through an evolutionary lens, a critical analysis of these behavioural dynamics and resulting affects is required to ensure a robust explanation is provided that extends beyond mere superficial connections.

A common belief within social psychology literature pertaining to intergroup behavioural dynamics accept an entwinement of specific emotions, as represented by the ingroup love/outgroup hate dichotomy. An ingroup bias is acknowledged as positive behaviours towards the ingroup and negative behaviours towards the outgroup, implying a reciprocal relationship (Brewer, 2017). Sumner's (1906, p.12) original definition of ethnocentric behaviours alluded to such reciprocity: "The relation of comradeship and peace in the we-group and that of hostility and war towards others-groups are correlative to each other ... loyalty to the group, sacrifice for it, hatred and contempt for outsiders, brotherhood within, warlikeness without – all grow together, common products of the same situation." However, it is necessary to concede and therefore to explore that such affectual responses are not a direct result of cause and effect (i.e. the positive emotions engendered from an ingroup affiliation does not automatically result in negative emotions directed or instilled in view of the outgroup). This simple dichotomy has significant and independent evolved functions that result in distinct motives and manifest in different circumstances under different conditions. An ability to distinguish between ingroup positivity and outgroup negativity is evidenced within the functions of Brewer's (2017) three-part typology of group discriminatory behaviours: type I: ingroup positivity in the absence of outgroup negativity; type II: outgroup negativity in the absence of ingroup positivity; and type III: simultaneous ingroup positivity and outgroup negativity. Within this section, a critical review is presented, including the identification of the evolutionary, biological significance that attempts to explain the distinct, separate motivations of these different types of group behaviours and their associated emotions.

The guiding principle that ingroup and outgroup behaviours can under certain circumstances manifest as independent facets was first conceptualised by Allport (1954). Even during intergroup conflict, individuals' protectionist motivations generated towards the ingroup originate because of a positive attachment to their own group, rather than a desire to cause detriment or harm to the outgroup (Campbell, 1965). Allport's (1954) views theorising the interplay between ingroup and outgroup attitudes and behaviours contrasts the view of Sumner's (1906) definition of ethnocentrism and the foundations upon which the COO effect and its behavioural antecedents are built upon. Whilst both scholars similarly acknowledge positive attributes of behaviour towards an ingroup, Sumner believed such perceptions were directly correlated with negative attributes towards outgroups. Such beliefs provided the foundations for contemporary research within intergroup behavioural dynamics, and a general acceptance that ingroup positivity and outgroup negativity are reciprocally related, despite the subsequent criticisms of such perspectives (e.g., Allport, 1954).

4.2.7 The biological explanations of ingroup behaviours

Brewer's (2017) first category of discriminatory behaviours as stated within the typology dictates that ingroup positivity can occur in the absence of outgroup negativity. Allport (1954, p. 42) believed that ingroups are "*psychologically primary,*" that is familiarity, attachment and a preference towards the group and individual belongs to or associates with develop in advance of any attitudinal or prejudice development towards outgroups. Sumner's (1906) contrasting view of ingroup and outgroup behaviours being mutually related, as summarised within structural-functional theory (Parsons, 1975; Merton, 1961), is the belief that individuals must cooperate within a group-based setting where conflict exists over limited natural resources to survive (Brewer, 1999). Group conflict, therefore, within this context, simultaneously facilitates ingroup cohesion whilst promoting outgroup competition with a high degree of reciprocity.

As explored in Chapter Three, SIT (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) preserved such reciprocity beliefs, as positive attachment towards the ingroup is generated or reinforced through the identification of negative beliefs or stereotypes towards the outgroup. Ingroup similarities and outgroup dissimilarities are contrasted to generate biased behaviours, however, certain scenarios exist that highlight the independence of ingroup and outgroup relations. For example, the actions of acquiring limited resources for benefit of the ingroup, that may through direct or indirect consequences prove detrimental to an outgroup, does not equate to attitudes becoming detrimental towards the outgroup because of such actions, with Brewer (1999) contextualising such scenario as a zero-sum event. This showcases how positive bias towards the ingroup in the example of resource acquisition can occur without any negative behaviours towards outgroups. Recognising that ingroup attitudes and behaviours can occur independently of outgroup influence, uncovering the motivations through an evolutionary psychology lens can better the understanding and provide ultimate explanations of distinct intergroup behaviours, rather than simply acknowledging a reciprocal cause and effect. Such contextually independent investigations of these behaviours, whilst acknowledging their evolutionary origins, provide great opportunity for future group-based studies.

To that end and as explored previously, the evolutionary viewpoint of ingroup favouritism has origins within the theory of resource competition (Sherif, 1966), but acknowledges that such favouritism continues to exist without such competition. Therefore, when beginning to conceptualise the evolutionary significance of intergroup behaviours, the context must abstain from a dependence of presenting such behaviours within conflict or comparative scenarios that is so often the case within social psychology literature, whose dependency often immediately presents hypothesised contextual interaction of situational hostility between ingroups and outgroups that result in positive and negative affect. As noted, group-based living and cooperation provided a fundamental survival strategy of humans within the ancestral past. Evolved physical and instinctual attributes resulted in a cooperative, obligatory interdependence with others to overcome the challenges of solely existing as solitary beings (Brewer and Caporael, 2006) with implications of increased reproductive and survival chances within a challenging environment. As Brewer (1999, p. 433) states, "we as a species have evolved to rely on cooperation rather than strength, and on social learning rather than instinct as basic adaptations." The willingness to share resources, knowledge and support with others is key to long-term survival, yet such a decision to cooperate is built upon trust as the expectation that everyone else must participate equally (Modlmeier *et al*., 2014). An ingroup membership provides the foundations of such cooperative, obligatory interdependence whilst minimising the risks of engaging in altruistic behaviours within the defined boundaries of a community, where such costs and risks are controlled by ingroup members (Ronay *et al*., 2012). The willingness to engage in altruistic behaviours and developing mutual trust is compounded through normative beliefs of the group at large, whilst a shared willingness to maintain ingroup identity and a social differentiation exists (Brewer, 1991).

The development and accessibility of neuroscientific equipment has resulted in their increased application within interdisciplinary studies seeking to understand the biological origins of behaviour, including evidencing the evolved cognitive structure of the brain that facilitates them (Sung *et al*., 2019). Activation of the left anterior insula, a region within the brain associated with empathy, was evidenced within neuroscientific studies exploring ingroup favouritism, particularly through the assistance of supporting other ingroup members, suggesting ingroup behaviour is motivated by, or the result of, empathy rather than material payoff maximisation (Hein *et al*., 2010; Masuda and Fu, 2015). Ingroup positivity is regulated by the hormone and neurotransmitter oxytocin, facilitating empathy with fellow group members whilst allowing for a differentiation between ingroup and outgroup members, but not automatically prompting a behavioural reaction to negatively respond to outgroups (Cikara and Van Bavel, 2014; Sheng *et al*, 2013). Similar cognitive regions have also evidenced activation for both the self and group-based processing of ingroup members, showcasing how self-identity is partially governed by similar neural networks that encourage social identity and conformity behaviours (Cikara and Van Bavel, 2014).

However, activations have also been observed within different regions of the brain during other similar neuroscientific investigations and intergroup behavioural experiments, with findings often conflating such activations with different associated emotions. A main cause of such contradiction may originate from the application of inconsistent research and theoretical frameworks, with studies often void of a suitable, grounded research direction, a main criticism within evolutionary psychology literature (Saad, 2017). For example, whereas ingroup altruistic behaviours result from theorised evolved cooperation with group members, other studies attribute such behaviours being a result of evolved affective empathy, which is a distinctive emotional driver to that of cooperation (Masuda and Fu, 2015). Differing accounts of group behavioural motivations require further investigation to uncover the evolutionary-based affects and associated brain activations of ingroup positive behaviours yet must overcome contradictory findings through the requirement of a systematic development and application of evolutionary-based frameworks to ensure consistency when analysing and explaining results (Saad, 2017).

4.2.8 The biological explanations of outgroup behaviours

The second of Brewer's (2017) typology of group-based behaviours states the occurrence of outgroup negativity independent of ingroup positivity. Unprovoked discrimination, negativity or hate towards outgroups may not be a direct or automatic consequence in response to ingroup positivity or love, but instead stem from a lack of positive emotions or attitudes towards outgroups, given how such behaviours are often reserved exclusively for the ingroup (Brewer, 2017). From an evolutionary perspective, considering the nature of group-based altruistic behaviour and trust, such resources reserved explicitly for the ingroup results in an unwillingness to share, or even ignorance to, the circumstantial plight of other groups (Buhrmester *et al*., 2018). Consequently, an alliance towards the ingroup may negatively affect outgroups, but such behaviour is independent of detrimental attitudes because of the positive associations towards the ingroup.

Cognitive, affective and behavioural mechanisms resulting from adaptive problems experienced by ancestral group living facilitate discriminatory and social exclusionary behaviours (Kurzban and Neuberg, 2005). As explored previously, relationships with outgroups usually involve group level interactions, rather at an individual level, whereas interactions within the ingroup operate on both (Ackerman *et al*., 2006). The costs of such cognitive interactions with ingroup members become balanced by the perceived benefits of them, whereas the opposite is true for outgroup interactions, where the benefits of cognitive interaction with the outgroup are outweighed by the costs (Ackerman *et al*., 2006). Outgroup homogeneity reflects such beliefs, where members of the ingroup perceive outgroup members possessing similar attributes to one another in contrast to an assumed diversity of the ingroup (Simon, 1992). Stereotypical judgements of outgroups, particularly negative associations, are facilitated by this categorisation process and possess adaptive significance, given the evolved principle of self-preservation relies upon an ability to identify those who may pose a threat (Judd and Park, 1988). Therefore, believing that all outgroups pose a threat becomes an adaptive trait to quickly process potential dangers and an efficient way to manage the individual's own personal and wider group wellbeing. Although widely observed, outgroup threat priming possesses specific influence in males as an adaptive function governing hierarchical group relations, suggesting that demographic specific influences are just one key mechanism in regulating behaviours towards outgroups (Sugiura *et al*., 2017).

The ability to differentiate from other groups occurs at the earliest stages of sensory perception, according to neuroscientific investigations. Using a race experiment, Hughes *et al*. (2019) discovered a general ability to individuate members of the ingroup (i.e. those of the same race), but a capability of identifying outgroup members (i.e. those of a different race) categorically, thereby evidencing the different cognitive processing mechanisms of associating individuals by groups. This outgroup homogeneity emerges within face-selective regions of the cortex, suggesting that differentiated group-based biases occur within the earliest phases of perception (Hughes *et al*., 2019). Phelps *et al*. (2000) evidenced how amygdala activation correlated with unconscious social evaluation during outgroup recognition experiments, suggesting an emotional defensive response. The nucleus accumbens, or reward circuit within the brain, activates during scenarios where there is an unwillingness to support or assist outgroup members, with experiments suggesting that individuals can derive pleasure from other's misfortune (Hein *et al*., 2010; Singer *et al*., 2006). The steroid testosterone regulates outgroup aggression and facilitates cooperation, particularly when anticipating conflict, however such studies only considered males (Reimers and Diekhof, 2015), further supporting how demographic variations may explain gendered group-based behavioural differences.

To conclude, the reciprocal belief that an ingroup loyalty automatically results in outgroup prejudices is a too simple viewpoint to encapsulate and explain the immense diversity of group-based behaviours observed and evidenced. The behaviours associated towards the categorisations of similar and unsimilar others are complex, varied and context specific. Developing methodologies that promote the exploration of the adaptive functions of group behaviours will assist in extending theoretical knowledge regarding the origins of group-based behavioural dynamics and its integration within a variety of disciplines.

4.2.9 Functionality and domain specificity of ingroup love and outgroup hate

On a theoretical level, providing ultimate explanations for adaptive group behaviours is a relatively simple undertaking. Evolutionary psychologists have developed many theoretical perspectives and frameworks that provide a direction for such ultimate lines of enquiry that permits the reinterpretation and provision of complementary explanations of existing proximate understandings of specific behavioural phenomena (e.g. Saad, 2017; Griskevicius and Kenrick, 2013). This review so far has considered many adaptive functions of group behaviours through such lens. However, arguing that behaviours are adaptive does not produce novel hypotheses. Evidencing and empirically testing adaptive behaviours requires innovative experimentation through rigorous and accepted research protocols. Acknowledging how the evolved, cognitive structure of the brain facilitates adaptive behaviours, committed lines of inquiry have paved the groundwork for studies utilising scientific instruments to seek evidence of the evolved neural pathways responsible. However, less invasive methodologies also exist, built upon evidence from neuromarketing, attempting to understand and empirically evidence the adaptive significance of universal behaviours, by acknowledging *functionality* and *domain specificity* (Kenrick and Shiota, 2008). This final section culminates in the exploration of the underlying fitness-enhancing functions of emotions that offer a complete understanding of the ingroup love outgroup hate behavioural paradigm, providing an ultimate explanation of the nationality bias.

