Political Conservatism and Fair Trade: Conceptual and Empirical Investigations

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2021

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Abstract

The concept of fair trade has been investigated by marketing researchers over the past few years. The literature has described fair trade as a political phenomenon. Examining what the politicisation of the fair trade market means for consumers requires, however, the application of a more specific theoretical lens. Political ideology offers such a theoretical lens that allows us to understand how politically charged fair trade marketing resonates with consumers' political beliefs. Political ideology ranges from political liberalism to political conservatism. This thesis focuses on political conservatism due to its potential inhibitory effect on the willingness to buy fair trade products. The thesis is made up of conceptual and empirical works and comprises three articles. The foundational first article addresses the limited structure of the goals of political conservatism as described in the literature. Applying a goal systemic perspective to political conservatism, article 1 conceptualises a superordinate goal (i.e., securing the in-group advantageous status quo), two intermediate goals (i.e., resistance to change and endorsement of inequality), and five subordinate goals (i.e., conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, dominance, and anti-egalitarianism). Having conceptualized the goal pursuit of conservatives, article 2 moves on to applying the findings of article 1 in that article 2 examines the relationship between conservative goals and their effect on the willingness to buy fair trade goods. The results reported in article 2 demonstrate a contradiction between the conservatives' goal pursuit and fair trade consumption. The findings of article 2 suggests that fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity are two psychological features of politically conservative consumers that reduce their appetite for fair trade products. Additionally, I found age and income to moderate the effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking. The third article then developed and tested marketing interventions that potentially diminish the inhibitory effect of political conservatism on fair trade consumption. The results in article 3 show that conservative consumers are more willing to consume fair trade products when they are exposed to appeals utilising status rather than altruism, because status appeals can be processed with more fluency. Taken together, this thesis contributes to the literature in that it sheds a new light on the various goals of political conservatism and how these goals resonate with the appeals of fair trade products. Additionally, this thesis offers managerial advice on how to target the segment of conservative consumers (article 2) and on which marketing interventions to use for the promotion of fair trade products to conservative consumers (article 3).

Declaration

This thesis has not been submitted in support of an application for another degree at this or any other university. It is the result of my own work and includes nothing that is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated. Some of the ideas in this thesis were the product of discussions with my supervisors Professor Margaret K. Hogg and Dr Sandra Awanis.

Excerpts of this thesis have been published in the following academic publications and conference manuscripts.

Peer-Reviewed Journal Article[1]:

Usslepp, T., Awanis, S., Hogg, M. K., & Daryanto, A. (2021). The Inhibitory Effect of Political Conservatism on Consumption: The Case of Fair Trade. *Journal of Business Ethics*.

Peer-Reviewed Conference Paper[2]:

Usslepp, T., Hogg, M. K., & Awanis, S. (2021). *The use of status for the promotion of intergroup helping*. Paper presented at the AMA Summer Academic Conference - Reimagining Marketing.

A single-authored conceptual article ("Goals of political conservatism and their pursuit through consumption – A review and taxonomic framework")[3] remains a working paper for the time being.

Author Contribution Statement:

I initially designed the studies, gathered all the data for this thesis, and conducted initial data analysis on my own. My supervisors then gave feedback on the results. The first full drafts of all three manuscripts were written by me. My supervisors were involved in critical revisions of the final drafts of article 2 (Chapter 4) and article 3 (Chapter 5). Supervisors provided some feedback as well as minor edits for article 1 (Chapter 3) as they might for a monograph thesis, however, they did not make any major revisions to this article.

[1] Article 2 in this thesis.
[2] Article 3 in this thesis.
[3] Article 1 in this thesis.

Acknowledgments

First of all, I want to thank my academic supervisors Professor Margaret Hogg and Dr Sandra Awanis for their enormous support during the PhD. I am grateful for the time and effort they have invested in my education as well as for their emotional support throughout. I won't forget our inspiring weekly meetings that were the basis of my doctoral research and a safe space for brainstorming and developing research ideas that fed into the present thesis. Special thanks go to Dr Ahmad Daryanto who covered Dr Sandra Awanis on her maternity leave. I benefited from his enormous knowledge on statistics that he was always willing to share.

Furthermore, I want to thank Gian Fulgoni for his very generous funding. I would also like to extend my thanks to the Marketing Department at Lancaster University Management School for awarding a fee waiver. This financial support was both an incentive and an obligation to deliver the best possible results. I would particularly like to emphasize that the financial support was extended for the duration of the COVID-19 pandemic, which helped me to finish my PhD.

I would also like to thank the staff of the Marketing Department at Lancaster University who were always on hand with help and advice. My thanks also go to the Lancaster University library, which I loved to use before the pandemic broke out.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents and friends, who always stood by my side, who encouraged me not to give up but to bring my PhD to a successful conclusion. As a friend put it: "Bring that thing home!".

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Introduction

Political ideologies are "socially shared but competing philosophies of life and how it should be lived" (Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009, p. 309). Because political ideologies aim at specific consequences (Jost, 2006), our understanding of consumers' decision making can be enhanced by taking ideological differences into account (Jost, 2017). Political ideology ranges across a spectrum that includes political conservatism and political liberalism, which is to be distinguished from party affiliation (e.g. Republican, Democrat, Independent) and political identification (e.g. self-categorisation) (Choma, Hanoch, & Currie, 2016).

Political conservatism is focused on the avoidance of negative outcomes and utilises restraint and inhibition as a means for the regulation of social life (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). In contrast, political liberalism aims at approaching positive outcomes and relies on intervention and activation as a means for the regulation of social life (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). Conservatism seeks to minimise negative outcomes, whereas liberalism seeks to maximise positive outcomes (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). Thus, both political ideologies seek what they see to be optimal results for the society but apply different strategies to achieve their ends (Janoff-Bulman, 2009).

The present thesis focuses on political conservatism as conservatism is one paradigm among others that may lead to the social exclusion of people (Byrne, 2005). This is because of the conservatives' restrictive (rather than inclusive) group membership and because of the conservatives' focus on intergroup boundaries (rather than intragroup variability) (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). Marginalised workers in low- and middle-income countries could, for example, be socially excluded by conservative consumers in high-income countries. Fair trade aims for social inclusion of marginalised workers in low- and middle-income countries and could, thus, contradict with political conservatism.

Fair trade is a network of fair trade institutions such as fair trade supply chains, labelling initiatives, fair trade brands, and umbrella associations (Witkowski, 2005). Therefore, I use a definition suggested by the network consisting of the World Fair Trade Organization, Fairtrade International, and FLO-CERT according to which fair trade is "a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade" (WFTO/FairtradeInternational/FLO-CERT, 2011, p. 1). This definition requires supplier organisations to be "marginalised by the world economy" (Walton, 2010, p. 433), which does not apply to local farmers in HIC. This definition rather calls for the improvement of the

living conditions of workers in LMIC through, for example, “fair trade as ethical consumerism” (Walton, 2010, p. 435).

The consumption of fair trade products can be seen as a political phenomenon (Clarke, Barnett, Cloke, & Malpass, 2007a, 2007b) as the premium for fair trade products is intended to enhance the social, environmental, and economic conditions of workers in LMIC (FairtradeFoundation_a). The beginnings of the fair trade movement represent a more radical form of political consumerism (Lekakis, 2012). The marketing of fair trade products often illustrates the problems of workers in LMIC (Staricco, 2016) and, thus, reflects the political nature of the fair trade business model.

The literature shows that ethical consumption is associated with political party preferences (Koivula, Kukkonen, Sivonen, & Räsänen, 2020), that political consumption tends not to spill over into other expressions of political activism (Rössel & Schenk, 2018), that ethical consumption and organisations’ political activities are interrelated (Clarke, 2008), and that the politicised fair trade market has the potential to foster social justice and economic equality (Lyon, 2006). These findings shed light on the political nature of fair trade but leave open the question of how political conservatism affects fair trade consumption. This thesis’ contributions to the literature on fair trade consumption and politics is detailed in table 1.

Article	**Finding of the article**	**Contribution of this thesis**
Evaluating fair trade consumption: Politics, defetishization and producer participation (Lyon, 2006)	Lyon (2006) conducted ethnographic research in order to analyse the “fair trade market as a political construction” (p. 461). In doing so, the author identified a potentially negative trend as the consumption of fair trade products could reinforce the differences between consumers in HIC and producers in LMIC (Lyon, 2006). However, this contradiction does not necessarily impair the potential of fair trade in its ambition to accomplish social	This thesis focuses on the potential difference between the segment of conservative consumers in HIC and producers of fair trade products in LMIC. Thus, the thesis elaborates “producer-consumer differences” (Lyon, 2006, p. 452), thereby responding to Lyon’s call by conducting the suggested empirical research in articles 2 and 3 of the thesis.

	justice and economic equality (Lyon, 2006). The article concludes with a call for more empirical research (Lyon, 2006).	
The Political Rationalities of Fair-Trade Consumption in the United Kingdom (Clarke et al., 2007b)	Clarke, Barnett, Cloke, and Malpass (2007b) emphasise that they have not conceptualised fair trade as consumer demand, but that they have "focused on its political rationalities, using the case study of Traidcraft as a way of elaborating on the relationship between organizational strategy and social networking through which fair-trade consumption works" (p. 602).	The present thesis complements Clarke et al.'s (2007b) study in that it conceptualises fair trade through the theoretical lenses of consumer demand and political conservatism.
From Ethical Consumerism to Political Consumption (Clarke, 2008)	Clarke (2008) states that "ethical consumption practices are rarely detached from organisations and their political activity" (p. 1870) and that "we have failed to recognise the political character of such consumption – the way in which such consumption is organised and mobilised by social movement and other organisations" (p. 1877).	The contribution of this thesis is situated within consumer research and understands ethical decision making as a politicised activity. The thesis therefore adds to existing knowledge about the organisational aspects of ethical consumption as political activity.
Globalising the consumer: Doing politics in an ethical register (Clarke et al., 2007a)	Clarke, Barnett, Cloke, and Malpass (2007a) argue that "ethical consumption campaigning is a political phenomenon in which everyday consumption practices are reconstituted as the sites for citizenly acts that reach beyond	Article 3 builds on the notion of ethical consumption campaigning as a political phenomenon (Clarke et al., 2007a) by suggesting a marketing programme for the promotion of fair trade products to conservative consumers.

	the realm of consumption per se" (pp. 231-232).	
Is There Room for Ethical Consumers on the Finnish Political Spectrum? (Koivula et al., 2020)	Using political party preference as the independent variable, Koivula et al. (2020) demonstrate that "ethical consumer orientation is strongly associated with citizens' political preference" (p. 255).	Article 2 and 3 demonstrate that Koivula et al.'s (2020) claim remains valid for political conservatism and, thus, provide additional evidence for the relationship between political orientation and ethical consumption.
How Political is Political Consumption? The Case of Activism for the Global South and Fair Trade (Rössel & Schenk, 2018)	Rössel and Schenk (2018) show that "fair trade consumption is only weakly related to other forms of engagement for Global South issues, thus it does not distract from more challenging forms of engagement, but it is also not part of a more general engaged lifestyle" (p. 266).	This thesis draws upon Rössel and Schenk's (2018) findings as it focusses on conservative consumers who might not be generally inclined to adopt an engaged lifestyle.
Will the fair trade revolution be marketised? Commodification, decommodification and the political intensity of consumer politics (Lekakis, 2012)	Lekakis (2012) argues that "there is a corporate 'veiling' of consumer politics where the commercial sense which mainstream fair trade commodities enjoy is being manipulated through strategies of co-branding, thus signalling further distance from the older radical character of fair trade political consumerism" (p. 345).	This thesis' article 3 introduces an intervention programme that suggests how to market fair trade products to conservative consumers who might feel distanced from fair trade as a form of radical political consumerism.

Table 1 This thesis' contributions to the literature on fair trade consumption and politics

Political conservatism is particularly suited to the examination of fair trade consumption because conservatism focusses on the regulation of personal behaviours and lifestyles (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). The investigation of fair trade consumption through the theoretical lens of political conservatism could not only increase the understanding of how conservative consumers respond to the appeals of fair trade products but could also give insights into how

marketing can influence the relationship between political conservatism and fair trade consumption. Thus, the purpose of my thesis is to address the research gap where there is a limited consideration towards the role of the consumers' political conservatism in influencing ethical consumption, particularly fair trade consumption. This attempt is summarised in the following overall research question:

> What are the goals of conservative consumers and how do these goals relate to the consumption and marketing of fair trade products?

This overall research question is broken down into three more specific research questions that focus, first, on the goals of conservative consumers, second, on how these goals effect the consumption of fair trade products, and third, on how marketing interventions can influence the effect of conservative goals on the consumption of fair trade products. These specific research questions are detailed next.

Research questions

The three specific research questions guide this thesis' three articles. The first article addresses the research question of what are the various goals of political conservatism that can be differentiated. Answering the first article's research question lays down the framework that is necessary for answering the following research questions. The second article raises the research question of how political conservatism affects the consumption of fair trade products so as to examine the reasons for how the goals of political conservatism may contradict fair trade consumption. The third article answers the research question of what intervention(s) would help to market fair trade products to conservative consumers successfully.

Research question of article 1

This thesis examines fair trade consumption through the lens of political conservatism (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003b). Jost et al. (2003b) argued that the theoretical framework of political conservatism is suitable for unifying a group of theories that describe psychological aspects of the conservative ideology. They further argued that many variables are involved in the belief system of conservatism and, more specifically, that there is a relationship between the environment, psychological motives and conservatism as an ideological outcome (Jost et al., 2003b). The ideological outcome of conservatism is the individuals' pursuit of political goals. Jost et al. (2003b) identified "the goal of resisting social and political change" (p. 368) and "the striving for security and dominance in social

hierarchies" (p. 368) as goals of political conservatism. More commonly referred to as *resistance to change* and *endorsement of inequality*, these political goals align conservative individuals' decisions-making to their ideological beliefs.

Prior studies have mainly focused on these two political goals of conservatives when examining their decision-making (Farmer, Kidwell, & Hardesty, 2020; Fernandes, 2020; Fernandes & Mandel, 2014; Han, Jung, Mittal, Zyung, & Adam, 2019; Kidwell, Farmer, & Hardesty, 2013; Li, Barone, Jain, & Kwon, 2020; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018) and have, hence, assumed a rather limited structure of the manifestations of political conservatism in the context of consumption. Thus, article 1 aims to answer the following research question:

What are the various goals of political conservatism that can be differentiated?

Consumer behaviour tends to be goal-directed in that it focuses on specific outcomes (Bagozzi & Dholakia, 1999). I will be offering a taxonomy that better accounts for the variety of conservative goals than existing taxonomies and, thus, adds precision to understanding the purchasing decisions of conservatives. A differentiating taxonomy of the various political goals of conservatives may not only facilitate subsequent research on the outcomes of political conservatism in the context of consumption but could also enable marketing practitioners and policy makers to target the conservative customer segment effectively.

Research question of article 2

The two goals of political conservatism hitherto described in the literature, i.e. resistance to change and endorsement of inequality (Jost et al., 2003b), could conflict with the features of fair trade. One goal of political conservatism is the endorsement of inequality (Jost et al., 2003b), which stands in contrast to fair trade as a "critique of the historical inequalities inherent in international trade" and as a "belief that trade can be made more socially just" (Raynolds & Bennett, 2015, p. 3). Another goal of political conservatism is the resistance to change (Jost et al., 2003b), which stands in contradiction to the purpose of fair trade to "transform international trade from a vehicle of exploitation to an avenue of empowerment" (Raynolds & Bennett, 2015, p. 3). Therefore, I expect politically conservative consumers to reject the consumption of fair trade products.

