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Buying moral superiority:

How the desire to feel morally superior influences willingness to pay for ethical products

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Abstract

This research gives us insights about how the desire to feel morally superior can influence the willingness to pay for ethical products. We conducted an experiment in which participants received manipulated feedback about their willingness to pay in comparison with other participants on ethical products. We hypothesized that participants who receive negative feedback were willing to pay more for ethical products after this feedback. Also, participants who receive positive feedback would be willing to pay more than the control group. We also expected that participants who received information that they scored average were willing to increase their payments. We found an effect of participants who were threatened, willing to pay more for ethical products after their feedback compared to the control group. Also, participants who received positive feedback were willing to pay more for ethical products than the control group. There was no effect found for the group who received the feedback that they scored average. These insights can be used as a basis for future research on moral superiority in consumer settings and by companies in order to let people pay more for ethical purchases.

Introduction

However fair-trade products are usually more expensive than comparable ‘normal’ products, consumers say they are still willing to pay more for this kind of ethical products (De Pelsmacker, Driesen & Rayp, 2005; Didier and Lucie, 2008). One explanation for this can be that consumers value universalism and care about the planet (Doran, 2009). Another explanation which has not been examined yet, is that some people buy these ethical products to feel morally superior. In this research I examine if people are willing to pay more for ethical products in order to feel morally superior, and if this effect occurs if a person is threatened.

Morality

To understand the concept of moral superiority we first have to take a look at the psychological construct of morality. According to Haidt (2007) people would define morality as something that has to do with how people supposed to treat each other. Morality can be clustered under a dimension described as “social goodness” (Leach, Ellemels & Barreto, 2007) and consists of honesty, helpfulness and tolerance (Rosenberg, Nelson, & Vivekananthan, 1968). Our reactions and reasoning can also be based on morality. An automatic and (usually) affect-laden moral process is moral intuition. Moral intuition is an evaluative process of something which will appear fast in the consciousness, such as a like or dislike. It is an automatic process which happens unconscious and will not consider pro’s and con’s for conducting the conclusion. A more controlled and conscious process is moral reasoning. Moral reasoning is a process in which information about people and/or their actions can be transformed to conduct an accurate evaluation and reach a moral judgement of decision. Moral reasoning is mostly used to conduct evidence after a former intuitive reaction to support this reaction (Haidt, 2007). For a range of groups is morality a primary component of group virtue (Leach, Ellemels & Barreto, 2007). To understand this there will be a closer look on the role of morality in a social context.

Morality in a social context

Morality can play a big role in the social context. People use the behavior of group members as a guide in social environments, being part of a group affect individual behavior (Charness, Rigotti, & Rustichini, 2007). A group only has an effect on behavior when the group is made salient (Charness et al., 2007). These self-evaluations can assimilate behavior in line with the group norm or can contrast behavior away from the group norm. If there is a focus on similarities, behavior will be assimilated towards the group norm. If the focus is showed in

differences, behavior will contrast away from the group norm (Mussweiler, Rüter, Epstude, & Dovidio, 2004). Thus, the behavior of people can depend on the behavior of their group members. We can even take this to the next level, moral superiority.

Moral superiority

Morality can be used for more than supporting judgements and guiding behavior. People sometimes moralize their own behavior to decrease feelings of self-threat (Jordan & Monin, 2008). When their choices or rationality is implicitly being doubted, people can react with feelings of moral superiority. This can be caused by someone else who shows more convenient behavior in a particular situation (Jordan & Monin, 2008). An example of this more convenient behavior is as followed; you enter an experiment and the researcher asks you if you would like to help with participating in another study before the real study begins. You say yes and after you another participant enters the room and gets the same question. The other participant says no, and there is no consequence for the other participant. You can react in two ways; feel like a sucker (you also could have said no and nothing would have happened, you waste energy and time) or you can call yourself a saint (you are more moral than the other participant, because you did help the researcher). This effect is called the 'sucker-to-saint' effect by Jordan and Monin (2008). They show that people reduce the feeling of self-threat, which is caused by the more convenient behavior of others, is reduced by feeling more moral than those others (Jordan & Monin, 2008).