SIT was originally devoid of understanding the experienced emotions of individuals during association with a group, other than concluding that emotional investment is often strong with the group and wider intergroup relations (Turner and Reynolds, 2001). However, Intergroup Emotions Theory (IET) seeks to extend the knowledge of experienced emotions within group dynamics (Mackie *et al*., 2016). Specifically, the theory builds upon the concept of individual emotions and associated experience, where personal benefit or harm generate positive or negative emotions and resulting behaviours. In the context of group dynamics however, the self is redefined as the ingroup, therefore group-level emotions are experienced by the individual (Smith and Mackie, 2016). If the group experiences collective benefit or harm, then so too does the self, thus generating positive ingroup emotions or negative outgroup emotions, given that it is typically conceptualised that benefit derives from the ingroup and harm from the outgroup (Mackie and Smith, 2017).

A modern evolutionary perspective considers *functionality*, that is how behaviours, affect or cognition produce solutions to solve recurrent problems within the ancestral past (Saad, 2020; Saad, 2017; Fischer *et al*., 2018; Buss, 2015; Buss, 1995; Cosmides and Tooby, 1994). Such problems might have included resource acquisition, predator avoidance or making friends (Saad, 2017). An evolutionary approach to understanding how love of an ingroup and hate of an outgroup came to affect behaviour, the following question can be posited: Given that cues of perceived group belonging triggers similar positive affective reactions of individuals within all cultures (i.e. love) and those cues of perceived group threat, danger or encroachment triggers similar negative reactions of individuals (i.e. hate), what are the adaptive functions of these emotions? Specifically, what adaptive problems might love generated towards an ingroup or hatred towards an outgroup help solve within the ancestral past?

As noted previously however, simply reasoning that such behaviours and resulting affect are adaptive merely presents somewhat superficial hypotheses. To overcome such limitations, the second consideration within an evolutionary perspective is *domain specificity*, or those evolved cognitive mechanisms that can solve one adaptive problem, but not all of them (Cosmides and Tooby, 1994). This view of the brain forgoes the assumption that it is an all-purpose, general biological machine but instead consists of specific evolved structures designed to solve specific recurrent problems (Saad, 2017). Such perspective furthers the need to distinguish the individual, domain specific mechanisms that facilitate ingroup loyalty independently of outgroup threat, contrary to what is often assumed a reciprocal relationship within social psychology literature, given that they present two different adaptive problems (i.e. the capability to find, exist and cooperate within a group as opposed to a fear or prejudice towards dissimilar others).

4.2.10 Evolutionary conditioning: Ingroup love / outgroup…fear?

Given such perspective, the general dynamic of ingroup love/outgroup hate is possibly too simplistic of a representation of the functionality and indeed domain specificity of both approach and avoidance behaviours and their resulting emotions. In fact, a general weakness within such literature is to assume that emotions and feelings are the same, with interchangeable terminology used that confuses the fundamental affect influencing, or being influenced by, the heuristic (Adolphs and Andler, 2018; Damasio, 2004). Hate itself is categorised as a feeling, not an emotion in various social psychology literature (Fisher *et al*., 2018). Alternatively, other psychology literature define hate as a secondary emotion that arises from fear (Shapiro, 2016). With regards to outgroup hate specifically, there is evidence that fear is a more appropriate emotion driving group-based biases, particularly when exploring its evolutionary origins (van Der Schalk *et al*., 2011).

Humans have evolved to learn to fear the outgroup, not hate it (Mallan *et al*., 2013). However, that is not to say that emotions require learning. An individual is not taught to experience fear, however evolutionarily or "genetically endowed primary-processes [of] emotional brain systems are not fixed functions but are able to learn and adapt to novel environmental experiences throughout the life of an individual" (Davis and Montag, 2019 p.3). Each emotional system also consists of a reward or punishment system, where learning occurs through the integration of new experiences paired with an environmental stimulus to elicit the emotion, with the resulting reaction becoming associated with the stimulus itself (Davis and Montag, 2019). Such theories are the result of a newer body of literature investigating the associated emotions of intergroup relations through an evolutionary lens. The impact of fear on intergroup relations can manifest in simple avoidance behaviours to extreme cases of aggression and violence (O'Donnell *et al*., 2020; Mifune *et al*., 2017; Spanovic *et al*., 2010). If a group is threatened, perceived or otherwise, an adaptive response is to preserve the welfare of the group, where such actions may evoke negative beliefs of the outgroup aggressor within this scenario (Garrett *et al*., 2014). The resulting impact on an individual level is an association of fear of personal or psychological harm towards the outgroup, resulting in intergroup anxiety (Stephan, 2014; Stephan and Stephan, 1985). Intergroup anxiety can have potential consequences on attitude, including the development of stereotypes or prejudices; affect, such as fear or anger; and behaviour, being avoidance, aggression or confrontation (Stephan, 2014). As presented in the conceptualisation of intergroup fear by O'Donnell *et al*. (2019, p.2), "fear is a target-specific response contextually and temporally defined, whereas anxiety is a contextually and temporally nonspecific group level response." Such distinctions are important, as previous investigations within affect-based responses of intergroup behaviours often focus on different, or indeed confuse the components when seeking to evidence and explain outgroup avoidance. Both however possess evolutionary significance. Acknowledging therefore that outgroup fear is not reciprocal, and in fact not even constant but instead contextual and situational specific is an important step in developing a complete understanding of negative outgroup behaviours.

Pavlovian conditioning can activate evolutionary adaptive responses to fear (Fanselow and Sterlace, 2014). Typically, conditioning occurs and is achieved within the acquisition phase, referring to the association of one conditioned stimulus to another unconditioned stimulus. After the acquisition phase, a successful conditioned fear response is elicited when exposed to the conditioned stimulus only. Whilst traditional experiments have evidenced a conditioned response to stimuli such as inanimate objects or animals, a recent body of literature investigates conditioned social stimuli, such as faces, ethnicity or other physical features (O'Donnell *et al*., 2019).

With foundations in associative learning theory, social stimuli can result in stronger fear responses if the expected paired outcome is negative (O'Donnell *et al*., 2019). Problems within the ancestral past that threated the safety and survival of individuals were likely to incur a fear response, noted as an evolutionary ability for associated learning (McNally, 2016). As such, humans learn to fear the outgroup given the possible threats they pose. Fear resulting from social stimuli is a target specific response contextually and temporally defined, contrary to social psychology literature that often posits the emotion as automatic and reciprocal (e.g. Hamley *et al*., 2020; Moscatelli and Rubini, 2017; Parker and Janoff-Bulman, 2013). Fear responses can, depending upon the circumstance, manifest from a variety of social stimuli associated within intergroup categories, such as age, gender, ethnicity or nationality (O'Donnell *et al*., 2019). Specifically, scholars have found that outgroups can elicit a fear response, but scenario-specific intergroup relations influence its occurrence and strength, and thereby the extent of the bias (Devos *et al*., 2002). For example, an outgroup bias can be intensified when a negative emotion is compatible with pre-existing stereotypical beliefs towards the outgroup and outgroup threats, but not when such emotions are incompatible (Dasgupta *et al*., 2009). As such, outgroups that are stereotypically presented as threatening possess a stronger fear emotion when compared to non-threatening situations (Dang *et al*., 2015). In summary therefore, the sole existence and awareness of an outgroup may not automatically evoke a fear response, but situational variables, including their perceived or actual actions, might.

Fear responses, unlike hate responses towards outgroups, have been found to be learnt more quickly (Navarrete *et al*., 2012). Such evidence alludes to an evolutionary consequence that facilitates an adaptive response. However, learning to fear the outgroup is believed to be a purely cognitive rational process and therefore is limited in explaining the more irrational fears of outgroups in a variety of contexts. Mallan *et al*. (2013) offered further clarification that assumes learning to fear outgroups is a result of genetic, cultural and social factors, instead of assuming a generic ability of learning to fear them. Such perspective is aligned to previous intergroup literature already considered, where fear is the affective response that conditions an adaptive ability to ensure the ingroup's safety (Cottrell and Neuberg, 2005). Ancestral humans living within groups evolved to protect themselves from the negative consequences of social living, such as disease-causing pathogens or conflict, through such affective responses (Kurzban and Leary, 2001). As such, the elicited fear emotion conditions adaptive, avoidance behaviours that ensure the ingroup remains protected.

The limited empirical investigations of this behavioural phenomena have offered evidence however that humans possess an instinctual ability to learn to avoid outgroups regardless of social circumstance, but then social or cultural factors may engage specific triggering fear responses (Neumann *et al*., 2016). For example, Olsson *et al*. (2005) found that fear responses towards an outgroup were intensified if the individual possessed previous negative experiences of such intergroup relationships. In a second study, the author found specific environmental conditions were able to influence outgroup fear responses, with those exposed to ethnically diverse populations less likely to display such negative emotions, evidencing how evolved behaviours may be mediated under social conditions (Olsson *et al*., 2005). Other factors that moderate fear of an outgroup have been found to include facial expressions (Bramwell *et al*., 2014) and gender (Navarrete *et al*., 2012), where outgroup males were viewed as threatening when compared with outgroup females. Ultimately, emotional fear of an outgroup has foundations within preparedness theory (Seligman, 1971) that offers an evolutionary explanation for associative learning, particularly influenced by social and cultural stimuli (McNally, 2016), who present a perceived or actual threat towards ingroup members. An intergroup specific investigation by Aberson (2015) found how negative outgroup associations and fear of the outgroup can be mediated by anticipated threat. Perhaps therefore removing the perceived threat is of key importance to overcome negative intergroup relations and promote harmony.

If, within the context of Pavlovian conditioning where adaptive responses of fear towards an outgroup can be learned, then the core theory would also dictate that it can be unlearned to remove such conditioned affect, through the *principles of extinction* (Bouton, 2014). Efforts to remove intergroup anxiety or to improve intergroup relations have found relative success within both clinical and laboratory-based experiments, often utilising the procedures of exposure therapy (i.e. Hoffmann *et al*., 2006). Allport (1954) along with other scholars and the findings of empirical studies conducted since, (i.e. Ma *et al*., 2019; Schneider, 2008; Oakes *et al*., 1995) acknowledge that relationships with outgroups can be improved through the facilitation of interactions to increase familiarity and understanding within intergroup relations. Such beliefs are summarised within Allport's (1954) Intergroup Contact Theory (ICT), who argued that interpersonal contact is an effective strategy to reduced group-based prejudices and discrimination. As such, fear would be reduced as new memories develop that begin to associate the conditioned stimuli, which in this case are outgroups, with no unconditioned stimuli or negative effect. Empirical evidence to support such interventions were found in the study by Birtel and Crisp (2012), who were able to indicate how intergroup exposure to fear-evoking stimuli (the outgroup) reduced the affect over time.

4.2.11 Arousal and affective explanations within intergroup consumption behaviours

The influence of affect upon consumer behaviour and the decision-making process is substantiated within existing literature (Kang *et al*., 2020; Cohen *et al*., 2008). Classical theoretical models attempt to demonstrate how emotionally arousing contexts can influence the effectiveness of persuasion heuristics, each offering different perspectives and predictions on how emotions influence mental processing (Griskevicius *et al*., 2009). Arousal-based models assume that evaluations and decisions are made based on mental shortcuts, as higher levels of arousal inhibit deeper processing of information, thereby increasing the effectiveness of persuasive heuristics (Shapiro and MacInnis, 2013; Pham 1996).

Belanche *et al*. (2017) found that increased arousal subsequently increases the likelihood of purchasing behaviour, however Newell *et al*. (2001) discovered that strong arousal states inhibit the recall of advertisements and brands, whereas affective valence-based models differentiate between positive and negative feelings, predicting a different pattern for each of these types of affect (Schwarz and Bless, 1991). The third type of model, advocated by Griskevicius *et al*. (2009) and grounded in an evolutionary approach (Griskevicius *et al*., 2006; Saad 2007; Schaller *et al*., 2007) attempts to demonstrate that (1) affectively arousing stimuli affectively can activate specific emotions and (2) the subsequent emotional state can motivate people to think and act in such a way that is consistent with the underlying fitness-enhancing functions of these emotions (Keltner *et al*., 2006). Furthermore, the authors argue that by incorporating an evolutionary approach, different emotions (1) lead people to be persuaded by heuristic cues or interpret the persuasive appeal in different ways and (2) can even cause some well-established persuasive tactics to be counterproductive.

