

1 **Tackling the plastic problem: A review on perceptions,**
2 **behaviors, and interventions**

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22 **Abstract**

23 The excessive production and consumption of plastic has serious consequences on the
24 environment and human health. The reduction of plastic has therefore become a major global
25 challenge. As technical solutions might be insufficient to curb the problem, a perspective
26 highlighting the impact of human behavior is needed. The current literature review provides
27 an overview of the existing social-scientific literature on plastic, ranging from risk awareness,
28 consumers' preferences, and predictors of usage behavior to political and psychological
29 intervention strategies. By reviewing the literature, we aim to identify potential factors for
30 future interventions to reduce plastic consumption. The 187 studies reviewed show that
31 people much appreciate and routinely use plastic, despite a pronounced awareness of the
32 associated problems. Habits, norms, and situational factors seem to be especially predictive
33 for plastic consumption behavior. Both political and psychological interventions are
34 potentially effective, although long-term effects are often uncertain. The review closes with
35 implications for behavior-based solutions and future research, which should combine
36 interdisciplinary approaches and take into account cultural differences.

37

38 **Keywords:** plastic pollution; problem awareness; consumer behavior; behavior-based
39 solutions; environmental psychology

40

41 **1 Introduction**

42 Today we live in an era that some have called the “Plastic Age” (Thompson, Swan,
43 Moore, & Vom Saal, 2009). The production of plastic has markedly increased over the last
44 decades, currently reaching about 350 million tons per year (PlasticsEurope, 2018). Many
45 advantages of the material, such as durability, flexibility, and cheapness, make plastic

46 ubiquitous and indispensable in daily life, and thus it is distributed globally. However, there is
47 growing evidence that the current use and disposal of plastic leads to substantial pollution of
48 terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems (Bläsing & Amelung, 2018; Horton, Walton, Spurgeon,
49 Lahive, & Svendsen, 2017), already discussing plastic waste as a new planetary boundary
50 threat (Galloway & Lewis, 2016; Rockström et al., 2009). Over 250,000 tons of plastic are
51 estimated to float in the sea (Eriksen et al., 2014), adversely affecting marine wildlife and
52 humans by plastic entering the food chain (W. C. Li, Tse, & Fok, 2016; Rochman et al., 2016;
53 Seltenrich, 2015; Sigler, 2014). In addition, the widespread use of plastic in agriculture has
54 been postulated as a relevant source of soil degradation and microplastics (i.e., plastic
55 particles smaller than 5mm) in soil (e.g., Liu, He, & Yan, 2014; Steinmetz et al., 2016).
56 Furthermore, lab experiments demonstrate plastic to be a source of anthropogenic climate
57 change as the most commonly used plastics might produce greenhouse gases when exposed to
58 sunlight (Royer, Ferrón, Wilson, & Karl, 2018). Thus, plastic has a tremendous effect on
59 various aspects of the environment, including wildlife, through diverse routes.

60 The most discussed risk to human health associated with the use of plastic is the
61 exposure to harmful chemicals that are used as plastic additives (e.g., Hodson, Duffus-
62 Hodson, Clark, Prendergast-Miller, & Thorpe, 2017; Rist, Almroth, Hartmann, & Karlsson,
63 2018; Smith, Love, Rochman, & Neff, 2018). Moreover, plastic particles may act as vehicles
64 of persistent pollutants (Peng, Wang, & Cai, 2017). The potential danger to human health
65 might therefore arise from the uptake of food products that were in contact with plastic or
66 contain microplastic.

67 As the entire production and application of plastic is of human origin, human solutions
68 to the plastic problem are both necessary and feasible. Therefore, various societal actors (e.g.,
69 consumers, producers, policy makers, industries) need to be involved in the solutions (e.g.,
70 Löhr et al., 2017). Although a number of technical approaches of alternative materials or
71 infrastructure have been developed to curb the problem (e.g., the production of biodegradable

72 plastic or appropriate recycling procedures), there are two major obstacles: First, it is unlikely
73 that technical approaches will solve the plastic problem comprehensively and in the required
74 time. Second, there are well-known psychological effects that often undermine technical
75 solutions, such as increased usage after an intervention (i.e., rebound effects; Hertwich, 2005)
76 or increased littering of biodegradable products (Haider, Völker, Kramm, Landfester, &
77 Wurm, 2018). Thus, efficiency strategies (e.g., recycling) can save resources at first glance
78 but may eventually lead to a change in people's behavior as they consume more and thus
79 reduce the resource savings. Moreover, technical approaches require people's acceptance,
80 thus bringing additional factors into play. Hence, although technical solutions are definitively
81 needed, a focus on human behavior is necessary to tackle the plastic problem from a
82 multidisciplinary approach. To develop effective solutions, insights on perceptions, attitudes,
83 and behaviors related to plastic is needed. As there is, to our knowledge, no compilation of
84 social-scientific literature on the described issue, we aim at providing one that is useful for
85 researchers and stakeholders.

86

87 **2 Aims**

88 In the current review, we provide an overview of the existing empirical social-
89 scientific literature on human perception and behavior related to plastic use and disposal.
90 Plastic is defined as a synthetic material composed of polymers. In the review, we did not
91 give special attention to plastic additives, such as Bisphenol A, although they might affect risk
92 awareness. Since the research field of plastic-related perception and behavior is relatively new
93 and very diverse, the review is of a narrative nature. The main part of this review summarizes
94 the studies and their findings. In the discussion, we integrate these findings to identify
95 promising factors important for behavior-based solutions to the plastic problem and to reveal
96 research gaps that future studies should address. This review, thus, provides both an overview

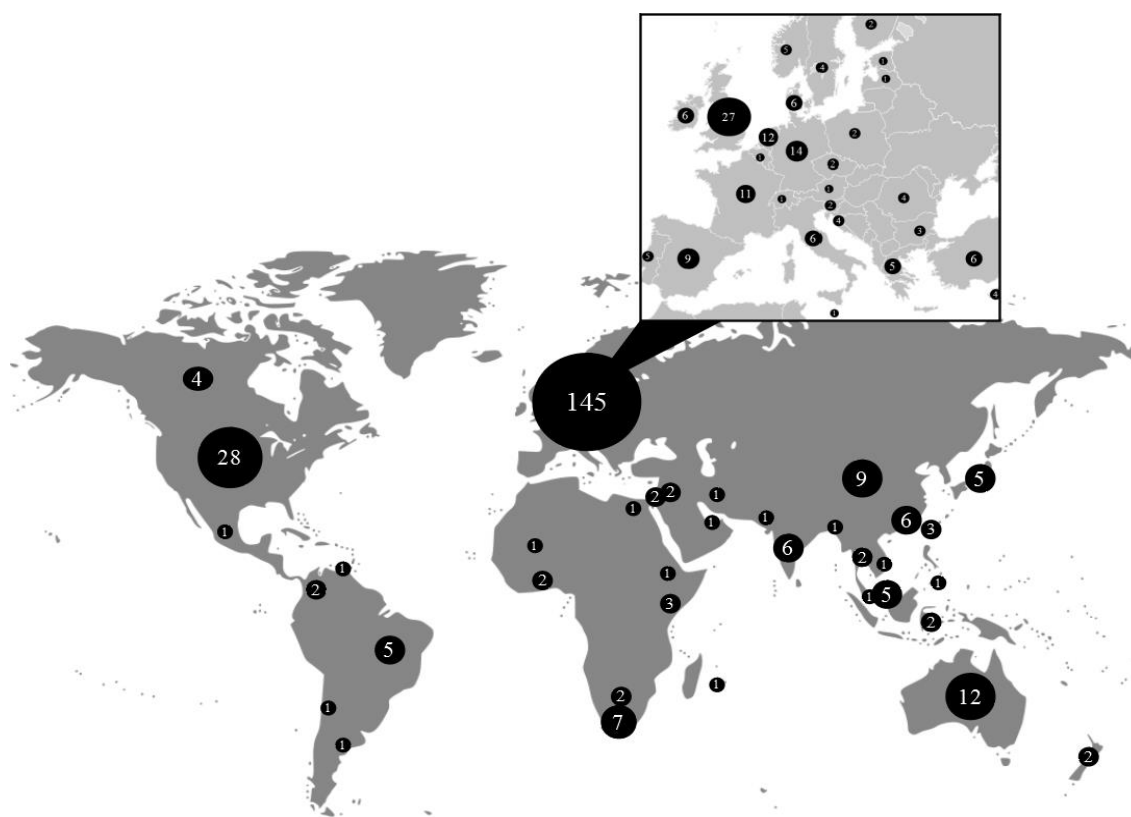
97 of the existing literature helping to identify promising research questions, and useful
98 information for practitioners and those developing interventions.

99

100 **3 Methods**

101 To identify relevant studies for the present review, we used several databases
102 (PsychINFO, PsychArticles, Pubmed, and Web of Science). A first search using a set of
103 keywords and their combinations (e.g., “plastic”, “waste”, “consumer behavior”, “packaging”,
104 “recycling”) led to an initial collection of studies. An article identified in the search was
105 considered relevant if a) plastic was addressed as a material (ignoring other meanings, such as
106 plastics in arts or plastic surgery), b) plastic was explicitly studied (and not just mentioned as
107 an example or to specify the material of something that was not studied further), and c)
108 attitudes, perceptions, or behaviors were examined. The list of studies was then extended
109 using a snowball strategy of searching backward and forward citations (Wohlin, 2014) and
110 again applying the above criteria. Only articles published before September 27, 2018 were
111 considered. The final pool comprised 187 articles that were included in this review. Figure 1
112 shows the worldwide distribution of the samples described in the reviewed literature.

113



114

115 Figure 1. Countries represented by reviewed studies. Numbers indicate amount of
116 studies investigating a sample from a particular country (several countries per article possible;
117 same original sample might be counted repeatedly when presented in different articles). One
118 article (Clapp et al., 2009) was excluded because no sample was investigated.

119

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121

122 4 Results

123 Based on the literature found, we structured the review in three sections: problem
124 awareness and perception of plastic (section 4.1), plastic consumption behavior (section 4.2),
125 and solutions to the plastic problem (section 4.3 and Discussion).