Feelings of self-threat are negative feelings. We might connect this to the prospect theory. According to the prospect theory people who are in the negative domain (loss frame) are more risk seeking than people in a positive frame (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984). Because of this theory we may expect that people who feel threatened, are willing to take more risks to become

morally superior over others. Feeling better than others can be a boost for the self-esteem, which leads to a more positive self-image (Leach, Ellemers & Barreto, 2007), which is something that people like. Moralization can probably be translated to other fields as well.

Morality in consumer settings

Morality and moralization can be useful to understand what happens on the ethical consumer market, which is a growing market (Doane, 2001). An ethical product is a kind of product which address ethical issues (Doane, 2001). Examples of issues that are addressed in products are; the environment (biological products), human rights (think of fair trade products) and animal welfare (e.g. better life chickens). An ethical purchase is only seen as one, if the consumer has a choice between an ethical product and another alternative (Doane, 2001). According to Doane (2001) the purchase can include: food, fuel and light, housing, household goods, personal items, transport and subscriptions. Thirty percent of the consumers say that they would buy ethical products if you ask them, but only three percent of the consumers actually buy these products when they do their groceries (Futerra, 2005). So, even if there is a growing interest in the market, there still is a gap between what people say they will purchase of these products and what they actually do purchase (Auger & Devinney, 2007).

Besides the intention of buying ethical products, people say that they are even willing to pay more for fair-trade or organic food products. According to Didier and Lucie (2008) people are willing to pay more for products with organic or fair-trade labels on it. According to De Pelsmacker, Driesen and Rayp (2005), the average price that consumers are willing to pay extra for a fair-trade label is 10% of the original price. A good question now is to ask ourselves which aspects influence this intention of buying behavior.

Buying intentions of consumers can be influenced by emotions. According to Kemp and Kopp (2011), consumers who experience a positive or a negative emotion will have higher purchase intentions to make themselves feel better or maintain their positive emotions. This is called emotion regulation consumption (ERC). Buying ethical products can give a certain positive feeling. Feeling morally superior over others is also a positive feeling, which people like to experience and can have positive effects on the well-being (Fredrickson, 2003). Besides wanting to experience this positive feeling, there are several personal values which can have an influence on the consumption of fair trade products. One of the most important values in fair trade consumption are universalism values (Doran, 2009), these are values that are about tolerance and protection of the well-being of all people and nature (Doran, 2009). There is also a group of consumers, who buy fair trade products occasionally (intermittent consumers). They care a lot about benevolence values. Benevolence values are about protect and improve the welfare of people who are close to you, which is related to ingroup love. These occasionally buyers care more about these benevolence values than loyal consumers do (Doran, 2009). From this we could maybe conclude that occasionally fair-trade buyers, buy ethical products to gain ingroup love. This ingroup love feature can have an influence on their feelings of moral superiority.

Now we arrive at the point which has not been examined yet. We now know that people are willing to buy ethical products, but most of them end up with not actually buying them. We also know that there can be different reasons for people to purchase ethical products. On top of that, we also know that the behavior of people can be influenced by social comparison, which is also influenced by moral intuitions. People also want to feel morally superior in order to have a positive self-image. Can the desired feeling of moral superiority make people willing to pay (more) for ethical products?

This study will connect the ethical consumerism literature with the earlier discussed research about moral superiority. There is no connection made yet between these two fields. In the ethical consumerism literature they state that most people buy ethical products because they value universalism and care about the planet. Based on literature I posit that people can also buy ethical products in order to feel morally superior over others. As discussed, it can be suggested that wanting to feel morally superior over other consumers can motivate people to buy ethical products. People like positive feelings and feeling morally superior is a positive feeling. When people feel threatened on their willingness to pay for moral consumptions in comparison to others, they want to compensate this in order to get the positive feeling of moral superiority by paying more for moral/ethical products. The next question is, how much are people willing to pay extra for this feeling of moral superiority?