In order to understand what might be seen as an anticipated rejection of fair trade products and the associated marketing of fair trade products to consumers with a conservative disposition, it is necessary to gain a better understanding of how political conservatism sits in opposition to

the drive for fair trade consumption. Therefore, article 2 addresses the following research question:

How does political conservatism affect the consumption of fair trade products?

I anticipate an inhibitory effect of political conservatism on the consumption of fair trade products. In particular, political conservatism is conceptualised as an "ideological belief system that consists of two core components, resistance to change and opposition to equality" (Jost et al., 2007, p. 990). These components of conservatism, also referred to as goals of conservatism (Jost et al., 2003b), are likely to conflict with the principles of fair trade. This is because fair trade addresses the injustices of conventional trade, which discriminates against the weakest, poorest producers (FairtradeFoundation_b), thus illustrating the aim to overcome inequality which is associated with a change in shopping behaviour for most consumers.

Earlier research has investigated the inhibitory effect of political conservatism on complaint behaviour (Jung, Garbarino, Briley, & Wynhausen, 2017b), the consumption of international brands (Khan, Misra, & Singh, 2013), and the horizontal differentiation through commodities (Kim, Park, & Dubois, 2018; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018). Other studies demonstrate how persuasive appeals (Kidwell et al., 2013) and group norms (Fernandes & Mandel, 2014; Kaikati, Torelli, Winterich, & Rodas, 2017) diminish the inhibitory effect of political conservatism on consumption. Answering the research question of article 2 contributes to the literature through the examination of the psychological process that mediates between political conservatism and its expected inhibitory effect on ethical consumption such as fair trade.

Research question of article 3

A deeper understanding of the processes behind conservative consumers' potential scepticism towards fair trade represents the key starting point for the development of marketing interventions. Fair trade advertisements often highlight the hardships, problems, and vulnerabilities of workers in LMIC in order to raise the awareness of consumers in high-income countries, abbreviated HIC (Staricco, 2016). However, the willingness to buy fair trade products may not only be driven by the motive to implement social justice and equality, but also by the desire to make independent and self-serving purchasing decisions (Yamoah, Duffy, Petrovici, & Fearne, 2016). An overemphasis in marketing communications on the ethical character of fair trade products could put off consumers who do not make their purchasing decisions based on social responsibility (Yamoah et al., 2016). Specifically, fair

trade advertisements that illustrate altruism may not appeal to conservative consumers that pursue the goal of inequality (Jost et al., 2003b) through their decision-making. Article 3, thus, focuses on the following research question:

What intervention(s) would help to market fair trade products to conservative consumers more successfully?

An increase of fair trade sales to conservative consumers due to adapted marketing communications could improve the living conditions of farmers and workers in LMIC. This is because fair trade aims to "deliver consistently lower poverty and reduced inequality more effectively than can the conventional free trade system" (Suranovic, 2015, p. 59).

The present thesis comprises three studies: a conceptual study reported in article 1 and two empirical studies reported in articles 2 and 3. Each article addresses a specific research question and constitutes a research paper on its own (summarised in table 2).

	Research questions
Articles 1 – 3	What are the goals of conservative consumers and how do these goals relate to the consumption and marketing of fair trade products?
Article 1	What are the various goals of political conservatism that can be differentiated?
Article 2	How does political conservatism affect the consumption of fair trade products?
Article 3	What intervention(s) would help to market fair trade products to conservative consumers more successfully?

Table 2 Summary of the research questions of articles 1 to 3

Thesis outline

This introduction (chapter 1) sets out the overall narrative for the thesis. The thesis then moves to outlining its methodology (chapter 2), which includes a description of the chosen research philosophy and the corresponding applied research design. The three main chapters of the thesis (chapters 3 – 5) describe the studies and the theoretical contributions. The final chapter (chapter 6) offers a discussion of how the results of the three studies complement each other and sets out explicitly the nature and extent of the contribution of the thesis (academically and managerially).

Three articles form the core of this thesis and are presented in chapters 3 – 5. The articles are independent but interrelated as they represent a coherent agenda, which is, first, to understand the relationship between the goals of political conservatism and the consumption of fair trade products and, second, to develop marketing interventions that can be employed to intervene in this relationship.

Article 1: Goals of political conservatism and their pursuit through consumption – A review and taxonomic framework

Article 1 seeks to achieve a more nuanced taxonomy of conservative goals which moves beyond the two main goals usually associated with political conservatism (i.e., resistance to change and endorsement of inequality). Both resistance to change and endorsement of inequality have been identified and utilised in the literature as political goals of conservatism (Farmer et al., 2020; Fernandes, 2020; Fernandes & Mandel, 2014; Han et al., 2019; Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003b; Jung & Mittal, 2020; Kidwell et al., 2013; Li et al., 2020; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018). In order to conceptualise a taxonomy of the various goals of conservatism that is more nuanced than existing taxonomies, I apply the differentiating reasoning approach as described by MacInnis (2011), which helps "to see types of things and how they are different; to discriminate, parse, or see pieces or dimensions that comprise a whole" (p. 138).

The thesis' first article differentiates conservative goals at multiple levels (figure 1). Specifically, the first article differentiates between three hierarchical goal-levels at which conservatives make their purchasing decisions. Utilising a goal systemic perspective (Carver & Scheier, 1998/2001; Kopetz, Kruglanski, Arens, Etkin, & Johnson, 2012; Kruglanski et al., 2002), I will posit that conservative consumers pursue a superordinate goal (i.e. securing the in-group advantageous status quo), two intermediate goals (i.e. resistance to change and endorsement of inequality), and five subordinate goals (i.e. conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, dominance, and anti-egalitarianism). Additionally, I will suggest propositions for the hierarchical levels and the associated goals of conservatism to allow for subsequent research on this novel framework. I will also outline the managerial relevance of the propositions which can, for example, be used to promote fair trade products.

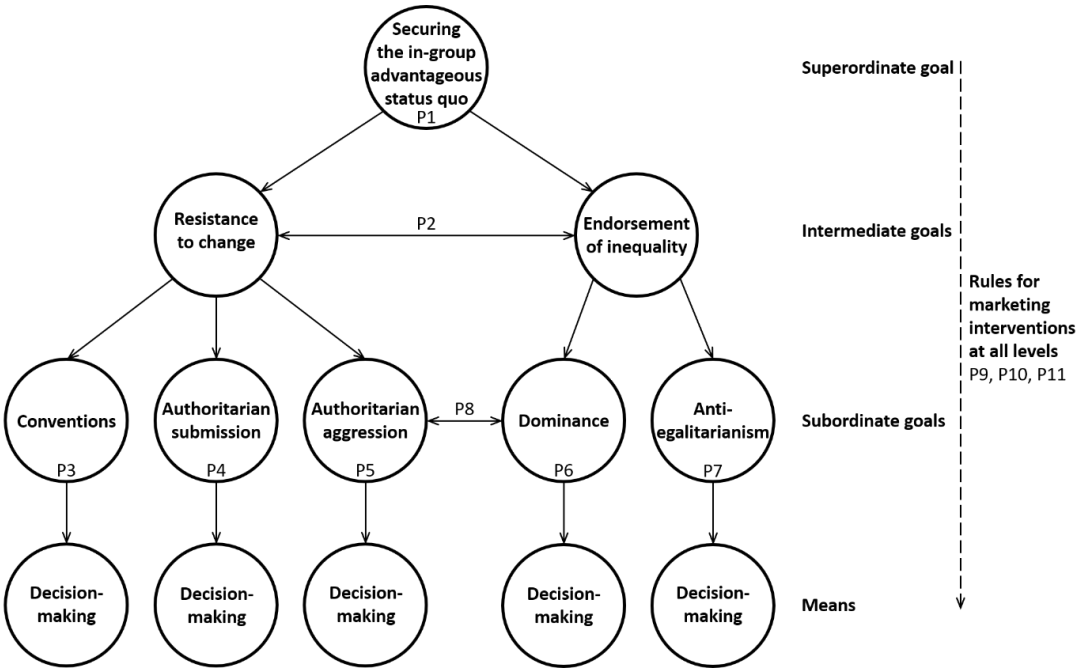


Figure 1 Location of the propositions (P1 – P11) within the three-level goal hierarchy of political conservatism

Article 2: The inhibitory effect of political conservatism on consumption – The case of fair trade

The second article reports the results of a study that investigated the effect of political conservatism on the willingness to buy fair trade products. The results suggest that the ability to take the perspective of workers in low- and middle-income countries (LMIC), as well as the internalization of the fair trade concept, mediate between political conservatism and the willingness to buy fair trade goods. Through this mediation, political conservatism decreases the intention to buy fair trade products. The results further demonstrate that age reduces the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking, whereas income heightens the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking. The corresponding model is presented in figure 2.

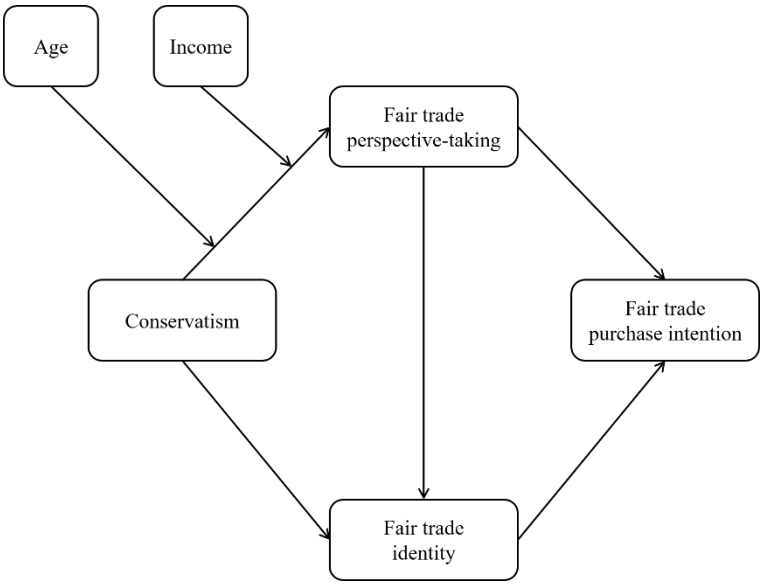


Figure 2 Model of an indirect relationship between political conservatism and fair trade purchase intention

Article 3: Political Conservatism and Fair Trade Consumption – Insights from Social Dominance Orientation

The third article presents the findings of an experimental study that focused on anti-egalitarianism as the most relevant goal of political conservatism for researching fair trade consumption (anti-egalitarianism is conceptualised as a subordinate goal of conservatism in article 1). The results indicate that consumers pursuing the conservative goal of anti-egalitarianism are more inclined to buy and pay for fair trade products when they see advertisements that illustrate status rather than altruism because status-appeals can be processed with more fluency (Kidwell et al., 2013; Schwarz, 2004). Hence, the third article suggests one potential solution (i.e., ideologically congruent status-appeals) to counter the inhibitory effect of political conservatism on fair trade purchase intention as identified in the second article. The respective model is shown in figure 3.

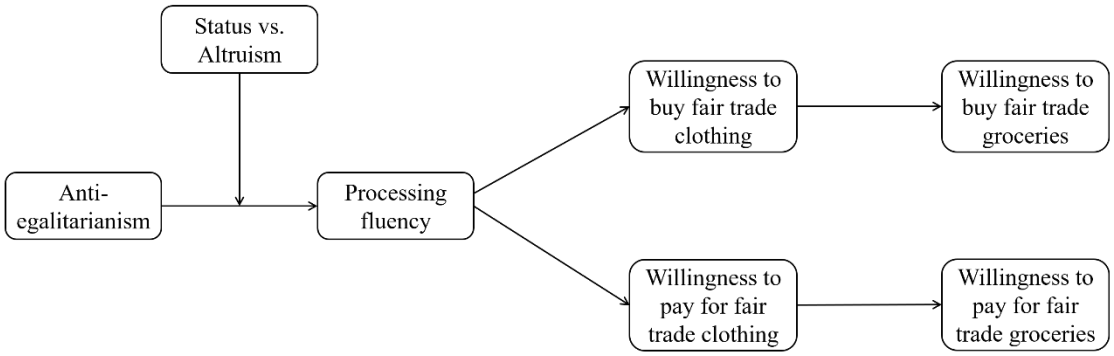


Figure 3 Model of a moderated mediation between anti-egalitarianism and the willingness to buy fair trade clothing

In summary, the first article differentiates the goals of political conservatism in order to facilitate subsequent research on conservatives' decision-making. The second article examines the pursuit of conservative goals in the context of fair trade consumption in order to understand what potentially shields conservatives from the appeals of fair trade products. Finally, the third article develops and tests marketing interventions in order to identify their efficacy in diminishing the negative effects of conservatism on fair trade consumption.

The following table 3 summarises the focal points, methods, analyses, and contexts of the thesis' three articles.

	Focus	**Methods**	**Analysis**	**Context**
Article 1	Differentiation of the goals of political conservatism	Differentiating conceptualisation	Analytical reasoning	Academic literature
Article 2	The effect of political conservatism on fair trade consumption	Non-experimental design with survey	Testing of hypotheses: Partial least squares (SmartPLS)	Fair trade food
Article 3	Marketing interventions for fair trade products that appeal to conservative consumers	Experimental design with survey	Testing of hypotheses: Partial least squares (SmartPLS)	Fair trade clothing

Table 3 Summary of the articles 1 – 3

Table 3 indicates that partial least squares structural equation modelling (PLS-SEM) has been used to analyse the collected data.

The primary objective of PLS-SEM is to "maximize the explained variance (R^2 values) of the dependent constructs. The method therefore supports prediction-oriented goals" (Hair, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2011, p. 148). Furthermore, PLS-SEM is a non-parametric method that does not require normally distributed data (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). Finally, the use of

PLS-SEM is particularly recommended for complex structural models with many constructs and indicators (Hair et al., 2011).

In contrast, covariance-based structural equation modelling (CB-SEM) is a technique that "focuses on estimating a set of model parameters in such a way that the difference between the theoretical covariance matrix and the estimated covariance matrix is minimized" (Hair et al., 2011, p. 139). If the research goal is to test a theory, CB-SEM should be used (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). Furthermore, CB-SEM requires the multivariate normality of data because the results can be imprecise if this assumption is violated (Hair et al., 2011). Finally, the use of CB-SEM is particularly recommended for models of limited complexity (Hair, Hult, Ringle, Sarstedt, & Thiele, 2017).

PLS-SEM has been used for the analysis of this thesis' data for three reasons. First, the research goal of article 2 is to examine whether political conservatism predicts the decrease in the willingness to consume fair trade products and the research goal of article 3 is to test a marketing programme that potentially intervenes in this predicted relationship. Second, the data used for article 2 as well as for article 3 does not meet the assumption of normality (see method sections of article 2 and 3 for more information on the non-normality of the datasets for this thesis). Third, the model in article 2 entails 10 constructs (including control variables) and the model in article 3 entails 14 constructs (including control variables). Thus, both models are rather complex. In summary, prediction-oriented goals, not normally distributed data, and complex models necessitated the use of PLS-SEM.