126

127 **4.1 Perception of plastic**

128 As outlined above, the increasing use of plastic has a severe impact on the
129 environment and involves certain risks for human health. In the first part of this section, we
130 review available literature on the awareness of such impacts. In the second part, we examine
131 the perception of plastic in the context of consumption. Knowledge about problem awareness
132 and preferences helps to identify predictors of plastic consumption behavior and thus leads to
133 potential starting points for solutions. Note that within this chapter, perceptions were
134 described and that these may not be in line with the real circumstances (e.g., the perceived
135 environmental impact might diverge from the actual one).

136

137 **4.1.1 Problem awareness**

138 *4.1.1.1 Perceived impacts of plastic pollution on the environment*

139 Plastic used as a material for packaging and bags is generally seen as environmentally
140 problematic (e.g., Adane & Muleta, 2011; Fernqvist, Olsson, & Spendrup, 2015; Otsyina,
141 Nguhiu-Mwangi, Mogoia, Mbuthia, & Ogara, 2018; van Dam & van Trijp, 1994).
142 Furthermore, in social media “plastic” is discussed and associated with “sustainability” and
143 “waste”, indicating certain problem awareness (Richardson, Grose, Nelmes, Parra, & Linares,
144 2016). In an earlier Danish study (Bech-Larsen, 1996), environmental problems due to
145 (packaging) waste were considered as less serious compared to other societal and
146 environmental issues. However, as might be expected by the increased use and disposal of
147 plastic ever since, more recent and large-scaled surveys conducted on citizens in several
148 countries (e.g., Portugal, UK, Germany, Canada, Kenya) show that pollution in general and
149 plastic waste in particular are perceived as major environmental problems (Gelcich et al.,
150 2014; Hartley, Pahl, Veiga, et al., 2018; Lotze, Guest, O’Leary, Tuda, & Wallace, 2018). The
151 immense use of plastic (esp. in packaging) and related human behavior are perceived as

152 significant causes of pollution (Hartley, Pahl, Veiga, et al., 2018; I. R. Santos, Friedrich,
153 Wallner-Kersanach, & Fillmann, 2005). In fact, problem awareness is already high among
154 school children from different countries (United Arab Emirates: Hammami et al., 2017; UK:
155 Hartley, Thompson, & Pahl, 2015; Hong Kong: So, Cheng, Chow, & Zhan, 2016). Plastic
156 litter is highly abundant at most coastlines worldwide and often beach visitors and locals are
157 perceived to be the source of such litter (Beeharry, Bekaroo, Bokhoree, Phillips, & Jory,
158 2017; Brennan & Portman, 2016; Campbell, Slavin, Grage, & Kinslow, 2016; Hartley, Pahl,
159 Veiga, et al., 2018; Kiessling, Salas, Mutafoğlu, & Thiel, 2017; Rangel-Buitrago, Williams, &
160 Anfuso, 2018; Santos et al., 2005). However, the amount of former fishing and aquaculture
161 utensils (e.g., fishing lines, buoys, pipes) made from plastic is also very high both in the sea
162 and at beaches, and this debris is perceived as a major threat for marine wildlife, boats, and
163 humans (Barnett, Wiber, Rooney, & Curtis Maillet, 2016; Pearson, Mellish, Sanders, &
164 Litchfield, 2014). Additionally, plastic waste is perceived to negatively affect terrestrial
165 animals (Adane & Muleta, 2011; Otsyina et al., 2018).

166 Although microplastic has become a hot topic in media and environmental science,
167 social-scientific studies on the perception of microplastic and its risks are rare to date. By
168 definition, such plastic particles are small and thus difficult to see and retrieve from the
169 environment compared to macrodebris (cf., Barnett et al., 2016, for such an observation by
170 Candian fishermen). Interviews with beauticians, students, and environmentalists show that
171 only the latter were aware of microplastics in facial scrubs (Anderson, Grose, Pahl,
172 Thompson, & Wyles, 2016). The majority of participants indicated awareness that these
173 particles will go into the ocean after use. After participants of this UK study were made aware
174 of these issues, they reported environmental concerns, especially risks for marine fauna.
175 However, for them these environmental problems are not as pressing as others (Anderson et
176 al., 2016). Overall, (macro- and micro-) plastic is generally seen as an environmental hazard,
177 though to a varying degree.

178

179 *4.1.1.2 Perception of human health and well-being risks*

180 Besides the perceived environmental risks, people are concerned about hazards related
181 to their health and well-being. For example, litter is associated with reduced preference for
182 and perceived restorative quality of a given place and this is especially true when the litter
183 originates from the general public (e.g., plastic bottles) compared to fishing-related litter (e.g.,
184 fishing ropes; Ballance, Ryan, & Turpie, 2000; Kiessling et al., 2017; Wyles, Pahl, Thomas,
185 & Thompson, 2016). Furthermore, potentially health-threatening litter items (e.g., syringes
186 and condoms) were perceived as more offensive than other beach litter (Tudor & Williams,
187 2003). In general, coastal scenic quality seems to be negatively affected by the amount of
188 (plastic) litter but it is noted that this appeal might be restored by beach clean-ups (Corraini,
189 de Souza de Lima, Bonetti, & Rangel-Buitrago, 2018; Rangel-Buitrago et al., 2018; Williams,
190 Rangel-Buitrago, Anfuso, Cervantes, & Botero, 2016), which are being carried out with
191 increasing frequency nowadays (e.g., Loizidou, Loizides, & Orthodoxou, 2018; see also
192 4.3.2.3 for more information on clean-up interventions). In a Spanish study, beach litter was
193 perceived as higher the more plastic was seen and the more often one visits the beach (Rayon-
194 Viña, Miralles, Gómez-Agenjo, Dopico, & Garcia-Vazquez, 2018).

195 Although the beaches investigated in an Australian study were relatively clean, about
196 22% of beach goers experienced injuries (e.g., small cuts) from litter which mainly consisted
197 of plastic items (Campbell et al., 2016; see also I. R. Santos et al., 2005, for similar results).
198 The majority of respondents, however, did not perceive plastic litter as a human (but rather an
199 environmental) hazard, and previous injuries did not affect the perception of litter (Campbell
200 et al., 2016). However, in a similar – but older – study human risks were rated higher than or
201 similar to environmental hazards (I. R. Santos et al., 2005). The difference between these two
202 studies might illustrate the increased awareness of the environmental hazards described
203 above.

204 Although US consumers of facial scrubs considered the products safe to use, most of
205 them deny purchasing or using it when confronted with the fact that it contains plastic (M.
206 Chang, 2015), and others reported both health (related to the skin while using the scrub and
207 accumulation in the food chain) and environmental concerns (see above, Anderson et al.,
208 2016).

209 Consumers from different countries (Turkey, Sweden, India, and Ghana) expressed
210 concerns about health-affecting properties of plastic, such as harmful substances in plastic and
211 reduced food quality due to the packaging (Aday & Yener, 2014; Fernqvist et al., 2015;
212 Joseph, Kumar, Majgi, Kumar, & Prahalad, 2016; Omari & Frempong, 2016; Omari,
213 Frempong, & Arthur, 2018). However, compared to cans made from metal, plastic is
214 perceived as safe (e.g., Peters-Teixeira & Badrie, 2005). In fact, compared to glass bottles or
215 cans made from metal, plastic is reported to cause less injuries when opening a package
216 (Caner & Pascall, 2010). In a Ghanaian study, the degree of worry about leaking substances
217 from plastic packaging into food is similar to other chemical-related risks, such as those from
218 pesticides or artificial coloring (Omari et al., 2018). While the majority of participants from a
219 Hawaiian study on plastic alternatives preferred microwavable containers for takeout food
220 (Barnes, Chan-Halbrendt, Zhang, & Abejon, 2011) other participants of a Swedish study
221 reported concern related to plastic food packages designed for microwave use (Fernqvist et
222 al., 2015). Additionally, plastic bag use is associated with health risks that were not further
223 specified in an Ethiopian study (Adane & Muleta, 2011). Not only were consumers worried
224 about potential health hazards of plastic but regulatory officials were also concerned and
225 uncertain as pointed out in an UK case study (Rothstein, 2003). In general, the risk perception
226 of plastic (pollution) has changed within the few last decades and some characteristics of
227 plastic (e.g., its highly abundant and thus involuntary exposure, unnecessary use, and
228 uncontrollable spread) have lead to high risk perception (Syberg, Hansen, Christensen, &
229 Khan, 2018).

230

231 **4.1.2 Consumer Perceptions**

232 Much of the plastic waste found in the environment consists of food-related
233 packaging, including bottles, bags, and eating accessories (e.g., Carpenter & Wolverton,
234 2017; see also Marsh & Bugusu, 2007). Moreover, one third of the worldwide plastic
235 production is for packaging (PlasticsEurope, 2017). Therefore, knowledge about the
236 perception and preferences of consumers is necessary to tackle the plastic problem.

237

238 *4.1.2.1 Perception of the environmental impact of plastic packaging and bags*

239 Packaging fulfills a number of functions, including protection of the product and
240 communication of product characteristics (as reviewed by Lindh, Williams, Olsson, &
241 Wikström, 2016; Marsh & Bugusu, 2007). Although the product itself and other aspects of
242 production and transportation usually have a larger impact on the environment than the
243 packaging *per se* (Jungbluth, Tietje, & Scholz, 2000; Wikström, Williams, Verghese, &
244 Clune, 2014, but see also Pasqualino, Meneses, & Castells, 2011), unsuitable packaging
245 increases the amount of food waste and therefore packaging should be appropriate to reduce
246 environmental impacts (e.g., Silvenius et al., 2014; Williams, Wikström, Otterbring, Löfgren,
247 & Gustafsson, 2012). For example, when Norwegian consumers were unsatisfied with the
248 packaging, they may use their own plastic bag to maintain the freshness of bread and thereby
249 reduce food waste (Østergaard & Hanssen, 2018).

250 Although appropriate packaging is important for the protection and environmental
251 impact of a product, its material plays only a minor role in the preference of one product over
252 another (Eldesouky & Mesias, 2014; Gelici-Zeko, Lutters, ten Klooster, & Weijzen, 2013;
253 Silayoi & Speece, 2004, but see also Rokka & Uusitalo, 2008, for different results when
254 recyclability of the material was made salient for the choice, and also Widaningrum, 2014, for
255 divergent findings). Other properties of the product or package, such as price, visual and

256 functional aspects of the package, size, and previous experience with the product or brand are
257 rated as more important (Draskovic, Temperley, & Pavicic, 2009; Eldesouky & Mesías, 2014;
258 Gelici-Zeko et al., 2013; Isa & Yao, 2013; Koutsimanis, Getter, Behe, Harte, & Almenar,
259 2012; Peters-Teixeira & Badrie, 2005; Scherer, Emberger-Klein, & Menrad, 2017; Silayoi &
260 Speece, 2004; Young, 2008) When directly asked about the packaging material, respondents
261 of a study from Thailand stated in interviews that it should be non-toxic, convenient, and
262 prolong high product quality (Silayoi & Speece, 2004).

