

How Can Marketers Overcome Consumer Resistance to Innovations?

- The Investigation of Psychological and Social Origins of Consumer Resistance to Innovations -

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〈Abstract〉

It is important for marketers to understand both individual resistance and group resistance in order to successfully bring innovations into global markets. We suggest that consumers resist innovations as individuals and as members of a group and that they do this in different ways at different stages of decision-making. The individual resistance begins with forms of initial resistance, develops into emergent resistance and mature or belated resistance at the individual level. In addition, personal moral standards can influence decision making in relation to the adoption of innovations. Individual resistance is sometimes accompanied by or evolves into group resistance.

We introduce a framework for thinking about consumer resistance to innovations that sees it as a consequence of social identity, which has functions for the individual, the group to which one belongs, and other individuals and groups. Consumers with membership in a certain group try to increase their self-esteem through the process of social comparison. The more consumers strongly identify with and bond with a certain group, the more in-group solidarity and out-group hostility will occur. Out-group hostility gives group members strong resistance toward products and services related to the out-group.

Individual resistance and group resistance are threats to marketers and dampen performance. By considering the existence of resistance to innovations and seeking strategies to overcome it, marketers can transform these threat into new opportunities.

A better understanding of consumer resistance can complement research on the adoption of innovations and help in the development of a universal model of consumer behavior.

Key Words: Resistance, Innovations, Social Identity

I. Introduction

Corporations develop new ideas, products,

services or practices, termed innovations, which occur as discontinuous or continuous advances in response to competitive pressures, and attempt to promote these innovations, but

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many consumers refuse to accept innovations (Lee, 1994). Consumer resistance to innovations can be investigated from many points of view: the characteristics of innovations and adopters, communication mechanisms, or the socio-cultural system. In this paper, we focus on the investigation of psychological and social origins of resistance, which exist in individual and group forms. Significantly, we argue that consumers resist innovations as individuals and as members of a group and that they do this in different ways at different stages of decision-making. We suggest that it is important for marketers to understand both individual resistance and group resistance in order to successfully bring innovations into global markets.

We begin with consideration of individual resistance to innovations from a psychological perspective (Bagozzi and Lee, 1999), which has not been studied much by scholars, and expand the conceptualization in this regard beyond the limited treatment in the literature to date. Then we introduce a framework for thinking about consumer resistance to innovation that sees it as a consequence of social identity, which has functions for the individual, the group to which one belongs, and other individuals and groups. We draw upon basic ideas from the research traditions of social identity theory, the theory of action and goals, and cultural psychology. Finally, we offer suggestions for how marketers can overcome resistance to innovations.

II. Individual Resistance to Innovations

People sometimes resist innovations as individuals, as a function of their own personal needs or attributes or as a result of a threat to their personal identity. This happens as initial resistance early-on in decision making before a decision process has been undergone to any significant extent. It also happens as emergent resistant later on in decision making at various stages (e.g., after consideration of pros and cons of adopting, but prior to making a decision to adopt or not; after the decision to adopt, but prior to implementing goal-directed behaviors; or during goal pursuit itself, but prior to actual adoption). People also resist innovations actively or passively as individuals at various stages of decision making. We now consider the psychological processes that individual resistance takes in the senses mentioned above.

Bagozzi and Lee (1999) suggest that resistance to innovations happens throughout two major stages of decision making : goal setting and goal striving. Within the goal setting stage, even before product/service attributes are considered, initial resistance arises, and during and after the features of an innovation and its consequences are considered, other forms of resistance can emerge, and in later stages of decision making still other

types of resistance erupt.

1. Active Initial Resistance

The reach and frequency of sophisticated marketing techniques are difficult to avoid. Advertisements are ubiquitous on television and radio, on billboards and leaflets, in newspapers and magazines, and even on the internet. Salespeople approach potential customers as soon as they walk into stores, as they walk down the street, by phone, door to door, and even, on occasion, while seated in a restaurant. It seems that the more sophisticated marketers become, the more consumers feel a need to resist these efforts. Indeed, the incessant obtrusiveness of marketing into people's everyday lives has created an element of wariness and resentment in consumers.

Some consumers react negatively to marketing with active resistance. One form that this takes is in prestored mental behavioral routines that are activated the moment a marketer tries to sell the customer something. So when a salesperson calls by telephone or approaches a customer on the street, say, an automatic script is enacted that stops the selling process before it can go further. Thus, people react immediately to a seller with such words as, "No thank you, I don't want any", or something to this effect. Often the customer is not so polite but responds angrily with an insult, a cold shoulder, feigned disgust, or a public scene

marked by an outburst of obscenities or even violence.