Methodology

In this chapter I will provide an overview of potential research philosophies for the thesis and from there will argue about how best to choose the one that fits with the thesis' objectives. I will then set out the reasons for the choice of post-positivism before outlining its key characteristics in more detail. Next, the research design will be described, which includes a summary of the methods employed as there is analytical reasoning to arrive at a conceptualisation (chapter 3), structural equation modelling of data from a non-experimental survey (chapter 4), and hypotheses testing using data from an experiment (chapter 5). The codebooks used for the structural equation modelling and the experiment will be presented in the appendices (tables 18 and 19).

Research philosophies

Research philosophies are systems of assumptions about how to develop knowledge (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2016). These assumptions refer to human knowledge, i.e. epistemology, to realities that are encountered when conducting research, i.e. ontology, and to a researcher's own values that can influence the research process, i.e. axiology (Saunders et al., 2016). A research philosophy allows for the coherence between research design, methods, data collection, and data analysis (Saunders et al., 2016).

In business research, the most commonly applied research philosophies are interpretivism, postmodernism, critical realism, pragmatism, and positivism (Saunders et al., 2016). Next, each research philosophy will be described, followed by a brief discussion about whether or not this fits with the objectives of the thesis.

Interpretivism

The paradigm of interpretivism acknowledges the existence of various social realities (Andriopoulos & Slater, 2013) as well as individuals' subjectivity and their various readings of reality (Irshaidat, 2019). Interpretivism pays attentions to details but dismisses scientific claims and presuppositions (Irshaidat, 2019). Interpretive researchers are neither detached from their respective research topic nor do they draw generalisable conclusions (Irshaidat, 2019). Rather, they develop deep insights (Andriopoulos & Slater, 2013) and aim for thick descriptions with faithful conclusions (Irshaidat, 2019).

Interpretivism understands political structure to be formed by a number of variables such as culture, economics, values, and ideology that differ among nations and countries (Irshaidat, 2019). Interpretivist researchers are reflexive during interviews in that they welcome participants' spontaneous ideas and their descriptions of lived experiences (Irshaidat, 2019). Thus, utilising the paradigm of interpretivism for the present thesis would have meant examining political conservatism and its implications for consumers' decision-making very broadly. This approach would necessitate taking variables such as culture, economics, values, and country-specific conditions into account. Interviewees would be encouraged to give a subjective account of how and why conservative beliefs are relevant for their purchasing decisions.

However, political conservatism as an ideological belief system (Jost et al., 2003b) is likely to bundle meanings so that individual meanings may become less relevant. Moreover, the author does not want to include his own interpretations into his research so as not to muddle his own ideological beliefs with the ideological beliefs expressed by the participants. Interpretivism is, thus, eliminated from the list of potential research philosophies.

Postmodernism

According to the postmodern paradigm, ideas with regard to the individual, self, agency, freedom, and structure are ephemeral and arbitrary rather than fixed and essential (Firat, Dholakia, & Venkatesh, 1995). New possibilities opened up by modern technologies but also frustrations and cynicism resulting from the modern experience have fed into the growth of multiple, often contradictory, ideologies, lifestyles, and myth systems (Firat et al., 1995).

Features of postmodernism are, for example, chaos, heterogeneity, plurality, youth, and playfulness (Brown, 1993). The ability of consumers to represent an image that best fits the fragmented moment has liberated them from the boundaries of a single image (Firat et al., 1995). Postmodernism allows for ambiguity and indeterminacy (Brown, 1993) as well as for the experiencing of what is paradoxically opposed (Firat et al., 1995). The postmodern consumer enjoys and appreciates the playfulness and the paradox, the satire and the difference that juxtapositions enable and provide (Firat et al., 1995).

Since consumers, according to Firat et al. (1995), have started to frequently change their characters, self-concepts, values, etc., "it is so easy to find many subscribing to progressive and conservative ideas and movements at the same time" (p. 44). Thus, using postmodernism as a research philosophy for the present thesis would have meant examining whether political

conservatism is still a fixed belief system or whether conservatism is actually characterized by fragmentation, a loss of ideological commitment, and juxtapositions of ideological opposites. Consumers could adopt both conservative and liberal beliefs, e.g. fiscally conservative and socially liberal (Rao, 2017), in order to represent an image that best fits the given situation. However, in accordance with the prevailing view in political psychology and consumer psychology (Jost, 2017; Jost et al., 2003b), I understand political conservatism and its effect on consumers' decision-making to be characterised by consistency rather than fragmentation. In other words, I expect political conservatism to be a generalisable pattern rather than being characterized by different postmodern images that vary according to the setting.

Critical realism

The research philosophy of critical realism considers reality to be stratified (O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014). In particular, there is the empirical world (i.e. what individuals experience and perceive), the actual world (i.e. occurring events), and the real world (i.e. structures and mechanisms that generate the empirical and the actual world) (O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014). The emphasis of critical realism is on mechanisms at deeper levels that may not be directly observable but that await discovery (O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014). In order to reveal underlying structures and mechanisms of reality, critical realists conduct, for example, historical analyses of enduring or changing societal circumstances (Saunders et al., 2016).

Critical realism does not "suggest that deeper levels are inevitably required in a causal explanation, but the possibilities of causal mechanisms at deeper levels must be considered" (O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014, p. 11). Thus, using critical realism as the research philosophy for the present thesis would have meant searching for underlying structures and mechanisms that drive the manifestation of political conservatism in the context of fair trade consumption. For example, colonialism could have been an underlying mechanism that still causes the unwillingness of conservatives in modern Western societies to help marginalised farmers in low- and middle-income countries through their purchasing decisions.

However, this thesis' overall research question is: What are the goals of conservative consumers and how do these goals relate to the consumption and marketing of fair trade products? Thus, the overall research question focusses on the observable relationship between political conservatism and fair trade consumption rather than on underlying structures and mechanisms that may or may not underpin this relationship.

Pragmatism

Biesta (2010) argues that the agenda of modern epistemology was mainly characterised by matter on the one hand and mind on the other. Biesta (2010) further says that such a scheme leads to objectivity and subjectivity as the only options, because knowledge is either objective when it depicts objects or, if objectivity is deemed impossible, subjective as produced by the mind of humans. According to Biesta (2010), it should not be asked whether objectivity or subjectivity is more appropriate, but whether the underlying differentiation of world and mind is reasonable. According to Biesta (2010), Dewey cuts across the differentiation of world and mind by his framework of interactions, also referred to as transactions, that led to his key concept of experience. In particular, Dewey (1909/2005) pointed out that things actually are how humans experience them. This means that experiences of different people are equally real (Biesta, 2010).

Applying pragmatism as a philosophical paradigm for the present thesis would have meant investigating how conservatives experience the consumption of fair trade products. Conservatives' experiences with consuming fair trade goods could differ from those of liberals. However, the overall research question (What are the goals of conservative consumers and how do these goals relate to the consumption and marketing of fair trade products?) does not relate to conservatives' experiences with consuming fair trade products. The overall research question rather focusses on the objective characteristics of the relationship between political conservatism and fair trade consumption and may, for example, provide insights into whether there is an observable inhibitory effect of conservatism on the willingness to buy fair trade products.

Positivism and Post-Positivism

The positivist paradigm aims for results that represent what is typical rather than situational for a certain phenomenon (Irshaidat, 2019). A positivist researcher investigates a phenomena in order to identify patterns that are replicable and, thus, generalisable (Irshaidat, 2019). The research philosophy of positivism endorses the thesis' aim to produce generalisations about the consumer segment of conservatives and their stance on fair trade consumption.

Furthermore, the marketing interventions to be developed are expected to achieve generalisability in that they may be applicable in similar empirical contexts. As there are no characteristics of positivism that are inconsistent with the objectives of the thesis, the research philosophy of (post-)positivism guided the conduct of my doctoral research. Next, the

research philosophy of (post-)positivism will be detailed and its influence on the thesis will be described.

Auguste Comte is considered to have founded positivism (Crotty, 1998). Comte (1853/2000) described philosophising as a progress that involves three methods as there is the theological method, the metaphysical method, and the positive method. Using the means of observation and reasoning, the positive method is aiming for explanations of facts rather than absolute notions (Comte, 1853/2000). Facts can only be observed with the guidance of a theory (Comte, 1853/2000). Without a theory, facts could be fruitless, desultory, and may not even be perceived (Comte, 1853/2000). Consequently, I drew upon the theory of political conservatism (Jost et al., 2003b) when investigating fair trade consumption. Additionally, using scales to measure participants' willingness to buy and to pay for fair trade products operationalised fair trade as observable fact.

Comte highlighted the importance of theories for the development of knowledge and the so-called Vienna Circle put, subsequently, emphasis on the necessity to verify theories. The Vienna Circle was chaired by Moritz Schlick, who was a professor of philosophy at the University of Vienna (Crotty, 1998). He argued that knowing the rules by which a proposition can be verified is a precondition for subjecting the proposition to verification (Schlick, 1936). Consequently, I will provide definitions and measures when outlining the methods for chapters 3 to 5 so as to reveal the rules used to verify the thesis' propositions and hypothesis.

The Vienna Circle's contributions have played an important role in the development of today's concept of positivism, which is called post-positivism (Crotty, 1998). The emergence of post-positivism relates to, for example, Werner Heisenberg's articulation of an uncertainty principle, which has questioned the claims of positive science to objectivity and certitude (Crotty, 1998). According to the uncertainty principle, it is not possible to determine the momentum as well as the position of a subatomic particle (e.g. electron) with accuracy (Crotty, 1998). This is because observed subatomic particles alter in the act of being observed, which challenges the assumption that observed and observer are independent (Crotty, 1998). Heisenberg's uncertainty principle turned objective certainties into subjective perceptions (Crotty, 1998) and fed into post-positivism with Karl Popper as its main representative.

As distinguished from Schlick's (1936) principle of verification, Popper (Popper, 1959/2002) put the less absolute principle of falsification forward. This means that a proposed solution to a problem is open to criticism and refutable through another attempt, which then has to withstand criticism (Popper, 1976). Popper (1976) concludes that "the method of science is

one of tentative attempts to solve our problems" (p. 89). My thesis puts Popper's approach of post-positivism into practice in that chapters 3 to 5 seek to falsify the literature by providing alternative attempts. Additionally, experimentally testing in article 3 whether advertisements utilising status are more appealing to conservative consumers than advertisements utilising altruism puts Popper's (1957/2002) post-positivism into practice since he argued that

> "if we test two such systems which differ in one hypothesis only, and if we can design experiments which refute the first system while leaving the second very well corroborated, then we may be on reasonably safe ground if we attribute the failure of the first system to that hypothesis in which it differs from the other" (p. 122).

Whereas Popper (1976) discusses attempted solutions to problems more generally, Kuhn (1970) differentiates between three types of problems: "determination of significant fact, matching of facts with theory, and articulation of theory-exhaust" (p. 34). Chapters 3 to 5 fall into the category of theory-exhaust in that they identify

- an insufficient differenation of the goals of political conservatim (chapter 3),
- an unexplained inhibitory effect of political conservatism on ethical decision-making such as the willingness to buy fair trade coffee (chapter 4), and
- a lack of marketing interventions that allow the diminishing of the inhibitory effect of political conservatism on ethical decision-making such as the willingness to buy and pay for fair trade clothing (chapter 5).

Feyerabend (1993) gives methodological advice on how to develop theoretical contributions in that he recommended approaching theoretical problems from the outside in order to "invent a new conceptual system, for example a new theory, that clashes with the most carefully established observational results and confounds the most plausible theoretical principles" (p. 53). Consequently, I stepped back from the current debate on conservatism and marketing, went back to the roots of political psychology, and outlined ways to better differentiate the various goals of political conservatism and their effect on consumers' decision-making (chapter 3). The findings presented in chapter 3 then allowed for further examinations at the intersection of political conservatism and fair trade consumption (chapter 4 and 5). Next, I will detail the methods used for the thesis as there is a conceptualisation (article 1) and two articles that utilise structural equation modelling (articles 2 and 3).

Method of article 1

Article 1 is intended to conceptualise the different goals of political conservatism more precisely so as to lay a solid foundation for the subsequent articles 2 and 3. Conceptual articles are thought-based and can include literature reviews, conceptual frameworks, and integrative models (MacInnis, 2011). Conceptual thinking describes the abstract understanding of a problem or situation by identifying connections, patterns or underlying properties (MacInnis, 2011). MacInnis (2011) distinguishes between 8 specific conceptual objectives with differentiation as one potential obective of conceptualisations.

With her typology of potential conceptual contributions and the particular type of differentiating conceptualisations, MacInnis (2011) provides specific guidelines that fit with the purpose of article 1, which is to differentiate between the various goals that conservative consumers pursue through their decision-making. I applied MacInnis' (2011) framework as it facilitates differentiating conceptualisations which are not addressed by other frameworks for conceptual contributions (Snyder, 2019).

A conceptual differentiation necessitates a particularistic perspective and encourages us to see the entities of investigation as separable, multidimensional, and heterogenous (MacInnis, 2011). In practical terms, conducting a differentiating conceptualisation means to break the entity (e.g. domain, theory, construct) under study down into its parts so as to note contrasts (MacInnis, 2011). The entity's constituents parts are then fed into a novel taxonomic framework or classification scheme (MacInnis, 2011). Researchers conducting differentiating conceptualisations apply analytical reasoning which allows for categorising, classifying, dimensionalising, parsing, and distinguishing examined entities (MacInnis, 2011). Differentiation matters as it avoids errors in thinking about entities, as it increases precision in reasoning, and as it makes it easier to compare and contrast findings across articles (MacInnis, 2011).

Article 1 puts the guidelines by MacInnis (2011) into practice in order to arrive at a more nuanced taxonomy of the goals of political conservatism. Specifically, article 1 differentiates between various goals that conservative consumers pursue through their decision-making. Adopting a particularistic perspective, I break political conservatism into its constituent parts in order to utilise them for the development of a novel taxonomic framework of conservatives' goal pursuit. The suggested taxonomy differentiates between a superordinate goal (i.e., securing the in-group advantageous status quo), two intermediate goals (i.e., resistance to change and endorsement of inequality), and five subordinate goals (i.e., conventionalism,

authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, dominance, and anti-egalitarianism) that conservative consumers pursue through their decision-making.

Article 2 is more general in that it covers political conservatism as a whole and, thus, relates to the superordinate goal of political conservatism. Article 3, then, zooms into the spectrum of political conservatism by utilising anti-egalitarianism as the most relevant subordinate goal of political conservatism for the consumption of fair trade products.

Methods of articles 2 and 3

The purpose of article 2 is to examine the underlying process that accounts for conservatives' potential unwillingness to buy fair trade products. The objective of article 3 is to examine marketing interventions that might help to diminish the inhibitory effect of political conservatism on fair trade consumption as identified in article 2.

Measurement

The data for the study described in article 2 as well as for the study described in article 3 has been collected through surveys. A survey is based on structured questionnaires obtaining information from a chosen population (Malhotra, Nunan, & Birks, 2017). A survey has certain advantages. First, questionnaires are easy to administer; second, the obtained data are consistent as questionnaires have predetermined responses; and, third, the analysis of data can be done efficiently (Malhotra et al., 2017).

A questionnaire consists of formalised questions for gathering data from participants (Malhotra et al., 2017). Questionnaires have three objectives. First, they translate the necessary information into particular questions that can be answered by participants; second, questionnaires must motivate participants to finish the task; and, third, questionnaires should reduce response error (Malhotra et al., 2017). The first step in designing questionnaires is to define the necessary information (Malhotra et al., 2017). The second step is to specify the content of individual questions (Malhotra et al., 2017).