263 The negative environmental impacts of plastic packaging are considered
264 disadvantageous (Aday & Yener, 2014; Fernqvist et al., 2015). Plastic-only packaging was
265 ranked medium for environmental friendliness by both Dutch consumers and a life cycle
266 analysis (Steenis, van Herpen, van der Lans, Ligthart, & van Trijp, 2017). In the same study,
267 bioplastic (which was not specifically defined) and glass were rated as especially sustainable
268 by consumers, while a life cycle analysis ascertains that carton and mixed carton-plastic
269 packages are more sustainable in the example of a soup package. Similarly, respondents of
270 other studies rated glass (and sometimes also paper-based materials) most environmentally
271 friendly, while plastic and metal were rated most negative (Lindh, Olsson, & Williams, 2016;
272 van Dam, 1996). Note, however, as mentioned in van Dam (1996, p. 612) that “consumers
273 judge environmental friendliness only from their beliefs concerning the post-consumption
274 treatment of the packaging waste”, and therefore consumer perception and results of life cycle
275 analyses may diverge (e.g., Jungbluth et al., 2000; Steenis et al., 2017; van Dam, 1996;
276 Wikström et al., 2014).

277 In line with this focus on post-consumption, consumers focus more on recyclability,
278 biodegradability, and reusability than on the origin of the raw material when evaluating the
279 environmental friendliness of a material. However, there were also differences among the
280 different nationalities investigated (Germany, USA, and France; Herbes, Beuthner, &
281 Ramme, 2018). Recyclability of the package is generally perceived positively and in

282 experimental studies consumers were willing to pay more for a product with recyclable
283 (plastic) packaging material (Barnes et al., 2011; Klaiman, Ortega, & Garnache, 2016; Rokka
284 & Uusitalo, 2008; Vones, Allan, Lambert, & Vettese, 2018; Young, 2008). However,
285 recyclability of the package is rarely a reason to buy a product (Aday & Yener, 2014;
286 Koutsimanis et al., 2012; but see Rokka & Uusitalo, 2008). This might have various reasons
287 as, for example, post-consumer recycling is sometimes perceived as difficult (e.g., Venter,
288 van der Merwe, de Beer, Kempen, & Bosman, 2011) or impossible (Y. Li et al., 2010). The
289 need to clean a package hinders people from recycling a package (irrespective of material;
290 Klaiman, Ortega, & Garnache, 2017). Furthermore, the environmental attitudes of consumers
291 affect their perception of a packaging made from recycled materials as was indicated by an
292 experimental study showing that French participants with low environmental concern
293 perceived it negatively (i.e., as 'green washing') when there was a claim "made from recycled
294 material" on a plastic bottle compared to an ecologically looking non-plastic bottle (Magnier
295 & Schoormans, 2015).

296 Generally, biobased materials (i.e., made from plant or other renewable material;
297 irrespective of biodegradability) were preferred over conventional plastic (Kainz, Zapilko,
298 Decker, & Menrad, 2013; Koutsimanis et al., 2012; Magnier & Schoormans, 2015, 2017).
299 Similarly, biodegradable materials (i.e., degradable with the help of microorganisms and/or
300 sunlight) were also preferred over conventional plastic and people may be willing to pay more
301 for it (Muizniece-Brasava, Dukalska, & Kantike, 2011; Yue et al., 2010). The preference for
302 biodegradable and other (seemingly) environmental friendly materials might be due to the
303 perceived advantages of reduced pollution and health hazards (Magnier & Crié, 2015).
304 However, a Romanian study indicated that biodegradable plastic (compared to paper,
305 cardboard, or glass) was rated as the least preferred environmentally friendly packaging
306 material (Orzan, Cruceru, Bălăceanu, & Chivu, 2018). This discrepancy highlights that
307 consumers lack knowledge about the properties of both biodegradable and biobased plastic

308 (Kainz et al., 2013; Koutsimanis et al., 2012; Mohamed, 2015). For example, consumers
309 confound characteristics of bioplastic (i.e., biobased) and biodegradable materials and thus
310 have incorrect associations to them (Blesin, Jaspersen, & Möhring, 2017; see also Young,
311 2008, for similar findings on recyclability vs. recycled source material). The lack of
312 knowledge might furthered derived from the facts that those materials are both rarely in use
313 and its environmental effects were understudied so far (Rujnić-Sokele & Pilipović, 2017;
314 Spierling et al., 2018). Relatedly, a Bangladeshi study by Synthia and Kabir (2015) showed
315 that characteristics of plastic alternatives were unknown and the authors highlighted the need
316 for more education when banning plastic products. Their study revealed that after a ban of
317 certain plastic bags, new alternative bags (e.g., net, nylon, or polyethene bags designed
318 differently to the banned ones) were used increasingly and considered more environmentally
319 friendly although the latter was not always true.

320

321 *4.1.2.2 Perceived advantages of plastic packaging and bags*

322 Preference for plastic as a packaging material is based on its functional aspects (e.g.,
323 Bech-Larsen, 1996). Several studies from all over the world showed that plastic is preferred
324 due to its convenience, light weight, transparency, resistance, option for resealability, as well
325 as hygienic and protective properties (e.g., Aday & Yener, 2014; Draskovic, 2010; Draskovic
326 & Guszak Cerovecki, 2014; Draskovic et al., 2009; Hollywood, Wells, Armstrong, & Farley,
327 2013; Phillips, 2016; Venter et al., 2011). The consumers' perception of these advantages is in
328 line with those of Croatian employees of a soft drink company and Australian salespersons
329 (Drašković, 2010; Phillips, 2016). For bags, plastic is the preferred material, because such
330 bags are perceived as convenient, easily available, waterproof, and cheap (Adane & Muleta,
331 2011; Madara, Namango, & Wetaka, 2016; Musa, Hayes, Bradley, Clayson, & Gillibrand,
332 2013; Negussie & Mustefa, 2017; Nittala, 2014; Prendergast, Wai Ng, & Lee Leung, 2001).

333

334 *4.1.2.3 Packaging preferences depending on contextual factors*

335 Although plastic is generally appreciated for several advantages (see above),
336 preference for a certain packaging differs depending on several factors, such as the product
337 category. For example, fruits and vegetables are preferred to be bought loose without any
338 packaging (Ali & Kapoor, 2008; van Herpen, Immink, & van den Puttelaar, 2016). If
339 participants were asked to choose between several materials for fruit and vegetable packaging,
340 they preferred biobased and degradable materials (e.g., cotton or paper) over conventional
341 plastic (Ali & Kapoor, 2008; Fernqvist et al., 2015; Koutsimanis et al., 2012). These findings
342 are in contrast to the approach used by many supermarkets. When Danish consumers were
343 asked to rate different packages for fresh carrots (plastic bag, plastic or cardboard box with
344 plastic foil), they preferred the boxes over the bag due to higher perceived value and quality
345 (and thus favoring over-packaging; Nørgaard Olesen & Giacalone, 2018). The majority of
346 these respondents mentioned the transparency of the packaging as most important, while
347 environmental friendliness was only mentioned by 15% of the participants. Note that these
348 results were not compared to no packaging. Willingness to pay for less packaging of shampoo
349 was rather low (Yamaguchi & Takeuchi, 2016). Thereby, the motivation to buy a refill-
350 shampoo bottle was mainly a price argument rather than concern for the environment. In
351 addition, these Japanese participants perceived refillable bottles as unsightly or troublesome
352 when reusing them (Yamaguchi & Takeuchi, 2016).

353 When explicitly confronted with different kinds of cheese packages, Spanish
354 consumers preferred plastic – mainly because of its transparency (Eldesouky, Mesías,
355 Elghannam, Gaspar, & Escribano, 2016; Eldesouky & Mesías, 2014; see Peters-Teixeira &
356 Badrie, 2005, for a similar result on fruit preserves). However, some consumers indicated in a
357 word completion task a disfavor of a particular cheese when packed in plastic, likely due to
358 perceived overpackaging and hence its contribution to pollution (Eldesouky, Pulido, &
359 Mesías, 2015). Additionally, Malaysian consumers preferred vinegar in glass rather than

360 plastic bottles although they liked plastic lids more than metal ones (Latiff, Mokhtar, Soon, &
361 Ayob, 2018). For milk and other cold chain products, plastic (and glass) bottles or Tetra Briks
362 (i.e., typical cuboid plastic-coated carton of the Tetra Pak company) with a cap were the
363 preferred packaging materials (Gómez, Martín-Consuegra, & Molina, 2015; Hollywood et al.,
364 2013; Van der Merwe, Viljoen, De Beer, Bosman, & Kempen, 2013 but see also van Dam &
365 van Trijp, 1994, for divergent findings when consumers were asked for perceived
366 environmental friendliness). However, as indicated above, packaging preference depends
367 partly on the context. For drinks, plastic bottles are preferred generally, and especially on the
368 go, but clearly not in the context of cafés and restaurants where glass is preferred, as was
369 suggested by Croatian studies (Drašković, 2010; Drašković & Cerovečki, 2014; Draskovic et
370 al., 2009).

371 Besides the described contextual and product-related factors, the consumers' cultural
372 background, age, and environmental attitude influence preferences for plastic as a packaging
373 material (e.g., Draskovic et al., 2009; Lal, Yambrach, & McProud, 2015; van Dam & van
374 Trijp, 1994), see also below in 4.2 for predictors of plastic-related behavior).

375

376 *4.1.2.4 Priming effects of plastic*

377 The material of a package provides more than its functionality; it also affects the
378 consumers' perception of the product and subsequent consumption. For example, plastic
379 packaging is associated with different characteristics of the product such as higher (compared
380 to carton) or lower (compared to glass) hygienic properties (Drašković & Cerovečki, 2014;
381 Venter et al., 2011). Some Croatian and South African consumers perceive products packed in
382 plastic as relatively expensive and assume retained food quality, while others associate it with
383 being cheaper and of lower quality (Drašković & Cerovečki, 2014; Venter et al., 2011). The
384 product itself is perceived as more environmentally friendly when packed in biobased
385 material compared to a plastic alternative as suggested by a French study (Magnier &

386 Schoormans, 2017). Another French study showed that while over-packaging seems to be
387 associated with better quality of the product, it is also perceived as environmentally
388 unfriendly (Elgaaïed-Gambier, 2016).