The current research

It is argued in the above chapter that many people are interested in buying ethical products, but very few of them actually do. By appealing on to consumers' feelings of moral superiority over others, we might expect that people are willing to pay more for an ethical product, than when people don't get the feedback of their payments in comparison to others. This occurs because people want to feel good about themselves and want to reduce self-threat, which can be caused by comparison with others. When people get feedback about the payments of others, and these payments are higher on ethical products than their own payments, people can feel threatened. To reduce this feeling and to gain moral superiority we expect that people are willing to pay more for ethical products. As mentioned earlier, people can use the feeling of moral superiority in order to reduce self-threat or to have a positive self-image. When someone feels threatened, they want to reduce this negative feeling and can 'buy' a more positive feeling

by purchasing ethical products. The group who will feel threatened might even be willing to pay more than the other groups because they are in a loss frame, people in a loss frame will take more risks.

Taking previous literature into account, the expectation is that when someone hears he scores below average on their willingness to pay for ethical products, he will feel threatened because someone else seems better. Because of this threat I expect that they will be willing to pay more than before the feedback for ethical products in order to feel morally superior. They even might want to pay the most of all groups, because people in a loss frame take more risks. I expect that the participants who score average are also willing to pay more for ethical products, because they get the chance to gain moral superiority. People are willing to buy things in order to gain a positive feeling. The feeling of moral superiority is such a positive feeling. The group who already scores above average is also expected to stay above this average range, because people like to maintain a positive feeling. This leads to the following hypotheses;

H0: The desire to feel morally superior over others has no influence on the willingness to pay for ethical products.

H1: When people are threatened by getting negative feedback, they are willing to pay more for ethical products, in order to feel morally superior.

H2: When people score average on the willingness to pay for ethical products they are willing to pay more on ethical products in order to feel/gain morally superior.

H3: When people already feel morally superior, by willing to pay more on ethical products than average, they are still willing to pay more than average in order to keep this positive feeling.

H4: The group who score below average is willing to pay the most on ethical products in order to feel morally superior.

Method

Participants

The study had 201 participants, of which we had to exclude 13 participants. Six participants were excluded because of time, they were too fast (took them less than five minutes) or too slow (took them more than 30 minutes). Seven participants guessed what the manipulation was about, so we excluded them because we think the manipulation might not have worked on those participants. This will leave us 188 participants left. The average age of the participants is 25 years. From the 188 participants, 55 were male and 133 were female. We recruited participants by using a University subject pool system (SONA) from Leiden University and by asking some people to volunteer. The participants are in the Netherlands living males and females beginning with the age of 17 (Dutch or English speaking). The study took on average 16 minutes and participants who participated through SONA received a monetary reward of €3,50 or 1 credit for contribution to the study.

Procedure

When the participants entered the study, they first could choose the language in which they wanted to participate (Dutch or English) after they made this choice they would be presented a cover story which explains in what study they participated. After the introduction of the study, people would be shown an informed consent which they needed to agree with before they could participate in the study. Next, the participant had to answer some questions about himself (age, gender, education, working situation, estimated yearly income and ideology).

After this, the real experiment began. After the explanation and an example question, participants saw a first round with twelve product combinations (two products per combination). In each combination the participant saw a standard (e.g. supermarket own brand) product with its

average retail price. A second product would be presented next to it with an extra feature which could be ethical (e.g. Fairtrade, biological, animal welfare), a brand (e.g. Coca Cola, Heineken) or a fresh product (e.g. fresh vegetables, fresh pesto). There were four product combinations for each category. Participants had to say how much they are willing to pay extra for the products with the extra feature. They had to drag a slider to the amount of euro they were willing to pay extra. When the participants had communicated their willingness to pay for the twelve products, they got a message that they were halfway with the products.

From this point the experiment did split into four conditions. The first group got additional information which shows how much percentage they were willing to pay extra and that their average willingness to pay for ethical products was 21.3% lower compared to others, while their average willingness to pay for branded products was 0.4% less and 1.1% more for fresh products on average compared to others. The second group got the same information but instead of lower on ethical products, it was 21.3% higher on average compared to others. The third group received information that they scored approximately the same (0.2% more than others) on ethical products. The fourth group was the control group and did not receive any extra information about the comparison with other people, they just saw how much they were willing to pay extra (compared to the home brand product) on the three categories. After receiving this information, all participants had to communicate their willingness to pay for twelve additional products which were categorized the same as in the first round with the same numbers of product combinations as in the first round.