Considering the evolutionary adaptiveness of fear as an elicited emotion when confronted by situations that threaten physical or psychological safety, evolved self-protectionist strategies operate on the belief of increased safety in numbers (Griskevicius *et al*., 2009). When humans feel afraid, group coherence is achieved to minimise the potential threat and offer a deterrence to both the attacker and the individual of engaging (Anderson *et al*., 2018). Although general arousal or affective valance models of persuasion do not account for such intricacies, an evolutionary understanding of both heuristic content and affective state may influence the effectiveness of the heuristic itself. If fear reinforces an adaptive behaviour of individuals to closely associate themselves with a group, then advertising heuristics that promote their ingroup (i.e. the consumers' own COO) are likely to be more effective than those heuristics that promote an outgroup (i.e. a foreign COO). A non-adaptive trait would encourage an individual to associate with a group other than their own when experiencing fear, particularly if threatened, therefore ingroup appeals would be of increased appeal during such contexts.

As noted previously, positive associations with the ingroup does not automatically equate to negative associations with the outgroup. Discrimination occurs where equivalent relative favouritism towards the ingroup is absent toward the outgroup (Greenwald and Pettigrew, 2014; Balliet *et al*., 2014). Within this understanding, outgroups are viewed with indifference, sympathy and admiration so long as intergroup distinctiveness is maintained (Brewer, 1999). Therefore, in this view of intergroup relations, engagement with the outgroup is not impossible, but certain boundary conditions must be maintained (Vaes *et al*., 2003). Discriminatory beliefs and behaviours do not occur because of negative attitudes towards the outgroup, but the absent of positive attitudes towards them (Brewer, 1999). In other words, negative biases towards outgroups develop not due to outgroup hatred or fear, but instead because positive emotions are withheld from them (Enock *et al*., 2021; Brewer, 1999). These guidelines provide the possibility to explore strategies to promote cooperation and intergroup harmony.

Scenarios prompting fear are context specific and often conceptualised on perceived chances of conflict within social psychology literature, however previous studies considered have presented how fear of others can occur from social stimuli also

(O'Donnell *et al.*, 2019). Efforts to remove such a general essence of fear are advocated within the original works of Allport (1954), suggesting that intergroup relations can be improved, and thus fear reduced, through the facilitation of interactions to increase familiarity with others. Conditioned fear of the outgroup would be reduced as new knowledge and memories form. To that end, developing strategies to promote intergroup harmony from a perspective of reducing perceived outgroup threat may change the effectiveness of origin-based heuristics. From an evolutionary perspective, this does not mean that such strategies seek to promote outgroup favouritism over ingroup favouritism, as this would be an un-adaptative function of behaviour, but an understanding of groups dynamics may provide the necessary strategy to increase intergroup harmony, given how fear of outgroups is less so a hard-wired function of intergroup contact but contextualised as a learned affect (Hewstone, 2006). Building upon this belief therefore, an evolutionary approach suggests that if ingroup distinctiveness is maintained, intergroup cooperation may occur resulting in fear-reduction towards the outgroup. Therefore, outgroup COO heuristics that promote a clear distinction between groups whilst increasing familiarity of the outgroup may provide increased reassurance to overcome the adaptive behaviours that view such outgroups as threatening.

4.2.12 Discussion and summary of key literature

This Chapter sought to provide a complementary account to previous explanations documented of the COO effect and the associated nationality bias of consumers through an evolutionary lens, specifically through the conceptualisation of such behaviour within intergroup behavioural dynamics by exploring the adaptive, evolved functions of the behaviour. As recommended by Saad (2017), such inquiry first necessitates a consideration of the proximate explanations of the observed phenomena, therefore the social identity perspective of groups and the complementary Self-categorisation Theory was revisited, where it was found that the interplay between the *self* and *identity* and resulting behavioural transformation of the individual who acquires specific group-based attributes manifests in many conscious and unconscious behaviours. This influence of others on the *self* is well documented within social psychology literature, with many theories and explanations produced over decades of committed research. However, when viewed through an evolutionary psychology lens, the ability for an individual to display such affinity to unrelated others, or indeed be influenced by unrelated others that may result in their own self-detriment is an unexpected peculiarity. Such observed behavioural oddities present a complex tantalisation to those committed to the belief that humans, along with many other creatures found within the animal kingdom, operate on self-preservation to ensure a survival of the fittest.

These behavioural peculiarities of redefining the *self* in view of others, along with other observed altruistic tendencies within group dynamics, provided a Darwinian headache for many scholars seeking to understand evolved intergroup relationships. A gene-based view of evolution as alluded to within Darwin's theories of natural and sexual selection is inconsistent with commonly observed behaviours where individuals possess self-sacrificial tendencies. Attempting to disentangle this paradox resulted in a wealth of theoretical output by scholars including Hamilton (1964), who coined the phrase *inclusive fitness* to understand how social behaviours manifest depending upon actual genetic relatedness between the altruist and the receiver. However, the resulting KST was unable to provide explanations to why altruistic behaviours existed among those genetically unrelated. Complementary and associated explanations resulted in the concept of *reciprocal altruism* proposed by Trivers (1971) who identified how an organism will act in a perceived altruistic way due to an expectation of future similar returned benefits from others, or Zahavi's (1975) CST where altruistic behaviours are gestures of desirability designed to showcase wealth or status. Ultimately however, the more random of altruistic behaviours observed and their associated theoretical explanations are conceptualised within GST (Rushton *et al*., 1984), offering a gene-based view of cooperative behaviour within groups. Genetic similarity of others may be actual or perceived, thus allows for groups to be extensively defined from smaller kind-based units to larger entities based on ethnicity or nationality. Resulting group identification based on genetic similarity therefore gives way to a suite of behaviours towards similar or unsimilar others.

Social psychology literature portrays negative behaviours being automatically reserved for outgroups given that positive behaviours are exclusively reserved for ingroups, however this is too simple an explanation when viewed through an evolutionary psychology lens, given that it ignores both functionality and domain specificity of specific behaviours. Whilst it is accepted that an evolved catalogue of behaviours facilitates ingroup loyalty and associated altruistic behaviours whilst identifying the boundaries between the ingroup and the outgroup, which permits outgroup identification but is also a means to explain intergroup conflict, it is too simplistic to say that outgroup negativity is an automatic response. Considerable variation of pro- and anti-social behaviours are observed that extend beyond the ingroup love/outgroup hate dichotomy, therefore associated evolutionary affect-based explanations were considered. Results of empirical studies utilising neuroscientific methodologies offered insight into the contextual importance of intergroup relations and associated affect through the acknowledgement of the functionality and domain specificity of behaviours that facilitate group relations. Specifically, a fear of an outgroup may not be constant, but an evolved conditioned response based on contextual factors where perceived outgroup threat evokes adaptive behaviours to protect the ingroup. Efforts to remove intergroup anxiety is at the forefront of more recent investigations seeking to understand the often negative, evolved behaviours reserved towards outgroups. An understanding of evolved group dynamics and associated affect provides the foundations for strategies to promote harmonious behaviours between groups. This, when applied to the context of the nationality bias of consumers that conceptualises the home country as the ingroup and foreign nations as outgroups, has the potential to develop strategies that manipulate the COO effect itself.

4.3 Research aims and objectives

Through an adopted experimental research approach, two questionnaires were designed and deployed to test the effectiveness of ingroup and outgroup heuristics when participants are exposed to a scenario that reinforces a perceived safety or a perceived threat relating to the outgroup, when compared to a control condition that did not reinforce any intergroup relationship between the ingroup and outgroup. The two data collection activities were conceptually identical in design and execution, however there were differences regarding the wording of the reinforcement perception statement of the outgroup. Specifically, in the first part of the experiment, a positive association sought to reinforce a perceived safety of the outgroup whereas in the second part, a negative association reinforced a perceived threat of the outgroup.

Responses were recorded to identify if perceptions of the outgroup can change the effectiveness of ingroup and outgroup COO heuristics. The data collection effort is supported by the following research question:

RQ1: How might different group-dynamic relations, reinforced contextually by a perceived safety or perceived threat towards ingroups and outgroups, change the influence of COO heuristic appeals?

To support the research objective, four hypotheses are developed to evidence perceived positive or negative relationships towards the outgroup and their ability to influence the persuasiveness of COO heuristic appeals within a consumption-based scenario:

Part one: safety condition

H1: Positive associations reinforcing the perceived safety of the outgroup will result in ingroup heuristic appeals influencing product desirability to be less persuasive when compared to outgroup heuristic appeals.

H2: Positive associations reinforcing the perceived safety of the outgroup will result in outgroup heuristic appeals influencing product desirability to be more persuasive compared to when such appeals are not used.

Part two: threat condition

H3: Negative associations reinforcing the perceived threat of the outgroup will result in ingroup heuristic appeals influencing product desirability to be more persuasive when compared to outgroup heuristic appeals.

H4: Negative associations reinforcing the perceived threat of the outgroup will result in outgroup heuristic appeals influencing product desirability to be less persuasive compared to when such appeals are not used.

As a result of this investigation, a developed understanding of evolved intergroup relationships and the factors that influence approach and avoidance behaviours is ascertained. Conceptualising groups on a country-level, this investigation seeks to understand how the COO effect can be manipulated through an understanding of how evolved intergroup behaviours and associated affect can influence perceived associations and relationships with an outgroup. The findings offer a novel contribution to the existing body of literature in explaining the COO effect, grounded within an evolutionary approach, that acknowledge that evolved intergroup relationships promote ingroup cohesiveness when faced with outgroup threat, however such relationship is not automatic nor reciprocal, and that ingroup cohesiveness is does not facilitate an outward display of aggression towards outgroups. Such understanding therefore aims to present scenarios where the nationality bias of consumers can be manipulated so that consumers can become more attracted to outgroup products and brands (i.e. foreign alternatives), with implications on marketing strategy for such manufacturers.

4.3.1 Research philosophy

A positivist epistemological framework supports this research investigation, through a reductionist ontology stance to address the research questions and hypotheses of this Chapter. Such scientific investigation of complex cognitive and affective systems complements both the research objectives of this Chapter and the adopted perspective of the thesis, specifically considering the research methodology and study of observed psychological phenomena as a science (Dafermos, 2014). Through a positivist approach to data collection, the knowledge gained, and its associated measures embraced are considered trustworthy, given that the researcher is limited to data collection and interpretation, thus maintaining an objectivity (Obermiller and Spangberg, 1989).

4.4 Research methodology

This sub-chapter seeks to discuss and justify the chosen methodology to address the research objective and test the aforementioned hypotheses. Consideration will be given to the philosophical approach adopted, before presenting the research design including stimuli selection and measures, along with sampling, methods of analysis and ethical issues. Such research procedures have been informed by both the literature review presented, the specific research aims and overall perspective of the thesis at large.

4.4.1 Research design

Given that previous studies on arousal or affective valance do not sufficiently uncover the specific influences of affect-arousing contexts, an evolutionary perspective of intergroup behavioural dynamics, specifically relationships with outgroups, is required to understand and manipulate the adaptive behaviours that facilitate the nationality bias of consumers. As a previous review of the literature within this thesis uncovered that contrary to a social psychology perspective that assumes ingroup/outgroup relationships and associated emotions are reciprocal, an evolutionary psychology perspective acknowledges the *functionality* and *domain specificity* of such intergroup behaviours. As already established that an ingroup loyalty does not automatically equate to negative associations towards the outgroup but merely potentially simple avoidance behaviours, it is important to distinguish what does. Negative associations, accompanied with the emotion of fear, are formed through a process of conditioning where outgroups possess a heighted level of existential threat towards the ingroup. Such context-specific scenario, combined with heightened negative affect, motivates the ingroup to respond defensively. Such social stimuli conditions a fear response, being those adaptive behaviours that ensure the ingroup remains protected. However, if outgroup relationships can be improved by removing the threat, such as those techniques offered by ICT (Pettigrew, 1998), then this may have positive impacts on intergroup relations. As such, this experiment aims to present evidence that based on the evolved adaptive mechanisms that engage intergroup behaviours, a perceived level of threat of the outgroup can influence the level of group-based biases directed to them.

