**Eco-Premium or Eco-Penalty?**

**Eco-labels and quality in the organic wine market**

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**Abstract**

Eco-labels emphasize information disclosure as a tool to induce environmentally friendly behaviors by both firms and consumers. The goal of eco-labels is to reduce information asymmetry between producers and consumers over the environmental attributes of a product or service. However, by focusing on this information asymmetry, rather than how the label meets consumer needs, eco-labels may send irrelevant, confusing or even detrimental messages to consumers. In a discrete choice experiment we examine consumer response to two similar eco-labels for wine, one associated with a quality reduction and the other not. Our results show that respondents preferred both eco-labeled wines over otherwise identical conventional counterparts, when the price was lower and the wine was from a lower quality region. However these relative preferences were reversed if the wine was expensive and from a higher quality region. These results indicate that respondents interpret both eco-labels as a signal of lower quality and do not understand the quality difference between the two labels. This emphasizes the need to create eco-labels that communicate clearly both the environmental attributes and the private benefits associated with them.

**Keywords:** green marketing, organic wine**,** eco-label, eco-premium, differentiation strategy

# Introduction

Eco-labels are part of a new wave of environmental policies that emphasize information disclosure as a tool to induce environmentally friendly behaviors by both firms and consumers (Dietz & Stern, 2002). The goal of eco-labels is to reduce the information asymmetry between producers and consumers about the environmental attributes of a good (Crespi & Marette, 2005; Leire & Thidell, 2005). Prominent examples of eco-labels include the USDA organic label for agricultural products, the Energy Star label for energy appliances, and the Forest Sustainable Stewardship label for lumber. The number of eco-labels programs on the market has proliferated from a mere dozen worldwide in the 1990s to more than 445 programs today.[[1]](#footnote-2) The corresponding market for eco-labeled products has grown significantly in value over the same time period, with products like organic fruit and vegetables capturing 12% of the U.S. market in 2010 (Organic Trade Association, 2011). However, not all eco-labels are successful. While some may thrive many also flop. For example, after devoting considerable resources to certifying many of their products with UK’s Carbon Trust label, the British supermarket chain Tesco dropped the process citing prohibitively high costs and minimal consumer recognition.[[2]](#footnote-3)

Eco-labels are often developed by government agencies and non-governmental organizations distinct from firms that produce and sell the eco-product. This third-party certification lends credibility to the eco-labels (D’Souza et al, 2006; Leire & Thidell, 2005; Nilsson et al, 2004), but may result in eco-labels that do not meet the needs of consumers (de Boer, 2003; Rex & Bauman, 2007; Stern, 1999). This might stem from the difference in the informational goals of producers and labelers. Producers wish to use information over environmental attributes to match their products to the needs of consumers (Peattie, 2001), whereas the third-parties who actually issue the labels aim to close the information asymmetry between producers and consumers (de Boer, 2003; Rex & Bauman, 2007; Stern, 1999). While these two goals may sometimes align and create increased demand for eco-labeled products (Teisl et al, 2002; Bjorner et al, 2004), this is not always the case. Many studies have found that consumers are unsure of the extra value that the eco-label presents (Nillson et al, 2004; Yiridoe et al, 2005); are confused by different eco-labels (Leire & Thidell, 2005; Bhaskaran et al, 2006); do not match the eco-label to environmental problems (Van Amstel, 2008; Teisl et al, 2004) and associate the eco-label with negative product attributes (Delmas & Grant, 2010; Rivera, 2002).

In this paper, we investigate consumer responses to two different eco-labels in the wine market to understand the interaction between the signal sent by the eco-label and other product attributes such as quality and price. The US wine market is particularly suited for this type of investigation due to both institutional and product characteristics. Institutionally, the government agency responsible for food-related eco-labels,[[3]](#footnote-4) the USDA, has created two very similar organic eco-labels, one of which is legitimately associated with product quality concerns and one that is not. Moreover wine is a differentiated product with a variety of characteristics that may interact with or cancel out the signal that the eco-label sends.

We run a discrete choice experiment over eco-labeled and non-eco-labeled wine to investigate circumstances where eco-labels may send insufficient or undesired information to consumers. In our study, 830 participants from across the United States made a series of choices, where they selected between hypothetically purchasing one of four graphical representations of wine bottles, or nothing. This method allowed us to randomly vary wine attributes, price and eco-label, thereby revealing the full range of consumer preferences, rather than the subset circumscribed by existing market choices. This discrete-choice exercise was combined with a survey that allowed us to link attitudes, demographics and behavior to wine choices.

We find that consumers prefer eco-labeled wine at lower prices, but prefer non-eco-labeled wine at higher prices. Since price acts as a signal of quality in the wine industry (Lockshin et al., 2006; Mtimet & Albisu, 2006), we infer this as meaning that consumers interpret eco-labels as a signal of lower quality. This price penalty on eco-labeled wine at high prices persisted even when we added another signal of quality - region. Finally we find that of the two different eco-labels, the label with a clear, concise message about environmental attributes is preferred even though it is associated with product quality concerns. This paper contributes to the growing literature on information disclosure as an environmental policy tool, by showing the complexity of sending out a clear message over a product’s eco-attributes. Additionally, our findings present a valuable lesson for policy makers who utilize and frame information disclosure policies.

Because eco-labeled products are often associated with a price premium due to the additional cost associated with the environmental and social improvements of the products, consumers need to be willing to pay for this premium in order for the eco-label to thrive. Focusing purely on information asymmetries will not necessarily create eco-labels that align eco-products with the needs of consumers. Customer knowledge development has been shown as an essential marketing tool for managers (Joshi & Sharma, 2004), and government organizations need to work with producers and marketers to ensure that eco-labels provide information that clearly communicate their value to consumers.