Consumers also take steps to thwart introductory offers from salespeople. They purchase and display anti-salespeople signs ("No solicitors or vendors welcomed"), act to have their names removed from data bases, refuse to answer telephone calls from anyone other than a known person on "Caller-ID", and avoid certain streets and stores where hawkers dwell. Less obvious, but especially detrimental to marketers, is the self-instruction or policy some consumers adopt to consciously tune-out commercial messages to the extent possible. An extreme form of this behavior is to purposively reduce consumption (e.g., "downsize") or even reject consumption altogether and pursue an ascetic or at least drastically reduced consumption lifestyle. The so-called movement to postmaterialism is an example of this (Inglehart and Abramson, 1994), although for many postmaterialists consumption is merely shifted from one form to another. People in the voluntary simplicity movement actually reduce consumption as a matter of personal policy and eschew innovations.

Another form of active initial resistance is to protest to the sponsoring company. Some consumers extend the scope of their negative reactions by boycotting a brand and even other brands sold by the firm. The distinctive feature of such protests is that they occur nearly automatically before extensive processing of information about the innovation. In a

sense, they are pre-programmed. People also protest through trade or government agencies, as well as their elected representatives.

In sum, people respond negatively to selling efforts in active ways. They physically take steps to avoid or even harm a seller. They adopt contingency plans and assume orientations in anticipation of possible exposure to sellers. They change their beliefs, feelings, and values in ways creating obstacles to sales.

2. Passive Initial Resistance

Less obvious, but equally disconcerting to marketers, is passive consumer resistance in the early stages of decision making. One way this occurs is as a consequence of habit. People are set in their ways, and the inertia of learned routines often becomes a form of resistance to new offerings. Indeed, Sheth (1981, p. 275) terms this “the single most powerful determinant in generating resistance” and notes that “perceptual and cognitive mechanisms are likely to be tuned in to preserve the habit because the typical human tendency is to strive for consistency and status quo rather than to continuously search for, and embrace new behaviors”. See also Ram (1987) and Ram and Sheth (1989) for additional insights into this type of resistance.

What are the perceptual and cognitive mechanisms behind passive resistance? One of these may be attitude strength toward the object of habit, which prevents one from

being receptive to an innovation. Eagly and Chaiken (1995, p. 248) point out that attitudes will be strong to the extent that they are linked to “prior evaluative experience and with other more abstract attitudes”. Likewise, Petty, Haugtvedt, and Smith (1995) argue that attitudes will be strong to the degree that they are formed as a result of effortful processing of information of relevance and the person has a high need for cognition. Strong attitudes toward existing objects contribute to resistance to change and may prevent consumers from being open to innovations. In this case, further processing of information about an innovation may require that one be open to change, or even change one's attitudes toward the habitual target.

Passive resistance to innovations early-on also occurs as a result of one's cognitive schemas, which are based on prior experience. A cognitive schema consists of a mental network of interconnected thoughts, goals, values, or motives. Cognitive schemas serve to structure and interpret new information. They also function to influence decisions and energize action (e.g., Bagozzi and Edwards, 1998). Innovations and communications about innovations that fail to tie-in existing schemas may go unnoticed or not reach the level of stimulation needed for serious information processing. Innovations that contradict or clash with existing schemas may induce psychological reactance (Brehm, 1966; Wicklund, 1974). This might take the form of deciding not to

process a sales pitch or buy the product or of deciding to buy a substitute product or service meeting the same generic need but in a different way. Innovations also may fail to meet, or may even threaten, one's ought or ideal self and thus produce resistance (Higgins, 1996). Finally, expectancies about the quality or performance of an innovation may contribute to resistance. Information or accompanying moods can function to make a bad innovation stand out or drawbacks of an innovation seem more likely to occur, or it can make a good innovation or positive attributes appear less likely to occur. In either case, defacto or actual resistance can emerge toward the innovation.

Passive initial resistance is in a sense the opposite of loyalty. A person loyal to one brand or product class is frequently resistant to becoming unloyal, and therefore to the extent that loyalty precludes or makes difficult openness to an innovation, the person is in effect resistant to adoption. Pritchard, Havitz, and Howard (1999) show that resistance to change mediates the effects of various informational, identification, and volitional processes on loyalty. We will return to these processes later when we discuss how resistance to innovation adoption might require special efforts at overcoming the resistance to change one's loyal behavior for a competing brand or product/service class.

3. Active Emergent Resistance

A common form of active emergent resistance is procrastination. Procrastination may be defined as the decision to postpone doing something that one had earlier decided to do. For example, consumer A decides today to delay buying an airline ticket for a planned trip that he/she had only yesterday reserved with a 24-hour expiration deadline. We might call such a decision, planned purchase postponement, which is a form of purchase avoidance. In a sense, procrastination is the opposite of impulsive buying or the automatic activation of preplanned purchases.