4.4.2 Participants recruitment and sampling

Both experiment parts were conducted through a self-administered online questionnaire, hosted via the web-based survey tool Qualtrics. Each survey was open for a two-week period. There were no defined prerequisites, other than participants requiring access an internet connected device to complete the online survey. Within this study, the population of interest is *Great Britain*, thereby defining the ingroup as *British nationals*. The sampling frame of this study consisted of 115 participants for part one: safety condition, and 106 participants for part two: threat condition, both facilitated through a non-random sampling approach. Each sample was screened to fit the criteria of nationality of respondents from Great Britain whilst ensuring representativeness from the devolved nations. This is due to the ingroup being defined for the purpose of this survey as *British nationals*, thereby ensuring the assessment of the associations towards ingroup and outgroup, and its influence on consumer evaluation and purchasing judgement can address the research objectives. This approach of collecting, screening and analysing data within COO studies is commonplace, having been successfully employed previously (e.g. Eng *et al*., 2016; Balabanis and Diamantopoulos, 2008; Ahmed and d'Astous, 2003). The approach of sample screening was adopted over other sampling types due to the restrictions of both time and resource in collecting a nationally representative sample, therefore the current study does not aim to make projections about the UK consumer population, but instead should be considered indicative of British consumers' ingroup loyalty-based biases. Following the initial data screening procedure, 115 complete responses for part one and 106 responses for part two were taken forward for analysis. A summary of the participant demographics can be found in Table 4.1:

	Part one: safety condition		*Part two: threat condition*	
Demographics	***n (115)***	**%**	***n (106)***	**%**
Gender				
Men	48	41.74	44	41.51
Women	63	54.78	59	55.66
Undeclared/other	4	3.48	3	2.83
Nationality				
England	49	42.61	43	40.57
Scotland	33	28.7	39	36.79
Wales	24	20.87	24	22.64
Age				

<20	6	5.22	8	7.55
20-29	39	33.91	32	30.19
30-39	32	27.83	26	24.53
40-49	21	18.26	21	19.81
50-59	10	8.7	14	13.21
≥60	7	6.09	5	4.72

Table 4.1: Demographic profiles of sample

4.4.3 Scenario manipulation

To assess the influence of positive or negative reinforcement on perceived outgroup safety or threat on ingroup and outgroup origin-based heuristics, the experimental protocols of Griskevicius *et al*., (2009) were adapted to measure the degree of influence these persuasion heuristics within specific scenarios that instil a positive or negative affect. The experiment used a mixed 2 (association to the outgroup: threat/safety cues) x 3 (persuasion heuristic: ingroup origin, outgroup origin, control: no origin) design.

Before completing the questionnaire, participants were required to first read a brief statement designed to instil either a positive association to reinforce the perceived safety of the outgroup or a negative association to reinforce the perceived threat of the outgroup. To overcome contextual and methodological issues often reported within COO studies that result in a halo effect or other unintentional influences impacting results (i.e. Woo, 2019; Diamantopoulos *et al*., 2019), the outgroup was not defined as a specific country or region but instead referred to 'other' foreign nations or foreign product alternatives. Therefore the scenario presented is based upon the outgroup homogeneity effect and the behavioural bias that perceives outgroup members to be more similar than ingroup members who are instead more diverse and heterogenous (i.e. "we are different, they are all the same") (Brewer, 1991). Both scenario briefs used purely fictious statistics and authors to reinforce either a positive association regarding perceived safety or a negative association regarding perceived threat relating to the 'other' outgroups. In the perceived safety condition, a positive or negative association was elicited by having participants read one of the following two statements:

Experiment part one: safety condition - positive associations towards the outgroup:
In today's global economy, we have become familiar with seeing products and brands from every corner of the world on our supermarkets shelves and in our grocery stores. These foreign imported products provide you with more choice and variety. Despite being manufactured in foreign nations, they must still pass rigours health and safety measures within quality control and manufacturing methods. As Professor Richard Fletcher from the Institute of Import and Export Control comments: "an increased level of imported produce presents real benefits to the consumer, who can be reassured that all raw materials being used within the manufacture of these goods are traceable, the same standards of quality are offered, or the level of imported products is carefully controlled to ensure that the nation's economy and currency valuation benefits from the products on offer."

Experiment part two: threat condition - negative associations towards the outgroup:
In today's global economy, we have become familiar with seeing products and brands from every corner of the world on our supermarkets shelves and in our grocery stores. These foreign imported products have the potential to negatively impact domestic suppliers who must compete against more alternative offerings. These products are often produced in countries that have poorer quality control and manufacturing methods. As Professor Richard Fletcher from the Institute of Import and Export Control comments: "an increased level of imported produce presents real threats to the consumer, whether that is due to the inability to trace the raw materials being used within the manufacture of these goods, different standards of quality, or the amount of imported products and their potential to damage the nation's balance of trade and ultimately devalue its currency."

4.4.4 Construct measurements

For both parts, participants were required to read three advertisement briefs for new soft drink products that were expected to be launched soon within supermarkets. Product category selection was informed by the findings of the previous study in Chapter Two, where soft drinks was found to be a representative category that utilised COO heuristic designs. Three origin-related heuristic pieces of information were included within each condition, whereas no product origin information was included within the control condition. For the ingroup condition, the title of the brief included the phrase “new British soft drink launching soon,” that it was “manufactured in Great Britain” and that was “a real taste of the British countryside.” For the outgroup condition, the title of the brief included the phrase “new exotic soft drink launching soon,” that it was “manufactured in regional tropics” and that it was “a real taste of foreign lands.” For the control condition, no association or reference to a particular origin was used in the description of the product. Each brief was presented in a random order. Once participants had read a brief, they were required to complete six questions using a five-point scale including their attitudes towards the product description and their purchase intentions. Specifically, participants answered three five-point questions regarding their attitude towards the product description (“good/bad,” “favourable/unfavourable,” and “positive/negative”). Afterwards, participants were then required to answer three behavioural intention questions (“a great deal/none at all”) regarding (1) their interest in finding out more about the product, (2) how likely they would *consider* purchasing the product and (3) how likely they would *actually* purchase the product.

4.4.5 Ethical considerations

The necessary ethical procedures for primary data collection were followed in accordance with Durham University’s standards of ethical conduct. Participants under the age of 18 were not permitted to complete the survey. Participants were provided with an information sheet prior to the survey with informed consent obtained by those who agreed to progress with the activity. Participants were also informed that they were permitted to ask questions and able to withdraw from the survey at any time. All data was collected anonymously and stored confidentially.

4.5 Findings

Before hypotheses testing began, robustness checks using Cronbach’s alpha measure of internal consistency were undertaken on the six attitude and behavioural intention measures from each condition to ensure reliability. A summary of this reliability analysis is presented in Table 4.2:

Condition	Cronbach's Alpha
INGROUP_CONDITION_EX1	.950
OUTGROUP_CONDITION_EX1	.886
CONTROL_CONDITION_EX1	.942
INGROUP_CONDITION_EX2	.901
OUTGROUP_CONDITION_EX2	.952
CONTROL_CONDITION_EX2	.931

Table 4.2: Reliability analysis

Figure 4.1 presents a comparison of results from the experiment, showcasing the differences in recorded product desirability for provenance-based product heuristics when cued with a positive or negative association to the outgroup. A two-way mixed ANOVA was conducted to investigate the impact of a perceived association to the outgroup and its impact on provenance-based heuristic information. There were significant differences of provenance-based group heuristics (f = 101.240, p <. 001). There were significant differences on the cue conditions that reinforced perceived threat or safety towards outgroups (f = 44.503, p <. 001). Additionally, there were significant differences between the cue condition and the provenance-based group heuristics (f = 87.068, p <. 001). As a result, the null hypotheses are rejected in each case. What follows are a series of post-hoc pairwise comparisons of these particular variables to identify the varying sources of influence of provenance-based product heuristics on product desirability in different outgroup cue conditions.

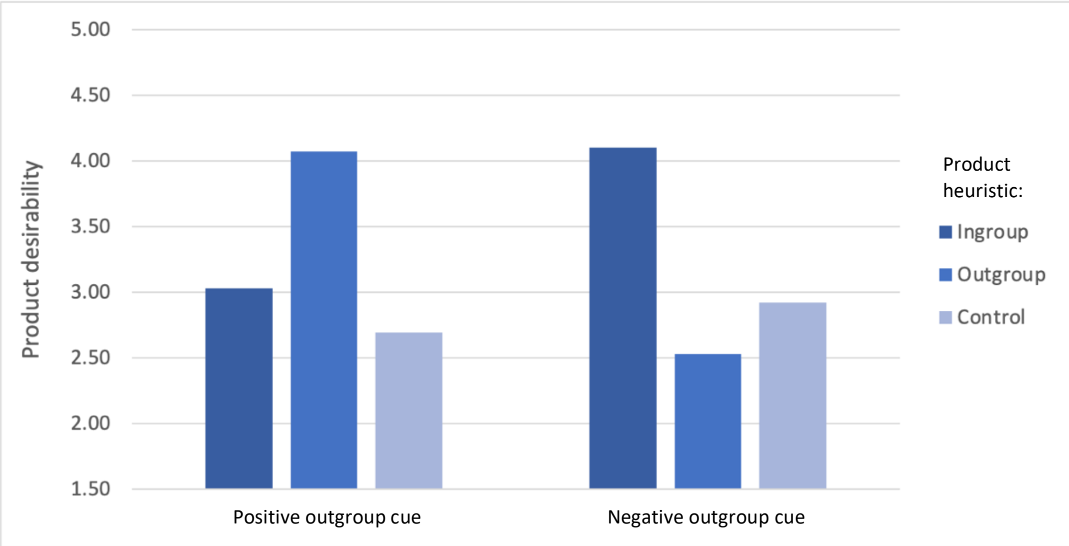

Figure 4.1: Effectiveness of COO persuasion heuristics as a function of positive/negative outgroup association

4.5.1 Experiment part one: safety condition: positive associations towards the outgroup

As seen in Figure 4.1, there are differences recorded among within each condition and associated persuasion heuristic. A test of homogeneity of variances showed that the variances between the conditions were not equal (f (2,342) = 4.801, p = .009). To examine the hypotheses presented, a series of post-hoc pairwise comparisons were undertaken. In line with H1, positive associations reinforcing the perceived safety of the outgroup led to ingroup heuristic appeals to be less persuasive than outgroup appeals (t = -10.342, p = <.000). As a result, hypothesis one is accepted. In comparison and in line with H2, positive associations reinforcing the perceived safety of the outgroup led to outgroup heuristic appeals to be more persuasive than when such appeals are not used (t = 13.698, p = <.000) (see Figure 4.1). As a result, hypothesis two is accepted.

4.5.2 Experiment part two: threat condition: negative associations towards the outgroup

As with part one, a test of homogeneity of variances showed that the variances between the conditions were not equal in part two (f (2,315) = .399, p = .671). To examine the hypotheses presented, a series of post-hoc pairwise comparisons were undertaken. In line with H3, negative associations reinforcing the perceived threat of the outgroup led to ingroup heuristic appeals to be more persuasive than outgroup appeals (t = 16.124, p = <.000). As a result, hypothesis three is accepted. In comparison and in line with H4, negative associations reinforcing the perceived threat of the outgroup led to outgroup heuristic appeals to be less persuasive than when such appeals are not used (t = -3.954, p = <.000) (see Figure 4.1). As a result, hypothesis four is accepted.

4.6 Discussion of key findings

This study sought to investigate if insights from evolutionary psychology, specifically regarding adaptive behaviours regarding relationships with outgroups and associated affect, can explain and manipulate the COO effect. Contrary to previous insights from social psychology literature that assumes a general reciprocity exists that facilities the ingroup love/outgroup hate paradigm (i.e. an automatic response of negative behaviours is generated towards outgroups due to a positive association towards the ingroup), this investigation, built upon an evolutionary model of intergroup relationships and associated affectual conditioning, found that positive or negative associations of an outgroup can manipulate the nationality bias of consumers, whilst identifying a possible strategy to encourage intergroup harmony.

Within this study, it was found that positive or negative associations that reinforced either a perceived safety or a perceived threat regarding the outgroup was able to influence the effectiveness of ingroup and outgroup COO heuristics in a way that is consistent with the adaptive, affectual responses primed to deal with varying levels of outgroup influence. Particularly, heuristic appeals based on positive associations relating towards the outgroup led to outgroup (i.e. foreign) COO heuristics to be more effective when people were reassured that the outgroup posed no threat and offered a possible benefit. Specifically, it was found that outgroup appeals increased in desirability when people were exposed to positive information regarding the outgroup. In contrast, negative associations of the outgroup that reinforced their threat towards the ingroup produced the opposite pattern, where desirability of ingroup heuristics increased in effectiveness. In fact, not only did ingroup heuristics become more desirable when people were exposed to such outgroup threat, but the control condition that did not reference any origin information were more desirable than outgroup heuristics.