# Information policies

Information disclosure policies are increasingly gaining prominence as a “new tool” in environmental management policies (Dietz & Stern, 2002). These policies augment or replace government regulation by publicly providing information that will presumably assist more cost effective private and legal forces (Delmas, Montes-Sancho & Shimshack, 2010). Environmental information disclosure policies can be instituted at either the firm, product or consumer level. Firm level information policies normally entail voluntary or mandatory disclosure policies (Delmas et al, 2010). Common examples include the toxics release inventory, lead paint disclosures, drinking water quality notices, and the International Standards Organization’s voluntary ISO 14001 program. Empirical research into corporate disclosure has yielded mixed results. Jin and Leslie (2003) found that mandatory hygiene cards positively affected restaurant quality and health outcomes, while Delmas, Montes-Sancho and Shimshack (2010) found that mandatory disclosure over utility electricity generation mixes resulted in an increase in cleaner fuels. However, Lyon and Kim (2011) found that firms participating in Department of Energy’s Voluntary Greenhouse Gas Registry engaged in ‘green-washing’, by selectively reporting emission reductions when overall firm emissions were increasing.

Information polices at the consumer level entail providing better information over the unobservable environmental impact of a consumer’s behavior (Delmas & Lessem, 2013). This information can be feedback about their *own* behavior, social norms over aggregate behavior, or publicly disclosed information about a specific individual’s behavior. In a number of studies in the electricity industry, improved feedback over an individual’s own electricity usage has been shown to reduce electricity consumption by 7% on average (Delmas, Fischlein & Asensio, 2013), although many studies report finding no or perverse effects (Kihm et al., 2010: Klos et al., 2008; Allen & Janda, 2006; Sulyma et al., 2008). Information over social norms has been shown to be effective at inducing conservation in a number of settings, including: recycling (Schultz, 1999), towel re-use (Goldstein, Cialdini, & Griskevicius, 2008), litter reduction (Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990) water conservation (Ferraro & Price, 2011) and energy conservation (Schultz et al., 2007; Ayers, Raseman & Shih, 2009; Allcott, 2011; Costa & Kahn, 2010).

Eco-labels are the prime example of a product level information policy. The aim of eco-labels is to reduce the information asymmetry between producers and consumers that arises since consumers are not present during the production of the product and therefore cannot assess its environmental qualities. Attributes such as environmental quality, which cannot be verified before or after purchase, are called credence attributes (Darby & Karni, 1973). Credible eco-labels transform credence attributes into search attributes, where search attributes, such as color, size or price, can be identified by consumers prior to purchase (Nelson, 1970; Sammer & Wüstenhagen, 2006). The term eco-label commonly refers to a producer’s right to use a symbol or phrase on their product labels, after passing a voluntary third-party environmental certification (Leire & Thidell, 2005; Rex & Bauman 2007). The International Standards Office (ISO) gives a broader description of eco-labels, classifying them as either mandatory or voluntary, with voluntary split into three types. The commonly used eco-label definition above would be categorized as Type I, whereas Type II are self-declared environmental claims and Type III are quantified environmental claims, usually having to do with the lifecycle impact of the product.

The primary question that has occupied researchers over eco-labels, is whether consumers value eco-production and actually use it as a search attribute in purchasing products. Teisl et al. (2002) found a premium for dolphin safe tuna using U.S. supermarket scanner data, although identification is not clear since there is no cross sectional variation in certification. Looking at apparel catalogues, Nimon and Beghin (1999) found an eco-label premium for organic cotton clothing, but not for low impact dyes. Using a panel of weekly shopping data for Scandinavian consumers, Bjorner et al. (2004) found that the Nordic Swan eco-label increased the probability of purchase for toilet paper and paper towels, but not detergents. In a study of eco-labeled hotels in Costa Rica, Rivera (2002) found that eco-labels generated a price premium for the top rated eco-hotels (based on a green leaf rating), but generated an eco-penalty for hotels with lower eco-ratings compared to uncertified hotels. In a discrete choice experiment, Sammer and Wüstenhagen (2006) found that Swiss consumers are willing to pay more for better energy efficiency ratings on washing machines. Delmas and Grant (2010) showed a price premium for eco-certified wines (where certification was unknown to consumers), but an eco-penalty for eco-labeled wines in the United States. Mueller Loose and Remaud (2013) find a positive premium for wines with a hypothetical eco-label in an online discrete choice exercise conducted in several regions across the US as well as Canada, France and Germany. They also find smaller but positive price premiums for several hypothetical labels indicating corporate social responsibility (CSR).

This literature does not provide a clear picture of the characteristics of eco-labels associated with price premiums. In examining the effectiveness of eco-labels it has focused mostly on single eco-labels and hasn’t been able to compare various attributes of similar labels in the same industry. In this paper, we study consumer preferences for two different eco-labels and other product characteristics such as brand or quality and price. We use a discrete choice exercise (choice-based conjoint (CBC)) developed in marketing research. This methodology allows the respondent to express preferences by choosing from sets of concepts, rather than by rating or ranking them. The choice-based task is similar to what buyers actually do in the marketplace. It can use verbal presentation, paragraph description, and graphically pleasing presentation of a real-life setting. The collection and analysis of the real-life situations is conjoint analysis’s advantage over traditional survey systems.

# Hypotheses

In this section, we develop hypotheses regarding the elements for a successful eco-label. These include: consumer willingness to pay for an eco-labeled product, and consumer awareness and understanding of the eco-label. First, because eco-labeled products are often associated with a price premium due to the additional cost associated with the environmental and social improvements of the products, consumers must be willing to pay for this premium in order for the eco-label to thrive. This willingness to pay might be higher for altruistic consumers, or when eco-labels are associated with other attractive product attributes such as quality. Second, the signal sent by the eco-label needs to be recognized and understood to effectively reduce the information asymmetry between the producer and the consumer regarding the environmental attributes of the product.