When the participants were done with their willingness to pay for the products, they rated themselves (but not the others with whom they're compared) using a 7-point Likert scale on the dimensions of; morality (*very immoral to morally virtuous*), frugality 'zuinigheid' (*not frugal at*

all to very frugal), gullibility (*not gullible at all to very gullible*) and honesty (*not honest at all to very honest*). A questionnaire followed where participants answered how many times they bought several types of products in the last month (e.g. biological products, fresh products, premium products etc.) Additionally, they also answered the questions about morality, frugality, gullibility and honesty about the others with whom they were compared. The control group first saw the sentence ‘assuming other participants are willing to pay similarly to you, on average, how would you rate them on the following characteristics’. After this there was a short version of the moral foundation questionnaire (MFQ), which the participant had to answer.

At the end, participants were asked if they could explain what they thought the experiment was about. After this the participants saw a debriefing in which was explained what the manipulation was and what the experiment truly was about. They also received information about who they could contact for additional questions.

Measures

The measures that we used are first a questionnaire with demographic questions. Participants answer questions as; age, gender, education, working situation, estimated yearly income and questions about ideology. After this they had to say how much they wanted to pay extra for an extra feature of a product by moving a slider to the amount they are willing to pay extra. Each slider had as beginning point 0 and as end point the price of the basic version*3. We made two blocks (block 1 and block 2) of products, which were showed in random order for each participant. The products within each block were also randomized. We conducted a variable in which the difference is calculated of the willingness to pay before and after the manipulation for ethical products. This mean difference score is used to test the hypotheses. After this the participant had to fill in questions about morality, frugality, gullibility and honesty, this will be

measured with a 7-point Likert scale. The scale goes from (*dimension*) not at all to very (*dimension*). The next measure was a list of product types where participants have to answer how many times they bought it in the last month. The scale had the following answer possibilities; 0-2 times, 3-4 times, 5-6 times, 7-8 times, 9-10 times or 11+ times. Examples of product types are biological products, fresh products and premium products. At the end the participant got a short version of the moral foundation questionnaire (Graham, Nosek, Haidt, Iyer, Koleva & Ditto, 2011). Where they needed to answer questions about moral relevance (e.g. how relevant you consider whether or not someone suffered emotionally) and moral judgements (e.g. indicate on what level you agree with; compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue). With conducting a reliability analysis, the following Cronbach's Alphas were found for the scales of the moral foundation questionnaire. For the scale harm/care $\alpha = .58$, the scale fairness/reciprocity $\alpha = .58$, the scale of in-group/loyalty $\alpha = .60$, for the scale authority/respect $\alpha = .45$ and for the scale of purity/sanctity $\alpha = .64$. Most of the scales have a low reliability score. Only in-group/loyalty and purity/sanctity are acceptable based on their reliability.

Results

Across conditions, participants were willing to pay 50.5% more for ethical products in block 1, for ethical products in block 2 this was 45.1% regardless of the order in which participants saw the batches. For branded products this is 27.3% in block 1 and 34.7% branded products in block 2. The amount willingness to pay extra for fresh products in block 1 is 68.0% and 59.2% for fresh products in block 2. On average participants were willing to pay 4.5% less for ethical products in the batch that they saw second. For branded products this is 3.7% less and

for fresh products participants were willing to pay 9.6% less than what they were willing to pay in their first batch. Preliminary analyses revealed that the “same” condition did not differ from the control condition on several dependent variables, this is why we treat them as a single condition which will be called the control condition from now on (see Appendix A for more information).