The questionnaires of both studies are presented in the appendices 1 and 2. The questionnaire for article 2 collected information on participants' political ideology and their willingness to buy fair trade products as well as information on potential mediators (i.e. fair trade perspective-taking, fair trade identity) and moderators (i.e. age, income), see appendix 1. In contrast to the questionnaire for article 2, the questionnaire for article 3 includes a

manipulation with two groups (appeal type: status, altruism) to which the participants were randomly allocated, see appendix 2.

Sampling and data collection[4]

The key decision with regard to sampling was whether to conduct probability or non-probability sampling. Probability sampling is a procedure in that each element has a certain chance to be included in the sample, whereas non-probability sampling is based on the decision of a researcher that selects the elements for the sample (Malhotra et al., 2017). The estimates obtained by non-probability sampling can't be statistically projected to the whole population, but "yield good estimates of the population characteristics" (Malhotra et al., 2017, p. 419).

Within the scope of non-probability sampling, convenience sampling is a technique where a sample comprising convenient elements is obtained (Malhotra et al., 2017). Convenience sampling, for example online surveys, saves time and costs in implementing research (Malhotra et al., 2017). Because Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) is considered a valid subject pool for psychological studies on topics of political ideology (Clifford, Jewell, & Waggoner, 2015), it has been used as source of two convenience samples. In particular, participants were recruited in the USA. This is because the USA is a HIC with low demand for fair trade products compared to other countries (FairtradeInternational, 2018b).

Finally, a sample size needs to be specified. The sample size states the count of elements that will be considered in the survey (Malhotra et al., 2017). To determine the studies' minimum sample size, I employed the software G*Power version 3.1.9.7. The sample size for the study of article 2 was computed with a statistical test for linear multiple regression with a fixed model. The input parameters were set to the following values – tail(s): 2, effect size f^2: 0.15, α err prob: 0.05, power (1-β err prob): 0.80, number of predictors: 11. The resulting total sample size is 55, which has been exceeded since the data from 409 participants were included in the statistical analysis. The sample size for the study of article 3 was computed with a statistical test for the difference between two independent means (two groups). The input parameters were set to the following values – tail(s): 2, effect size d: 0.5, α err prob: 0.05, power (1-β err prob): 0.80, allocation ratio N2/N1: 1. The resulting total sample size is 128 with a sample size of 64 for each of the two groups. This sample size has been exceeded since the data for 441 participants were included in the statistical analysis.

[4] Please see essays 2 and 3 for more specific information on sampling and data collection.

Data analysis[5]

Discriminant analysis, multivariate analysis of variance, exploratory factor analysis, and multiple regression are powerful statistical tools for answering a wide range of research questions (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2018). They all have one limitation in common: each technique addresses specific relationships (Hair et al., 2018). Even techniques that allow for a number of dependent variables (e.g. multivariate analysis of variance) are "interpreted based on individual relationships between a dependent and independent variable" (Hair et al., 2018, p. 603).

However, often researchers are faced with a number of interconnected generalisations and relationships that together form a theory (Hair et al., 2018). In this case, researchers are advised to use structural equation modelling, which is an extension of multiple regression analysis and factor analysis (Hair et al., 2018). This thesis' overall research question is: What are the goals of conservative consumers and how do these goals relate to the consumption and marketing of fair trade products? The overall research question addresses a number of potential relationships including political conservatism, willingness to buy, willingness to pay, mediators, moderators, and marketing interventions. Therefore, I used structural equation modelling because that can be used to examine a large number of relationships simultaneously and that can assess measurement properties too (Hair et al., 2018).

Two types of structural equation modelling are to be distinguished. First, covariance-based structural equation modelling (CB-SEM) aims at the confirmation or rejection of a theory "by determining how well a proposed theoretical model can estimate the covariance matrix for a sample data set" (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017, p. 4). Second, partial least squares structural equation modelling (PLS-SEM) aims at prediction "that maximizes the explained variance in the dependent variable(s)" (Hair et al., 2018, p. 766). This thesis' overall research question[6] does not merely seek to extend theory by confirming the relationship between political conservatism and fair trade consumption, but also attempts to develop and test marketing interventions that could predictably be used to intervene in the relationship between conservatism and fair trade consumption. In other words, PLS-SEM is adopted as an approach to achieve predictability. Specifically, I used the software SmartPLS (Ringle, Wende, & Becker, 2015).

[5] Please see essays 2 and 3 for more specific information on data analysis.
[6] What are the goals of conservative consumers and how do these goals relate to the consumption and marketing of fair trade products?

Pilot study

Both the study for article 2 and the study for article 3 are based on the assumption that political conservatism and fair trade consumption are contradictory. This assumption has been assessed in a pilot study. In particular, I conducted a survey to examine the relationship between political conservatism and fair trade consumption. Participants from the USA were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk. Because of the exploratory character of the pilot study, I did not measure political conservatism but asked participants to self-identify their political ideology on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly liberal to 7 = Strongly conservative). Fair trade consumption was operationalised as participants' willingness to pay for a variety of fair trade products, see table 4 with four self-developed items.

Item	Statement	Response
WTP_1	The price for conventional chocolate is $2.00/3.5oz. Please indicate the price that you would be willing to pay for fair trade chocolate.	Slider from 1 to 3 US dollar
WTP_2	The price for conventional coffee is $6.00/12oz. Please indicate the price that you would be willing to pay for fair trade coffee.	Slider from 3 to 9 US dollar
WTP_3	The price for a conventional T-shirt is $8.00. Please indicate the price that you would be willing to pay for a fair trade T-shirt.	Slider from 4 to 12 US dollar
WTP_4	The price for conventional liquid soap is $2.00/7.5oz. Please indicate the price that you would be willing to pay for fair trade liquid soap.	Slider from 1 to 3 US dollar

Table 4 Measure of willingness to pay in the pilot study

Additionally, I included an attention check in the questionnaire to screen out random clicking and controlled for the demographic variables of age, gender, and income. The corresponding model is shown in figure 4.

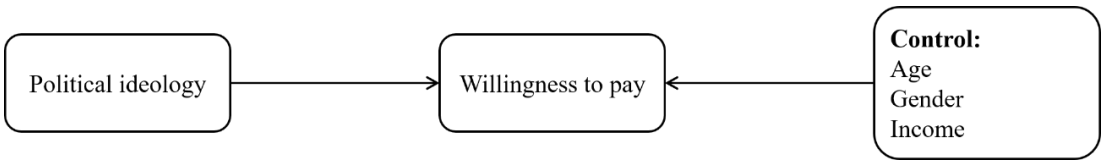


Figure 4 Model of a direct relationship between political ideology and the willingness to pay for fair trade products

70 participants from the USA completed the survey. None of them failed the attention check. Multivariate outliers were identified with the probability of the Mahalanobis distance (Hair et

al., 2018). One of these probabilities was below 0.001 and thus excluded from the data. 69 valid responses (30.4% female, $M_{\text{age}} = 35.13, SD = 10.58$) were included in the statistical analysis, which is above the minimum sample size of 55. The minimum sample size was computed in G*Power version 3.1.9.7 with a statistical test for linear multiple regression with a fixed model. The input parameters were set to the following values – tail(s): 2, effect size f^2: 0.15, α err prob: 0.05, power (1-β err prob): 0.80, number of predictors: 4.

I tested the data distribution with the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test with Lilliefors correction. Political ideology had a score of D(69) = .214, p < .01 and willingness to pay had a score of D(69) = .128, p < .01. Both results indicate a statistically significant deviation from normality, which justifies the use of SmartPLS Version 3.2.9 (Ringle et al., 2015) as this software does not require normally distributed data (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017).

I ran 10,000 bootstrap samples to assess the model. At first I checked the outer loadings which are acceptable if above 0.70 (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). The outer loadings of WTP_3 (0.743) and WTP_4 (0.738) are above the threshold of 0.70. However, the outer loadings of WTP_1 (0.697) and WTP_2 (0.593) are below the threshold of 0.70. Items with outer loadings between 0.40 and 0.70 should only be removed if this leads to an increase in the average variance extracted (AVE) or to an increase in the composite reliability (CR) above 0.50 for AVE and of 0.60 for CR (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). The AVE and CR values for the willingness to pay scale are above the thresholds with WTP_1, WTP_2, WTP_3, and WTP_4 (AVE = 0.524; CR = 0.784) as well as without WTP_1 and WTP_2 (AVE = 0.729; CR = 0.822). Thus, there is no indication that justifies the removal of WTP_1 and WTP_2 from the scale of willingness to pay. Furthermore, I assessed the discriminant validity with the heterotrait-monotrait ratio (HTMT) as recommended by Henseler, Ringle, and Sarstedt (2015). The result indicates discriminant validity between political ideology and willingness to pay because the upper bound of the HTMT bootstrap confidence interval is 0.626, which is below the conservative threshold value of 0.85 (Henseler et al., 2015).

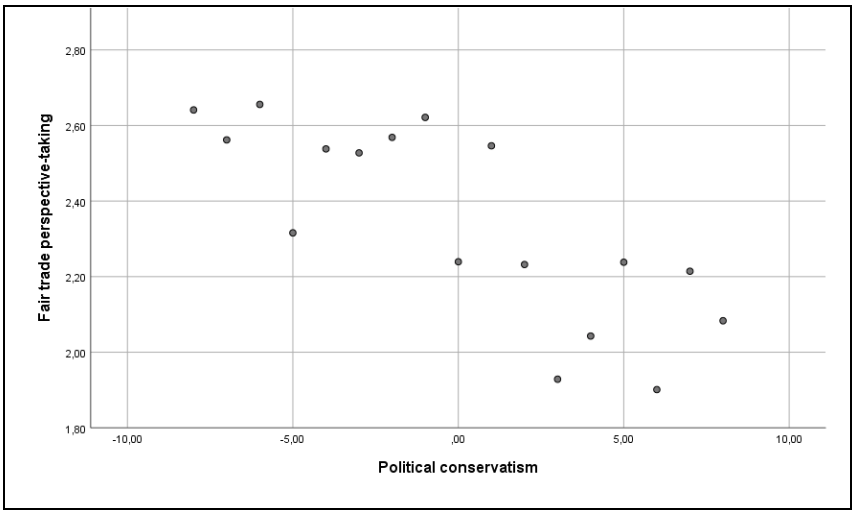
I moved on to inspecting the structural model. First, I checked potential collinearity issues of the structural model. The VIF value of political ideology as predictor of willingness to pay is 1.034 which is below the threshold of 5 and which helps me evidencing that the model derived from the pilot study does not suffer from collinearity problems. I then checked the R^2 value of willingness to pay for fair trade products as a dependent variable. Based on the guidelines by Hair, Ringle, and Sarstedt (2011), the R^2 value of 0.233 is weak. Additionally, I evaluated the f^2 effect size. Based on Cohen's (1988) guidelines, political ideology has a medium effect size of 0.156 on willingness to pay.

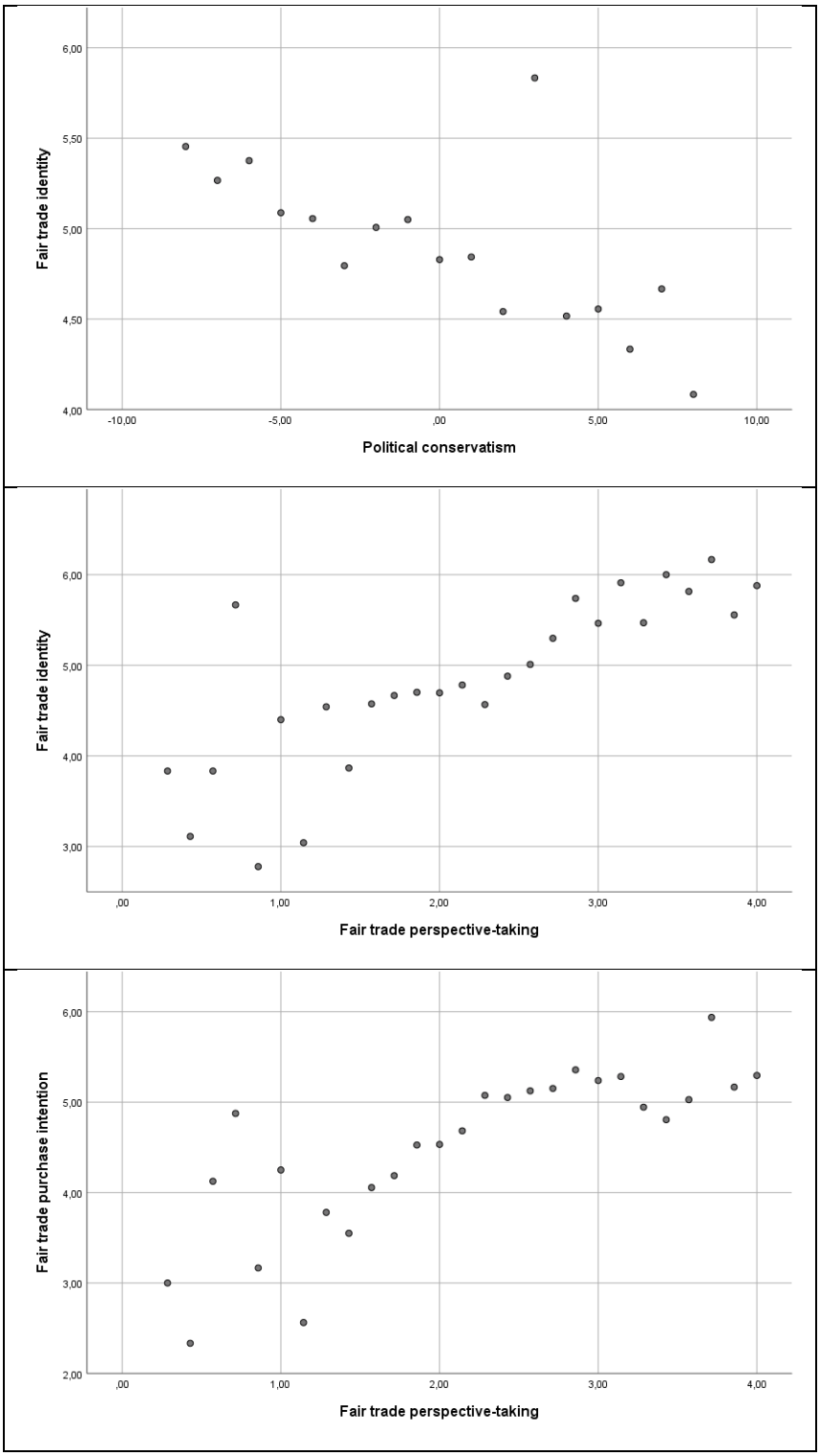
Finally, I checked the significance of the effect of political ideology on the willingness to pay for fair trade goods: $b = -.324, p < 0.05$. This means that the more conservative consumers are, the less they are willing to pay for fair trade products. Evidencing the assumption of an inhibitory effect of political conservatism on fair trade decision making is paving the way for examining the process that underpins this inhibition (article 2) and marketing interventions that might diminish this inhibition (article 3).

The results of the analyses of the measurement models and the structural models are reported in chapter 4 (for the second article) and in chapter 5 (for the third article). Additionally, the robustness of the structural models should be checked with regards to nonlinearity, endogeneity, and unobserved heterogeneity (Sarstedt et al., 2020). The results of the robustness checks are presented next.