## Altruistic Consumers

Green products have been defined as “impure public goods” because they yield both public and private benefits (Cornes & Sandler, 1996; Ferraro, Uchida, & Conrad, 2005; Kotchen, 2006). They consist of a private good, such as the pleasure of drinking wine, jointly produced with a public good, like biodiversity protection due to organic farming. Eco-labels may appeal to the altruistic values of environmentally aware consumers who would like to promote sustainable production. Altruistic customers may want to purchase eco-labeled products as a substitute for donations to an environmental organization (Kotchen, 2005). Altruistic consumers who care about the environment may receive a good feeling or “warm glow” from engaging in environmentally friendly activities that contribute to this public good (Andreoni, 1990). Such warm glow altruism has been shown to be a significant motivator of eco-consumption amongst environmentally minded consumers (Clarke et al., 2003; Kotchen & Moore, 2007; Kahn & Vaughn, 2009), with green consumption acting as a substitute for donations to environmental organizations (Kotchen, 2005). We therefore hypothesize that:

**Hypothesis 1:** Consumers who are more environmentally minded will prefer eco-labeled to non-eco-labeled goods.

## Private Benefits and Eco-labels

Such altruistic customers might, however, only represent a very small percentage of the consumer population. Indeed, research shows that truly altruistic, ‘true blue green’ customers represent only 9% of the population (The Roper Organization, 1990). Emerging research indicates that consumers are more likely to purchase green products if the certified practices provide them additional private benefits. The environment is a public good that is non-excludable and non-rival in consumption. This means that consumption of the good by one individual does not reduce the amount of the good available for consumption by others. So it is often the most rational strategy for private actors to enjoy the public good without contributing to its production. The public good nature of green products raises the question of whether consumers are willing to pay for it, and if so how much.

Magnusson, Arvola, Koivisto Hursti, Aberg, and Sjoden (2001) found that the most important purchase criteria for organic products were related to private benefit (i.e. quality) rather than the environmental attribute. The private benefits include criteria such as “taste better” and “longer shelf-life.” Similarly, highly energy efficient LED lighting has many advantages over traditional light sources. According to the U.S. Department of Energy, some of these advantages include compact size, increased lifetime (longer even than compact fluorescent bulbs), and greater dimming and control capability.[[4]](#footnote-5)

Another private benefit commonly associated with green products is their health attributes. Many consumers presume not only that organic foods taste better, but that they also provide greater health benefits than their conventionally grown counterparts (Huang, 1996; Huang & Lin, 2007; Jolly & Norris, 1991). Cows that produce milk certified by the USDA as organic, for example, are not exposed to the carcinogenic hormones, antibiotics and pesticides of conventional dairy practices.[[5]](#footnote-6) Several other studies showed that health concerns were a major reason, along with environmental concerns, why people choose organic food products (Davies, Titterington, & Cochrane, 1995; Tregear, Dent, & McGregor, 1994; Wandel & Bugge, 1997).

It is important to note that the effect of quality on consumer willingness to pay can be a double-edged sword since it is also possible that consumer associated the attribute of the eco-label with a lower quality of the product. This has been shown in the case for recycled paper where consumer associated the recycling process with lower quality products (Mobley et al., 1995). Recycled potable water is another example where consumers perceive that the quality of the water is deteriorated during the recycling process even when scientific tests attest to the contrary (Dolnicar & Saunders, 2005). In addition, because of some of the early generations of eco-labeled products were associated with lower quality products, some consumers might still associate eco-labels with lower quality and be reluctant to purchase them (Galarraga Gallastegui, 2002; Peattie & Crane, 2005). If consumers do not perceive that by choosing eco-labeled products they must experience a trade-off between environmental attributes and other attractive product attributes such as quality, they might not be willing to pay a price premium for the eco-labeled product. On the other hand, if eco-labeled products are perceived to be enhancing the provide benefits of the products, such as health or an increase in product quality, consumers will be willing to pay a premium for such products. Based on this discussion, we propose the following competing hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 2a:** Consumers will prefer eco-labeled products at lower price points

**Hypothesis 2b:** Consumers will prefer eco-labeled products at higher price points

In addition to the specific product characteristics associated with the eco-labeling process that might influence consumers’ willingness to pay for the product, it is possible that there are some other quality signals, such as those associated with the brand of the company, that reinforce or interact negatively with the eco-label. These interactions could go either way - quality signals could carry enough credibility to override any concerns about the quality of eco-labeled products, or eco-labels may weaken other quality signals by increasing noise and diluting signal strength. For example if a product is perceived to be of lower quality because of the addition of recycled components, such perceptions might be improved by attaching a famous brand name to the product (Mobley et al., 1995). In that case brand name could act as a quality cue that compensates for other shortcomings associated with the eco-label. On the other hand, the negative perception associated with the eco-labeling process might pollute the positive quality associated with the brand and drive consumers away from these products. We therefore propose the following hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 3a:** Higher quality product or brand attributes will enhance the preference for eco-labels.

**Hypothesis 3b:** Higher quality product or brand attributes will reduce the preference for eco-labels.

## Eco-label Understanding

Furthermore, if the signal sent by the eco-label is not well understood by consumers, this might hamper the successful adoption of the eco-label. Eco-labels are a tool for conveying information (Anderson & Hansen, 2004) to reduce the information search cost related to this environmental or social impact (Teisl et al., 2002). If the eco-label successfully reduces the information and search cost, then consumers need to be aware of the eco-label and understand it. Consumer awareness indicates to what extent consumers know of the program’s existence (Banerjee & Salomon, 2003). Understanding indicates “how thoroughly a consumer can interpret the connection between the environmental issue, the label’s meaning, and actions needed to elicit results” (Banerjee & Salomon, 2003: 109). Although consumer awareness is a necessary first step, it must also be coupled with the ability of consumers to understand the environmental information conveyed by each label. There is some evidence that the profusion of eco-labels creates some confusion amongst customers over eco-label’s goals, credibility and expected benefits which inherently will have an impact on eco-label’s success and adoption (Leire & Thidell, 2005). Buyers and consumers are often unsure about the social and environmental benefits of the label (Harbaugh et al., 2011). This confusion can inhibit the benefits that the eco-labels thrive to achieve. We therefore hypothesize that:

**Hypothesis 4:** Consumers will prefer eco-labels with messages that are simple, easy to understand and relate the product to their core values.