I will use the difference score of how much people were willing to pay after they received feedback, compared to before, to indicate if people are willing to pay a different amount of money between the conditions. See Appendix B for the correlations of covariates. A one-way analysis of variances (ANOVA) revealed a significant main effect of condition on the willingness to pay for ethical products, with $F(2,185) = 4.37$, $p = .014$, $\eta^2 = .05$. With controlling for batch order in an ANCOVA the condition variable is still significant with $F(2,184) = 4.49$, $p = .012$, $\eta^2 = .05$. This means that the amount of money participants were willing to pay during their second batch of ethical products, differed depending on the feedback they received compared to the first batch they saw. This indicates that, as expected, the type of condition has an influence on the willingness to pay (see Figure 1). By taking a closer look to the post-hoc test (Tukey HSD) we can see that there is a significant difference between the control group ($M = -9.88\%$) and the group that was told they scored lower than average ($M = 2.91\%$), $p = .018$, which is as predicted. The participants in the control group were not willing to pay more for ethical products (which we expect they would) but, were willing to pay 9.88% less for their second batch of ethical products. There is no significant difference between the control variable ($M = -9.88\%$) and the group who saw that they scored higher than average ($M = -.82\%$), $p = .133$. Although, it is close to a trend in which participants in the higher condition are willing to pay less after the feedback, but still more than participants in the control condition. There is a

nonsignificant difference between the group who heard that they scored lower than average (willing to pay 2.91% more after feedback) and the group who got the feedback that they scored higher than average (willing to pay .82% less after feedback), with $p = .770$. If we take a look at the average differences on willingness to pay after the feedback, the threatened group is willing to pay most with 2.91% more after the feedback, compared to the other groups who were willing to pay 9.88% less or .82% less after the feedback. We can now say that the manipulation of the feedback did have an effect on the willingness to pay for ethical products. Especially for the threatened condition, the willingness to pay more for ethical products was higher than for the other conditions.

The willingness to pay for fresh products ($F(2,184) = 1.458, p = .235$) and branded products ($F(2,184) = .478, p = .621$) did not differ between the conditions, controlled for batch order. Because all conditions received the same information about these product groups, we also expect no significant difference on these product groups.

Something which is also interesting is a marginal significant effect on how moral participants see themselves between the conditions with $F(2,184) = 2.44, p = .090, \eta^2 = .03$. People who got the feedback that they scored higher as average on willingness to pay for ethical products let us see a marginal significant effect compared to the control group ($p = .077$). The “higher” condition scored themselves as more moral than the participants in the control group, with $M = 4.70$ on a 7-point scale for the control group and $M = 5.07$ for the “higher” condition. There were no significant differences between the conditions on how moral the participants indicated others. With conducting a repeated-measures ANOVA I compared for each condition the score on how moral they indicated themselves and how moral they indicated others. There is a significant main effect for morality with $F(1,183) = 33.94, p < .001$. All groups indicated

themselves as more moral than they indicated others on a 7-point scale. The participants in the control group indicated themselves .32 higher on morality than others, with $p = .002$. The group in the lower condition indicated themselves .46 higher on morality than they scored others, with $p = .002$. Participants in the higher condition indicated themselves .59 higher on morality than they indicated others, with $p < .001$. There is no interaction between condition and morality difference of moral self and moral others. There is also no significant effect of the difference between the difference score of own morality and the morality of others and the conditions. So, there is no condition who feels more moral than other conditions compared to others, with $F(1,183) = 1.14, p = .323$.