We should not assume, however, that procrastination is necessarily good or bad for either the procrastinator or the seller for whom procrastination prevents a sale. Procrastination can be a strategy for self-motivation, whereby a decision maker creates a more pressing situation and subsequently works harder to implement the previously formed decision. Obviously, successful implementation of a planned adoption of an innovation benefits both the procrastinator and seller.

However, planned delays in implementation increase the chances of failure in some instances, because unanticipated happenings such as traffic jams, stock-outs, or personal injury or illness can thwart the execution of a purchase dependent on critical timing. Procrastination can introduce considerable stress, as well, for the procrastinator and others affected by the decision or simply others related to the procrastinator in some way (e.g.,

family members). Then, too, procrastination can reveal qualities akin to certain addictions or dysfunctional behaviors (e.g., bulimia), if a person chronically falls back on procrastination as an excuse for goal failure or sub-par performance. A downward spiral into laziness or irresponsibility is sometimes a consequence of procrastination. For research into procrastination, see Ferrari, Johnson, and McCown (1995).

Active emergent resistance to innovations would seem to especially be a problem for cases where the activation of plans occur with some time delay following a decision to try an innovation. When a person has numerous steps to execute to acquire an innovation, or simply when one finds it difficult to take the first step enroute to activation of goal-directed behaviors, procrastination can be a problem. Of course, we all procrastinate now and then before knuckling down to make a decision whether to adopt an innovation or not. Overcoming complacency or a tendency to procrastinate is a common human condition.

4. Passive Emergent Resistance

Passive emergent resistance occurs when the going gets tough, so to speak. One type of resistance in this regard is excessive rumination. Decision makers who become overly preoccupied with a decision and its implications can experience immobilization and fail to act to adopt an innovation in a timely way. This form of resistance shows some similarity to

procrastination, but unlike procrastination lacks the element of actively deciding to postpone one's previously made decision. Instead, excessive rumination frequently takes the form or is a result of a cognitive style in decision making whereby one engages in a type of cognitive overactivity which produces indecisiveness and inhibits volition formation and the enactment of behavior. Another impairment to decision making that can thwart the processing of persuasive communications about innovations and lead to resistance to adoption occurs when one is bored or feels hesitant to consider thinking about an innovation, which then increases the threshold needed to activate the decision making process and leads to distractibility in goal directed activities and preservation. Kuhl (1994) develops a theory of state orientation which sees preoccupation (e.g., rumination) and hesitation (e.g., distractibility and preservation as two types of impairment processes) that have debilitating effects on the initiation, planning, and completion of goal-directed activities. Using Kuhl's individual difference scale, Bagozzi, Baumgartner, and Yi (1992) showed that subjective norms become more important in decision making for consumers deciding to use coupons when they are high in state orientation. Thus, state orientation can have effects in the early stages of decision making, as well later stages.

Perhaps the most common passive emergent resistance happens as a sense of doubt.

Expectations of success or failure with regard to planned means of goal pursuit can change to cause one to worry whether the effort for which one has committed to will lead to adoption of a desired innovation. Doubt can arise as well during goal pursuit about the very desirability of the goal one had earlier decided to pursue, after things go badly or when progress merely slows down. We all make commitments now and then to goals that become less important as new pressures or opportunities arise. Likewise, doubts sometimes arise about one's self-efficacy or the instrumentality of goal-directed behaviors.

Another factor producing passive emergent resistance is goal conflict. Sometimes, as we pursue one goal, other goals become salient and interfere with the focal goal. Then, too, unplanned impediments, temptations, and weakness of the will produce a kind of resistance to sought for goals and delay, if not block, adoption of innovations.

On the other hand, commitment to a plan to obtain an innovation can be too strong. The single-minded pursuit of an end can blind one to changing circumstances that make a previous plan infeasible and goal striving dysfunctional. Unless one breaks out of a dead end or a less desirable means of pursuit and modifies or reformulates plans and implements new goal-directed behaviors, the result may be a failure to adopt and thus produce yet another kind of resistance.

5. Belated Resistance

Even after one has made progress towards adopting an innovation, and at the very eve of adoption, resistance can erupt. This might take the form of regret that one has decided to adopt an innovation and taken steps to do so. It might take the form of anticipatory regret about some imagined troubles or opportunity costs forecast after possible adoption. Or it can entail a realization after elaborate decision making that the goal is not as desirable as one initially thought, other goals are now more salient, or the effort, like a Pyrrhic victory, will simply be (or has to this point in decision making been) too much (Bagozzi and Edwards, 2000).

Belated resistance of the sort described above occurs or is experienced at the individual level. But it can result from or evolve into organized group resistance, as one consults with group members or as group members become aware of one's decisions and goal pursuit. Of course, there are many other forms of group or collective resistance, and we turn to these now.