# Empirical Context: Eco-labels in the Wine Market

We tested these hypotheses by conducting an online discrete choice experiment, where we examine consumer response to two similar eco-labels for wine, one associated with a quality reduction and the other not. U.S. eco-labels in the wine market provide an excellent setting to test our hypotheses because of the existence of several relatively similar eco-labels that are still not well recognized and understood by consumers (Delmas, 2008), and also because of the uncertainty regarding the relationship between such eco-labels and private benefits such as quality (Delmas & Grant, 2010).

Two of these labels are issued by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) and follow the U.S. National Organic farming standard, which prohibits the use of additives or alterations to the natural seed or plant, including, but not limited to, pesticides, chemicals, or genetic modification.[[6]](#footnote-7) The first of the USDA standards, “*wine made from organically grown grapes”,* applies only to the production of the grapes, whereas the second, “*organic wine*”, includes prescriptions for the wine production process. In particular, organic wine is prohibited from using sulfites in the wine-making process. Since sulfites help to preserve the wine, stabilize the flavor and eliminate unusual odors, wine produced without added sulfites may be of lower quality (Waterhouse, 2007). Such quality concerns are most pertinent for red wines, which are usually kept for longer periods before consumption than white wines. This potential quality issue does not apply to wine made with organic grapes, which may add sulfites in the production process. Other wine eco-labels include the internationally administered “biodynamic” label and a variety of regional eco-labels, such as the “Lodi Rules” label.

To obtain the eco-label certification, wineries have to bear the cost of certification to the eco-label, and of the operational changes associated with the improved performance. Studies have shown that these additional cost range between 15% and 30% for organic wine certification (Delmas, Doctori-Blass, and & Shuster, 2008).

While eco-labeled wines provide a public good by engaging in environmentally friendly production practices that reduce the environmental degradation associated with conventional wine production (Warner, 2007),[[7]](#footnote-8) the private benefits associated with such wines are less clear. Wine made from organic grapes is free from pesticides and other potentially harmful toxins, while organic wines do not add sulfites in production. Sulfites have long been associated with various health problems such as asthma (Valley & Thompson, 2001) and nasal blockages (Anderson et al., 2009), and are also incorrectly blamed for causing wine-induced headaches (Waterhouse, 2007). Research has shown that consumers do view organic foods as healthier than conventional products (Loureiro et al., 2001; Miles & Frewer, 2001; Yridoe et al., 2005), although they may perceive there to be fewer health benefits from a processed products that contains alcohol (Forbes et al., 2011).

Although eco-labeled wine may deliver some health advantages, consumers may perceive its main effect on the private aspect of consumption to be a reduction in quality. Quality concerns may arise for a number of reasons. Firstly, organic wine, which is made without added sulfites, may indeed be of a lower quality than conventionally produced wine. This quality problem may incorrectly spillover to consumer perceptions of wine made from organic grapes if consumers are unaware of the distinctions between the two labels. In our survey of 830 respondents, we find that although most are familiar with the concept of eco-labeled wines, 67% were unaware of the difference between the two labels. Quality concerns may also exist because early generations of eco-labeled wines, like many other eco-labeled products, were often experimental products, made by marginal producers and hence of variable quality (Cox, 2000; Galarraga Gallastegui, 2002; Peattie & Crane, 2005). This poor quality reputation may persist in the minds of consumer.

# Methodology

To examine consumer preferences over eco-labels and other quality signals we ran an online discrete choice exercise, also known as a choice-based conjoint (CBC) exercise. CBC is a useful analytic technique for evincing consumer preferences in that it mirrors real-world choices as closely as possible, while still allowing the experimenter to randomize across prices and product attributes in a way that is not possible with real-world data. It also allows the experimenter to examine only those product attributes most relevant to the study. In a study specific to the wine industry, Mueller, Lockshin, Saltman, and Blanford (2010) found that visual cues from a CBC exercise better captured consumer preferences than a verbal survey. In our discrete choice exercise, consumers were shown images of four different wine bottle labels and asked to choose between them. They also had the option of choosing not to purchase any of the bottles on display, making the exercise more realistic (Louviere et al., 2000). Similar experiments on wine choice had variously examined the influence of medals (Lockshin et al, 2006), region of designation (Mtimet & Albisu, 2006) back label information (Mueller et al., 2010) and hypothetical corporate social responsibility and eco-labels (Mueller Loose & Remau, 2013). In addition to the CBC exercise, respondents also completed a survey that included demographic and attitudinal questions.

## Wine labels and wine attributes

Wine labels are important in the wine purchase decision since the majority of wine purchases are unplanned, with consumers unaware of the quality difference between wines (Chaney, 2000; Bombrun & Sumner, 2003). Moreover, expert reviews that reveal wine quality are typically only available for the minority of wines at the top end of the price spectrum.[[8]](#footnote-9) We decided to focus our analysis on Californian wines produced for the U.S. market. The United States is the largest wine consuming market in the world with retail sales totaling $30 billion in 2010 (Wine Institute, 2011). Californian wines dominate the U.S. wine market, accounting for 90% of U.S. production and 61% of U.S. wine sales, by volume (Wine Institute, 2011). The U.S. wine market is an ideal backdrop to investigate the potentially negative effect of eco-labels, owing to potential quality concerns over eco-labeled wine and confusion over wine eco-labels.

Each wine bottle label in our choice set had five attributes: brandname, varietal, eco-label, price, and region. We created fictitious brands so that we did not need to worry about consumer knowledge and perceptions of existing brands. This was done by selecting names from a list of popular French lastnames. Four different brands were used, Chesnier, Challoner, Rutherfields, and Louis Devere, none of which corresponded to existing wineries. To simplify the analysis, all bottles were of the same varietal - cabernet sauvignon. In 2009, cabernet sauvignon was the most popular Californian red wine varietal sold in the U.S. (Wine Institute, 2010). We specifically chose a red wine to accentuate any potential eco-label quality concerns, as explained in section 3, above. We also standardized the visual style of the bottle label since several studies have shown that label illustrations and styles matter for purchase intent (Boudreaux & Palmer, 2007; Mueller & Szolnoki, 2010). To represent eco-labeling, wines labels either had “Organic Wine”, “Made with Organic Grapes.” Bottles representing conventional wines did not have such labels.