389 Besides these more general associations evoked by the packaging, it directly affects
390 the taste and quality of a product. Croatian consumers stated that plastic negatively affects the
391 taste and quality of carbonated drinks due to gas migration (Draskovic et al., 2009).
392 Furthermore, the material of eating utensils influences the perception of a product, whereby
393 plastic is often perceived as less favorable compared to other materials (Piqueras-Fiszman &
394 Spence, 2011; Schifferstein, 2009; Spence & Wan, 2015; Tu, Yang, & Ma, 2015). In addition,
395 tactile perceptions differ between plastic and other bottle materials (Lefebvre et al., 2010).

396 Moreover, waiving plastic consumption by bringing one's own shopping bag instead
397 of using offered plastic bags affects subsequent behavior by priming (i.e., buying organic
398 food) or licensing (i.e., buying indulgent products) effects, as was shown by an US study
399 (Karmarkar & Bollinger, 2015). Relatedly, an Indian study showed that positive attitudes
400 towards plastic bags negatively affect the willingness to buy environmentally friendly
401 products (Nittala, 2014).

402

403 **4.2 Plastic-related behavior and its antecedents**

404 Despite high awareness of the problem, usage rates of plastic products such as bags
405 are generally high (Ari & Yilmaz, 2017; Musa et al., 2013; Shao, Cai, & Chen, 2014; Sharp,
406 Høj, & Wheeler, 2010; see also section 4.1). When investigating the relationship between
407 awareness and behavior explicitly, awareness of harmful effects of plastic had no effect on
408 usage behavior (Hammami et al., 2017). To identify predictors of plastic-related behavior, we
409 review studies that investigated possible predictors for the consumption, avoidance, and waste
410 behavior related to plastic.

411

412 **4.2.1 Factors influencing plastic consumption behavior**

413 *4.2.1.1 Sociodemographic variables*

414 Gender differences were reported for plastic bag use in a study by Hohmann et al.,
415 (2016), though without specifying in which direction. Other studies reported in more detail
416 that women were more willing to accept and apply alternatives to plastic bags than men
417 (Madigele, Mogomotsi, & Kolobe, 2017; Ryan & Jewitt, 1996; Sharp et al., 2010), and
418 showed overall more practices of reusing, reducing, and recycling than men – as do older
419 people in most cases (Kurisu & Bortoleto, 2011).

420 Older participants were more likely to participate in a no-plastic-bag-campaign (Afroz,
421 Rahman, Masud, & Akhtar, 2017). In contrast, a study on overpackaging showed that younger
422 participants were more willing to give up their convenience in order to help the environment
423 (Elgaaied-Gambier, 2016). A Croatian study reported that younger participants favored plastic
424 and carton bottles over glass and metal, while older participants were not concerned about the
425 packaging material during purchase (Draskovic et al., 2009).

426 Higher educated people were less willing to pay for plastic bags (Madigele et al.,
427 2017) and more likely to participate in a no-plastic-bag-campaign (Afroz et al., 2017), thus
428 showing stronger plastic avoidance than less educated people.

429

430 *4.2.1.2 Environmental attitudes*

431 People (esp. women) with higher environmental attitudes and education stated that
432 they more often avoided disposable plastic packaging (Jeżewska-Zychowicz & Jeznach,
433 2015). Food-related environmental attitudes were also associated with avoiding plastic
434 packaging and bags (and thus bringing one's own bag more often; Lea & Worsley, 2008).
435 Notably, in another study on reusable bags, social desirability significantly predicted
436 environmental attitudes (Yeow, Dean, & Tucker, 2014). Therefore, it is always advisable to

437 take social desirability into account when looking at self-reported plastic-related behavior (see
438 also below in 4.2.1.7).

439

440 *4.2.1.3 Convenience*

441 As outlined in 4.1.2.2, convenience is associated with plastic. Convenience is also a
442 main reason for plastic bag usage (Braun & Traore, 2015) with respondents especially
443 emphasizing easy availability and low price of such bags (Adane & Muleta, 2011; Otsyina et
444 al., 2018). Similarly, having no alternative option at hand was the most frequently reported
445 reason for using plastic bags (Avallone, Giraldi, & de Oliveira, 2012). Convenience
446 outperformed the classical factors of the theory of planned behavior (i.e., attitudes, subjective
447 norms, and perceived behavioral control; Ajzen, 1991) by being most strongly associated with
448 the intention of using plastic bags (Sun, Wang, Li, Zhao, & Fan, 2017). Relatedly, alternatives
449 to plastic products (e.g., zero packaging grocery stores) were seen as inconvenient and thus
450 rendering the plastic option more attractive (Beitzen-Heineke, Balta-Ozkan, & Reefke, 2017).

451

452 *4.2.1.4 Context factors*

453 Generally, the perceived advantages of plastic products seem to be more important
454 than other psychological variables at the moment of making a decision as was indicated by a
455 Taiwanese study on plastic bags (Lam & Chen, 2006). While both buying and reusing
456 intentions were related to attitudes, environmental concern, and personal norms, the actual
457 purchase behavior was not correlated with such psychological variables. Instead, only
458 situational variables (e.g., the amount of goods being greater than expected) had predictive
459 value (Lam & Chen, 2006). Notably, here the perceived advantages of using plastic bags are
460 probably not inherent to plastic itself but rather due to its availability compared to
461 alternatives. In other conditions, specific characteristics of plastic were reported to be more
462 relevant (e.g., transparency of plastic packaging; Nørgaard Olesen & Giacalone, 2018).

463

464 *4.2.1.5 Habits*

465 Additionally and related to convenience, habits are important for plastic consumption.
466 In a study on Brazilian immigrants in Canada, the participants indicated that plastic usage in
467 their homeland had been “just a habit” (Romero, Laroche, Aurup, & Ferraz, 2018, p. 8).
468 Having moved, they changed their behavior by showing greater plastic bag avoidance and
469 waste separation (Romero et al., 2018). Notably, pro-environmental attitudes remained
470 unchanged throughout the process of habitual change (Romero et al., 2018). Changed norms
471 and/or external conditions might have facilitated a change of habits in this case (see also
472 below in 4.2.1.7), which highlights the importance of cultural factors for the emergence of
473 habits.

474 Even when participants were willing to reduce their plastic consumption, they partly
475 failed because they were not able to apply new habits, as was suggested by two studies in
476 which the most common reason reported for the use of plastic bags was forgetting to bring
477 one’s own bag (Bartolotta & Hardy, 2018; Musa et al., 2013). Similarly, in a Malaysian study
478 on a plastic-free-day-campaign, about 60% of the respondents regularly forgot to bring their
479 own bags during the campaign (Zen, Ahamad, & Omar, 2013).

480

481 *4.2.1.6 Diffusion of responsibility*

482 Another reason that consumers do not act in line with their risk perception might be
483 that they shift responsibility to other actors like politicians (Synthia & Kabir, 2015). In
484 interviews on plastic bag pollution, Malian women emphasized structural problems (e.g., the
485 lack of appropriate waste collection services) and called for political solutions (Braun &
486 Traore, 2015). Intriguingly, when policy makers were interviewed, they emphasized the
487 consumers’ responsibility (Braun & Traore, 2015).

488

489 *4.2.1.7 Social factors*

490 Several studies suggested that social pressure is an important variable influencing the
491 use of plastic (Ari & Yılmaz, 2017; Carrigan, Moraes, & Leek, 2011; Musa et al., 2013).
492 Furthermore, social desirability seems to be relevant for reporting plastic avoidance behavior
493 (Sharp et al., 2010; Yeow et al., 2014).

494 Initial evidence showed that guilt affects plastic avoidance (Muralidharan & Sheehan,
495 2017). For example, people reported both feelings of guilt and the fear of being judged or
496 criticized by other customers, when taking plastic bags at a counter (Cherrier, 2006).

497 Avoidance of plastic is further utilized as a symbolic action conveying a certain social
498 identity, as suggested by Australian consumers reporting to use reusable bags to be visibly
499 identified as part of an environmentally friendly group (Cherrier, 2006). Similarly, avoiding
500 plastic might be a deliberate act to firm one's cultural identity, as it was reported by women in
501 Mali (Braun & Traore, 2015). This effect was influenced by age, as older women were more
502 concerned about preserving their cultural heritage by avoiding plastic bags, while younger
503 women felt rather proud of being "modern" by using plastic bags (Braun & Traore, 2015).
504 Relatedly, fans of a certain shoe brand that promotes its plastic shoes as especially flexible
505 and robust due to its material, form their own identity including their own name (Ferreira &
506 Scaraboto, 2016). Similar to the emotionality of these fans of the plastic shoes, another study
507 indicated that emotions play a larger role than rational evaluations for purchasing a product in
508 an environmental-friendly package (Koenig-Lewis, Palmer, Dermody, & Urbye, 2014; see
509 also Phillips, 2016, for qualitative data on affective responses towards plastic use).

510 Since social desirability and identity are relevant for plastic use and avoidance, it is
511 likely that related norms are important too. When analyzing the case of a town in England
512 where a plastic bag ban had been enforced by local traders, Carrigan and colleagues (2011)
513 reported a shift in community norms for plastic bags throughout the process of becoming
514 plastic bag free. Additionally, ethical evaluations had a direct (R. Y. K. Chan, Wong, &

515 Leung, 2008) or indirect influence on the intention to bring one's own bag (Chang & Chou,
516 2018).

517 Clapp and Swanston (2009) pointed out that anti-plastic norms first occurred in
518 Southern countries, driven by simultaneous, non-networked bottom-up initiatives. Notably,
519 changes in anti-plastic-norms usually go hand in hand with structural changes. Therefore, it is
520 often difficult to attribute behavioral changes to changed norms or to facilitating external
521 conditions as was shown in the study on immigrants by Romero and colleagues (2018; see
522 above).