6. Moral Resistance

Much of theorizing and research in both marketing and the social and behavioral sciences is undergirded by assumptions, often unrecognized, of determinism. Consumers are depicted as responders to interpersonal, group,

or situational pressure, constraints, or forces. Very little thinking in the field of marketing has been given to conceiving of consumers as making decision and choices as a result of self-regulation or free will. Rather, most conceptual frameworks and most studies rely on a view of consumers as reacting in a rather automatic and even inevitable way to stimuli. Information processing is typically hypothesized to mediate or moderate responses, but the cognitive responses so modeled are all too often treated as deterministic reactions to situational stimuli, and the cognitive responses, in turn, deterministically influence decisions and behavior. Whether one focuses on product attributes, persuasive appeals, price, or other aspects of marketing offerings, their effects are presumed to be deterministic on cognitive response and through these on intentions and choice.

We raise the possibility that some forms of consumer resistance to innovations occur through self-control imposed on the urges, desires, and imperatives one feels in response to marketing stimuli. We propose that for some consumers, when they are exposed to marketing stimuli and feel a desire to try or purchase a product or service, that they willfully reflect upon their felt desires. That is, we suggest that people ask, when a desire comes to light, "Am I the kind of person who acts on this desire?", "Is acting on this desire conducive to the kind of person I am or wish to be?", "Would acting on this desire

be consistent with my moral, ethical, or personal beliefs?" In other words, people can self-regulate the influence of a felt desire and decide to act or not to act accordingly. The effects of marketing stimuli are not automatic or inevitable; rather consumers exercise self-control and override their desires or reject acting upon them. Likewise, we posit that self-control is exercised when we fail to feel or have a desire to act that we think, for moral or other personal standards, we should have a desire to act. Hence, self-regulation can be a source of desire where none exists or none arises in response, say, to an advertising appeal to adopt an innovation.

The phenomenologically and behavioral functioning of self-regulatory moral standards happens as follows. Reflecting on a felt desire to act (or a lack of a felt desire to act) serves to moderate the effect of the desire (or its absence) on a subsequent decision or intention to so act. In other words, personal moral standards are hypothesized to interact with either a goal desire or a desire to act to influence either a goal intention or behavioral intention, respectively. Self-regulation can resist or promote decision making in relation to the adoption of innovations.

III. Group Resistance to Innovations

Consumers belong to many groups such as

a nuclear or extended family, an educational institution, a work organization, or a religious organization. The intensity of membership is manifest in in-group favoritism and out-group hostility, which can influence which innovations one is exposed to, the processing and acceptance of persuasive appeals, and how one plans and implements decisions. That is, the groups with which a consumer identifies have a profound impact on one's psychological functioning and behavior (see Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell 1987). The influence of group categories is more salient in Korea than in the U.S.A.

1. Group Behavior and Culture

For purposes of discussion, we begin with the distinction between individual and group behavior. Both are ideal types that we will find necessary to relax or modify below. But for now, we can think of individual behavior as personal action governed primarily by the personality and emotions of people as independent entities, and also involving rational decision making manifest in cognitive processes, where personal gain and loss are evaluated, weighed, and acted upon. Group behavior, by contrast, consists, in the limit, as social action by members of groups. Social action, of course, is performed by individuals. But whereas we might think of a major motivation for individual behavior residing in the need for a positive individual identity (i.e.,

a desire to create, maintain, or enhance positively valued distinctiveness between self and others), the primary motivation for group behavior lies in the need for a positive social identity (i.e., a desire to create, maintain, or enhance positively valued distinctions between one's own group and other groups positively valued similarities with co-members of one's group). Valued distinctions might include tangible achievements, symbolic images, belief systems, and other products, outcomes, or experiences and representations of individuals or groups. Valued similarities refer to common, shared beliefs, goals, and understandings.

People in independent-based cultures (e.g., the United States, England, France, Australia, Canada) differ from people in interdependent-based cultures (e.g., China, Korea, Japan, India, Kenya) in terms of how the self is defined. The former place primary emphasis on their own attributes and achievements and attempt to differentiate themselves from others. The self is conceived as an entity separate from others, and social life is seen primarily as dyadic interactions between people. Membership in groups tends to be viewed as less important than personal identity and growth; a person in an independent-based culture typically belongs to many groups, but attachments to these groups are relatively weak and one enters and leaves groups frequently. Social identity as a consequence of group memberships is relatively weak and kept conceptually separate from personal

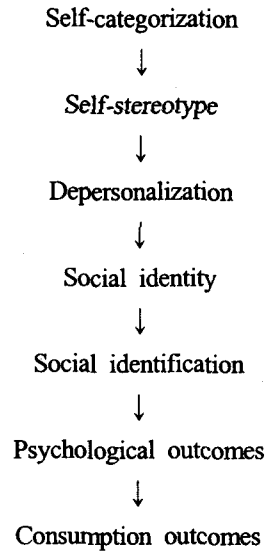
identity for the most part.