Four price levels were chosen, ranging from $8 to $29 in discrete $7 intervals.[[9]](#footnote-10) This range was chosen after a brief survey of the wine buying behavior of UCLA Anderson Business School faculty and students, and is higher than the $8 average selling price of a Californian wine in the U.S. A number of empirical wine demand studies have found that price acts as signal of quality. Hedonic wine studies have found that quality, as assessed by professional wine reviewers, is a positive predictor of wine price (Bombrun & Sumner, 2003; Delmas & Grant, 2010; Landon & Smith, 1998). In study of wine choice in restaurants, where consumers were most likely unaware of wine quality, Durham et al. (2004) found that demand increased with price for part of the price range. This was even after controlling for whether a wine was the lowest priced in its respective category. Similar results were obtained in discrete choice and experiments by Lockshin et al. (2006) and Mtimet and Albisu (2006).

To represent wine “brands,” two Californian wine regions were used: the prestigious and well known Napa Valley and the lesser known and less-prestigious Lodi. Region of origin (also known as appelation) has been shown to be a significant predictor of wine quality (Benjamin & Podolny, 1999). Of our two regions, Napa is known as a higher quality producer and is the most famous location of wine production outside of Europe (Warner, 2007). Napa offers an ideal mixture of climate and soil conditions to produce a variety of premium varietals and is the oldest wine producing region in California (Warner, 2007). Lodi is less well known than Napa and has only been producing premium quality varietals for the last twenty years (Warner, 2007).

## Implementation

Each experiment participant completed seven online discrete choice tasks and answered an online survey. The survey questions followed the discrete choice exercise so as to not bias the discrete choice responses. Since survey questions were focused on existing behaviors rather than attitudes, we feel it unlikely that participation in the discrete choice exercise caused bias in our survey results.

## Recruitment

Potential participants were asked to take part in an online survey related to wine preferences. Flyers advertising the survey were placed in several wine stores across the greater Los Angeles area and advertisements were placed on Facebook wine interest groups with membership totaling almost 100,000 people. Multiple emails were sent by both the authors and an undergraduate research team to professional and social contacts and wine blogs, with 4,845 people directly contacted. These primary contacts were asked to forward the survey to secondary contacts, although quantifiable information on the success of this strategy was not available to the authors. To motivate participation, a case of high quality wine was offered as a prize to a randomly drawn participant. Respondents were unable to take the survey more than once and only adults 21 years and older (the legal drinking age in the United States) were allowed to take the survey. The survey was taken by 1,142 participants and after removing foreign and incomplete entries, we were left with 883 valid responses.[[10]](#footnote-11) Although the majority of responses were centered in Los Angeles County (57%) and California (82%), the remaining respondents were drawn from 31 other U.S. states.

As could be expected given the recruitment methodology, the experiment sample was over-represented by students relative to the general California population. This can be seen in Table I, below. This results in a lower average age for the sample than the population. The experiment sample is also more educated and has higher incomes than the general population. This income-education bias is possibly alleviated somewhat in that the true wine buying population of California is possibly wealthier and better educated than the population average. Some support for this is given by a 2009 Gallup poll that showed that a small majority of college graduates preferred wine over beer, whereas the vast majority of those who did not attend college preferred beer to wine (Gallup, 2009).[[11]](#footnote-12) Lockshin et al. (2006) report similar results for Australia. It is not clear to what extent sample bias may be a problem, since our results are driven by relative preferences (which are ordinal) rather than any cardinal measure, such as willingness to pay. For example if our sample is more wealthy and educated than the general U.S. population (although as we pointed out, this may not hold true for the wine drinking population), then we may find that the turning points on price come at lower prices. Or if our sample is more environmentally minded (young, wealthy, Californian) this will shift the price-response curves down for eco-labeled goods. Neither effect will change the shape of the curves, just their position in space, which won’t materially affect our key results.

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[Insert Table I here]

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Respondents report that on average they purchase organic products one out of every three trips to the grocery store, with 36% of respondents purchasing organic products on at least half of store visits. Similarly, about 20% of the sample reports being members of an environmental organization. While we are unable to find reliable statistics on environmental organization membership for the U.S. or California populations, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the percentage of people who performed unpaid volunteer activities in 2010 represented 26.3% of the population (US BLS, 2011). Even though more people are likely to belong to an environmental organization than contribute to environmental volunteer activities (lower cost), this is indicative that our sample is more environmentally focused than the U.S. population at large. Given the nature of the sample, which includes young students, this is to be expected. However, even though respondents are probably more environmentally friendly or “greener” than average, it should be noted that green consumerism is an increasingly important trend in the developed world. According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), “27% of consumers in OECD countries can be labeled ‘green consumers’ due to their strong willingness-to-pay and strong environmental activism” (OECD, 2005). In the U.S. retail sales of organic foods increased from $3.8 billion in 1997 to $26.6 billion in 2010 (Organic Trade Association, 2011). As an additional measure of environmentalism we linked each respondent to their state of residence’s League of Conservation Voters (LCV) environmental rating for 2010. The LCV environmental rating is compiled by scoring how each state’s elected representatives vote on a host of important environmental issues and has been used as a measure of the environmental sentiment of the people of a state (Delmas & Montes Sancho, 2010, 2011).[[12]](#footnote-13)

## Discrete Choice Exercise

Experiment participants were initially asked to complete seven choice tasks. In each choice task the respondent was asked to imagine that he/she was attending a seated dinner party with family and friends and needed to choose a bottle of wine to bring along for the occasion. We selected “a seated dinner” rather than “a party” because we expected that this convivial setting would prompt respondents to think about their own preferences but also those of others. Respondents were then presented with images of four different bottles of wine, each with a different price. The images were truncated to put focus on the wine bottle labels. Subjects were asked to choose which bottle of wine they would purchase, with the option of choosing to purchase none of them. Respondents selected their prefered option by clicking on it. An example of a choice task is shown in Figure 1 below.