523

524 **4.2.2 Factors influencing plastic waste handling**

525 Dealing with plastic does not only include the consumption or avoidance of plastic
526 products but also handling its waste, which includes recycling, littering, and reusing. The
527 behavior shown depends strongly on the respective country and its cultures and infrastructure.
528 For example, open dumping or burning is reported to be common in African countries or
529 China (e.g., Madigele et al., 2017; Otsyina et al., 2018), whereas studies from Europe usually
530 rate plastic as one of the most commonly recycled materials (e.g., Jones, Jackson, Bates, &
531 Tudor, 2016). In an Indian study, households with lower income reused waste themselves,
532 while households with higher income gave it away for reuse and recycling, suggesting that
533 socioeconomic differences within a country might play a role as well (Pandey, Surjan, &
534 Kapshe, 2017). There are further studies on creative waste disposal (e.g., the production of art
535 from of recycled plastics; McKay & Perez, 2018), which are not reported here due to their
536 individual case character. As the majority of studies addressed recycling or littering, we will
537 focus on these.

538

539 4.2.2.1 Recycling

540 Several studies focused on predicting recycling behavior or its intention using the
541 theory of planned behavior. By doing so, between 29% (Knussen, Yule, MacKenzie, & Wells,
542 2004) and 44% (Chan, 1998) of the variance of recycling intention could be explained.
543 Contrary to the findings mentioned above on the avoidance of plastic, social norms had no
544 (Knussen et al., 2004; Pakpour, Zeidi, Emamjomeh, Asefzadeh, & Pearson, 2014; Tonglet,
545 Phillips, & Bates, 2004; Tonglet, Phillips, & Read, 2004) or only weak (K. Chan, 1998; Tih &
546 Zainol, 2012) influence on recycling intention and behavior. Examining norms further, one
547 study found that descriptive (i.e., perception of how others actually behave) but not injunctive
548 (i.e., perception of how others expect somebody to behave) norms predicted the intention to
549 engage in household recycling (White, Smith, Terry, Greenslade, & McKimmie, 2009).

550 Constructs having an influence exceeding the constructs of the theory of planned
551 behavior were past behavior (Knussen et al., 2004; Pakpour et al., 2014; Tonglet, Phillips, &
552 Bates, 2004), habits (Klöckner & Oppedal, 2011; Knussen et al., 2004; Ofstad, Tobolova,
553 Nayum, & Klöckner, 2017), action planning (Pakpour et al., 2014), moral norms, and self-
554 identity (Pakpour et al., 2014; White et al., 2009), as well as green practice consequences (i.e.,
555 knowledge of the outcomes associated with one's green practices; Tih & Zainol, 2012).

556 Tonglet, Phillips, and Bates (2004) reported that recycling attitudes are the main
557 determinant of recycling behavior, and that opportunities, knowledge, and not feeling deterred
558 by behavior costs are antecedents of pro-recycling attitudes. Similarly, convenience or cost of
559 recycling (e.g., the necessity of cleaning packaging before recycling; Ahmad, Bazmi, Bhutto,
560 Shahzadi, & Bukhari, 2016; Klaiman et al., 2016), and context factors, such as the availability
561 of waste bins (Madigele et al., 2017) or waste bins being overloaded (Vogt & Nunes, 2014),
562 were considered important. Mass communication was identified as an antecedent of
563 subjective norms (Chan, 1998). Unlike individual personal decisions, where environmental
564 reasons seemed more relevant than financial incentives (Afroz et al., 2017), financial

565 considerations played a crucial role in company decisions (Meng, Klepacka, Florkowski, &
566 Braman, 2015).

567

568 4.2.2.2 Littering

569 Sociodemographic variables predicting littering are gender, income, and education.
570 Men took stronger action against littering (Rayon-Viña et al., 2018) though findings are
571 inconsistent as in another study where women reported more concern about litter and had
572 greater personal motivation and competence to reduce it (Hartley, Pahl, Veiga, et al., 2018).
573 Littering amount per day at beaches was higher in a region frequented by people with lower
574 income and literacy degree (I. R. Santos et al., 2005).

575 People from less littered regions showed more engagement in waste reduction
576 strategies (Kiessling et al., 2017), although elsewhere concern and willingness to act were
577 higher the more litter people noticed (Hartley, Pahl, Veiga, et al., 2018). Another study found
578 no correlation between the perception of and action against littering (Rayon-Viña et al.,
579 2018).

580 Social norms were found to be an important predictor for the act of littering, and
581 awareness of the anti-social nature of littering was strongly related (Shimazu, 2018).
582 Interestingly, environmental awareness was less predictive for reported littering behavior
583 (Shimazu, 2018). Tourists were found to be primarily responsible for littering – again
584 implying the relevance of social norms as tourists might have different norms than locals (I.
585 R. Santos et al., 2005). However, this finding may also be explained by the fact that tourists
586 feel less responsible for their travel destination than locals as they stay for shorter time and
587 take less consequences, or because being on holiday may activate certain behavior patterns.

588 In summary, dealing with plastic is highly influenced by social factors (e.g., social
589 desirability and norms), context factors, convenience, and habits. As far as the handling of
590 plastic waste is concerned, there are mainly studies on recycling and littering. Recycling

591 behavior can be well predicted by the constructs of the theory of planned behavior, with social
592 norms being least important. In turn, social factors are particularly significant for littering.
593 The studies reviewed imply to consider cultural differences when studying plastic-related
594 behavior. These differences can arise because distinct external conditions prevail in different
595 countries, but they may also be explained by varying norms, among others.

596

597 **4.3 Solutions to tackle the plastic problem**

598 In view of the huge challenges elicited by plastic consumption, solutions to tackle the
599 plastic problem are needed. First, we introduce a variety of regulatory and economic policy
600 instruments aimed at reducing plastic use which either already exist or are considered for
601 implementation in countries around the world. Second, we will review “softer” and more
602 psychological intervention strategies which are currently tested.

603

604 **4.3.1 Regulatory and economic policy instruments to reduce plastic use**

605 There are two main types of policy instruments aimed at reducing plastic use. While
606 some countries have imposed full or partial bans on plastic bags or other plastic items, other
607 countries prefer economic policy instruments such as fees, levies, or taxes that are paid either
608 by the retail industry or the consumers (Ritch, Brennan, & MacLeod, 2009; Saidan, Ansour,
609 & Saidan, 2017; Syberg et al., 2018; Wagner, 2017). The implementation of these instruments
610 varies between and within countries with respect to policy details (e.g., the size and thickness
611 of plastic bags). Here, we provide a brief overview of the two types of policy instruments and
612 discuss some related psychological and political aspects. It is still unclear which instruments
613 are most environmentally effective and politically acceptable (Ritch et al., 2009). In addition,
614 note that another policy strategy, namely the so-called ‘Extended Producer Responsibility’,
615 aims to return the responsibility for products after their use back to the producers, for example

616 by taking back, reusing, or recycling products (optionally by a third party; see Hanisch, 2000;
617 McKerlie, Knight, & Thorpe, 2006). However, as we focus on consumers in this review it is
618 not elaborated here.

619

620 *4.3.1.1 Bans*

621 Bans of some kind are a widely adopted policy action and they are, by their nature, an
622 effective way to reduce plastic use. Nevertheless, it is important to consider some potential
623 unintended consequences, such as the use of alternative bags (e.g., of paper). The latter may
624 be as harmful for the environment as plastic bags, but may be judged by consumers as more
625 environmentally friendly (Synthia & Kabir, 2015; and see above in section 4.1.2.1). This
626 effect can be countervailed by also imposing fees or taxes on alternative bags, which was
627 done successfully in many US local governments (Wagner, 2017). Another problem
628 associated with bans is that they may evoke strong consumer resistance. This, in turn, may
629 reduce the political acceptability of this policy instrument. However, research from Australia
630 indicates that those consumers who strongly relied on plastic bags before a ban became
631 supportive of the policy after its introduction, which may be due to visibility of their positive
632 environmental effects (Sharp et al., 2010). A study from Brazil also showed high approval
633 ratings after the ban was introduced, with over 86% of the participants considering the new
634 law important or very important (Santos, Sousa, Sampaio, & Fagundes, 2013).

635

636 *4.3.1.2 Plastic charges and other types of economic incentives*

637 The seemingly most widespread policy instrument to reduce plastic use is the
638 introduction of a charge (alternatively referred to as “tax” or “fee”, depending on context).
639 Several studies have examined the effectiveness of a charge in changing behavior as well as
640 its acceptance by customers and industry. With respect to effectiveness, studies from various
641 high- and low-income countries indicated that disposable plastic bag use dropped by 40% to
26

642 90% after implementing a charge (e.g., Convery, McDonnell, & Ferreira, 2007; Dikgang,
643 Leiman, & Visser, 2012; Dikgang & Visser, 2012; He, 2012; Poortinga, Whitmarsh, &
644 Suffolk, 2013; Thomas, Poortinga, & Sautkina, 2016). For example, Wales introduced a 0.07€
645 charge for “single-use carrier bags” in 2011. The distribution of such bags fell by over 80%,
646 while the number of people “always” bringing their own shopping bag increased by over 20%
647 (Poortinga et al., 2013; Thomas et al., 2016). Noteworthy, such changes were not observed in
648 other UK countries where no charge was introduced during that time. Moreover, the results
649 from Thomas and colleagues (2016) suggest that the plastic charge had additional
650 environmental effects, namely insofar as the use of one’s own bag seemed to have increased
651 the adoption of other, unrelated types of pro-environmental behaviors and attitudes (see also
652 Truelove, Carrico, Weber, Raimi, & Vandenberg, 2014, for a theoretical review on spillover
653 research).

654 Some authors, however, suggested that the impact of a plastic charge might be
655 overestimated, because unobserved factors such as changes in social norms are often not
656 accounted for when comparing simple differences before and after the implementation of a
657 charge (Rivers, Shenstone-Harris, & Young, 2017). In other words, it may not just be the
658 monetary incentive that drives the behavioral changes, but also anti-plastic norms which
659 inspire the introduction of the policy, but arguably may also be a consequence of it. This
660 relates to research investigating the underlying motives of behavioral change resulting from a
661 plastic charge. For example, a study from Portugal showed that for most of the participants
662 indeed the main reason for not using plastic bags was to avoid the payment, but other reasons
663 associated with convenience and environmental concern were mentioned as well (Martinho,
664 Balaia, & Pires, 2017). Another issue related to the policy effectiveness is the long-term
665 dynamics. That is, in some countries such as South Africa it was observed that demand for
666 plastic bags went down as a consequence of introducing a charge, but after approximately a
667 year increased again, though never completely to initial levels (Dikgang et al., 2012; Dikgang

668 & Visser, 2012; Hasson, Leiman, & Visser, 2007). While this particular case can partially be
669 explained by the fact that the initial charge levels were decreased, these observations certainly
670 suggest the need for more long-term research to assess the instrument effects.