For people in interdependent-based cultures, primary emphasis is placed on one's membership in a group. Indeed, the self is largely defined as a social self with responsibilities to the group. Rather than differentiating one's self from others, the goal is to fit in with others in the group and to conform to group norms. Differentiation, on the other hand, can be important between self and out-group members. Social life is conceived as collective behavior among in-group members, and one often acts with outsiders from the point of view of one's in-group. Membership in groups is more important than personal identity and growth; a person in an interdependent-based culture typically belongs to a small number of groups, where attachments are quite strong and one seldom leaves the group or joins new groups. The family and one's work organization are generally the most salient groups in these cultures but a friendship group can also be salient. Religious group affiliations can be important as well. Personal identity is relatively weak, at least in comparison to personal identity in independent-based cultures, and one's identity tends to be experienced as a social category.

2. Outline of Social Identity Processes

Figure 1 presents a schematic diagram of the central processes in social identity. Although these are especially manifest and

salient in interdependent-based cultures, they also take place in independent-based cultures, as well, but generally to a lesser extent or in weaker forms.



[Figure 1] Outline of Important Processes in Social Identity Theory and Consumption Outcomes

We can think of the social identity process as beginning with categorization of the self as a social entity, particularly as a member of a specific group. When a person sees him or herself as a member of a group, he or she comes to emphasize personal characteristics shared with group members and assimilate new characteristics from group members, which become particularly accessible to consciousness throughout the day to day activities spent in the group and even to some extent when separated from the group. Categorization eventually leads to a self-

stereotype, which consists of self-descriptions as a person defined by group stereotypes. That is, one comes to label oneself as a group member with the attributes and goals characteristic of the group. In its well-developed form, the self-stereotype evolves into a “cognitive redefinition of the self – from unique attributes and individual differences to shared social category memberships”, which has come to be known as depersonalization (Turner, 1984, p. 528). In a sense, one moves from the idea of the personal self as a unique individual, to the categorical self as a label, to the collective self as a social person and group member with its own special psychological reality. It is important to stress that depersonalization is not deindividuation. Although the personal self tends to be de-emphasized in favor of a social self, the person still is an individual person. Indeed, one of the motives for becoming a social self is the self-enhancement it produces. One benefits personally from being a member of the group, which is experienced psychologically.

The result is that one achieves a social identity separate from, and even frequently more important than, one's personal identity. Tajfel (1978, p. 63) defined social identity as a three-component syndrome: namely, social identity is “...that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional

significance attached to that membership”. The three components have come to be interpreted as self-categorization (i.e., one's cognitive awareness of one's membership in a social group), evaluative significance (i.e., group-based self-esteem), and emotional responses to group membership”.

Although originally conceived as a syndrome, social identity theory has in recent years expanded to include finer distinctions and sequences among the three components. Figure 1 represents our interpretation of this research, where self-categorization is shown as the key antecedent initiating social identity, and evaluative significance and emotional responses are taken as outcomes downstream from social identity. Thus, in Figure 1, social identity is taken to represent a subjective realization of one's group-based sense of self, and the components that originally were taken to comprise a syndrome are now separated from this subjective representation.

Social identification is an important aspect of one's social identity and refers to the degree of overlap one perceives between his or her own identity and the identity of the group to which one belongs (Bergami and Bagozzi, 2000). Identification is a cognitive representation of shared identity that nevertheless has important emotional and evaluative implications for the person experiencing the identification (see Bergami and Bagozzi, 2000, for examples in the work organization context).

One emotional consequence of social

identification is affective commitment, which consists of the degree of attachment or belongingness one feels to the group and the amount of joy or happiness one feels from being a group member. A second consequence of identification is the degree of positive or negative emotions one feels about one's experienced identification itself. This is a type of meta-cognition or meta-emotion because it refers to a higher-order thought and feeling about one's identification as an abstraction. A third consequence of identification is group-based or collective self-esteem, which designates the felt benefits or deficits occurring to one's self-concept as a direct consequence of group membership. The above three consequences are instances of psychological outcomes labeled in Figure 1.

Social identity has downstream implications for consumption outcomes and behavior that we now wish to address. These implications are direct results of social identification and the emotional and evaluative outcomes discussed above.

3. In-group Solidarity and Favoritism

One's social identity as a function of group membership is marked by both exaggerations of similarities with comembers, which become internalized, and imagined and actual social pressure to conform to group norms. One consequence of self-categorization and intragroup processes is to shape consumption. To the

extent that one identifies with a group, his or her consumption will be affected so as to (a) promote ingroup solidarity and (b) avoid ingroup differences and conflict. This will especially be true when the act and/or product of consumption will be visible to comembers but also will occur to a certain extent even for many private purchases.