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[Insert Figure 1 here ]

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Increasing the number of choice tasks faced would have helped to better identify interactions between wine attributes. However, this would have come at the cost of greater attrition, especially since the respondents were unpaid volunteers. Instead, we offered four different versions of the survey, each with its own seven choice tasks and unique attribute combinations. This has the same effect as increasing the number of choice tasks (after controlling for individual attributes).

Each bottle of wine had one level of each of the five attributes. The levels of the attributes were randomized across the 28 different choice tasks (4x7) using Sawtooth Software’s Choice-Based Conjoint Software. An algorithm was used to ensure each level of each attribute appeared an equal number of times across all surveys, but did not repeat in the wine bottles within each choice task. This was done to make sure that the respondent did not see the same level, (e.g., the same price) across all the choices in one task. To ensure that the choice set was not dominated by eco-label wines, we doubled the number of non-eco-labeled wines. Thus every choice set had one organic wine, one made with organic grapes wine and two non-eco-labeled wines. Table II, shows each of the attribute levels and its display and selection frequency.

In our discrete choice exercise we used fictitious wine brands, so that our results would not be conflated by existing consumer brand beliefs. These fictitious wine brands, as expected, did not impact significantly the choice of a wine bottle. Table II shows no significant difference in the frequency of selecting a bottle by brand name.

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[Insert Table II about here]

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## Econometric Specification

Each subject was given 7 discrete choice tasks to complete (). In each task the subject was asked to choose between hypthetically purchasing one of 4 different bottles of wine, or buying none of them. Each bottle of wine is respresented by a vector of attributes   where  indicates the none option. No bottles of wine were repeated for a given consumer. The ordering of the discrete choice tasks were randomized across consumers, although within a given choice task the four bottles always appear in the same order (which resulted from an initial randomization).

Individual attributes were obtained from the survey and are represented by vector  The interaction between subject and product attributes is . The outcome variable , is a dummy variable indicating whether the bottle was purchased or not.

The utility subject i gets from bottle j is:

 (1)

Where is an individual-specific taste shock. If we assume that within choice C,  is i.i.d and distributed extreme value type 1, we get the familiar logit equation:

 (2)

To account for repeated choice tasks by each subject, we clustered standard errors at the subject level.

# Results

## Preferences over eco-labeled wine

In Table III we examine preferences for eco-labeled and non-eco-labeled wine. To this end we group together organic wine and wine made from organic grapes. All comparisons are with respect to a non-eco-labeled wine from Lodi, priced at $8.[[13]](#footnote-14)

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[Insert Table III about here]

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Model 1 examines whether consumers have an absolute preference for eco-labeled over non-eco-labeled wines, where this preference does not vary with other wine characteristics (hypothesis 1). Consumers are slightly more likely to purchase eco-labeled wine (2.4 percentage points), but this difference disappears in Model 2, when we include individual level controls. Only those respondents who buy a high proportion of organic already, and/or who are members of environmental organizations prefer eco-labeled over non-eco-labeled wine. This is illustrated graphically in Figure 2, which shows the predicted probability of purchase if a consumer was offered a choice from among all of the bottles of wine in each graph. Note that the probabilities do not sum to 100% because of the option of choosing to purchase none of the wines. In both Model 1 and 2 we can see that consumers prefer wine from Napa and wine priced at $15. In both models we can see that consumers prefer wine from Napa and wine priced at $15. Interestingly, those respondents who are wealthier, better educated, spend more on wine and drink wine frequently are less likely to choose eco-labeled wines.

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[Insert Figure 2 about here]

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In Model 3, we allow the eco-label to interact with other quality signals to see whether the preference for eco-labeled products decreases with other quality signals (hypotheses 2 and 3). We interact the eco-label with a dummy for higher price (price=22 or price=29) and a dummy for Napa. We find that consumers are 14.6% more likely to buy an eco-labeled than non-eco-labeled wine when the price is lower and the wine is from Lodi. However, when the price is higher and the wine comes from Napa, this relative preference reverses, with consumers being 13.1% more likely to buy a *non*-eco-labeled wine over an eco-labeled wine. The same results hold when we include individual characteristics in Model 4. All of the individual characteristics have the same sign and magnitude as in Model 2. The price-penalty of eco-labels is illustrated graphically in Figure 3.

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[Insert Figure 3 about here]

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These results indicate that respondents obtain some warm glow value from eco-labeled wine, but may also interpret it as a signal of lower quality. If respondents made no inferences over wine quality, they would always prefer an eco-labeled wine over an otherwise identical non-eco-labeled wine, regardless of other attributes. Instead we find that preferences over eco-labeled wine vary with these other attributes. One interpretation of the data is that when respondents have already inferred that a wine is lower quality from price and other attributes, then the additional lower quality signal from the eco-label is unimportant, and respondents receive just the warm glow of eco-consumption. However, as price and other quality signals increase, the eco-labels quality signal becomes more pertinent and outweighs the warm-glow of eco-consumption, shifting preferences towards non-eco-labeled wine. A similar but alternative argument is that as the wine's price increases, the quality signal becomes relatively more important. At the same time, consumer uncertainty over the production costs of eco-labeled wine means that they are less certain about what this signal actually means. The increased price could result from increased quality or the higher costs of environmentally friendly production. Risk-averse consumers will therefore avoid this uncertainty with wines that are higher priced. In this explanation, the eco-label is not seen as inferior, but instead increases the uncertainty of the price signal.

## Reputation and Brand Name

Because brand names may be a strong quality signal that can overcome the quality-tradeoff that eco-labels present. We looked at the effects of wine region, which can act as meta-brand for wines, signifying common quality levels for all producers (Benjamin & Podolny, 1999). If a quality brand were sufficient to overcome quality concerns for eco-labeled wines, then we would expect the interaction between brand and eco-label to be weakly positive. However, when we examine the interaction between the meta-brand Napa and eco-labels in Table III, we find a negative coefficient, implying that the higher quality signal given by region is insufficient to over-ride the lower quality signal given by eco-label. Relative demand by region is displayed graphically in Figure 4.