Robustness check: Nonlinearity

First, I inspected the linearity of the data used for article 2. In particular, I examined the linearity between 1) political conservatism and fair trade perspective-taking, 2) political conservatism and fair trade identity, 3) fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity, 4) fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade purchase intention, and 5) fair trade identity and fair trade purchase intention. I used summary point plots to graph the paired data.




Fair trade identity
6,00
5,50
5,00
4,50
4,00
-10,00
-5,00
,00
5,00
10,00
Political conservatism
Fair trade identity
6,00
5,00
4,00
3,00
,00
1,00
2,00
3,00
4,00
Fair trade perspective-taking
Fair trade purchase intention
6,00
5,00
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2,00
,00
1,00
2,00
3,00
4,00
Fair trade perspective-taking

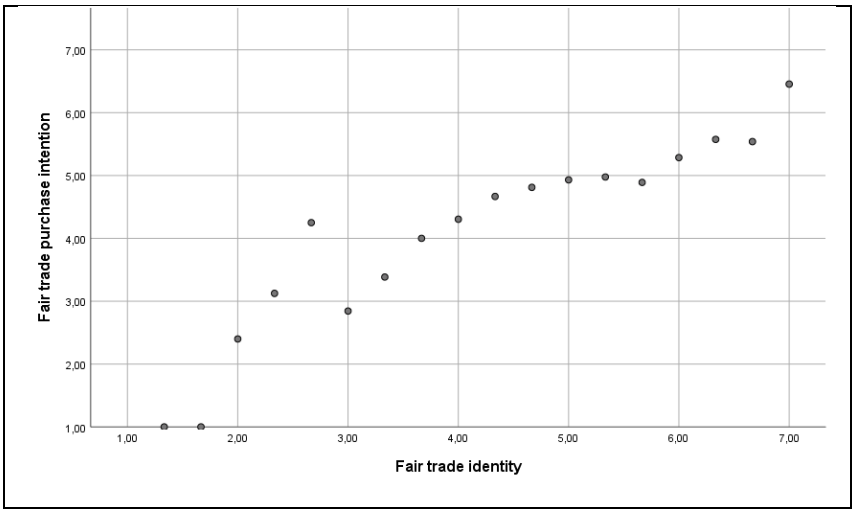
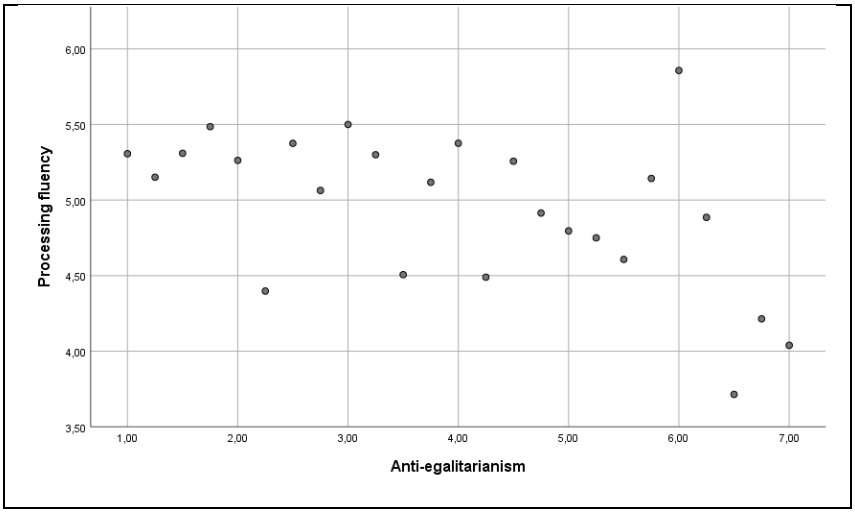
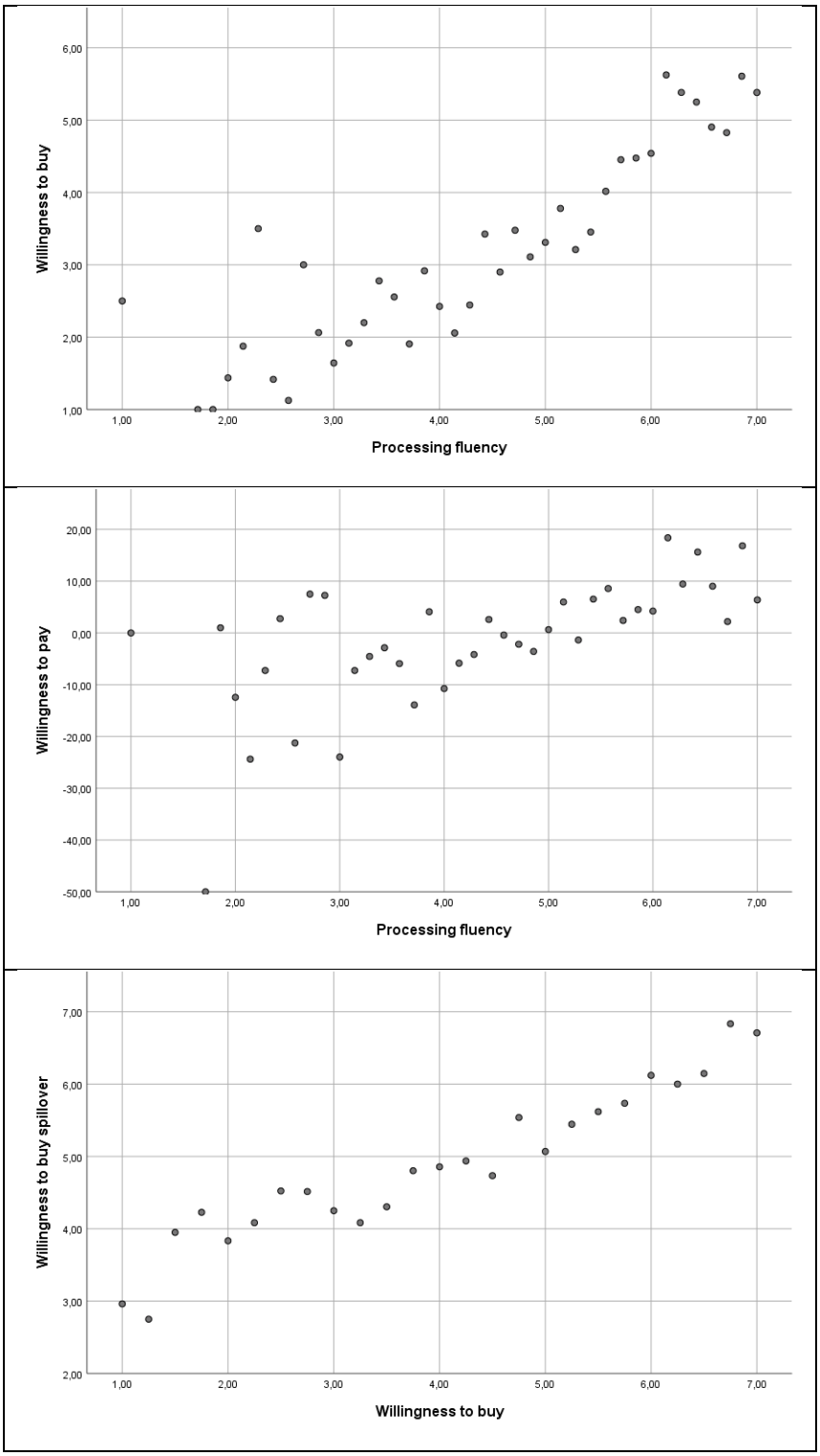


Figure 5 Summary point plots for the relationships between the constructs of article 2

Figure 5 shows linear relationships because the summary points are more or less following a straight line pattern. Additionally, the summary point plots for the relationships between political conservatism and fair trade perspective-taking as well as between political conservatism and fair trade identity suggest a decreasing trend. In contrast, the summary point plots for the relationships between fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity, fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade purchase intention, as well as fair trade identity and fair trade purchase intention suggest an increasing trend.

I then inspected the linearity of the data used for article 3. In particular, I examined the linearity between 1) anti-egalitarianism and processing fluency, 2) processing fluency and willingness to buy, 3) processing fluency and willingness to pay, 4) willingness to buy and willingness to buy spillover, and 5) willingness to pay and willingness to pay spillover. I used summary point plots to graph the paired data.




Willingness to buy
6,00
5,00
4,00
3,00
2,00
1,00
1,00
2,00
3,00
4,00
5,00
6,00
7,00
Processing fluency
Willingness to pay
20,00
10,00
0,00
-10,00
-20,00
-30,00
-40,00
-50,00
1,00
2,00
3,00
4,00
5,00
6,00
7,00
Processing fluency
Willingness to buy spillover
7,00
6,00
5,00
4,00
3,00
2,00
1,00
2,00
3,00
4,00
5,00
6,00
7,00
Willingness to buy

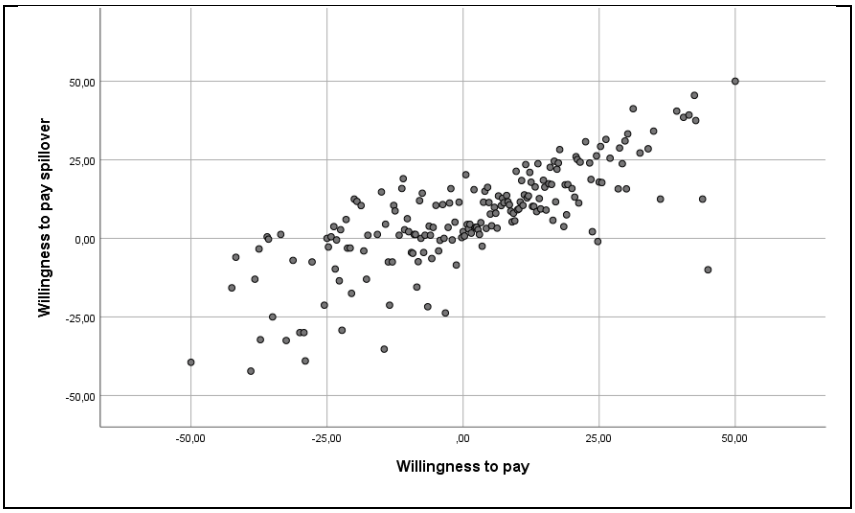


Figure 6 Summary point plots for the relationships between the constructs of article 3

Figure 6 shows linear relationships between processing fluency and willingness to buy, processing fluency and willingness to pay, willingness to buy and willingness to buy spillover, and willingness to pay and willingness to pay spillover because the respective summary points are more or less following a straight line pattern. Additionally, the summary point plots for the mentioned relationships suggest an increasing trend. However, the summary point plot illustrating the relationship between anti-egalitarianism and processing fluency is less clear. Therefore, I ran the Ramsey RESET test (Ramsey, 1969) using the software gretl 2021b in order to further examine the linearity between anti-egalitarianism and processing fluency. The computed $\hat{y}^2$ coefficient for the regression of processing fluency on anti-egalitarianism is -2.13548 with $p > 0.09$, which indicates linearity.

Based on the preceding statements, I can establish the linearity of the data used for article 2 as well as the linearity of the data used for article 3.

Robustness check: Endogeneity

Endogeneity means that independent variables not only explain dependent variables but also the models' error (Hult et al., 2018). Endogeneity problems often result from omitted variables (Hult et al., 2018). Hult et al. (2018) suggest applying the Gaussian copula approach (Park & Gupta, 2012) for PLS-SEM analyses.

First, I inspected the data used for article 2. Applying the Gaussian copula approach requires the endogenous variables[7] to be nonnormally distributed (Hult et al., 2018). Statistically

[7] Endogenous variables are dependent variables or variables that serve as independent as well as dependent variables (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017).

significant results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests (table 5) for the model's endogenous variables allowed for the application of the Gaussian copula approach.

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov test with Lilliefors correction		
	Statistic	df	Sig.
Fair trade perspective-taking	0.066	409	0.000
Fair trade identity	0.091	409	0.000
Fair trade purchase intention	0.090	409	0.000
Age	0.117	409	0.000
Income	0.148	409	0.000

Table 5 Results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test with Lilliefors correction for the endogenous variables of article 2

I included the latent variable scores computed with SmartPLS into the software R. In R, I then computed the Gaussian copulas of political conservatism, fair trade perspective-taking, fair trade identity, age, age*political conservatism, income, and income*political conservatism as these variables could be subject to endogeneity problems. I set 10,000 bootstrapping rounds and gained the results shown in table 6.

Variable	Value	p-value
$c_{political\ conservatism}$	-0.0054906	0.9334598
$c_{fair\ trade\ perspective\text{-}taking}$	-0.1172434	0.05030935
$c_{fair\ trade\ identity}$	0.0533866	0.2754138
c_{age}	-0.0170749	0.8732096
$c_{age*political\ conservatism}$	0.0935913	0.3694124
c_{income}	0.0400260	0.6940826
$c_{income*political\ conservatism}$	0.0420997	0.8027843

Table 6 Gaussian copulas with p-values for the constructs of article 2

All Gaussian copula values are insignificant at a .05 level so that endogeneity issues seem unlikely. However, $c_{fair\ trade\ perspective\text{-}taking}$ is significant at a .1 level which could potentially indicate a certain degree of endogeneity. I, therefore, conducted a Hausman specification test (Hausman, 1978) to inspect potential endogeneity issues of the model.

Because the p-values of c_{age}, $c_{age*political\ conservatism}$, c_{income}, and $c_{income*political\ conservatism}$ do not indicate any endogeneity issues, I utilised age and income as instrumental variables. Instrumental variables "are used to determine an exogenous part of the variability from the

endogenous predictor" (Pokropek, 2016, p. 4). Additionally, I used gender as instrumental variable. Age, income, and gender are exogenous in that they are "related to external causes" (Pokropek, 2016, p. 1). In other words, political conservatism is unlikely to effect demographic variables such as age, income, and gender.

Furthermore, I put political conservatism, fair trade perspective-taking, and fair trade identity as independent variables. Fair trade purchase intention was the dependent variable. Using the software gretl 2021b, I computed a value of 7.541 with a p-value of 0.057. The insignificant result of the Hausman specification test provides additional evidence that the model of article 2 does not suffer from endogeneity.

I then inspected the data used for article 3. Applying the Gaussian copula approach requires the endogenous variables[8] to be nonnormally distributed (Hult et al., 2018). Statistically significant results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests (table 7) for the model's endogenous variables allowed for the application of the Gaussian copula approach.

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov test with Lilliefors correction		
	Statistic	df	Sig.
Processing fluency	0.113	441	0.000
Willingness to buy	0.080	441	0.000
Willingness to pay	0.137	441	0.000
Willingness to buy spillover	0.103	441	0.000
Willingness to pay spillover	0.150	441	0.000

Table 7 Results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test with Lilliefors correction for the endogenous variables of article 3

I included the latent variable scores computed with SmartPLS into the software R. I ran two computations as there are two dependent variables in the model of article 3 (i.e., willingness to buy spillover and willingness to pay spillover). First, I computed the Gaussian copulas of anti-egalitarianism, status appeal, anti-egalitarianism*status appeal, processing fluency, willingness to buy, willingness to pay, willingness to pay spillover as these variables could be subject to endogeneity problems. I set 10,000 bootstrapping rounds and gained the results shown in table 8.

[8] Endogenous variables are dependent variables or variables that serve as independent as well as dependent variables (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017).