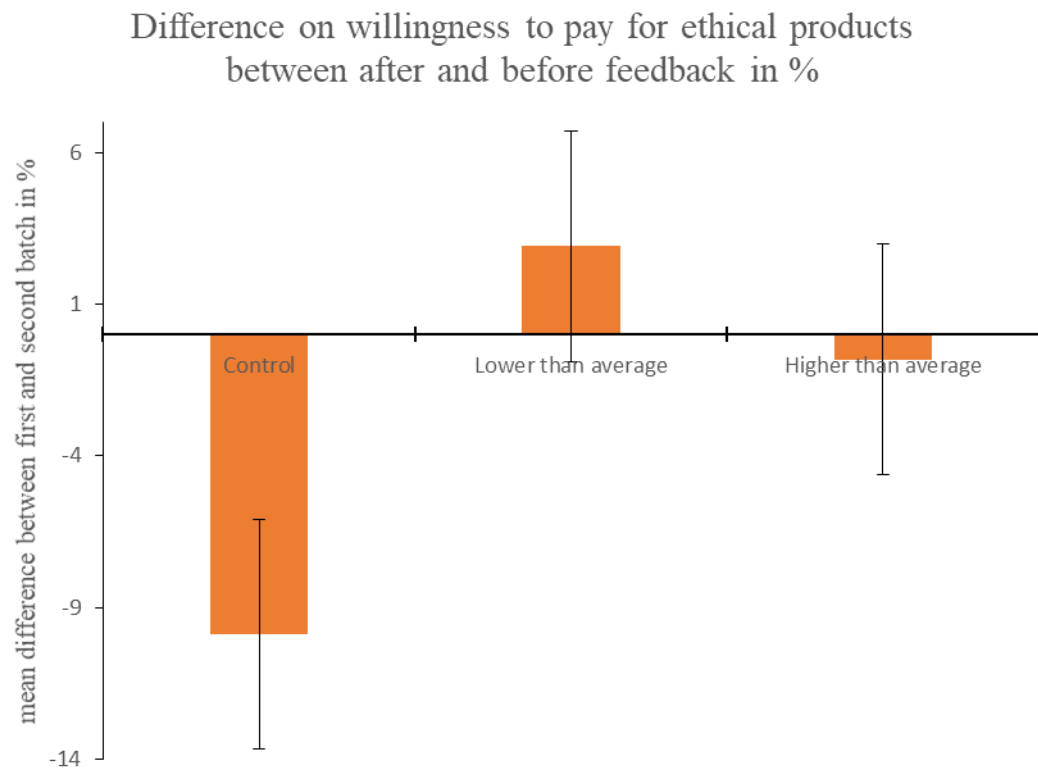


Figure 1. Mean difference on willingness to pay for ethical products between before and after feedback in %.

Discussion

The results of this study show us that people are willing to pay more for ethical products, especially when they feel threatened on their actions. We did expect that participants would be willing to pay more for ethical products overall, which is also what we found. We especially expected was that when participants received feedback that was negative and could be seen as a threat, would be willing to pay more for ethical products after this feedback. This is also what we found in our research. Besides, we found that participants who received feedback that they scored higher than average, were willing to pay more than the control condition. This was also what we did expect. We did also expect that participants who received feedback that they scored the same as average were willing to pay more for ethical products after this feedback, but we did not find this effect. We found that in all conditions participants scored themselves higher on morality than they indicated others on morality. We did not find an effect of a difference on this between the conditions. We would expect that in the threatened condition or the higher condition a higher difference score appear between self-morality and morality of others, compared to the control condition. What we did find was a higher self-morality in the higher condition than the control condition.

As explained, participants were willing to pay more for ethical products after they received negative feedback. We believe people do this to gain moral superiority. The participant received feedback which showed more convenient behavior of others, this caused self-threat as explained by Jordan and Monin (2008). To reduce this self-threat people will find ways to feel more moral than those others, in our experiment by paying more for ethical products and gain moral superiority. This is also in line with how this mechanism is described by Sachdeva, Iliev

and Medin, (2009). They state that by behaving immoral, the perception of self-worth will be more negative. They state that to regain some of this lost, people will behave more moral.

Another explanation could be that by providing the feedback we set a descriptive norm. As shown in the research of Schultz, Nolan, Cialdini, Goldstein, Griskevicius (2007) people confirm their behavior towards a descriptive norm. But, what they also show is that there is a boomerang effect. This is the effect that people who already show behavior in the good direction and above the norm, will reduce their good behavior to the social norm. This is not what we found in our research. We found a close trend of participants who got information that their willingness to pay was above that from other participants, were still willing to pay more than the control group. This is against the boomerang effect and confirms our previous expectations that people like to maintain a positive emotion (Kemp & Kopp, 2011), which at this point is their moral superiority.

We did not find support for our expectation that participants who received the feedback that they scored average, would be willing to pay more for their second batch of ethical products. We could explain this because receiving this feedback is similar to receiving no feedback, it contains no surprisingly new information which can influence behavior. This is against our first thought that people want to gain a more positive feeling of moral superiority. Another explanation can be that participants feel not threatened in this position and they are not aware of the possibility to feel better.