Individual winemakers seem to be aware of this, with a number of higher quality wine makers producing eco-certified wine, without labeling it as such (Delmas & Grant, 2010). For example, the Fetzer winery in Napa Valley, one of the early pioneers in growing grapes organically in the [United States](http://buyingguide.winemag.com/regions/us), decided in 1992 to develop a separate name brand “Bonterra” for their line of wines made with organically grown grapes rather than use the Fetzer brand for these wines.

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[Insert Figure 4 about here]

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## Clarity and Quality Across Eco-label Types

In Model 5 we examine consumer preferences over the two different USDA eco-labels: “Organic” and “Made with Organic Grapes”. The “Organic” label more clearly communicates its environmental attribute and may be preferred by consumers since there is more certainty over what it means (hypothesis 4). However, organic wine also undergoes a different production process to non-organic wine, which may result in inferior quality. The same is not true of wine made with organic grapes. Thus consumers may prefer wine made with organically grown grapes over organic wine. Again comparisons are made with respect to a non-eco-labeled wine from Lodi, priced at $8. The regression specification is the same as that of Model 4, except that instead of grouping the two eco-labels together for a combined impact, we break them out separately. Since the coefficients on individual characteristics are specific to each eco-label, we only show those coefficients that are both significant and significantly different from each other for the organic and made with organic grapes eco-label. The results show that consumers prefer the organic eco-label over the made with organic grapes eco-label at lower prices, while they are both equally disliked at higher prices. This is illustrated graphically in Figure 5.

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[Insert Figure 5 about here]

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One possible explanation is that the “Organic” label communicates a clearer message and is easier to relate to environmental objectives than the more obscure “Made with Organic Grapes”. This conjecture is supported by the fact that members of environmental organizations prefer organic wine to wine made with organic grapes. No other significant individual characteristics are significantly different for the two eco-label types.

We had hypothesized that consumers would prefer wines made with organic grapes to organic wines because of quality concerns associated with the latter. The evidence does not support this hypothesis. Not only is organic always weakly preferred to wine made with organic grapes, but even informed consumers, who know the difference between the two eco-labels are indifferent between them.[[14]](#footnote-15)

# Discussion

While our results are consistent with a quality-price tradeoff for eco-labels, we are not able to directly test any of our conjectures about consumer perceptions of quality or their experiences of warm glow from eco-labels. The focus of the study was to examine the choices that consumers actually make (as far as we could simulate this), rather than that which they think they would make. However, now that we have an indication of what choices they do make, further investigation into consumer perceptions over the quality of eco-labeled wines is warranted, as well as how these perceptions vary with prices. Another limitation of the study’s construction is that the wine labels are limited to four attributes. This allows us to study interactions between attributes, but may overemphasize the importance of attributes like the eco-label. Furthermore studies by Gao and Schroeder (2009) and Islam et al. (2007) show that willingness to pay for a particular attribute varies with the total number of attributes. By excluding potentially relevant attributes, we may be overstating or understating some of our key impacts, depending on the relationship between the omitted and included attributes. Potentially important label attributes that we may not be accounting for are label images, color and back-label information (Mueller Loose & Szolnoki, 2012; Mueller & Szolnoki, 2010). It is not immediately apparent how these would interact with our attributes of interest. It should also be noted that we do actually have two different colors of label, alternating blue and yellow, which were not part of the experimental design but were included later to make it easier for respondents to distinguish between the four wine choices. We do find that respondents prefer the blue wine label, but its inclusion in the regressions has no effect on any of our variables of interest. Since this was not included in the original design and is completely randomly distributed with respect to the other attributes, we exclude it from the regression analysis.

Apart from potentially missing label attributes, the way that the decision choice was framed may also influence the impacts estimated from wine attributes. We presented our respondents with a scenario where they had to choose a bottle of wine for a seated dinner. It is possible that consumers would have different attitudes to eco-labeled wine in a private consumption scenario. One could imagine two competing hypotheses. First, consumption in a public setting means that the consumer gets to conspicuously display their “green bona fides” leading to an increase in the probability of purchasing an eco-labeled wine over that in a private setting. Second, consumption in a public setting means that the consumer is more concerned about the quality signal that the wine sends out to others, resulting in a lower probability of purchase of eco-labeled wine in the public setting. These hypotheses are worthy of future research.

# Conclusion

Eco-labels are widely used as a policy tool to provide consumers with otherwise unavailable information on a product’s environmental/sustainability characteristics. By filling these information gaps socially and environmentally aware consumers can make informed purchasing decisions that help the planet.

Eco-labels are often developed by government agencies and non-governmental organizations, which are separate to the industries that produce and sell the eco-product. The goal of these agencies is to reduce the information asymmetry between producers and consumers over the environmental attributes of a good. If an eco-label is effective it will command a premium amongst environmentally minded consumers and thus allow manufacturers to recoup the additional costs of cleaner manufacturing practices. However, by focusing on the information asymmetry between producers and consumers, rather than how the label meets consumer needs, agencies may develop eco-labels that send an irrelevant, confusing or detrimental message to consumers. Indeed, while some labels achieve widespread recognition, credibility and demand, others are associated with greenwashing, confusion and compromised product quality.

We hypothesized that consumer understanding and awareness as well as willingness to pay were important conditions for successful eco-labels. Furthermore, we argued that that product and consumer characteristics might interact with the signal of the label whether enhancing or diminishing its appeal. For example, while green consumers might receive a “warm glow” from eco-consumption, they might also view the eco-label as a signal of lower quality therefore limiting their willingness to pay a premium for such an eco-labeled product.