Any adoption of an innovation will be more or less proper because it is consistent with the values, goals, or image of one's group. In addition, some adoptions might promote ingroup solidarity or in some other way reflect favorably on the group. Members of a group will resist innovations that are at variance with the values, goals, or image of one's group or that would in some way disrupt group harmony. We expect social identification to affect consumption more for people in interdependent-than independent-based cultures.

A particular variant of the effect of one's group membership on consumption occurs when groups are nested. An organization, for example, considering a purchase may decide to give the order to a company headquartered in the same country, rather than a foreign firm, because the organization is contained within the larger social system of the common nation state and it feels it is patriotic to purchase from companies incorporated there. County-of origin effects follow a similar pattern in consumer goods for people in many countries. Of course, as globalization expands

and firms internationalize their operations, marketing, and other functions, resulting in multi-county decentralization, such group effects may dissipate and reduce resistance to innovations. However, local allegiances to long-term, familiar suppliers or sellers of goods in one's community may always pose hurdles for the sellers of innovations coming from outside the community.

4. Out-group Differentiation

Self-enhancement and the formation of a positive social identity depend on exaggerations of differences with outgroups, as well as intragroup processes. By establishing that one's group is distinctive from and superior to an outgroup, one reinforces identification with the ingroup and creates a positive social identity. Members of a group will resist adopting an innovation that would reduce the distinctiveness or superiority of one's group vis-vis salient outgroups. Members of a group will also resist adopting an innovation if by doing so it would cast a negative image on the group as a result of associating with a corrupt, or in some other way devalued, seller. Whom one associates with in terms of market transactions can be as important as what one buys. Again, the above predictions are expected to be stronger for people in interdependent-versus independent-based cultures.

5. Collective and Societal Resistance

Up to this point we have looked at consumer response to innovation as either an individual consumer or a group-based phenomenon. Culture was considered only as it affects individual or group processes. But there is another way to think about consumer resistance to innovation and that is at the collective or societal level.

Large-scale social forces have profound effects on individuals, groups, and institutions. Four such forces that potentially affect consumer resistance to innovation concern the following, each of which contributes to anomie, alienation, loneliness and even neurotic actions on the part of consumers. It should be acknowledged that the social forces discussed below at times reduce consumer resistance to innovation and make consumers vulnerable to either manipulation or internal weaknesses. However, many instances of greater susceptibility to communications to adopt innovations end up backfiring in the sense that an initial adoption due to narcissistic, compulsive, impulsive, depressive, paranoid, or psychotic-like reactions turn eventually to regret and disillusionment and eventually abandonment of the innovation. Thus an initial premature adoption of an innovation might later lead to resistance to adoption. And this can generalize to classes of adoption as people come to see consumption as evil.

The first social force is the effect of

technology itself, which is inherent in the technology or its use. We might think that all technologies are useful and positive in their effects. But technology can substitute for human judgment in a way that reduces the input and power of consumers to make decisions functional for them and their families. If the adoption and use of a technology come to displace certain mental and social skills of a consumer, then the basis for such skills as needed in other areas or when the technology fails or needs to be replaced may atrophy. Technology can also lead to fragmentation in one's roles and relationships in the home for consumers or the firm for industrial purchasers. Often technology leads to a redistribution of knowledge and power for those who adopt it and those who do not. All these things may lead adopters to resist an innovation if they feel that more is to be lost than gained by adoption.

The second social force resides in the bureaucracies within which people work. Often people find working in organizations unsatisfying because they are so hierarchical and the only rewards one sees reside in striving for more salary, prestige, and power, which ultimately are reserved for a few or become less meaningful for one's life after awhile. People in such situations typically react in one of three ways. They may embrace a materialistic life style and become more likely to adopt innovations as a way to achieve happiness through consumption. This

path often leads to disenchantment and may result in future resistance to innovations. Another reaction is to decrease one's consumption drastically, such as we observe in voluntary simplicity and similar social movements springing up all over the world. This obviously results in resistance to innovation. Still another reaction is to join small-group brand communities, such as found for example in Harley Davidson friendship groups. Brand communities promote intense consumption use of particular brands, but sometimes not only lead to resistance to innovations of competitors but shift focus away from consumption of the focal brand, at least partially, to the experience of friendship and small group solidarity for its own end, which can lead one to consume less and in effect resist innovations.