Variable	Value	p-value
$c_{anti\text{-}egalitarianism}$	0.060288	0.6585305
$c_{status\ appeal}$	-0.011985	0.5126553
$c_{anti\text{-}egalitarianism*status\ appeal}$	0.191316	0.163069
$c_{processing\ fluency}$	0.075273	0.1543962
$c_{willingness\ to\ buy}$	0.011763	0.844703
$c_{willingness\ to\ pay}$	0.039761	0.7854775
$c_{willingness\ to\ pay\ spillover}$	-0.161366	0.2033689

Table 8 Gaussian copulas with p-values for the constructs of article 3 except willingness to buy spillover (dependent variable)

All Gaussian copulas are insignificant at a .1 level so that endogeneity issues are unlikely. Next, I computed the Gaussian copulas of anti-egalitarianism, status appeal, anti-egalitarianism*status appeal, processing fluency, willingness to buy, willingness to pay, willingness to buy spillover. I set 10,000 bootstrapping rounds and gained the results shown in table 9.

Variable	Value	p-value
$c_{anti\text{-}egalitarianism}$	-0.054276	0.7472996
$c_{status\ appeal}$	0.019947	0.353868
$c_{anti\text{-}egalitarianism*status\ appeal}$	-0.199752	0.1863958
$c_{processing\ fluency}$	-0.064288	0.3575789
$c_{willingness\ to\ buy}$	-0.018309	0.8302417
$c_{willingness\ to\ pay}$	-0.061675	0.7192086
$c_{willingness\ to\ buy\ spillover}$	-0.047249	0.4456616

Table 9 Gaussian copulas with p-values for the constructs of article 3 except willingness to pay spillover (dependent variable)

Again, all Gaussian copulas are insignificant at a .1 level so that endogeneity issues are unlikely. Therefore, I conclude that the model of article 3 is free of endogeneity bias.

Robustness check: Unobserved heterogeneity

A distinction must be drawn between observed heterogeneity and unobserved heterogeneity (Hair, Sarstedt, Matthews, & Ringle, 2016). Observed heterogeneity means that the differences between certain data groups can be explained by observable characteristics as, for example, age and gender (Hair et al., 2016). Unobserved heterogeneity means that the

differences between certain data groups cannot be explained by observable characteristics (Hair et al., 2016).

The data reported in article 2 was collected from one group of participants. Identifying more than one group of data, thus, meant to identify unobserved heterogeneity. The data reported in article 3 was collected from participants that were randomly assigned to one of two groups. Identifying more than two groups of data, thus, meant to identify unobserved heterogeneity. In order to identify the specific number of data groups, I applied the FIMIX-PLS algorithm (Hair et al., 2016; Matthews, Sarstedt, Hair, & Ringle, 2016).

I, first, ran the FIMIX-PLS procedure to identify potential unobserved heterogeneity in data collected for article 2. We defined the lower bound of segments with 1 (Hair et al., 2016; Matthews et al., 2016) and the upper bound with 7. The upper bound of segments was calculated (Hair et al., 2016; Matthews et al., 2016) by dividing the size of the sample (i.e., 409) by the minimum size of the sample (i.e., 55[9]) which equals to 7.4. The largest integer (Hair et al., 2016; Matthews et al., 2016) has then been used to define the upper bound of segments (i.e., 7). As recommended by Matthews et al. (2016), the further input parameters were set to the following values – maximum iterations: 5,000, stop criterion: 10, number of repetitions: 10. The results are shown in table 10, whereby "for each fit measure, the optimal solution is the number of segments with the lowest value" (Matthews et al., 2016, p. 212).

	1 segment	2 segments	3 segments	4 segments	5 segments	6 segments	7 segments
AIC	3,059,659	3,032,534	3,021,319	2,998,641	2,964,132	2,955,685	**2,899,597**
AIC_3	3,075,659	3,065,534	3,071,319	3,065,641	3,048,132	3,056,685	**3,017,597**
AIC_4	**3,091,659**	3,098,534	3,121,319	3,132,641	3,132,132	3,157,685	3,135,597
BIC	**3,123,878**	3,164,987	3,222,005	3,267,560	3,301,284	3,361,070	3,373,215
CAIC	**3,139,878**	3,197,987	3,272,005	3,334,560	3,385,284	3,462,070	3,491,215
MDL_5	**3,508,756**	3,958,797	4,424,748	4,879,235	5,321,892	5,790,611	6,211,689

Table 10 Fit indices for a one- to seven-segment solution. AIC = Akaike's information criterion, AIC_3 = Modified Akaike's information criterion with factor 3, AIC_4 = Modified Akaike's information criterion with factor 4, BIC = Bayesian information criterion, CAIC = Consistent Akaike's information criterion, MDL_5 = Minimum description length with factor 5. Bold figures indicate the lowest value for each row.

Sarstedt et al. (2011) suggest a joint consideration of AIC_3 and CAIC before inspecting the number of segments indicated by AIC3 and BIC. Additionally, AIC_4 and BIC perform well

[9] Please see the paragraphs under the heading: Sampling and data collection.

(Hair et al., 2016). Here, neither AIC_3 and CAIC nor AIC3 and BIC indicate the same number of segments. However, the same number of segments (one) is indicated by AIC_4 and BIC. Thus, the data model reported in article 2 does not contain unobserved heterogeneity.

Next, I ran the FIMIX-PLS procedure to identify potential unobserved heterogeneity in data collected for article 3. We defined the lower bound of segments with 1 (Hair et al., 2016; Matthews et al., 2016) and the upper bound with 3. The upper bound of segments was calculated (Hair et al., 2016; Matthews et al., 2016) by dividing the size of the sample (i.e., 441) by the minimum total sample size (i.e., 128[10]) which equals to 3.4. The largest integer (Hair et al., 2016; Matthews et al., 2016) has then been used to define the upper bound of segments (i.e., 3). As recommended by Matthews et al. (2016), the further input parameters were set to the following values – maximum iterations: 5.000, stop criterion: 10, number of repetitions: 10. The results are shown in table 11.

	1 segment	2 segments	3 segments
AIC	5,279,632	5,171,525	**5,085,118**
AIC_3	5,305,632	5,224,525	**5,165,118**
AIC_4	5,331,632	5,277,525	**5,245,118**
BIC	**5,385,947**	5,388,245	5,412,241
CAIC	5,411,947	**5,441,245**	5,492,241
MDL_5	**6,019,208**	6,679,122	7,360,736

Table 11 Fit indices for a one- to three-segment solution. AIC = Akaike's information criterion, AIC_3 = Modified Akaike's information criterion with factor 3, AIC_4 = Modified Akaike's information criterion with factor 4, BIC = Bayesian information criterion, CAIC = Consistent Akaike's information criterion, MDL_5 = Minimum description length with factor 5. Bold figures indicate the lowest value for each row.

Neither AIC_3 and CAIC nor AIC3 and BIC indicate the same number of segments. AIC_4 and BIC do not indicate the same number of segments either. Generally, one should "choose fewer segments than indicated by AIC and more segments than indicated by MDL_5" (Hair et al., 2016, p. 72). Here, AIC indicates 3 segments and MDL_5 indicates 1 segment. I, therefore, conclude that the data model reported in article 3 has two segments, which are explainable by the two intervention groups (i.e., status and altruism). In other words, the data model does not suffer from unobserved heterogeneity bias.

[10] Please see the paragraphs under the heading: Sampling and data collection.

Robustness check: Common method bias

Finally, I inspected the robustness of the data model reported in article 2 as well as the data model reported in article 3 with regard to common method bias. Common method bias is defined as “variance that is attributable to the measurement method rather than to the constructs the measures represent” (Jarvis, MacKenzie, & Podsakoff, 2003, p. 879). I examined potential common method bias using the Harman's single factor test (Harman, 1976) in SPSS.

Starting with the data model of article 2, I ran a factor analysis including political conservatism, fair trade perspective-taking, fair trade identity, fair trade purchase intention, age, and income. I extracted a fixed number of factors (i.e., one factor) without doing a rotation. The computed single-factor explains 35.5 % of the variance. As this is below the threshold of 50 %, I conclude that the data model does not suffer from common method bias.

Next, I checked the data model of article 3. I ran a factor analysis including anti-egalitarianism, the dummy variable (i.e., appeal types), processing fluency, willingness to buy, willingness to buy spillover, willingness to pay, and willingness to pay spillover. I extracted a fixed number of factors (i.e., one factor) without doing a rotation. The computed single-factor explains 45.6 % of the variance. As this is below the threshold of 50 %, I conclude that the data model does not suffer from common method bias.

Article 1: Goals of political conservatism and their pursuit through consumption – A review and taxonomic framework

This article is single authored.

Research question: What are the various goals of political conservatism that can be differentiated?

An increasing number of marketing studies have pointed to the importance of political goals in consumers' decision-making. However, prior studies have mainly focused on two political goals of conservatives when examining their decision-making (i.e., resistance to change, and endorsement of inequality). Extant literature has, hence, assumed a rather limited structure of the manifestations of political conservatism in the context of consumption. Applying a goal systemic perspective, this conceptual article suggests a three-level goal hierarchy of political conservatism. Specifically, conservatives pursue through their purchasing decisions a superordinate goal (i.e., securing the in-group advantageous status quo), two intermediate goals (i.e., resistance to change and endorsement of inequality), and five subordinate goals (i.e., conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, dominance, and anti-egalitarianism). The conceptualisation of a variety of conservative goals as a multi-level taxonomy better reflects the heterogeneous motivations for the conservatives' decision-making. The hierarchical levels and the associated goals of conservatism will be detailed by 11 propositions (see figure 7) that not only facilitate subsequent research on the here suggested taxonomic framework about conservative goals, but that also provide marketing practitioners and policy makers with recommendations for influencing the goal pursuit of conservative consumers and citizens.

Introduction

Conservatives share specific characteristics arising from their political beliefs (PewResearchCenter, 2014). For example, 63% of conservatives have close friends with similar political views (PewResearchCenter, 2014). 30% of conservatives would not support a family member marrying a Democrat (PewResearchCenter, 2014). Furthermore, three-quarters of conservatives want to live in places where houses are farther apart and 57% of conservatives like to live in a community where people have similar religious beliefs (PewResearchCenter, 2014). Only 20% of conservatives endorse ethnic and racial diversity in their community (PewResearchCenter, 2014).

What is interesting is that "wealth - and not income - seems to be the dominant dimension for political attitudes" (Arndt, 2020, p. 152). In particular, wealth is a predictor of the self-identification as right-wing (Arndt, 2020).

Marketing researchers have shown a particular interest in examining the role of political conservatism in influencing consumer choice and decision-making. Studies have investigated the effect of political conservatism on such marketing topics as preferences for differentiation (Kim et al., 2018; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018), charitable giving (Farmer et al., 2020; Kaikati et al., 2017), variety seeking (Fernandes & Mandel, 2014), advertising (Kidwell et al., 2013; Li et al., 2020), brands (Khan et al., 2013), complaint behaviour (Jung et al., 2017b), boycotting behaviour (Fernandes, 2020), anthropomorphism (Chan, 2020), risk taking (Han et al., 2019; Kashmiri & Mahajan, 2017), service provision (Davidson & Theriault, 2021), and education (Jung & Mittal, 2021) to name a few. These research results demonstrate a variety of effects of political conservatism on consumer behaviour, marketing, and marketing related topics. I argue, however, that the focus on marketing topics has been at the expense of understanding the taxonomy of conservative goals and their various effects on consumer behaviour and decision-making.

The conceptual process for developing the typology of conservative goals includes, *first*, the selection of a focal theory (Jaakkola, 2020) and, *second*, decisions on how to utilise the selected focal theory.

First, the focal theory used for the conceptual article in this thesis is the framework of "political conservatism as motivated social cognition" (Jost et al., 2003b, p. 339) because of its empirical robustness. Jost et al. (2003b) selected variables for their review that, first, are measures of political attitudes instead of content-free tendencies; that, second, cover conservative attitudes instead of extreme opinions; that, third, are methodological drivers to feed into a generalisable meta-analysis; and that, fourth, focus on core aspects of conservatism rather than its peripheral expressions. These selection criteria led to the integration of results from 88 samples into their review (Jost et al., 2003b).

Second, because of the inclusion of many theoretical perspectives in Jost et al.'s (2003b) theory of conservatism, there is no need to "integrate an extensive set of theories and phenomena under a novel theoretical umbrella" (Jaakkola, 2020, p. 23). In particular, Jost et al. (2003b) clustered the reviewed theories into three categories and these are: first, theories focused on differences in personality and individuality; second, theories about epistemic or existential needs; and, third, socio-political theories highlighting the ideological functions that

conservatism fulfils. The conceptual article in this thesis goes back to the work of earlier researchers (e.g. Adorno, Altemeyer, Sidanius, and Pratto) that are already included in Jost et al.'s (2003b) framework in order to address a research problem that is described next.

In describing the goals of conservatism, Jost et al. (2003b) posited that individuals who subscribe to conservative political ideology are those who embrace "the goal of resisting social and political change" (p. 368) and "the striving for security and dominance in social hierarchies" (p. 368). More commonly referred to as *resistance to change* and *endorsement of inequality* respectively, these goals help individuals make decisions that resonate with their conservative ideology. The goals of political conservatism (i.e. resistance to change and endorsement of inequality) are not currently measured using scales that bear the same name as the construct. Instead, right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) is a measure that stresses resistance to change, whereas social dominance orientation (SDO) is a measure that stresses endorsement of inequality (Jost et al., 2003b). For example, Fernandes and Mandel (2014) assessed political conservatism using measures of RWA, i.e. resistance to change. Similarly, other studies (Farmer et al., 2020; Fernandes, 2020; Jung & Mittal, 2021; Kidwell et al., 2013; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018) measure mainly resistance to change, as the scale employed by these authors include the items: capital punishment, abortion (prolife), gun control, socialized health care, same-sex marriage, illegal immigration, Democrats. One of those items (Democrats) measures political partisanship, another item (socialized health care) refers to endorsement of inequality, and the other five items refer to resistance to change. However, the literature also focused on SDO, i.e. endorsement of inequality (Han et al., 2019; Li et al., 2020; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018).

The conservative goals of resistance to change and endorsement of inequality have been addressed in the past (Farmer et al., 2020; Fernandes, 2020; Fernandes & Mandel, 2014; Han et al., 2019; Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003b; Jung & Mittal, 2020; Jung & Mittal, 2021; Kidwell et al., 2013; Li et al., 2020; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018). However, resistance to change and endorsement of inequality give a limited picture of the various goals that conservatives can pursue through consumption. New insights into conservatives' goal pursuit may be gained if we move beyond the assumption of only two conservative goals. In order to capture a larger number of goals that conservative consumers can pursue through their decision-making, I follow a differentiating reasoning approach as outlined by MacInnis (2011), which helps to "to see types of things and how they are different; to discriminate, parse, or see pieces or dimensions that comprise a whole" (p. 138). A differentiating conceptualisation requires the researcher to decompose the entity under investigation so as to note contrasts between its components (MacInnis, 2011).

Differentiation between conservative goals is achieved in the present study by conceptualising them at multiple levels. Rather than organising conservative goals on the same level (Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003b), I suggest three hierarchical goal-levels along which conservatism and its pursuit through consumption differs. Applying a goal systemic perspective (Carver & Scheier, 1998/2001; Kopetz et al., 2012; Kruglanski et al., 2002), I will argue that conservative consumers pursue a superordinate goal (i.e. securing the in-group advantageous status quo), two intermediate goals (i.e. resistance to change and endorsement of inequality), and five subordinate goals (i.e. conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, dominance, and anti-egalitarianism). This differentiating taxonomy adds precision to understanding the goal-directed decision-making of conservative consumers, which may guide new research in consumer psychology and may help scholars to reveal novel contingencies.