We tested this empirically with an online discrete choice experiment focused on choices over eco-labeled wines. In the US there are two government certified eco-labels for wine. One label is associated with potentially lower quality production techniques, while the other is not. The majority of the 830 participants in our experiment were unaware of the difference between these two labels. We found that respondents preferred eco-labeled wines over an otherwise identical counterpart, when the price was lower and the wine was from a lower quality region. However these relative preferences were reversed if the wine was expensive and from a higher quality region. These results indicate that respondents obtain some warm glow value from eco-labeled wine, but also possibly interpret it as a signal of lower quality. If respondents made no inferences over wine quality, they would always prefer an eco-labeled wine over an otherwise identical non-eco-labeled wine, regardless of other attributes. One interpretation of these results is that when respondents have already inferred that a wine is lower quality from price and other attributes, then the additional lower quality signal from the eco-label is unimportant, and respondents receive just the warm glow of eco-consumption. However, as price and other quality signals increase, the eco-labels quality signal becomes more pertinent and outweighs the warm-glow of eco-consumption, shifting preferences towards non-eco-labeled wine. This eco-quality penalty holds for both types of eco-labels, even though it should only apply to the eco-label associated with quality concerns.

By ignoring potential quality signals from eco-labels, the market for eco-labeled wine has been severely limited. Government certified eco-labeled wine obtained just 0.1% of the overall wine market in 2009, compared with 3.5% for the overall market for similar government eco-labels for other eco-labeled products (Wine Institute, 2010). This lack of market penetration combined with consumer confusion has opened up the door to a number of other unregulated eco-labels, which may be less green than government certified eco-labels. These eco-labels may create further confusion and erode credibility in the eco-wine market.

The lessons from the wine industry and for other eco-labeling initiatives are clear. An eco-label premium is essential for an eco-industry to sustainably exist. Thus any eco-labeling initiative needs to ensure that it will deliver such premiums. Focusing purely on information asymmetries will not necessarily create eco-labels that align eco-products with the needs of consumers. Instead government organizations need to work with producers and marketers to ensure that eco-labels provide information that clearly communicate their value proposition to consumers, without creating further confusion, or additional unintended product signals.

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**FIGURES**

Figure 1: Wine Choice Tasks

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Figure 2: Absolute preference over eco-labeled vs. non-eco-labeled wine (Table III Model 2)



Note: The fitted curves are non-linear interpolations over discrete price points. Each discrete price point shows the predicted probability that a consumer would buy that particular bottle of wine if offered a selection of all 8 wines in the graph. Purchase probabilities do not sum to 100% because of the option of choosing not to purchase a bottle of wine.

Figure 3: Relative preference over eco-labeled vs. non-eco-labeled wine (Table III Model 4)

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Note: The fitted curves are non-linear interpolations over discrete price points. Each discrete price point shows the predicted probability that a consumer would buy that particular bottle of wine if offered a selection of all 8 wines in the graph. Purchase probabilities do not sum to 100% because of the option of choosing not to purchase a bottle of wine.

Figure 4: Relative preference over eco-labeled vs. non-eco-labeled wine by region (Table III Model 4)

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Note: The fitted curves are non-linear interpolations over discrete price points. Each discrete price point shows the predicted probability that a consumer would buy that particular bottle of wine if offered a selection of all 8 wines in the graph. Purchase probabilities do not sum to 100% because of the option of choosing not to purchase a bottle of wine.

Figure 5: Relative preference over eco-label (Table III Model 5)

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Note: The fitted curves are non-linear interpolations over discrete price points. Each discrete price point shows the predicted probability that a consumer would buy that particular bottle of wine if offered a selection of all 12 wines in the graph. Purchase probabilities do not sum to 100% because of the option of choosing not to purchase a bottle of wine.

1. www.ecolabelindex.com [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. <http://www.thegrocer.co.uk/companies/supermarkets/tesco/frustrated-tesco-ditches-eco-labels/225502.article> [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. The US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) is also highly involved in food labeling, particularly when these pertain to health. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. <http://apps1.eere.energy.gov/buildings/publications/pdfs/ssl/led_advantage.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. <http://www.organicfacts.net/organic-animal-products/organic-milk/health-benefits-of-organic-milk.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. The U.S. National Organic Standards law was passed in 2001. Regulations require organic products and operations to be certified by a U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA)–accredited entity to assure consumers that products mar­keted as organic meet consistent, uniform minimum standards. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. Some of the environmental impact of wine production include: groundwater depletion, water pollution, effluent run-off, toxicity of pesticides, fungicides and herbicides, habitat destruction, and loss of natural biodiversity (Warner, 2007) [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. Delmas & Grant (2010) found that the average selling price of a Californian wine reviewed by the *Wine Spectator,* was $35, far above the average US selling price of a California wine at $8. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. Discrete price levels were used partly to make our study similar to other discrete wine choice experiments (Lockshin et al, 2006; Mtimet & Albisu, 2006; Mueller et al, 2010) and partly because we had to generate all of the graphical label images ourselves and this was easier with a discrete set of prices. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. Foreign respondents were removed since it is uncertain what the dollar purchase prices mean to them [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. The same Gallup poll reported that 65 percent of Americans consumed *some* alcoholic beverage in the past week, which is comparable to the 65 percent of our sample who report drinking wine at least once a week. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
12. .Each year, the LCV selects environmental issues that constitute the environmental agenda with a panel comprising the main U.S. environmental groups. The organization then creates an index by counting the number of times that each representative or senator in Congress votes in favor of the ‘environmental agenda’ (e.g., against logging in national forests or for proper mining waste disposal). The index ranges from 0 to 100, with 100 representing a record of voting with the environmental agenda in all cases (Delmas and Montes-Sancho, 2010, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
13. This is to illustrate the incremental probability of purchase due to higher prices, the more prestigious region (Napa) and the eco-labels, compared to the lower price, less prestigious region (Lodi) and no eco-label. The option of choosing none is included in the econometric estimation and implicitly included in these comparisons. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
14. This is not shown in the regression table since neither of the coefficients on informed for organic wines and wines made with organic grapes are statistically significant. Moreover, the two coefficients are not significantly different from each other. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)