671 Finally, plastic charges are relatively accepted by consumers as well as the retail
672 industry. For example, the Irish plastic bag levy is very well perceived by retailers because of
673 financial savings, whereas almost all consumers perceived positive environmental benefits
674 and no negative effects in terms of convenience (Convery et al., 2007; see also Zen et al.,
675 2013). Nevertheless, research from Argentina indicates somewhat lower levels of acceptance
676 by consumers, which may be due to differences in environmental concern or in terms of how
677 the government has implemented and communicated the policy (Jakovcevic et al., 2014).

678 Another type of economic incentive is provided by deposit-refund systems, which
679 compensate consumers monetarily for returning plastic products. For example, research from
680 the US and Australia shows that coastal debris is approximately 40% lower in states that have
681 such a refund system compared to others without it (Schuyler, Hardesty, Lawson, Opie, &
682 Wilcox, 2018). Relatedly, we present additional findings on recycling schemes below in
683 section 4.3.2.1.

684 To conclude, regulatory and economic public policies are effective in reducing plastic
685 use. While bans are evidently most effective, they may not be politically feasible in every
686 context. Plastic charges are a promising alternative, though more research is needed to
687 investigate their long-term effects.

688

689 **4.3.2 Psychological interventions**

690 Beyond regulatory and economic interventions less coercive ones, such as educational
691 approaches or improvement of infrastructure, are aimed at increasing awareness and to
692 encourage behavior change. Guided by the three R's of waste management (recycle, reuse,

693 and reduce; Thompson, Moore, vom Saal, & Swan, 2009), we now provide an overview of
694 psychological interventions that aim at tackling the plastic problem.

695

696 *4.3.2.1 Recycle*

697 In the 1980's, many studies examined recycling and littering behavior as well as the
698 influence of personal and situational factors on them (for reviews, see Schultz, Oskamp, &
699 Mainieri, 1995; Huffman, Grossnickle, Cope, & Huffman, 1995). Later meta-analyses have
700 focused on recycling in different settings such as at the workplace (Oke, 2015) or at home
701 (Varotto & Spagnolli, 2017). However, most studies did not explicitly focus on plastic. Yet, a
702 generalization over materials might be problematic when predicting recycling behavior
703 (Schultz et al., 1995). In the following, only studies that investigated plastic explicitly are
704 reviewed.

705 *Accessibility of recycling schemes.* Most of the studies investigated interventions at
706 the point of action. The implementation of recycling stations in university settings encouraged
707 recycling behavior (McCoy, Oliver, Borden, & Cohn, 2018; O'Connor, Lerman, Fritz, &
708 Hodde, 2010; Ofstad et al., 2017). While lower distances to recycling bins enhanced
709 recycling, a mere increase of bin quantity did not (O'Connor et al., 2010). Recycling amount
710 of household plastic waste was higher when people had to bring it to public places, compared
711 to when it was collected at the sidewalk, although more people participated in the latter
712 (McDonald & Ball, 1998). In other studies, the recycling rate for household collection was
713 higher than for "bring" schemes (Struk, 2017; Viscusi, Huber, & Bell, 2012). Additionally,
714 incentives increased the overall recycling rate of plastic (Struk, 2017). Similarly, deposit
715 systems for plastic bottles increased the attractiveness of "bring" schemes (Viscusi et al.,
716 2012). Although, higher density of drop-off sites for "bring" schemes had only small effects
717 (Struk, 2017), recycling rates decreased markedly when they were more than five miles away
718 (Viscusi et al., 2012). In a Japanese study, people had a higher willingness to pay for less
29

719 packaged shampoo when a unit-based pricing system of waste collection existed in their
720 municipality. However, the general willingness to pay was quite low. When unit-based
721 pricing was combined with plastic separation, willingness to pay decreased suggesting that
722 recycling can lessen plastic reduction behavior (Yamaguchi & Takeuchi, 2016).

723 *Appearance of recycling stations.* People in Greece associate certain colors of public
724 bins with different waste materials; while yellow was preferred for used plastic water bottles
725 in particular, orange, yellow, or purple was chosen for plastic or packaging in general
726 (Keramitsoglou & Tsagarakis, 2018). However, only changing the color of the bin had no
727 effects on recycling rate as a US study indicated (O'Connor et al., 2010). Moreover, covered
728 bins with special drop slots and lids were preferred (Keramitsoglou & Tsagarakis, 2018).
729 Other studies showed that signs prompting recycling increased correct recycling even when
730 proximity to the bin decreased, and hence highlight the role of messages on the bins,
731 especially in combination with the implementation of recycling schemes (Fritz et al., 2017;
732 Miller, Meindl, & Caradine, 2016). Furthermore, positive messages such as “thank you” or
733 those referring to the environment encouraged people to continue recycling (Keramitsoglou &
734 Tsagarakis, 2018).

735 *Informational campaigns.* Recycling behavior was strengthened when information
736 campaigns were added to the implementation of recycling schemes (Cheung et al., 2018;
737 Ofstad et al., 2017; Pearson et al., 2014). Information campaigns using posters, TV screens,
738 flyers, websites, or broader environmental campaigns increased awareness, knowledge, and
739 self-reported disposal behavior (Cheung et al., 2018; Ofstad et al., 2017; Pearson et al., 2014).
740 In contrast, informational treatments using text or video did not increase recycling behavior
741 but rather changed using preferences from plastic packaging to paper and boxboard (Klaiman
742 et al., 2016). Nevertheless, a lack of instructions might be a barrier to recycle plastic (Vogt &
743 Nunes, 2014). While pushy requests (e.g., “You must recycle plastic container”) were
744 persuasive for recipients who already valued recycling as important, suggestive appeals (e.g.,

745 “It’s worth recycling plastic containers”) were more effective to initiate recycling intention
746 for those who find recycling less important (Kronrod, Grinstein, & Wathieu, 2012). When
747 participants were asked to plan and visualize when, where, and how to recycle their used
748 plastic cups and old paper, this type of implementation intention increased recycling rates and
749 thus decreased the number of cups in the dustbins by roughly 75% (Holland, Aarts, &
750 Langendam, 2006). An awareness campaign including knowledge transfer and vocational
751 training was also proposed to increase recycling in refugee camps in Jordan (Saidan, Draï, &
752 Al-Manaseer, 2017).

753 *Rebound effects.* In an online experiment participants were asked to do their typical
754 grocery shopping in an online supermarket. After shopping they got fictitious feedback
755 independent of their real shopping behavior. When people were told that they were considered
756 as "green shoppers" (in comparison to a bogus peer group), participants recycled less of
757 disposed material they got for a creativity task before (Longoni, Gollwitzer, & Oettingen,
758 2014). The decreased motivation to gain a green identity in this group indicates a self-
759 licensing effect, signifying people who feel save in their goal achievement (e.g., being a green
760 consumer) makes people to worry less about other unsustainable behavior (Longoni et al.,
761 2014). Similarly, US students were experimentally triggered to either recycle a water bottle,
762 to throw it in the trash, or neither. Those who identified as Democrats and recycled their
763 bottle were less willing to support a green fund compared to the control condition (Truelove,
764 Yeung, Carrico, Gillis, & Raimi, 2016). This effect was mediated by environmental identity,
765 indicating that for Democrats (who already show a high recycling baseline) recycling might
766 be too easy to increase environmental identity. Thus, promoting recycling in certain groups
767 could lead to a decrease in pro-environmental behavior in general (Truelove et al., 2016).

768 *Conclusion.* Implementing recycling schemes are necessary to increase recycling.
769 However, it needs to be well planned, especially with a view on local conditions (i.e.,
770 proximity of bins, combination with incentives and information) and rebound effects of
31

771 recycling policy. An elaborate but powerful approach is implementation intention to tackle
772 habit change for a concrete behavior.

773

774 *4.3.2.2 Reuse*

775 One main characteristic of plastic is its durability. In a somewhat paradoxical contrast,
776 it is mostly used in a disposable manner. Increasing the reuse of plastic products might
777 therefore provide a solution to the wastage of this durable material. For example, in
778 interviews, respondents stated to use plastic bottles “for a purpose other than that for which it
779 was initially designed” (Caner & Pascall, 2010, p. 418) when a screw-type closure is used and
780 bottles could be easily cleaned and refilled. However, only a few studies, which we review in
781 this section, evaluated interventions related to reuse in order to avoid plastic waste. Most of
782 them focus on beverage containers or plastic bags.

783 *Provision of alternatives.* US students who received a reusable water bottle and plastic
784 cutlery for their matriculation used less disposable bottles and supported the bottle ban at the
785 university (Santos & Van der Linden, 2016). Similarly, information about the reduction of
786 plastic bottles before implementing a water refill system helped to increase the willingness to
787 pay, environmental awareness, and responsibility attribution in Japanese students (Uehara &
788 Ynacay-Nye, 2018). In the UK, different interventions on reusable coffee cups were evaluated
789 and the study authors concluded that providing a reusable cup increased its use, even in the
790 long run (Poortinga & Whitaker, 2018). Furthermore, a charge on disposable cups – but not a
791 discount – increased the use of the reusable cup. The single intervention had only small
792 effects but they increased when combining interventions, in particular when message framing
793 is added (Poortinga & Whitaker, 2018).

794 *Rewards and framing.* The interventions using a ban or taxes leading to the reuse of
795 plastic bags were already mentioned above. Another program successfully encouraged
796 consumers – even in the long run – to use reusable instead of plastic bags via monetary

797 rewards and peer pressure (Jiang, 2016). Advertisements in a US supermarket encouraging
798 consumers to bring reusable bags were either formulated as a gain “Bring reusable bags and
799 avoid a fee” or as a loss “Bring reusable bags or pay the tax”. While both ads worked, the first
800 was less effective for people with low self-transcendence values (i.e., higher egoistic needs
801 and low environmental awareness; Muralidharan & Sheehan, 2016, 2017). Vones, Allan,
802 Lambert, and Vettese (2018) presented another option to build awareness for the reuse of
803 plastic (without evaluating the project) by doing a beach-clean-up with a subsequent 3-D-
804 printing workshop reusing the collected waste.