The findings of this experiment are consistent with previous empirical studies within evolutionary psychology and neuroscience. Whilst it is recognised that a loyalty towards an ingroup is an adaptive behaviour, an automatic hatred or fear that facilitates outgroups derogation is debated and often criticised for being a too simple representation for the complex, evolved adaptive behaviours that facilitates intergroup relations, particularly when considering their functionality, domain specificity and resulting affect. Given that fear as a primary emotion is not a fixed function but learnt when adapting to novel environmental experiences (Davis and Montag, 2019), it becomes natural that fear of an outgroup is learnt when an individual or group engages in intergroup behaviour. Distinctions therefore must be made between a general, adaptive avoidance of an outgroup to actual fearing an outgroup, given that fear is a targeted, specific response contextually and temporally defined, whereas a nonspecific group level response manifests in general avoidance behaviours (O'Donnell *et al.*, 2019). Therefore, if fear of an outgroup is a conditioned, adaptive response due to repeated exposure to intergroup threating behaviours that facilitates an evolutionary ability for associated learning (McNally, 2016), strategies may be developed, consistent with the evolutionary ability for associated learning, to lessen outgroup anxiety and promote intergroup harmony.

As found by Aberson (2015), fear of an outgroup is mediated by anticipated threat, and is generally acknowledged in similar literature as an evolved affect mechanism to ensure the ingroup remains protected. Whilst Allport (1954) originally conceptualised how outgroup relationships can be improved through the facilitation of interactions to increase familiarity and understanding within intergroup relations, recent bodies of literature have begun to empirically test if interventions, based on conceptual frameworks both within evolutionary psychology and classical conditioning, can effectively manipulate biased behaviours based on their adaptive functionality (i.e. Griskevicius *et al.*, 2009), and with relevance to this investigation, reduce outgroup fear and promote intergroup anxiety (Birtel and Crisp, 2012). Such perspective builds upon the general influence of affect in specific shopper scenarios where an evolutionary explanation for both heuristic content and affect is provided. For example, when humans are afraid or posed with an outgroup threat, an adaptive protectionist response is to seek safety in numbers (Griskevicius *et al.*, 2009). Fear reinforces the adaptive behaviour of group association, so a heuristic that promotes their ingroup (i.e. the consumers' own COO) are likely to be more effective than those heuristics that promote an outgroup (i.e. a foreign COO). This was evidenced in the second part of the experiment. However, as noted, positive associations with the ingroup does not automatically equate to negative associations with the outgroup and in fact, so long as intergroup distinctiveness and boundaries are maintained, can result in positive relationships constructed (Hogg *et al*., 2017; Brewer, 1999). A scenario that maintained outgroup distinctiveness but promoted positive relations and the impact on behaviour was evidenced in the first part of the experiment. As a result of the study, findings indicate that an evolutionary understanding of domain specificity, functionality and associated affect and their role within intergroup relations can produce novel findings when exploring the COO effect and its influence.

4.7 Conclusion

This Chapter's aim explored if an evolutionary psychology perspective of intergroup behavioural dynamics, specifically the adaptive behaviours that facilitate outgroup relationships or promote intergroup harmony, influence ingroup and outgroup COO heuristics. Conceptualising the COO effect and associated nationality bias of consumers within intergroup behavioural dynamics, a critical review of associated literature explored the adaptive, evolved functions of group behaviour, its influence upon the individual and its implications within consumption scenarios. Firstly, proximate explanations were considered to offer as an organising framework to ground the existing body of knowledge explaining group behaviours. It was found however that viewing such explanations through an evolutionary lens identified behavioural peculiarities of altruism within groups. One such oddity was the concept of redefining the self in view of others, a core tenet within SIT. Such behaviour is somewhat contradictory with the theories pertaining to Neo-Darwinism, where an individual would not be expected to engage in such self-sacrificial or self-transformative behaviours that may become detrimental to their survival chances. Although many scholars attempted to disentangle this paradox, resulting in theories like kin selection, cost signalling or reciprocal altruism, all did not provide a theoretically sound explanation of why perceived random altruistic behaviours exist among the genetically unrelated. A gene-based view of cooperative behaviours was finally conceptualised within GST, articulating how generic similarity, actual or perceived, allowed for the construction of larger groups based on factors like nationality or ethnicity, as opposed to smaller kin-based units that previous theories focus upon.

This perspective then allowed for group-based relationships to be explored within the literature review, and through the consideration of neuroscientific empirical studies, explore the biological factors that facilitate behaviours relating to the ingroup and outgroup. Such findings highlighted the contextual importance of intergroup relations, whilst acknowledging their functionality, domain specificity and resulting affect. Specifically, it was considered that fear of an outgroup is not constant, but more so the result of a conditioned response where contextual factors of perceived outgroup threat results in adaptive behaviours to protect the ingroup. This perspective presents an opportunity to explore strategies, based on evolved cognition, to remove intergroup anxiety and improve intergroup relations through the consideration of these contextual-based factors. Applying this understanding to COO studies presented the opportunity within this Chapter to explore methods that can influence ingroup and outgroup heuristics, based upon the evolved behaviours that facilitate intergroup behaviours. The key findings of the study are summarised with specific contributions presented. The implications of these findings for manufactures are considered. The limitations of this Chapter are acknowledged and suggestions for future research provided.

Built upon an evolutionary model of intergroup dynamics and associated affectual conditioning, an experimental approach to the research methodology design deployed two questionnaires that sought to manipulate outgroup relationships and observe resulting behavioural implications on ingroup and outgroup COO heuristics. Specifically, participants were conditioned and exposed to a scenario that reinforced either a perceived safety or perceived threat relating to the outgroup, with responses recorded to identify if such outgroup associations can change the influence of ingroup and outgroup COO heuristics. The findings indicated that positive or negative conditioning towards an outgroup was able to manipulate the influence of ingroup and outgroup COO heuristics. Specifically, outgroup appeals increased desirability when participants were conditioned with positive associations, whereas in contrast, negative associations that reinforced a perceived threat to the ingroup resulted in such appeals being of lessor influence, where the desirability of ingroup appeals increased. Such findings are consistent with conditioned, adaptive responses to outgroups, where outgroup fear is not constant, but context specific.

4.7.1 Key findings and contribution

The findings of this study have both theoretical and practical implications for manufacturers, particularly international ones, wishing to take advantage of the nationality bias of consumers. Understanding the context specificity of ingroup/outgroup associations will provide manufacturers with the knowledge of when and where to utilise a particular COO strategy within marketing heuristics. If an outgroup country is experiencing positive relations with the ingroup country, then manufacturers may capitalise on such event within their origin-based advertising. However, if animosity exists between the two nations, given how negative associations influence ingroup purchasing, it may be wise to seek an alternative based heuristic. Ultimately, awareness of changeable domestic and international relations is needed to exploit customer sentiment and beliefs.

Previous models explaining heuristic influence, arousal or affective valance are void of an understanding of domain specificity and functionality of resulting behaviours and experienced emotions. Furthermore, previous explanations do not consider the context specificity of engaging these adaptive behavioural responses. The framework adopted within this study has offered evidence into understanding how perceived positive or negative associations towards outgroups motivates individuals in such a way that is consistent with the underlying fitness-enhancing function of the behaviour. Particularly, positive associations towards an outgroup increases outgroup COO appeals, whereas negative associations increase ingroup COO appeals. The theoretical contribution of this study therefore demonstrates that simple evolutionary understandings of behavioural phenomena can produce novel, testable hypotheses whilst providing marketing insights and extending the literature on the COO effect and nationality bias of consumers. Scholars adopting such approaches however must appreciate that such insights should not seek to supersede existing theoretical approaches or discount documented empirical evidence but offer complementary insight that can be integrated into current understandings (Saad, 2017). Ultimately, an evolutionary approach to explaining consumption-based phenomena offers an understanding into how functionality and domain specificity can provide different results depending upon contextual factors and how they engage the adaptive behaviour. Such insight offers evidence into why consumers may change their behaviour, process information or make decisions depending upon which evolved domain is being influenced, including to protect or defend oneself from outgroup advances that threaten the ingroup, or engaging in affiliative behaviours with unrelated others.

4.7.2 Limitations of the study

As with the previous study in Chapter Three methodological limitations are acknowledged, particularly with regards to sample procedures. Due to conducting the study in Great Britain, all respondents were British. However, the interplay between devolved nations and their association with identifying as 'British' may vary, meaning that the strength of association to the defined ingroup may vary also. However, similar studies utilising the same sample procedure (i.e. Davidson *et al*., 2003) can produce reliable results when categorising a sample as British nationals. Secondly, adopting an evolutionary framework, whilst able to produce empirically sound hypotheses and results, the field itself is somewhat controversial (Buss and Schmitt, 2011). Specifically, scientific legitimacy is often questioned within studies utilising such frameworks (Jonason, 2017). This Chapter has attempted to overcome such concerns through adopting the recommend epistemological frameworks advocated by evolutionary psychology scholars, built upon the work of Tinbergen (1963), that seeks to offer integration of both proximate and ultimate explanations whilst considering the specific biological mechanisms that facilitate such behaviours, built upon the concepts of functionality and domain specificity, to ensure sound hypotheses are developed as a result of empirical scientific analysis, instead of relying upon "just so stories" from an idealistic body of literature.

4.7.3 Recommendations for future research

Exploring the ultimate causes of behaviour through an evolutionary framework provides immense opportunity to revisit and extend previous insights relating to the psychology of consumers. As this Chapter has demonstrated, providing a whole account of behavioural phenomena results in the development of both novel hypotheses and experimentation, whilst providing practical contributions to marketing practice. Through the exploration and identification of both domain specificity and functionality of behaviours within consumption-based scenarios provides the opportunity to overcome not only the methodological and contextual issues of studies like those investigating the COO effect as reviewed in Chapter Three but allows for the identification of specific adaptive mental systems are engaged when confronted with specific marketing-related effects. Building upon the findings of this Chapter, an evolutionary framework necessitates that observed behaviours should be universal to the species and exist regardless of culture, country or other demographic factors. It is recommended therefore that future research directions should deploy similar methodological frameworks to uncover if the behaviours observed within this study are replicated within other demographics. If similar studies can validate the findings, then it may well possibly be that the adaptive behaviours that facilitate the COO effect have been discovered through its conceptualisation of evolved intergroup behavioural dynamics.

Chapter Five: Conclusions

The aim of this thesis sought to address one simple yet evocative behavioural phenomenon that over the last many decades has produced a sizeable body of literature within international marketing and consumer behavioural studies, namely:

Why do consumers prefer home country, domestic products and brands to foreign alternatives?

Attempting to provide explanations of this modest behavioural principle has not only captured the attention of scholars from a multitude of different research disciplines, but produced rather indiscriminate, differing and contradictory findings where a simple agreement of the strength of the COO effect, or indeed the very existence of the effect itself, is debated, disputed and controversial. Contributing to the wealth of variations observed within publication outputs are the diversified conceptualisations or methodological approaches that not only produces differences in understanding and evidencing the effect, but limits advancements of the debate through a difficulty in offering generalisable or valid findings. The unintentional ramifications of such dedicated research direction offer restricted progress towards understanding the effect, offer conflicting advice for practitioners, with debates appearing void of harmonious agreement whilst inadvertently fuelling discord. The following Figure presents the structure and complementary research questions of each Chapter in the pursuit of addressing the overarching research objective posed by this thesis. This is followed by a general discussion, addressing the findings, theoretical and managerial implications of each Chapter.