An interesting finding of our research is that participants who received positive feedback, were willing to pay more than average, rate themselves higher on morality than participants in the control condition. Besides this effect, all groups rate themselves higher on morality than they rated others. So, also participants in the control condition indicated themselves higher on

morality than other participants. This can be explained by the better than average effect, which means that people evaluate themselves better than average. Especially in comparison with peers, people believe that they are more moral than others. This can be explained by the desire to feel good about oneself (Brown, 2012). People do believe that they are morally superior to the average person (Tappin, & McKay, 2017)

Implications

This research gives us insides on moral superiority in consumer settings and can be used as a basis for future research of moral superiority in a consumer setting. The results can be used in several ways. Organizations, companies or supermarkets can use these insides by appealing to moral superiority when they try to sell ethical products. In practice this could mean that they can give consumers feedback on their buying behavior. Especially when others pay more. By providing this information consumers might be willing to pay more for future ethical purchases. This information should be shown shortly before the second purchase in order to get the most result. You can think of ethical products in supermarkets which will be bought more if people know that other people buy more. Nowadays, a lot of peoples buying behavior is tracked by customer cards or online accounts. This information is the kind of information which can be used for marketing purposes. Most companies already use this kind of information in order to make 'special deals' for customers. The information can also be used in order to give feedback about ethical purchases. It might be interesting to take a look at charities too. When people receive the feedback that they donate less than other people, this might have the same effect as on the willingness to pay for products and make people willing to donate more.

In conclusion, appealing to moral superiority can increase intentional buying behavior for ethical purchases.

Limitations and future research

The findings should be generalized with caution, caused by some limitations of our research. First of all, we used hypothetical buying behavior, this can differ from real buying behavior. In reality, consumers have a much wider choice set and more stimuli in the surrounding. This can have an influence on the real buying behavior. Something which we did not test in our research is if the same effect could occur for other products. It still is possible that the same effect will occur only because of the feedback and not because of the ethical products. This can be tested by using other products for the manipulated feedback than ethical products. Something else to be aware of is that some of the products consisted meat, we didn't use vegetarian options, which could make participants who do not eat meat not willing to pay for it. If participants are not willing to buy a product at all, they are also not willing to pay more for ethical alternatives.

Something else to take in mind is that we used a slider in our experiment, the slider can be a bias for the actual amount participants are willing to pay. As shown by earlier research, a slider on the bottom or top of the scale can result in higher scores and sliders which start in a mid-position can result in midpoint scores (Sellers, 2013). All sliders did start at the bottom point, so this might result in higher overall scores.

To overcome these limitations and support our findings, the next step is to do a similar study as a field study. In our study we found that people who received feedback of others doing better, were willing to pay more for ethical products. By doing a field study it can be tested if people not only say that they are willing to pay, but also really pay more for these products. Another kind of study which can be conducted is to let people choose between a 'normal' product and an ethical alternative. By giving the feedback of how many ethical alternatives other

people buy, it can be tested if participants are willing to buy more ethical products. In this study they can also use other products than only foods and drinks, to test if the same findings can be found with other kind of products.

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Appendix A

Table of same-condition and control group independent t-test comparisons on several dependent variables.

Scale	<i>t</i>	df	<i>p</i>
How moral are others	.29	76.51	.775
How moral are you	-.74	93	.460
Block 1 ethical	.21	93	.832
Block 2 ethical	-.41	93	.680
Ethical difference	.64	93	.523

Appendix B

Correlation table of several covariates on difference score of willingness to pay for ethical products

Covariate	Pearson correlation
Age	-.078
Gender	-.179*
Income	-0.44
Religion	.000
Education	-.084
Political view, liberal/social	-.036
Political view, conservative/progr.	.004
Political orientation, left/right	-.079
MFQ Harm	.100
MFQ Fairness	.117
MFQ Ingroup	-.018
MFQ Authority	-.076
MFQ Purity	.068
Block order	-.197**

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$