805 *Conclusion.* Providing alternatives such as reusable coffee cups or refillable bottles are
806 promising approaches to reduce plastic waste. However, they are quite expensive and thus
807 charges or bans may be more attractive for stakeholders. Moreover, alternatives have only
808 selective effects with regard to a concrete product questioning the broader scope. Regulations
809 of prices yielded to more reuse – not only due to the money benefit but also because of a
810 subsequent shift in norms. Similar to recycling, a combination of available options and
811 information campaigns seem to be promising.

812

813 *4.3.2.3 Reduce*

814 While both recycling and reuse practices lower the plastic waste in the environment,
815 they cannot alleviate resource use in general. Thus, reducing plastic use and production are
816 critical. Both consumers and salespersons play essential roles for demand and supply.
817 Recently, so called “zero waste” grocery stores emerged, and both advantages and
818 disadvantages thereof are discussed in the literature (Beitzen-Heineke et al., 2017). However,
819 most of the studies focusing on plastic reduction behavior refer to education on marine litter
820 and address children, educators, and public.

821 *Educating school children.* School education programs increased both knowledge
822 about causes and impacts of marine litter and environmental behavior intention in children

823 (Hartley et al., 2015; Owens, 2018; So et al., 2016; Veiga et al., 2016). Active learning
824 elements such as gaming simulations with role plays in a simulated city (Yeung, So, Cheng,
825 Cheung, & Chow, 2017), inquiry learning strategies including independent learning with
826 experiments (Hartley et al., 2015; Yeung et al., 2017), collecting of marine debris and report
827 writing for a state legislator (Owens, 2018), and video contests about marine litter in different
828 European countries (Hartley, Pahl, Holland, et al., 2018; Veiga et al., 2016) were used to
829 change knowledge and behavior. Gaming simulation further induced attitude change via
830 cognitive dissonance (i.e., psychological discomfort due to inconsistency between one's
831 beliefs and behaviors; Yeung et al., 2017). Inquiry learning strategies focusing on the
832 classification of plastics failed to increase waste-related behavior (i.e., reduce, reuse, and
833 recycle) but led to an increase in knowledge about plastic types (So et al., 2016). Inquiry
834 learning strategies including experiments, artworks, and demonstrations on marine litter
835 revealed some overarching effects, as school children's self-reported behavior on littering and
836 buying plastic packaging was reduced while the motivation to encourage others to do so
837 increased (Hartley et al., 2015).

838 *Training of stakeholders.* Some programs did not address school children directly but
839 aimed at teaching educators. After working with an online tool that included learning about
840 marine litter and pedagogical skills, knowledge and perceived skills of educators increased
841 and they expressed high intentions to integrate marine litter education in future classes
842 (Hartley, Pahl, Holland, et al., 2018; see Cheung et al., 2018, for a similar study). Moreover,
843 art presentation in an educational context was discussed to initiate useful conversations with
844 children about mass consumption and pollution (O'Gorman, 2017).

845 *Educating the public.* To raise awareness for plastic pollution, several countries have
846 implemented campaigns. For example, activities developed by the MARLISCO initiative
847 (e.g., public exhibitions, stakeholder meetings, and education tools) increased the feeling of
848 being part of the solution as well as societal awareness and engagement related to marine

849 litter (Veiga et al., 2016). An online campaign for adolescents that included tailored
850 information (e.g., small action steps) increased knowledge, attitude, or behavior intention
851 depending on the respective participants' stage of change (Chib, Chiew, Kumar, Choon, &
852 Ale, 2009). When different councils in Australia were compared, those with educational
853 campaigns on why and how to dispose waste correctly had less waste on their coastlines
854 (Willis, Maureaud, Wilcox, & Hardesty, 2018). Furthermore, Greek informational campaigns
855 aimed to reduce plastic bags raised the willingness to pay for protection of coastal
856 environments but had no effect on the willingness to take action (Latinopoulos, Mentis, &
857 Bithas, 2018).

858 *Participation in plastic-reduction activities.* Citizen science projects in which people
859 are asked to participate in beach clean-ups increased the awareness of marine littering (Syberg
860 et al., 2018; Yeo et al., 2015). Knowledge and positive attitudes were underlying factors for
861 the willingness to participate in “plastic-free”-campaigns in Malaysia (Afroz et al., 2017).
862 When fishermen encouraged others not to litter and participated also in beach clean-ups they
863 developed a sense of ownership for “their” beaches along with a feeling of responsibility
864 (Brennan & Portman, 2017). Involving school students in plastic-free practices, in which they
865 helped to organize activities as co-researchers, led to an improvement in their awareness and
866 behavior of littering (Mapotse & Mashiloane, 2017).

867 *Interventions at the point of consumption.* Looking at the product presentation, a non-
868 overpacked product tagged with “No excess packaging” increased the purchase of these
869 products. When this tagged product was additionally combined with a premium brand the
870 purchase rate was highest (Elgaaied-Gambier, 2016). A voice prompt by the salesperson
871 during the purchase situation (i.e., customers were asked whether they wanted a free plastic
872 bag instead of automatically handing them one) lead to a 5% decrease in plastic bag
873 consumption (Ohtomo & Ohnuma, 2014). To motivate shop owners in Indonesia to sell
874 reusable instead of plastic bags, information activating authority endorsements (i.e., head of
35

875 the village supports the idea of distributing reusable bags) was more effective than
876 information activating social norms or monetary incentives (Spranz, Schlüter, & Vollan,
877 2018). Such social influence of role models is also important for recipients indicated by the
878 finding that the intention to reduce plastic waste was increased when recipients have read a
879 media report with an actor behaving ecologically, whereas the actor's social proximity was
880 relevant when recipients had low environmental consciousness (Arlt, Kuhlmann, & Wolling,
881 2012). Furthermore, making one's intention public helps to reduce plastic consumption via
882 social pressure. Participants who signed a commitment to refuse free plastic bags were more
883 likely to reduce their use afterward (Rubens, Gosling, Bonaiuto, Brisbois, & Moch, 2015).
884 Reese and Junge (2017) used a game in which people could mark a plastic consumption
885 pattern on a card after its realization (e.g., using a bag for purchase or making a purchase
886 without plastic packaging) and then give it to another person of choice. When the task was
887 perceived as moderately difficult, participants' collective efficacy (i.e., their feeling that
888 acting together helps reach a goal) was highest and most predictive for behavioral intentions.

889 *Conclusion.* Participation in clean-up activities and educational approaches was
890 effective to raise awareness and partly also to change behavior intention. Focusing on school
891 children and their educators is promising to create awareness for environmental challenges at
892 an early age. Overall, inquiry learning strategies and gaming approaches encouraging people
893 to get active themselves seem most promising. The role of social norms became apparent as
894 far as the concrete purchase situation is concerned. Making one's purpose public via
895 commitment or introducing role models were successful approaches to reduce plastic
896 consumption. Nevertheless, more research is needed to identify factors for a general
897 transformation in purchase or reduction behavior.

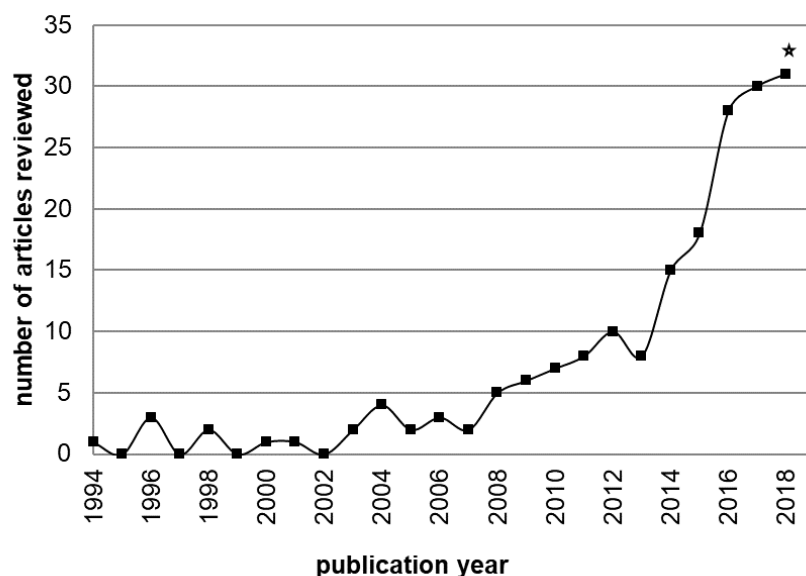
898

899 **5 Discussion**

900 **5.1 Summary**

901 The current review gave a comprehensive overview of the available social-scientific
902 literature addressing plastic with a focus on risk awareness, consumer preferences, plastic use
903 and disposal behavior, and behavior-oriented intervention strategies. By reviewing 187
904 articles from all over the world, this review provides a summary of the existing knowledge for
905 researchers and stakeholders worldwide. Further, it identifies promising behavior-based
906 solutions for the plastic problem.

907 The literature search revealed that interest in the plastic problem has markedly
908 increased in social science in the last few years (Figure 2). These studies were from different
909 countries worldwide. Although large-scaled surveys were relatively rare and focused mostly
910 on countries in Europe or the US (Gelcich et al., 2014; Hartley, Pahl, Veiga, et al., 2018;
911 Herbes et al., 2018), single studies were from all over the world and lead to a relatively weak
912 bias for industrialized nations compared to other areas of research in which this bias is
913 stronger. As plastic pollution is most often perceived as a threat for marine ecosystems (see
914 Lotze et al., 2018, for a worldwide comparison), our review also indicates that most studies
915 originate from countries with a coastline (Figure 1). The visibility of the problem in marine
916 areas might have led to a stronger interest in this field. In total, across the 187 studies
917 reviewed samples from 57 countries were investigated (Figure 1). Similarly, the first authors
918 of the reviewed studies had an affiliation in 49 different countries (see S1 for an overview of
919 all reviewed studies, the location of data collection, and the country where the first author was
920 based at the time of publication). Although this diversity of study samples is important and
921 much appreciated, drawing general conclusions is – so far – difficult due to the yet limited
922 number of studies per country and their associated culture(s), laws, infrastructure, and further
923 situational factors.



924

925 Figure 2. Number of articles reviewed by year of publication. * Note that only articles
926 published before September 27, 2018 were considered in this review.