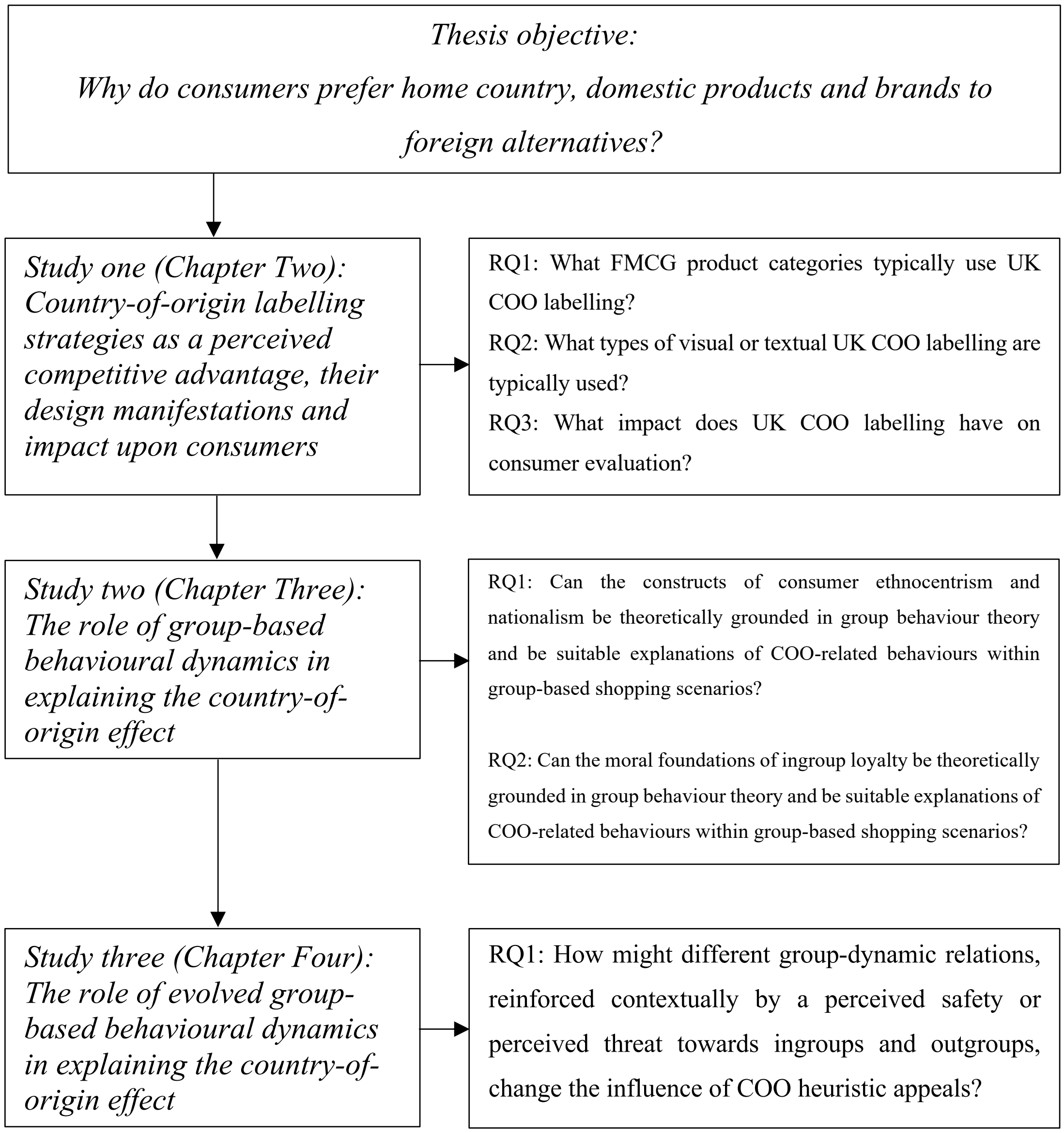

Figure 5.1: Thesis structure and Chapter connections

5.1 General discussion

This thesis sought to further the development of knowledge regarding the COO effect via complementary yet distinct contextual, theoretical and methodological approaches of understanding the nationality bias of consumers. Specifically, this thesis adopted the applicational protocols of the epistemological method of evolutionary psychology to explore the cognitive biases that result in the COO effect, being consumer preferences towards home-country products and brands as opposed to foreign alternatives. Guided by Tinbergen's (1963) four principles that seeks to offer a succinct explanation of human behaviour, this thesis works towards providing complementary cumulative evidence through a sequential analysis at both the proximate and ultimate levels of inquiry, presenting three interconnected investigations exploring the complex relationship between prevalence, usage and effectiveness of common provenance-based heuristic strategies adopted by manufacturers that seek to incite nationality behavioural biases of consumers. Using diverse methodologies and pragmatic research philosophies supported by an evolutionary epistemology, addressing the overarching research objective of the thesis is offered through the objectives of three individual, complementary Chapters.

In Chapter Two, a contemporary, mechanistic explanation of the current form of the behaviour observed within the present day was provided. Causal explanations of the behaviour were offered including the immediate factors that facilitate it, before evidence of the influences of provenance-based marketing and heuristic strategies were presented. Specifically, a visual investigation utilising the ethnographic methods of autophotography and photo elicitation was undertaken to explore COO labelling frequency and design across FMCG product categories within the UK, along with recording consumer responses. Whilst COO labelling for FMCGs is believed to possess weaker influence on consumer decision-making and therefore is an expected infrequent heuristic design choice by manufactures within the FMCGs industry (Luis-Alberto *et al*., 2021; Balabanis and Siamagka, 2017; Insch and Florek, 2009), the investigation found widespread usage and diversity of labelling design by FMCGs manufacturers when communicating provenance information of their products along with distinct influence upon consumers, suggesting a potential disparity between literature and actual marketing practice.

Specifically, varied representations of origin were found to possess different cognitive, affective and normative associations within consumer evaluations, with provenance imagery represented by country flags were interpreted as having political motivations especially. Furthermore and as found within cognitive interview responses, different interpretations and associations towards commonly used imagery exist, particularly if some underlying political affiliation can be connected (intentionally or otherwise) by the consumer. This Chapter therefore highlights the importance of future studies considering the strategies and design manifestations of how provenance information is communicated, given that variations possess diverse influences upon the consumer, along with acknowledging the socio-political or socio-economic conditions at the time, that may influence consumers' associations with the label. Other cognitive attributes of provenance information included quality and trust. Affective attributes included stronger positive associations towards more local, regional product offerings rather than country-based ones, whilst normative implications found how the strength of association towards nationality could have positive or negative consequences when exposed to representations of provenance. Detailed audits of COO labelling manifestations are recommended to recognise the diversity of provenance representation whilst understanding their distinct influences.

Secondly, this Chapter explored within the literature how FMCGs manufacturers may adopt COO labelling strategies without fully understanding the benefits or consequences of doing so. This is an important managerial implication. Contrary to arguments within literature, this study did uncover how COO labelling can influence evaluation and purchasing of FMCG product categories, but also how such labelling becomes associated within other attributes relating to socio-political or socio-economic conditions. It is key therefore that manufacturers understand whether an often-assumed simple practice of including provenance information on product packaging is advantageous or detrimental to consumer purchasing behaviour, requiring a greater awareness of such changing socio-political, socio-economic or even wider national and international relations, as a main recognition presented within this thesis is the malleability, but also temporal and spatial specificity of the COO effect influence. Manufactures should possess an awareness of when it may be profitable to capitalise on the patriotic or nationalistic sentiments of the home nation, and when practices should be avoided should such sentiments appear tainted by other negative attributes across different consumer groups. These understandings may influence who, when and where to target through the adoption of provenance-based marketing practices. Future studies may seek to uncover the motivations for manufactures adopting this label, including their perceived tangible and intangible benefits whilst developing guidance for manufacturers to measure the effectiveness of adopting COO labelling.

Another practical recommendation, building upon the previous point, includes a consideration of the design indicators of provenance information specifically and the attributes often associated by consumers, both visual and written. As it was found that visual indicators of provenance such as using country flags may incur an unintentional perceived political association, manufacturers may wish to avoid such designs during heightened political events to prevent possible associated sentiments being instilled in consumer groups that may choose to avoid or negatively interpret such imagery. Again, such consequences highlight the responsibility of the manufacturer to have a greater awareness of the social and political landscape to know when provenance attributes may become conflated with other, more negative perceptions. Adopting a written provenance indicator, or avoiding country flags specifically, and using more general provenance imagery indicators during such times may be an alternative marketing strategy to adopt. However, represented within the participant response data was the willingness to support domestic, local and national producers, particularly during times of change and difficulty. Local and national domestic manufacturers therefore may wish to capitalise on such sentiments alongside visual or written indicators of provenance as a mechanism to reassure their consumers and encourage engagement in such circumstances. Future studies may wish to consider consumer reliance on provenance indicators during times of crises.

The impact and influence of Brexit looms over the findings presented in Chapter Two, and whilst discussions are presented that supports the idea of how socio-political crises can impact the effectiveness or associated attributes of the COO effect, it is acknowledged that conducting this investigation during such heightened social circumstances may limit the contribution of the study or have consequences on the generalisability of the findings. The effects demonstrated within the Chapter may not be replicated during periods of social calmness, however if such an investigation were to identify lessor COO influence or different associations with provenance, then the argument of the temporal and spatial sensitivity of the COO effect would be supported, offering another opportunity for a future recommended study. Nonetheless, the views of participants are captured during a period of substantial inter-population conflict. It is inevitable therefore that opinions and feelings will have foundations within the dispute. Brexit may have mediated these findings, but it is worthwhile to note that patriotic or nationality beliefs have been present within the population long before the UK's departure from the EU.

Another potential limitation or factor requiring control in future studies is acknowledging the impact of the COO effect in public vs. private purchasing scenarios. Whilst it is widely believed that provenance of a product has a significant influence upon consumers' purchasing behaviours, it is also argued that "COO may have different levels of importance in a consumer's purchasing decision whether a product is used publicly, under the influence and watch of reference groups, or privately, where reference group influence may be minimised." (Piron, 2000, p. 310). If COO is linked to a consumer's image or reflects a consumer's self-perception, then engaging publicly with COO-labelled products may be a strategy for a consumer to showcase their personality (Sirgy *et al*., 1991) or influence their standing or acceptance within society, even if it does carry risk of social rejection (Solomon, 1996). Studies that have investigated such scenarios usually find inconclusive evidence regarding COO influence on public vs. private consumption, but associated context-specific factors such as luxury goods (Godey *et al*., 2012), fashion (Kim *et al*., 2017) or brand (White, 2012) may be attributes, along with COO may influence whether a consumer chooses to publicly showcase their COO purchase (usually in-store or engaging with an overt COO product association in society) or whether they engage in more discreet purchasing (such as online). Investigating the differences may be a fruitful recommended study.

Lastly, the methodological benefits of employing a visual ethnographic framework are advocated given how the topic itself is inherently visual. However, reflections upon the practicalities of adopting these methods are provided within Chapter Two to ensure appropriate ethical and welfare considerations are made to support participant generated data, particularly if participants are required to collect photographs in situations where it is unusual or inappropriate for them to do so in public spaces. Suitable monitoring and feedback mechanisms must be developed within the research methodology to address potential ethical issues. Furthermore, to ensure accessibility and equal opportunity, an assumption that participants will possess the technology to engage with autophotographic studies should not be made, with protocols developed to guarantee fairness.

As presented in Chapter Three, ontogenetic explanations were offered, achieved through the conceptualisation of the COO effect within social constructivism. Specifically, the rules of group-based behavioural dynamics were explored, including their origins within Social Identity Theory (Tajfel *et al*., 1971) to explain the influence of group associations on individual behaviour that facilitates a loyalty towards the ingroup and avoidance of outgroups, often represented within the ingroup love/outgroup hate paradigm (Hamley *et al*., 2020; Moscatelli *et al*., 2017). As such, the nationality bias of consumers was conceptualised within group-based behavioural dynamics and associated theories, including acknowledging the effect within the ingroup/outgroup paradigm.

This perspective attempted to overcome previous conceptualisation issues of COO effect studies, address an acknowledged lack of overarching theory to explain the effect, whilst demonstrating how the nationality bias operates within the rules of group dynamics, stemming from an ingroup loyalty. Furthermore, the motivations that drive ingroup loyal behaviours were exemplified through the constructs of consumer ethnocentrism and consumer nationalism beliefs within a group-based conceptual framework. An investigation was created to explore the motivations that facilitate an ingroup loyalty, conceptualised as the purchasing of home country, domestic products, along with possible negative behaviours towards outgroups, being the avoidance of comparative foreign product alternatives through these two constructs.

This conceptualisation of the COO effect offers a solution towards grounding future studies in an all-encompassing theoretical framework, overcoming previous limitations of COO investigations being atheoretical, as the nationality bias of consumers was conceptualised as motivations arising from an ingroup loyalty, where the domestic home country was defined as the ingroup, and foreign nations defined as outgroups (Skinner *et al*., 2020; Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999). Such perspective explored how an ingroup loyalty possesses a significant effect on the influence of both ingroup and outgroup product descriptions and product recommendations, as behaviours are generated that seek to reinforce an affinity to the ingroup, thereby producing a stronger effect of engaging with products that offer such a practical method to reaffirm such loyalty, whilst producing a negative effect of avoidance towards foreign alternatives. The motive of viewing the ingroup as superior to the outgroup possesses a stronger motivation for purchasing domestic goods rather than a possible threat of outgroup products within comparison scenarios. Lastly, the construct of ingroup loyalty itself was found as a reliable predictor of nationality biased consumer behaviours, further theoretically grounding the COO effect within group-based behavioural dynamics. Future studies may benefit from adopting such theoretical perspectives grounded within group-based behavioural dynamics to explore further motivations of attraction or avoidance related to domestic or foreign purchasing behaviours. Such future direction may offer a solution to overcoming both contextual and methodological issues reported within COO investigations.