In what follows, I posit a three-level goal hierarchy of political conservatism based on reviewing the relevant literature. Furthermore, I provide propositions for the hierarchical levels and the associated goals of conservatism in order to facilitate subsequent research on the here suggested taxonomic framework. I outline the managerial relevance of the propositions for practitioners in marketing and public policy too. Marketing managers and policy makers aiming to increase sales of, for example, fair trade products would benefit from understanding the pursuit of various political goals as conservatives' primary purpose in decision-making because conservatives form a large customer segment. For example, 37% of the US-Americans identified as conservative in 2019 (Saad, 2020). Additionally, political conservatism is important for marketing managers because of its inhibitory effect on certain purchasing decisions such as the willingness to buy fair trade products (Usslepp, Awanis, Hogg, & Daryanto, 2021).

The goal system of political conservatism

The theory of goal systems (Kruglanski et al., 2002) is a cognitive theory about motivation (Kopetz et al., 2012). Specifically, a goal system is a mental representation of goals and the means for pursuing these goals (Kruglanski et al., 2002). A single goal can relate to multiple means, i.e. equifinality, and multiple goals can simultaneously relate to a single means, i.e. multifinality (Kruglanski et al., 2002). The respective architecture of the goal system determines the individual's course of action (Kopetz et al., 2012). Carver and Scheier (1998/2001) introduced a three-level goal hierarchy with superordinate-, intermediate-, and subordinate-level goals.

Goals on the superordinate level tend not to guide behaviour (Carver & Scheier, 1998/2001), but represent high-level but nonspecific (abstract) construals (Liberman & Trope, 1998). Goals on the subordinate level are applicable and inform the concrete behaviour of individuals in many cases (Carver & Scheier, 1998/2001). Superordinate goals capture higher-order aims, i.e. "to be" goals, whereas subordinate goals capture lower-order aims, i.e. "to do" goals (Carver & Scheier, 1998/2001). Goals on the intermediate level funnel superordinate goals into subordinate goals, or, in other words, translate the "to be" into a "to do". Next, I apply the scheme of a three-level goal hierarchy (Carver & Scheier, 1998/2001) to political conservatism.

Superordinate goal of political conservatism

Consumers often find themselves in situations of having to decide whether to maintain the status quo or whether to depart from it (Chernev, 2004). Extant literature has shown that individuals and consumers maintain the status quo because they are aversive to losses (Kahneman, Knetsch, & Thaler, 1991) and because they are prevention-focused (Chernev, 2004). Conservatives are particularly prone to maintain the status quo. This is because loss aversion as a reason for maintaining the status quo (Kahneman et al., 1991) and the specific status quo bias of prevention-focused consumers (Chernev, 2004) relates to loss prevention as a social-cognitive motive of political conservatism (Jost et al., 2003b). Next, I locate the theoretical basis of conservatives' propensity to secure the status-quo in their preference for repetitive and group-consistent behaviour that avoids 'cognitive dissonance' (Festinger, 1957/1962).

Securing the status quo

The sociologist Veblen (1899/2016) recognized individuals' conservative aspects and wrote that "all change in habits of life and of thought is irksome" (p. 118). The psychologist McDougall (1908) shared Veblen's view on habits as he argued that repetition facilitates mental processes, which leads to fixed preferences for all that is familiar. Habits, their repetition, and the result of fixed preferences constitute the conservatives' superordinate goal of securing the status quo. For example, conservative consumers may be particularly inclined to stick to their personal shopping preferences once established.

McDougall (1908) identified imitation as a conservative tendency that supports social organisation due to the formation of customs. Subsequently, Lewin's (1952) field theory

explained and predicted human behaviour with regard to external and internal forces that act on individuals. He argued that cognition and motivation are internal forces that provide stability, whereas group pressures are external forces that provide another type of stability (Lewin, 1952). I argue that the conservative propensity to imitate other people and the pressure among conservative groups are social factors that strengthen the conservatives' superordinate goal of securing the status quo.

Lewin's idea of internal forces towards stability was expanded by Festinger (1957/1962), who noted that people avoid the psychological state of cognitive dissonance by looking for information that is in accordance with their views and by ignoring information that is in contrast to their views. People are particularly resistant to persuasion that relates to ideologically relevant beliefs (Jost, 2015). This is because if people change an ideologically relevant belief, they have to reconsider all the other beliefs related to the ideology in question or they have to face cognitive dissonance (Jost, 2015). I argue that the avoidance of cognitive dissonance is a cognitive factor that strengthens the conservatives' superordinate goal of securing the status quo. For example, the avoidance of ideologically incongruent advertisements allows conservative consumers to continue with familiar decision-making. In what follows, I set out how behavioural asymmetry works to secure the status quo.

Advantage for the in-group

Behavioural asymmetry occurs, for instance, in the case of asymmetrical ingroup bias (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Equal relations between groups would exist if all groups favoured their own groups (i.e. ingroups) over other groups (i.e. outgroups) to the same extent (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The asymmetry hypothesis contradicts this expectation as it holds that ingroup favouritism of dominants is stronger than the ingroup favouritism of subordinate groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). An extreme form of asymmetrical ingroup bias is outgroup favouritism, which means that a group member favours outgroups more than their own group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The discriminating acts of thousands of people contribute over time to the unequal distribution of power among groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

The evidence that conservatives are more inclined than liberals to respond to their self-interest (Esarey, Salmon, & Barrilleaux, 2012) suggests a behavioural asymmetry in the way conservatives maintain the status quo. Rather than being an unselfish motivation, the conservatives' aim to secure the status quo caters to the specific interests of their in-group. What conservatives attempt to maintain is the status quo that is advantageous to their group members. Political conservatism with its intergroup boundaries, its restrictive group

membership, its regulation of personal behaviour through restraints and inhibitions, and its focus on societal threats (Janoff-Bulman, 2009) is aligned with the superordinate goal of securing the in-group advantageous status quo. Therefore, I propose the following:

P1: The superordinate goal of political conservatism is securing the in-group advantageous status quo.

The location of all propositions within the three-level goal hierarchy of political conservatism are shown in figure 7.

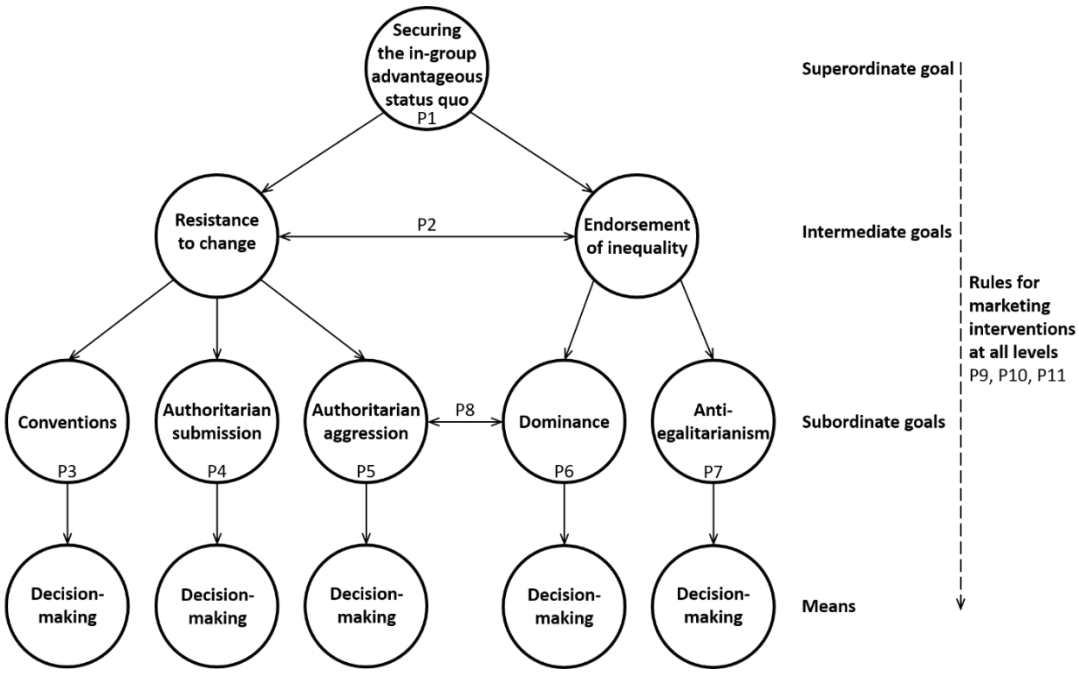


Figure 7 Location of the propositions (P1 – P11) within the three-level goal hierarchy of political conservatism

Intermediate goals of political conservatism

In the previous paragraphs, I have conceptualised the maintenance of the in-group advantageous status quo as the superordinate goal of political conservatism. I will now describe resistance to change and endorsement of inequality as intermediate goals that translate the abstract superordinate goal into the more applicable subordinate goals of political conservatism. I argue below that marketing interventions that address the intermediate goals of political conservatism need to be ideologically justified and legitimated. At this point I differentiate between resistance to change and endorsement of inequality in discussing the respective marketing strategies.

Resistance to change

The motivation to justify the status quo of a society is an ideological and psychological contributor to the goal of resistance to change (Jost, 2015). System-justification is applied because it helps individuals to address basic relational, existential, and epistemic needs (Jost, 2015). The degree of the motivation to justify the existing system depends on individual factors (e.g., openness to experience, need for closure) as well as on social factors such as system threat (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). The theory of system justification does not hold that it is impossible to implement change, but states that change is challenging for psychological reasons (Jost, 2015). One way to avoid obvious change is to feature, for instance, innovations as sanctioned by the system so that the innovation is in congruence with the established traditions rather than being seen as a threat to traditions (Gaucher & Jost, 2011). For example, Feygina, Jost, and Goldsmith (2010) demonstrated that system justification can be harnessed by presenting pro-environmental change in accordance with patriotism and as a way to protect the status quo. In the context of marketing, Fernandes and Mandel (2014) showed that conservatism positively relates to seeking variety because of the motivation to meet social norms.

Endorsement of inequality

The social dominance theory with its focus on inequality and intergroup power (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012) relates to the endorsement of inequality as a goal of political conservatism (Jost et al., 2003b). The literature has begun to show the relevance of social dominance for marketing and consumer behaviour. For example, consumers with a high degree of SDO are less likely to buy a challenger brand that communicates its superiority over a leading brand in a comparative advertisement (Li et al., 2020). One of the key aspects of the social dominance theory are legitimising myths, which provide moral and intellectual justification for the degree of social inequality between groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). A distinction should be drawn between hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-attenuating types of legitimising myths (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths support dominants (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The endorsement of hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths by dominants indicates a high degree of ingroup favouritism, whereas the endorsement of hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths by subordinates indicates a high degree of outgroup favouritism (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Therefore, if marketing tries to diminish the negative effects of the endorsement of inequality on subordinates, it should address the hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths of dominants.

P2: The conservatives' intermediate goal to resist change is diminished if consumption is featured as system-sanctioned. In contrast, the conservatives' intermediate goal to endorse inequality is diminished if consumption is featured as hierarchy-enhancing.

In conclusion, social norms foster the intermediate goal to resist change and social hierarchies foster the intermediate goal to endorse inequality. Rather than making independent purchasing decisions, conservative consumers often rely in their decision-making on social norms when pursuing the intermediate goal of resistance to change and on social hierarchies when pursuing the intermediate goal of endorsement of inequality.

Subordinate goals of political conservatism

I argue that conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, dominance, and anti-egalitarianism are subordinate goals that conservative consumers utilise for their decision-making. Subordinate goals of political conservatism are characterised by intergroup dynamics (Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis, & Birum, 2002) that account for intergroup boundaries with a restrictive group membership (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). The cohesiveness among conservatives not only fosters their subordinate goals, but also their homogenous decision-making. Cohesiveness is defined as the process that keeps members of a social entity united and together (Dion, 2000).

In what follows, I review the literature on conventionalism, authoritarian submission, and authoritarian aggression and conceptualise these dimensions of RWA as subordinate goals of political conservatism because RWA relates to resistance to change as a goal of political conservatism (Jost et al., 2003b).

Conventionalism

The fascism scale (F scale) was one of the first measurements of authoritarianism (Adorno, Frenkel-Brenswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). The instrument was termed F scale in order to underline that its purpose is to measure prefascist tendencies (Adorno et al., 1950). The items of the F scale (Adorno et al., 1950, pp. 255-257) comprise nine clusters, three of which (conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression) formed the later RWA scale (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1996). Specifically, conventionalism, authoritarian submission, and authoritarian aggression are the three dimensions of RWA (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010; Funke, 2005; Mavor, Louis, & Sibley, 2010).

Conventionalism is defined as a "rigid adherence to conventional, middle-class values" and is investigated, for example, through the level of agreement with this statement: "If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off" (Adorno et al., 1950, p. 255). What is notable is that conventional individuals follow external agency, whereby one particular convention is seen as less relevant as conventions are seen to be interchangeable (Adorno et al., 1950). For example, marketing can create fashion trends through advertising. Such trends come and go but the willingness to adhere to these trends (i.e. conventionalism) by buying the associated fashionable products remains.

Altemeyer (1996) reported several findings that demonstrate that the RWA scale measures conventionalism. Hence, scores of RWA correlated with religiosity, with acceptance of traditional gender roles, with agreement with right-wing parties (Altemeyer, 1996). Furthermore, scores of RWA correlated with the acceptance of rules and societal norms (McFarland, Ageyev, & Abalakina-Paap, 1992; Tarr & Lorr, 1991). Altemeyer (1981) defined conventionalism as "a high degree of adherence to conventions that are perceived to be endorsed by society and established authorities" (p. 148). Additionally, conventionalism includes the adherence to middle-class values (Adorno et al., 1950).

This raises the issue of how consumers respond to the market launch of products and services that contradict existing conventions (e.g., genetic engineering, designer babies, etc.). Innovations as the transformation of ideas into improved or new products (Baregheh, Rowley, & Sambrook, 2009) may be more accepted among conventional consumers if presented as endorsed by society and established authorities and as compatible with middle-class values. For example, a marketing campaign accompanying the launch of a prenatal genetic engineering technique could involve a product endorsement by societal and medical authorities as well as an emphasis on family values in order to target conventional consumers.

Basically, the subordinate goal of political conservatism to adhere to conventions means that it could be less likely that these consumers will respond positively to the transformations of ideas into new products or services. Thus:

P3: If consumption (of innovations) is featured in compliance with the subordinate goal of conventionalism, conservatives' willingness to buy is strong. If consumption (of innovations) is featured in contradiction to the subordinate goal of conventionalism, conservatives' willingness to buy is weak.

Authoritarian submission and authoritarian aggression

Authoritarian submission is defined as an "uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the ingroup" and is determined, for instance, through the degree of conformity with this sentence: "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn" (Adorno et al., 1950, p. 255). Authoritarian submission results, according to Adorno et al. (1950), from repressed hostility against parents as first ingroup authorities. Not only does the experience of domination by parents, and the repressed hostility against parents, determine authoritarian submission within groups, but these also affect the perception of outgroups (Adorno et al., 1950). The negative imagery of bad aspects like domination is displaced towards outgroups that are then, for instance, charged with terrorism (Adorno et al., 1950). This means in the context of consumption that, for example, a group of teenagers adheres to a current fashion trend in that they buy advertised sneakers designed by a famous rap star in the USA. Because young children were not allowed to deviate from the conventions set by their parents, they are unable in their teenage years to deviate from the conventions (i.e., fashion trends) set by their clique (such as buying certain sneakers). The frustration from not being able to develop independent consumption preferences could then be displaced towards outgroups that follow diverging fashion trends. Members of such outgroups could be denigrated as unfashionable or unattractive. Such displacement towards outgroups overlaps with authoritarian aggression that is described next.