The third social force is the over involvement of consumers with the mass media. Consumers can become fixated and over rely on news, advertisements, etc. from mass media to the exclusion of first-hand, interpersonal, and other forms of learning. The result is incomplete, distorted, and misleading senses of reality if the balance of involvement between the mass media and other more personal and interpersonal forms of communication get corrupted. The danger of relying on the media to the exclusion of the aforementioned alternatives is that people come to depend on one-sided, overly brief, and mono-modal (e.g., visual) vehicles of

communication and overtime experience reduced thinking, judgmental, and related skills. These things can have a negative impact on the quality of decisions related to the adoption of innovations.

Finally, the growing imposition of a narrow form of capitalism worldwide can also affect consumer resistance to innovation. Competition threatens to go so far as to lead to conflict and economic disparities for people affected. Economic inequality, environmental problems, social inequality, and political inequality can all increase if capitalism becomes overly emphasized or dominant in relation to other human and social needs. Individual consumers and political movements have felt the need to fight against the negative consequences of technologies and products and the production of these, which affects adoptions of innovations. Economic equality is central to production of consumer welfare, as well as social and political equality. Capitalism must be balanced with societal needs for maximum receptivity to innovations to occur.

IV. Overcoming Resistance

Because resistance occurs in so many different ways and can be quite entrenched, the task for innovators is formidable. We consider overcoming individual resistance first and then group resistance. Finally, we briefly discuss the possibility of overcoming joint

individual and group resistance.

1. Overcoming Individual Resistance

For purposes of discussion, we consider resistance during one or more stages in decision-making (e.g., Bagozzi and Lee, 1999). The task for overcoming resistance at the very beginning of decision making requires the seller to build desire for one's innovation. However, any consumer will in general have multiple goals at one point in time, and for the goal(s) that a new innovation satisfies there may be multiple sources of satisfaction of the need(s) the goal satisfies. Hence, the forces of resistance demand that the seller of an innovation convince the customer that the innovation, in and of itself, and/or its consequences of adoption have sufficiently desirable benefits to warrant consideration. This means somehow getting the customer to temporarily put consideration or pursuit of on-going goals on hold and to focus attention on the new innovation. Persuasive appeals need to reach the customer and be sufficiently attractive to accomplish this.

A second stage of resistance to overcome occurs during evaluation of the pros and cons of an innovation, assuming the customer is willing to appraise the innovation. Any evaluation process may be thwarted due to time pressure, ignorance, frustration, or lack of concentration and patience on the part of the

decision maker. To the extent the seller can anticipate and provide information to combat these impediments, resistance at this stage will be overcome. The objective is to get the customer to perceive the innovation as an opportunity rather than a threat.

After evaluating an innovation on its attributes and consequences of adoption, a decision maker typically enters a more advanced stage of consideration where multiple positive and negative emotions must be reconciled and self-efficacy, outcome expectancy, and attribution processes are undergone. Lest the customer lose interest or become distracted or overwhelmed by the decision task, the seller must help the customer integrate the various thoughts and feelings into a tentative decision to try or an actual decision to adopt the innovation. Thus, marketing campaigns must change over time as consumers pass through different stages in decision making marked by different forms of resistance.

Many decisions require complex and time consuming implementation processes before a final adoption is accomplished or not. These processes occur as follows: appraisal and choice of means → planning → initiation of instrumental acts → control of goal pursuit → actual adoption or not (Bagozzi and Lee, 1999, Figure 2). Along the way, distractions, personal limitations, temptations, and other impediments can contribute to consumer resistance. A marketer must provide aid and

assistance in each stage, if adoption is to come to fruition. This does not mean that every person needs help at every stage. Some individuals are so motivated that they will overcome nearly any obstacle to achieve their goals. But some proportion of a target audience will invariably need assistance or reminders. Marketers provide this by tailoring their messages to different problem areas, selecting appropriate media, and timing presentations of appeals accordingly.

The content of persuasive appeals must of course be designed to address the specific nature of resistance. For each of the types of individual resistance we covered earlier in this paper, well argued persuasive appeals need to be formulated. Thus, for example, learned routines and scripts must be targeted, as well as tendencies to procrastinate or fall back upon state orientation habits.

2. Overcoming Group Resistance to Innovations

Because people define themselves through the groups they belong to, especially in interdependent-based societies, it is often difficult to overcome group-based resistance. Ideally, the seller should design a product that enhances group solidarity or one's attachment to the group. At least, an innovation and its communication should not threaten one's social identity. Or an innovation should accentuate the superiority of one's group over a focal

out-group.

How can marketers accomplish these objectives? One way is to target a member's group prototype. By designing persuasive communications and product features to correspond to the beliefs, attitudes, feelings, acts, and behavioral patterns defining one's group, the chances will be increased that an innovation will be adopted. Likewise, out-group stereotypes need to be accurately portrayed to capture widely shared images of other social groups, their members, and activities.