The managerial implications build upon the findings presented in Chapter Three, where distinct motivations of consumers can be observed depending upon their affiliations to the ingroup. Specifically, with consumers motivated to engage with domestic products resulting from a negative belief of outgroup alternatives, the development of marketing strategies that seek to reinforce such motives may encourage increased purchasing engagement and prove advantageous for manufacturers. As acknowledged previously, it is key that manufacturers understand how consumer groups may react differently to provenance information and how it is represented in marketing design communications. This study offered insight into some of the motivations that exposure to domestic provenance labelling that can be capitalised on within marketing communications to positively influence consumers to engage.

Such insight offers manufacturers the opportunity to develop their provenance-based marketing communications that extend beyond using a simple visual representation or written ‘Made in...’ tagline. For example, based on the findings of Chapter Three, should domestic manufactures find themselves operating within a marketplace with increased international competition, it may be advantageous to capitalise on specific product attributes that are perceived as superior by the domestic consumer through the comparison of other outgroup, foreign products, and reinforce such qualities within marketing communications, given how it was found that ingroup loyal consumers were seen to possess stronger motives of engaging with domestic products as a result the superior qualities associated with them. Such beliefs may demonstrate that the aims of the once misguided attempts of creating a Brand Britain during the 1970s and 1980s have now come to fruition, albeit from changing national sentiments rather than any one particular government strategy, although it could be argued that the outcome of the Brexit referendum has resulted in an increased government commitment to invest more in reinforcing the value of British manufacturing. Understanding how domestic consumers are loyally motivated to protect the ingroup from foreign influence (consumer ethnocentrism) or see the ingroup as superior to all other foreign alternatives (consumer nationalism) may result in marketing communications that enforce such beliefs.

Lastly, the ultimate explanations, being the adaptive value and phylogenetic considerations of the bias were explored in Chapter Four. This included identifying the functional explanations of group-based behaviours and their inclusive fitness value, before offering evolutionary explanations that consider the history of the behaviour and its significance within the ancestral past. Acknowledging the selective pressures that shaped the behaviour and its consequences on the physiology of the species (Saad, 2017) was a key understanding critically discussed. As such, conceptualising the nationality bias of consumers as evolved group behaviour presented the opportunity in Chapter Four to explore the adaptive benefits of group association and their influence on the individual to explain the ultimate causes of the COO effect. Acknowledging the *domain specificity* and *functionality* of group-influenced behaviours showcased how relationships with both ingroups and outgroups are managed in a way consistent with the underlying *fitness-enhancing functions* of the behaviours themselves.

The investigation therefore sought to understand how evolved group behaviours are engaged when consumers are presented with specific shopper scenarios that manipulate ingroup and outgroup relations reinforced by product provenance, being either a loyalty towards the ingroup resulting from a defensive strategy to deal with outgroup threats, but how such loyalty can be manipulated given that intergroup dynamics are not solely reciprocal but instead context specific (Whitaker *et al*., 2018; Balliet *et al*., 2014; Brewer, 1999). Findings uncovered how the strength of the COO effect, or ingroup and outgroup product appeals, can be manipulated depending upon the relationship to, and perceived threat of, the outgroup. Specifically, fear of an outgroup is not a constant, but results from an adaptive, conditioned response where contextual factors of perceived outgroup threat results in adaptive behaviours to protect the ingroup. This highlights the contextual importance of studying intergroup relations whilst acknowledging their functionality, domain specificity and resulting affect.

On a theoretical level, findings indicated that perceived positive or negative reinforcements towards an outgroup has the potential to influence ingroup loyal behaviours and outgroup interactions, advocating how adaptive responses to outgroups and associated fear affect is dependent upon context specificity, whilst suggesting ways to promote intergroup harmony. These findings support recommendations for future studies seeking to evidence group-based relations and their consequences on behaviour to adopt an evolutionary perspective that considers both domain specificity and functionality to overcome potential limitations of investigating the COO effect and its varying resulting influences so often found within literature.

Furthermore, the findings within Chapter Four offer manufacturers insight into marketing strategies of incorporating positive cues relating to provenance to influence consumers. If the manufacturer is a domestic one, then marketing communications that seek to positively cue consumers towards domestic goods offer influence. However, if the manufacturer is international and therefore seen as part of the 'outgroup' by the market they wish to target, then an understanding of how to incorporate positive cues that reinforce and reduce outgroup avoidance or disassociation is required, as demonstrated by the experiment presented in this thesis. Possessing an understanding of how groups (i.e. domestic or international consumers) will interact with a manufacturer that is viewed as part of the ingroup (domestic), or outgroup (foreign), will help inform marketing communications that seek to incorporate cues to lessen the distance between groups and increase engagement.

Once again however, and consistent with all the manufacturer recommendations offered within this thesis, an understanding and awareness of the wider, changeable domestic and international environment is required to know when to capitalise on provenance within marketing communications, strategies on how to exploit it within different consumer groups, or perhaps when it is best to avoid explicit provenance references given changing sentiments within society. The wider managerial implications therefore offer both spatial and temporal guidance when seeking to take advantage of the nationality bias of consumers for both domestic and international manufacturers. Acknowledging the contextual specificity of group relations will provide insight for manufacturers on when and where to utilise a COO marketing strategy.

The key insights of this thesis have been applied to Tinbergen's (1963) framework, presented by object of study and level of question in the following Figure. Doing so offers four different but complementary answers to address the research objective of seeking to understand why consumers prefer home country, domestic products and brands to foreign alternatives:

Level of question	Object of study: **Contemporary** Explaining the behaviour in terms of the *present-day*	Object of study: **Chronicle** Explaining the behaviour in terms of a *sequence*
Proximate (how) Explaining the behaviour in terms of the *immediate, relevant and/or potentially measurable factors*	**Mechanism (causation)** Chapter Two The nationality bias is evoked through external marketing stimuli of provenance-based heuristics and label design. Appeal possesses cognitive, affective and normative influences that guide behavioural response.	**Ontogeny (development)** Chapter Three The nationality bias is explained via the ingroup love / outgroup hate paradigm within group-based behavioural dynamics offered within social constructivism. Level of association to the ingroup (domestic country) motivates ingroup purchasing (domestic products) whilst influencing the relationship towards the outgroup (foreign countries/foreign products).
Ultimate (why) Explaining the behaviour in terms of *process, adaptive value and forces of evolution that created it via sequencing*	**Adaptive value (function)** Chapter Four Cognitive adaptations facilitating ingroup pro-social norms and behaviours encourages identification and support of familiar others, whilst defence against unfamiliar others. Adaptive cognition and learned heuristics/norms govern appeals from ingroups and outgroups showcasing how adaptive behaviours are context specific.	**Phylogeny (evolution)** Chapter Four Social and group living provided an adaptive strategy to overcome challenges of the hostile ancestral environment, including increased survival chances of gathering collective resources and defensive strategies from hostile advances, and increased reproductive chances of mate acquisition.

Figure 5.2: Summary of findings presented within Tinbergen's (1963) four levels of inquiry framework

On one final note, this thesis aligns with the views of scholars including Saad, (2021), Tooby and Cosmides (2015), Griskevicius and Kenrick, (2013) and Nicholson and Xiao (2010) in advocating for the adoption of an experimental and interdisciplinary approach to marketing and consumer behaviour investigations through an applied evolutionary epistemology. Such perspective offered an opportunity within this thesis for overcoming not only the contextual and methodological issues found within research efforts investing the COO effect, but to offer new, complementary insights into the study of a decades old behavioural phenomenon through the application of additional, diverse theories found within consumer studies and wider social sciences, all supported by an epistemological framework that encourages interdisciplinary integration. Adopting an interdisciplinary approach within future research investigations has not only the potential to develop new, novel hypotheses or extend knowledge through innovative lines of enquiry but enriches research output whilst creating new opportunities for collaboration, benefitting all.