927

928 Overall, the studies reviewed were from different (sub-)disciplines, including
929 marketing, consumer studies, psychology, educational science, and environmental science,
930 presenting a diversity of perspectives on the present topic. The articles covered various
931 methodological approaches making comparisons and general conclusions difficult. Many
932 studies, especially those focusing on awareness, perception, and attitudes, were of a
933 qualitative nature. Moreover, most studies on behavior either focused on intention or self-
934 reported behavior rather than actual behavior – although there are well-known gaps between
935 attitudes, intentions, and behavior (see Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002).

936 The studies identified high problem awareness of plastic pollution. In addition, people
937 perceive certain health hazards related to plastic consumption. Although plastic is perceived
938 as rather environmentally unfriendly, it is frequently used and appreciated for its practical
939 functions and availability. Thus, plastic consumption is generally high, but this also seems to

940 vary between contexts and cultures. Similarly, this might be the case for reusing plastic as, for
941 example, people with lower income tend to reuse plastic more often (Pandey et al., 2017). The
942 reviewed studies showed that knowledge about alternatives to plastics and their characteristics
943 is relatively low. Behaviors related to the use of plastic seem to be most affected by habits and
944 (social) norms. Both political (e.g., bans, charges) and psychological (e.g., inquiry learning
945 strategies, implementation intention) intervention strategies aim to change these by focusing
946 on habits, availability, costs, situational factors, and awareness.

947

948 **5.2 Implications for behavior-based solutions**

949 Although problem awareness is high, behavior change does not follow automatically,
950 mainly because of the following obstacles: 1) perceived practicability and convenience in the
951 consumption context, 2) lack of knowledge on how to implement alternatives or lack of
952 opportunities, 3) strong habits, and 4) shift of responsibility. Therefore, behavior-based
953 solutions need to approach these issues. This may be done in an interdisciplinary manner. For
954 example, by designing (by engineers), evaluating (by material, environmental, and social
955 scientists) and promoting (by media) alternative materials that do have the appreciated
956 properties of plastic but are more environmentally friendly (e.g., see Haider et al., 2018, for a
957 good example considering some of these aspects). Consumers have not only insufficient
958 knowledge about alternative materials but also about what an environmentally friendly
959 material is, as indicated by the divergence of consumer perception and life cycle analyses (see
960 chapter 4.1.2.1). Since consumers focus mainly on post-consumption (e.g., recyclability),
961 more information about environmental impacts in the whole life cycle of a product may
962 increase the knowledge about environmentally friendly materials and guide the consumer to
963 better alternatives. However, since awareness and knowledge are not the only relevant factors
964 influencing behavior, an increase in these does not necessarily imply a change in behavior.

965 Despite the attitudes of the consumers, situational factors such as an appropriate infrastructure
966 for alternatives need to be considered. Moreover, social and personal factors as well as habits
967 play a crucial role, as suggested by the studies on plastic-related behavior. To initiate a habit
968 change, 'windows of opportunity' (Schäfer, Jaeger-Erben, & Bamberg, 2012) – periods where
969 people are open for new behaviors as external conditions change (e.g., relocation) – may be
970 preferably used. As windows of opportunity are not always available, a change in situational
971 factors such as the provision of alternatives should also be used to initiate new behavior.
972 Individuals that start a new behavior, might lead others to follow, can hence change norms,
973 and set a spiral of action in motion. Thus, reaching a critical mass of acting people is helpful.

974 For all behavior-based solutions, it is important to consider structural, situational, and
975 cultural factors. Although, the available literature is insufficient to make a final conclusion,
976 awareness of the situation in a specific region (e.g., whether there is infrastructure for
977 recycling) and what problems are most pressing (e.g., health hazards and thus importance of
978 hygienic packaging) helps to identify the change of behavior that is most promising (cf., Steg
979 & Vlek, 2009). Moreover, depending on particular circumstances and/or cultural background,
980 demands of situational factors and infrastructure need to be considered (e.g., waste
981 management in refugee camps vs. residential complexes; cf., O'Connor et al., 2010; Saidan,
982 Drais, et al., 2017).

983 The reviewed literature shows that plastic consumption and avoidance is generally
984 similar to other environmental behaviors as 1) it affects several aspects in life (as does
985 mobility, for instance), 2) there is a conflict between problem awareness and behavior, and 3)
986 it is predicted by situational factors as well as personal factors such as sociodemographics,
987 habits, control beliefs, moral, and social norms. Therefore, models explaining pro-
988 environmental behavior, such as the so-called SIMPEA which addresses social identity
989 processes that affect appraisal and response to collective environmental challenges (Fritsche,
990 Barth, Jugert, Masson, & Reese, 2017), might be helpful to further understand and study

991 plastic-related behavior. Additionally, knowledge from available behavior-based solutions on
992 other environmental behaviors can be used to create interventions – and *vice versa*. For
993 example, the success of plastic bag bans, fees, and taxes may motivate bans of other
994 environment-damaging products. However, so far, the field lacks studies evaluating the long-
995 term effects of such political interventions. What makes plastic-related behavior special is its
996 diversity (consumption of alternatives, avoidance, reuse, recycling). Thus, a close look at
997 specific behavioral antecedents as well as examining the impact of political measures as bans
998 or change in infrastructure becomes therefore necessary in intervention context.

999 Citizen science and organized clean-ups appear to be promising approaches to raise
1000 awareness and responsibility, motivate reuse, and change behavior since, for example, people
1001 residing near clean beaches engage more in waste-reduction approaches (Kiessling et al.,
1002 2017). Further, organized clean-ups might be successful due to two other factors: creating a
1003 new habit by doing it once with instructions and strengthening the social norm by doing it
1004 with others. Since humans are social beings, social norms play a major role in
1005 (environmental) behavior. As it was pointed out throughout the review, norms predict
1006 different forms of plastic-related behavior although they were not as strong as in classical
1007 studies using the theory of planned behavior. Moreover, successful intervention studies with
1008 role models and voice prompts by salespersons highlight the social factor. Therefore,
1009 interventions that change norms are promising. When combined with adjusted situational
1010 factors and information they might have even bigger effects. Overall, intervention strategies
1011 should be combined since, so far, no strategy alone is sufficient to reduce the immense use of
1012 plastic. Moreover, the interventions need to be well-planned to reduce unwanted effects (e.g.,
1013 licensing effects, perceived green-washing, or rebound-effects) and to meet the needs of the
1014 target group and therefore gain their acceptance.

1015 Furthermore, different actors are needed to approach the plastic problem from various
1016 directions. While educators, media directors, and organizers of activities, such as beach clean-

1017 ups, are in positions to raise awareness, increase knowledge, and train alternative behavior
1018 patterns, stakeholders, politicians, and salespersons are capable to adjust general
1019 circumstances and situational factors to change consumption and waste behavior. For
1020 example, promoting a 'circular economy' or implementing an 'Extended Producer
1021 Responsibility' might be fruitful to make producers accountable and thus should be pursued
1022 by politics and public. Despite recently introduced laws on the national level that contribute to
1023 tackling the plastic problem (e.g., prohibition of plastic microbeads in cosmetics, U.S.
1024 Government Publishing Office, 2015), present developments (e.g., China's recent decision to
1025 stop accepting plastic from other countries) underline the pressing need for global, integrated
1026 solutions.

1027

1028 **5.3 Implications for future research**

1029 The current review and conclusions have some limitations which, on the one hand, are
1030 due to the nature of plastic and behavior related to it, and on the other hand due to
1031 characteristics of the available literature. Plastic-related behavior is diverse and thus difficult
1032 to delineate. Although we reviewed a large amount of studies, only few focused on a
1033 particular behavior (e.g., avoiding plastic) and thus conclusions on these are limited. In
1034 contrast, recycling behavior is very well studied but plastic was explicitly considered only
1035 sparsely. This diversity, non-specificity, and the limited amount of studies might lead to
1036 different predictors of behavior and a low comparability of findings. Therefore, future studies
1037 should further investigate plastic-specific behavior and focus on real instead of reported or
1038 intended behavior. Furthermore, methods measuring (plastic) avoidance behavior should be
1039 developed. Moreover, research should endeavor to study breaking habits, since this is needed
1040 to change plastic-related behavior in the long-term.

1041 In general, most studies investigating perception and consumption focused on plastic
1042 as packaging material or bags, while littering and recycling studies often did not classify
1043 waste origin or type. Interestingly, we found only a few studies investigating attitudes or
1044 behaviors related to microplastics, although this issue is hotly debated in both science and
1045 media. So far, the social-scientific literature largely ignored plastic types other than packaging
1046 or bags. We therefore recommend that future studies focus also on microplastics and other
1047 origins of plastic waste (e.g., from fishing utensils, electronic devices, or agriculture).

1048 Noteworthy, some studies were interdisciplinary, combining for example psychology
1049 and environmental science. However, the field lacks studies in the areas of media and
1050 communication science although plastic became more and more abundant in the media and
1051 thus scientific work on the effects of such media presence is much needed. Since plastic-
1052 related perception and behavior and the research of these is so diverse, this review is rather
1053 descriptive, and may not sufficiently cover the entire literature relevant. Furthermore, the
1054 quality of the studies reviewed varied strongly and was generally rather low compared to the
1055 standard of current psychological research. Therefore and because of the limitations above,
1056 conclusions should be taken with caution and future studies are needed to confirm the
1057 findings.

1058

1059 **5.4 Conclusion**

1060 The plastic problem is a major challenge of our times and needs interdisciplinary and
1061 global solutions. This review provides a first overview of the social-scientific literature and
1062 can serve as a basis for both researchers and stakeholders to develop further investigations
1063 and implement behavior-based solutions. The current work shows that the research field is
1064 growing, very diverse, originating from different countries and disciplines, and using a wide
1065 range of methods. Because of the limitations mentioned above, general conclusions are

1066 difficult. Nevertheless, the reviewed literature suggests that, although problem awareness is
1067 high, the perceived advantages of plastic, consumer habits, and situational factors make it
1068 difficult for people to act accordingly. Bans and increased costs of plastic products as well as
1069 a combination of psychological interventions seem to be promising measures to reduce plastic
1070 consumption and waste. All actors from science, policy, industry, trade, and the general
1071 public have to work together to avoid a shift of responsibility. More research is needed to
1072 improve current interventions and to create additional powerful, immediate, and global
1073 solutions to limit the amount of plastic waste in the environment.

1074

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1085

1086 **8 Author statement**

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1092

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