3. Overcoming Joint Individual and Group Resistance

It is likely that individual and group resistance operate distinctly and in an either or fashion. Either personal or social identity is typically the rule for any given person, and this will be governed primarily by the larger culture one operates within and only secondarily by individual choice, per se. Bagozzi and Lee(2000), for example , found that decisions to eat in fast food restaurants, which were made in relation to the group of friends one normally eats with, were determined by emotions and group identification processes (i.e., self-categorization and attachment) for Koreans and habits and attachment processes for Americans. By contrast, in a study of individual decision making, Terry and Hogg (1996) found that private behaviors were under social normative control for those high

in group identification and under either attitudinal or perceived behavioral control, depending on the context, for those low in group identification. An intriguing issue for future study is whether, or under what conditions do, individual and group resistance occur at the same time. Under some conditions, individual and group resistance might be additive or interact to produce great resistance. Or individual and group processes might be in opposition, with one pressing for adoption, the other working against adoption, of an innovation.

V. Conclusion

We conceived of psychological and social origins about consumer resistance to innovations by considering both individual behavior and group behavior and made suggestions for overcoming resistance. Innovations include continuous or discontinuous change, and resistance to change is inevitable even though there is a degree of difference between the types of change. This inevitable resistance begins with forms of initial resistance and develops into emergent resistance and finally mature or belated resistance at the individual level. Individual resistance is sometimes accompanied by or evolves into group resistance. Of course, group resistance can exist independently of individual resistance

as defined herein. According to social identity theory, which Herri Tajfel and his colleagues first developed, we suggested various facets of group resistance based on a consumers' social identity.

Consumers with membership in a certain group try to increase their self-esteem through the process of social comparison. The more consumers strongly identify with and bond with a certain group, the more in-group solidarity and out-group hostility will occur. Out-group hostility gives group members strong resistance toward products and services related to the out-group. Individual existence and group resistance are threats to marketers and dampen performance. By considering the existence of resistance to innovations and seeking strategies to overcome it, marketers can transform this threat into new opportunities.

In this paper, we considered consumer behavior in terms of personal and social identity. Resistance can occur as well perhaps at the sociological or collective level. Also resistance by producers to adopt new technologies or by distributors to adopt new practices can produce a defacto resistance on the part of consumers, because selection biases occurring early in the channel of distribution constrain what consumers are presented with at the retail level. In any case, a better understanding of consumer resistance can complement research on the adoption of innovations and help in the development of a universal model of consumer behavior. We

hope that the framework presented herein will be useful in identifying heretofore unstudied aspects of consumer resistance behavior and will lead to a program of research leading to better explanation of consumer response to innovations.

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〈국문초록〉

마케팅관리자들이 어떻게 혁신에 대한 소비자저항을 극복할 수 있는가?

- 혁신에 대한 소비자의 개인적 사회적 저항의 근원 탐색 -

Richard P. Bagozzi* · Kyu Hyun Lee**

마케팅관리자들이 글로벌 시장에 혁신을 성공적으로 진출시키기 위해서는 개인적 저항과 집단 저항에 대하여 이해하는 것이 중요하다. 우리가 제한하기로는 소비자들은 개인으로서, 집단의 한 구성원으로서 혁신에 저항하며, 의사결정의 다른 단계에 다른 방법으로 저항한다. 개인적인 저항은 초기저항(initial resistance)의 형태에서 시작하여 급박한 저항(emergent resistance)으로 발전하고 최종적으로는 늦은 저항(belated resistance)으로 발전한다. 또한, 개인의 도덕적 기준이 혁신수용 의사결정에 영향을 미칠 수 있다. 때때로 개인적 저항은 집단저항에 의해서 수반되거나 집단저항으로 진화한다.

우리는 혁신에 대한 소비자저항을 개인에 대하여, 개인이 속한 집단에 대하여, 다른 개인과 집단에 대하여 작용하는 사회정체감의 결과로서 생각하는 체계를 제시한다. 어떤 집단 구성원인 소비자들은 사회비교과정을 통하여 자아존중감을 증가시킨다. 소비자들이 어떤 집단에 대하여 강한 정체감을 가지고 결속하면 할수록, 내부집단 결속력과 외부집단 배타성이 더 많이 나타난다. 외부 집단 배타성은 집단 구성원들에게 외부 집단과 관련된 제품과 서비스에 대하여 강한 저항을 나타낸다.

개인적인 저항과 집단 저항은 마케팅관리자들을 위협하고 성과를 침해한다. 혁신에 대한 저항의 존재를 고려하고, 극복하려는 전략을 추구함으로써 마케팅관리자들은 이러한 위협을 새로운 기회로 전환시킬 수 있다.

소비자저항에 대한 이해는 혁신의 소비자수용에 대한 연구를 보완하고, 소비자행동의 보편적인 모형을 개발하는 데 도움이 될 수 있다.

핵심단어: 저항, 혁신, 사회정체감

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