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7. Appendix

Appendix I: QQ plots of the investigation presented in Chapter Three

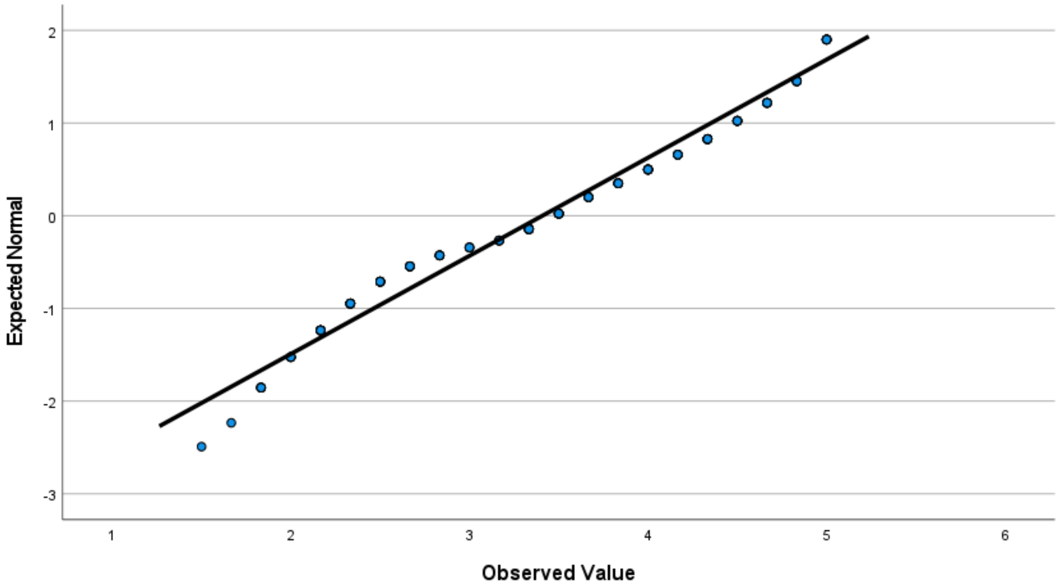

Figure 7.1: Normal Q-Q Plot of MF(INGROUP)-SCALE

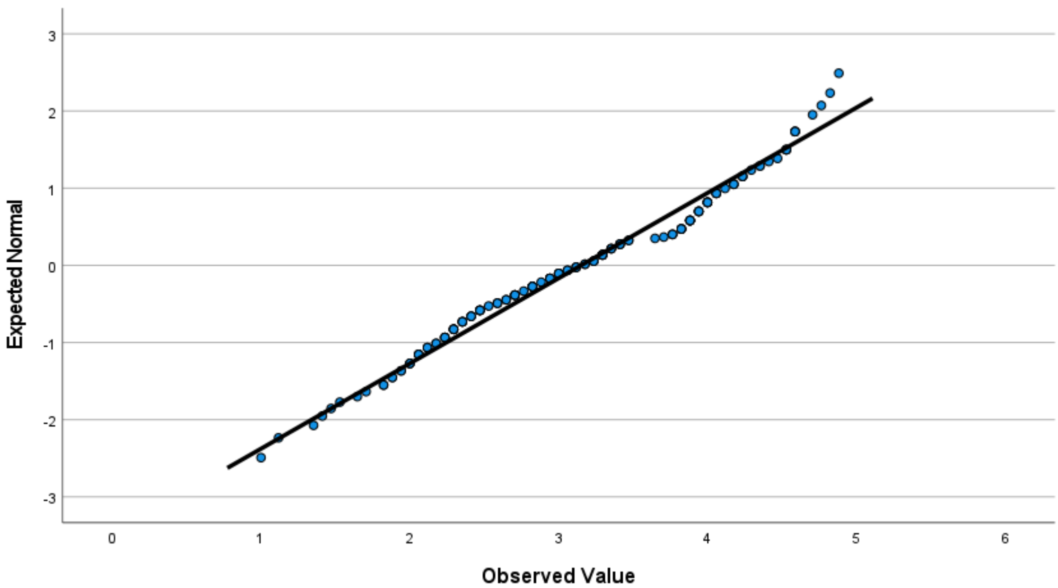

Figure 7.2: Normal Q-Q Plot of CETSCALE

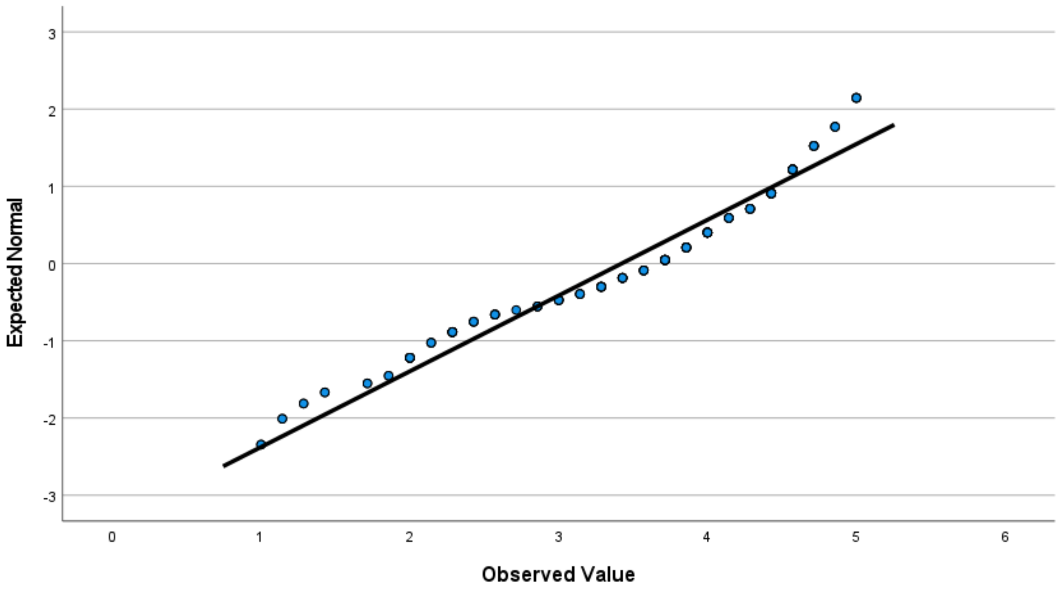

Figure 7.3: Normal Q-Q Plot of NATSCALE

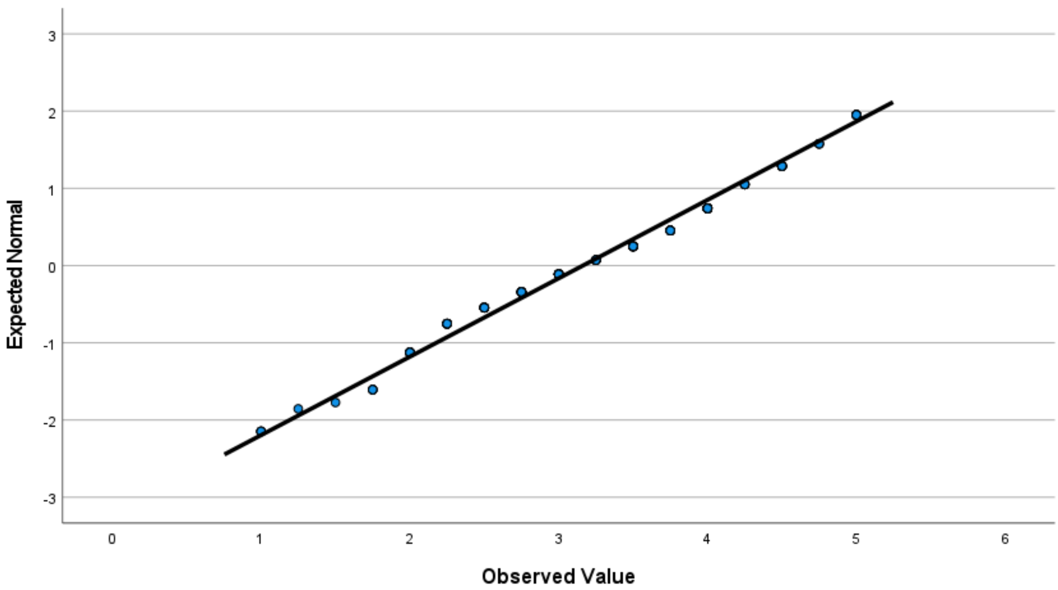

Figure 7.4: Normal Q-Q Plot of PI-INGROUP

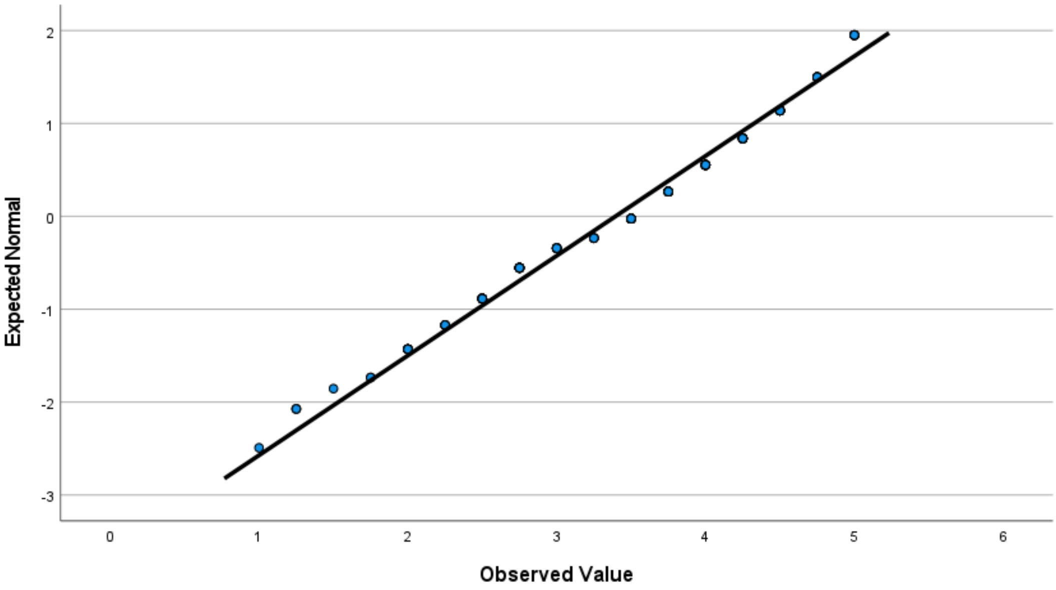

Figure 7.5: Normal Q-Q Plot of PR-INGROUP

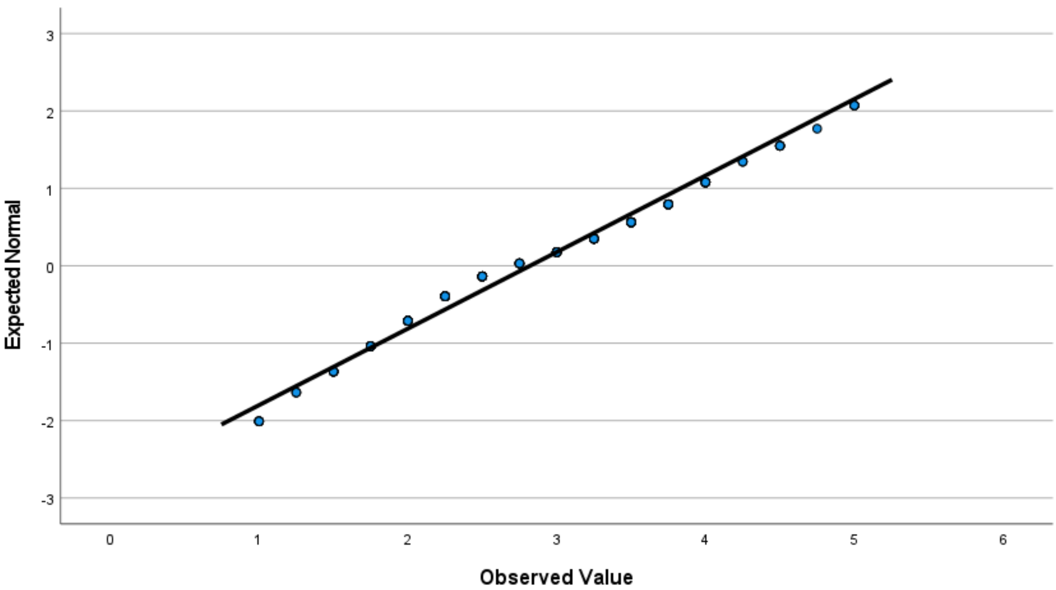

Figure 7.6: Normal Q-Q Plot of PI-OUTGROUP

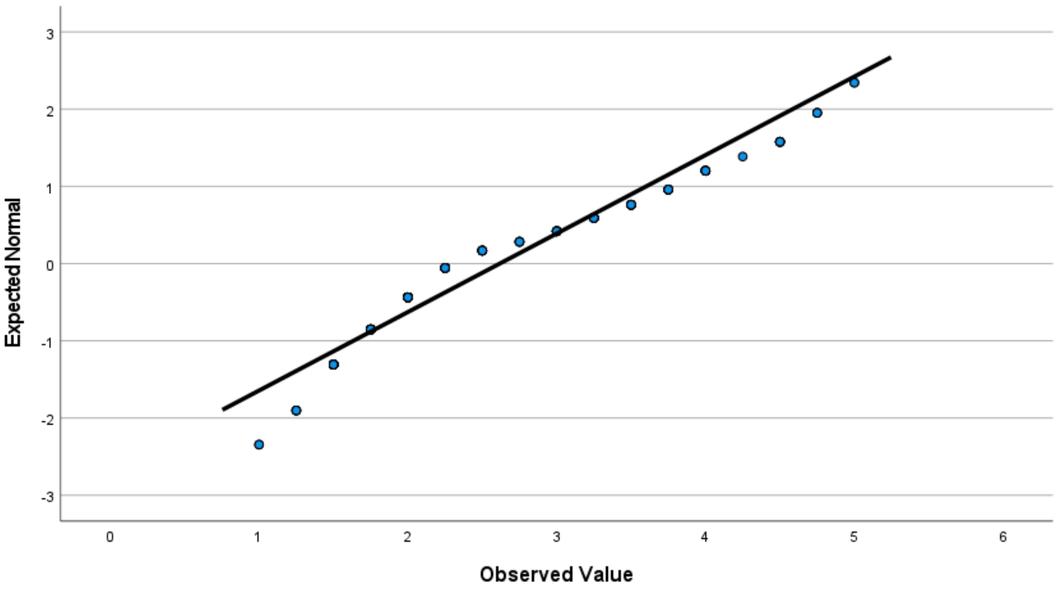

Figure 7.7: Normal Q-Q Plot of PR-OUTGROUP

Appendix II: Scales used in Chapter Three

Consumer Ethnocentric Tendencies Scale

No.	Item
1	British people should always buy British-made products instead of imports.
2	Only those products that are unavailable in Britain should be imported.
3	Buy British-made products. Keep Britain working.
4	British products, first, last, and foremost.
5	Purchasing foreign-made products is un-British.
6	It is not right to purchase foreign products because it puts British people out of jobs.
7	A real Brit should always buy British-made products.
8	We should purchase products manufactured in Britain instead of letting other countries get rich off us.
9	It is always best to purchase British products.
10	There should be very little trading or purchasing of goods from other countries unless out of necessity.
11	Brits should not buy foreign products because it hurts British business and causes unemployment.
12	Curbs should be put on all imports.
13	It may cost me in the long run but I prefer to support British products.
14	Foreigners should not be allowed to put their products on our markets.
15	Foreign products should be taxed heavily to reduce their entry into Britain.
16	We should buy from foreign countries only those products that we cannot obtain within our own country.
17	British nationals who purchase products made in other countries are responsible for putting their fellow Brits out of work.

(5-point Likert scale (strongly disagree – strongly agree) used).

Nationalism Scale

No.	Item
1	In view of Britain's moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding international policies.
2	Every child at school should be taught to honour the British heritage and history.
3	The important thing for Britain contributing foreign aid is to see that Britain gains a political advantage over other countries.
4	Other countries should follow our lead and make their government like ours.
5	The more influence Britain has on other countries, the better of they will be.
6	Foreign nations have done some good things but it takes Britain to do things in a big and better way.
7	It is important that Britain wins in big international sporting events like the Olympics.
8	It is not really important that Britain is number one in whatever it does.

(5-point Likert scale (strongly disagree – strongly agree) used).

Moral Foundations of Ingroup Loyalty Scale

When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking?

No.	Item
1	Whether or not someone's action showed love for their country.
2	Whether or not someone did something to protect their country.
3	Whether or not someone showed a lack of support towards their country.

(5 point likert scale (not relevant to extremely relevant) used).

Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement:

No.	Item
4	I am proud of my country's history.
5	People should be loyal to their own country instead of others, even when that country may have done something wrong.
6	It is more important to be a team player and support your own country.

(5-point Likert scale (strongly disagree – strongly agree) used).