Authoritarian aggression is defined as the "tendency to be on the lookout for, and to condemn, reject, and punish people who violate conventional values" and it is identified, for example, through the level of agreement with this statement: "Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse" (Adorno et al., 1950, p. 255). Authoritarians tend to direct their aggression towards outgroups, because they have never learned to turn their aggression against ingroup authorities (Adorno et al., 1950). Authoritarian aggression would seem to be a strength, but it is actually a weakness of the ego (Adorno et al., 1950).

What conventionalism, authoritarian submission, and authoritarian aggression all have in common is their indication of some degree of ego weakness (Adorno et al., 1950). The difference, however, is that conventionalism is mainly about the standards of conduct, whereas authoritarian submission and authoritarian aggression are mainly about the enforcement of the standards of conduct. For example, conservatives are more inclined to buy luxury cars than liberals (Kim et al., 2018). Thus, owning a luxury car can be seen as a convention of conservatives. Submissive authoritarians purchase luxury cars to signal the

compliance with the convention of owning a luxury car towards the conservative in-group. Aggressive authoritarians purchase luxury cars to signal their assumed superiority towards the liberal out-group.

Based on the in-group orientation of submissive authoritarians and the out-group orientation of aggressive authoritarians, I predict the following:

P4: If consumption is featured as submissive behaviour toward the in-group, conservatives' goal pursuit is strong. In contrast, if consumption is featured as submissive behaviour toward the out-group, conservatives' goal pursuit is weak.

P5: If consumption is featured as aggressive behaviour toward the in-group, conservatives' goal pursuit is weak. In contrast, if consumption is featured as aggressive behaviour toward the out-group, conservatives' goal pursuit is strong.

Next, I review the literature on dominance and anti-egalitarianism and conceptualise these dimensions of SDO as subordinate goals of political conservatism because SDO relates to endorsement of inequality as a goal of political conservatism (Jost et al., 2003b).

Dominance and anti-egalitarianism

SDO has evolved over time. Ho et al. (2015) recommended using the current seventh version of the measure (SDO_7) as it entails two dimensions that allow for more precise predictions of intergroup behaviour. These dimensions are dominance, abbreviated SDO-D, as well as anti-egalitarianism, abbreviated SDO-E (Ho et al., 2015). On the one hand, SDO-D is a predictor of racist beliefs, of the focus on threat and group competition, and of support for aggression against subordinate groups such as immigrants (Ho et al., 2015). SDO-D represents the preference for the active oppression of subordinate groups and involves overt or even violent confrontation (Ho et al., 2015). On the other hand, SDO-E is a predictor of the justification for inequality and of the opposition to intergroup equality (Ho et al., 2015). SDO-E represents the affinity for social policies and beliefs that carry inequality on – especially those social policies and beliefs with allegedly different purposes like meritocracy and efficiency (Ho et al., 2015). SDO-E is subtle as it aims at different access to resources and power (Ho et al., 2015).

Based on the argument that individuals with high scores on SDO-D prefer overt means for the oppression of subordinate groups and based on the argument that individuals with high scores

on SDO-E prefer subtle means for the maintenance of the social hierarchy, I predict the following:

P6: If consumption is featured as overt domination towards subordinate groups, the conservatives' goal pursuit is strong for those scoring higher on SDO-D rather than on SDO-E and, in contrast, weak for those scoring higher on SDO-E rather than on SDO-D.

P7: If consumption is featured as a subtle means for hierarchy maintenance towards subordinate groups, the conservatives' goal pursuit is strong for those scoring higher on SDO-E rather than on SDO-D and, in contrast, weak for those scoring higher on SDO-D rather than on SDO-E.

Interaction between authoritarian aggression and dominance

The main difference between RWA and SDO is that RWA focuses on social norms, whereas SDO focuses on social hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). However, both measures refer to groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012) and both measures interact in predicting conservatism (Wilson & Sibley, 2013). The identification of potential interactions between the dimensions of RWA and SDO would allow for a more precise prediction of the effect of subordinate goals of political conservatism on the decision-making in specific consumption contexts. All RWA and SDO dimensions should be taken into account in order to identify interdependencies. Thus, the three dimensions of RWA and the two dimensions of SDO can theoretically account for six interactions as figure 8 illustrates.

RWA / SDO	**Conventionalism** (standards of conduct)	**Authoritarian submission** (directed to the in-group)	**Authoritarian aggression** (directed to the out-group)
Dominance (overt means)			**Intersection**
Anti-egalitarianism (subtle means)			

Figure 8 The intersection between the dimensions of right-wing authoritarianism and the dimensions of social dominance orientation

To start with, RWA differentiates between conventionalism, authoritarian submission, and authoritarian aggression (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1996). In this context, conventionalism is mainly about the standards of conduct, whereas authoritarian submission and authoritarian aggression is mainly about the enforcement of the standards of conduct. Hence, RWA describes authoritarianism with regard to its contents (conventionalism) and also with regard to its practices (authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression). However, SDO has no comparable differentiation as its dimensions, dominance and anti-egalitarianism (Ho et al., 2015), are both about practices between groups. There is no SDO dimension that covers the content as the basis of social hierarchies. Because the RWA dimension of conventionalism has no counter-dimension in the SDO measure, the interaction of conventionalism with dominance or anti-egalitarianism is not theoretically grounded.

Moreover, authoritarian submission is directed to the in-group (Adorno et al., 1950). In contrast, dominance and anti-egalitarianism are directed against subordinate groups (Ho et al., 2015). In-groups are never subordinate groups. Therefore, an interaction between authoritarian submission and SDO-dimensions is not theoretically grounded. The situation is different, however, in the case of authoritarian aggression, which is directed against out-groups (Adorno et al., 1950). In the case of authoritarian aggression, these out-groups can be hierarchically subordinate – at least in the perception of the authoritarian in-group. Such interaction between authoritarian aggression and SDO is plausible with regard to dominance, which predicts “support for various forms of aggression” (Ho et al., 2015, p. 1021), rather than with regard to anti-egalitarianism, which represents the preference for subtle means to maintain the social hierarchy (Ho et al., 2015).

Boycotts are a specific consumption context in which the interaction of authoritarian aggression and SDO-D are expected to predict conservatives' goal pursuit. Klein, Smith, and John (2004) identified several factors that predict the participation of consumers in boycotts. Specifically, moral values have been used to examine the willingness of conservatives and liberals to participate in boycotts and buycotts (Fernandes, 2020). Studies on boycotting[11] and buycotting[12] behaviour could be more precise by examining the joint effect of authoritarian aggression and dominance. Thus:

P8: If a boycott is featured as authoritarian aggression against subordinate groups, the interaction of authoritarian aggression and SDO-D predicts a weak purchase intention of conservatives. In contrast, if a buycott is featured as authoritarian aggression against subordinate groups, the interaction of authoritarian aggression and SDO-D predicts a strong purchase intention of conservatives.

Marketing interventions

In what follows, I conceptualise general rules for marketing interventions at all levels of conservatives' goal pursuit, which can, for example, be used to promote fair trade products to consumers with a conservative disposition. First, I reason that marketing interventions for influencing conservatives' goal pursuit should require a low degree of thinking. Second, I differentiate between whether marketing interventions focus on the conscious or unconscious pursuit of conservative goals.

Cognitive load

Low-effort thinking enhances political conservatism (Eidelman, Crandall, Goodman, & Blanchar, 2012). This means that thinking based on little effort, awareness, or time increases individuals' conservative behaviours and attitudes (Eidelman et al., 2012). Low-effort thinking could be based on easy to understand words, statements, and phrases (Eidelman et al., 2012). The conservative ideology is promoted when the deliberate, effortful responding is disengaged or disrupted and when the thought processes are efficient and quick (Eidelman et al., 2012).

[11] Boycotting means "punishing businesses for unfavorable behavior" (Neilson, 2010, p. 214).
[12] Buycotting means "supporting businesses that exhibit desirable behavior" (Neilson, 2010, p. 214).

The need for cognitive closure, which is defined as the "disposition making people reluctant to accept information inconsistent with their beliefs" (Panno et al., 2018, p. 104), may increase the dependence of conservatives on low-effort thinking (Eidelman et al., 2012). What is relevant for marketing is that individuals with a high need for cognitive closure demonstrate more resistance to persuasion than individuals with a low need for cognitive closure (Kruglanski, Webster, & Klem, 1993).

The susceptibility to bullshit (Frankfurt, 2005) is a specific cognitive processing style with implications for marketing and consumer behaviour (Jost, 2017). Pseudo-profound bullshit consists of "seemingly impressive assertions that are presented as true and meaningful but are actually vacuous" (Pennycook, Cheyne, Barr, Koehler, & Fugelsang, 2015, p. 549). The propensity of individuals to consider bullshit as profound statements is associated with a lower cognitive ability (Pennycook et al., 2015). In addition to the latter article, Sterling, Jost, and Pennycook (2016) found that the endorsement of a free market ideology is associated with the susceptibility to bullshit. Furthermore, Pfattheicher and Schindler (2016) demonstrated that the more politically conservative individuals are, the higher is their tendency to judge bullshit statements as profound.

In the light of these findings, marketing messages should be kept simple when they are intended to influence goals of political conservatism and the associated decision-making. Based on the preceding, I anticipate:

P9: The lower the degree of thinking that a certain marketing intervention requires, the more likely there is to be a shift in the pursuit of conservative goals. In contrast, the higher the degree of thinking that a certain marketing intervention requires, the less likely there is to be a shift in the pursuit of conservative goals.

Conscious vs. unconscious pursuit of conservative goals

Consumer behaviour tends to be goal directed in that it focuses on specific outcomes (Bagozzi & Dholakia, 1999). The literature differentiates between conscious and unconscious goal pursuit. Specifically, "conscious goal pursuit occurs when consumers are aware of the goal, while unconscious goal pursuit occurs when consumers are not aware of the goal, but still perform behaviors to achieve it" (Laran, 2016, p. 22). Political ideology cuts across the dichotomy between conscious and unconscious goal pursuit in that political goals in general and conservative goals in particular can be motivated at a conscious as well as at an unconscious level (Jost et al., 2009; Jost et al., 2003b).

With regard to the conscious pursuit of conservative goals, marketing could frame a product or service in congruence with the specific goals of political conservatism that are pursued. Goal systems can be subject to framing because they are neither fixed nor invariant, but are highly flexible in that they resonate with the situational context (Kruglanski et al., 2002). For example, the congruency between political ideology and marketing appeal increases the willingness to recycle (Kidwell et al., 2013). Specifically, the question is less about whether conservatives appreciate recycling, but more about whether persuasive appeals frame recycling as conservative (Kidwell et al., 2013).

External cues can also trigger goals of individuals without raising their conscious intention (Papies, 2016). Priming, for instance, bears on the automatic system, takes place in social contexts, and can be very powerful (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009). Other persons can be primes that trigger various goals (Kruglanski et al., 2002). For example, individuals are more likely to commit to a goal if they were primed with the importance of this goal to their respective mother (Kruglanski et al., 2002). Because of the importance of group structures for political conservatism (Janoff-Bulman, 2009), priming by other persons is of particular importance for the goal pursuit of conservative consumers. Conservative goals can, for example, be occasionally motivated by the desire to fulfil the expectations of conservative parents, to be accepted by conservative peers, or to obtain the confidence of conservative line managers (Jost et al., 2003b).

Because conservatives are inclined to apply automatic, stereotypical, and heuristic thinking styles (Jost, 2017), I predict the following:

P10: Marketing interventions that influence the unconscious goal pursuit of conservatives are more successful than marketing interventions that influence the conscious goal pursuit of conservatives.

The conscious goal pursuit is “characterized by an increased accessibility of a focal goal and a competing goal”, whereas the unconscious goal pursuit is “characterized by increased accessibility of a focal goal” (Laran, Janiszewski, & Salerno, 2016, p. 443). Conscious goal pursuit often results in an extreme choice that is either the alternative that is most consistent or the alternative that is most inconsistent with the goal (Laran et al., 2016). Marketing interventions that enable the conscious pursuit of conservative goals could therefore be successful in targeting conservative consumers but bear the risk of putting off liberal consumers. Thus:

P11: Marketing interventions that enable the conscious pursuit of conservative goals have a strong inhibitory on liberals' willingness to buy. In contrast, marketing interventions that enable the unconscious pursuit of conservative goals have a weak inhibitory on liberals' willingness to buy.

Discussion

I have suggested a three-level goal hierarchy of political conservatism. I thereby add to existing conceptualisations of the intersection between political conservatism and consumer research (Jost, 2017; Jung & Mittal, 2020). Jung and Mittal (2020) described the framework of political identity, provided a summary of the measures of political identity, highlighted the importance of political identity for consumers' decision-making, and better integrated political identity into retailing research. My contribution here is that I have focussed on political conservatism as an ideological belief system which is to be distinguished from political identification (e.g. self-categorisation) (Choma et al., 2016). Jost (2017) differentiated between conservatives and liberals in terms of personality characteristics, cognitive processing, motivational interests, personal values, and neurological structures. In contrast, my contribution here is that I have differentiated between goals within the spectrum of political conservatism in order to better understand the goal-directed decision-making of conservative consumers.

The previous literature has concentrated on two political goals (Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003b; Jung & Mittal, 2020) that conservative consumers pursue through their decision-making (Farmer et al., 2020; Fernandes, 2020; Fernandes & Mandel, 2014; Han et al., 2019; Jung & Mittal, 2021; Kidwell et al., 2013; Li et al., 2020; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018), but stopped short of providing a detailed taxonomy of conservative consumers' various goals. Therefore, I examined the spectrum of goals that conservative consumers pursue through their decision-making by applying a goal systemic perspective (Carver & Scheier, 1998/2001; Kopetz et al., 2012; Kruglanski et al., 2002). In so doing I have identified a hierarchy of goals for conservatives (i.e., superordinate, intermediate, and subordinate goals; see figure 7 above).

A consumer does not need to embrace all these conceptual goals in order to be labelled a politically conservative consumer. I argue that political conservatism manifests in the pursuit and attainment of associated goals, which represents a reflective model. In reflective models,

the causality is directed from the construct to the items so that the indicators are "manifestations of the construct" (Jarvis et al., 2003, p. 203).

I applied the differentiating type of conceptual contribution that parses and separates an entity into its constituent pieces and dimension so as to see the differences between them (MacInnis, 2011). Such differentiating reasoning fitted with this article's overarching objective to show the variety of goals of political conservatism (at different levels) and the heterogeneity in conservatives' pursuit of these various goals through consumer decision-making. I conceptualised conservative goals as a multi-level taxonomy. In particular, I suggested three hierarchical goal-levels along which political conservatism and its pursuit through decision-making varies.

The superordinate goal of political conservatism is about securing the in-group advantageous status quo. This superordinate goal captures the second- and third-level goals of conservatism and is indirectly pursued through all decision-making that is informed by any goal of conservatism. Not only does the superordinate goal of securing the in-group advantageous status quo address the need to better integrate the concept of status quo into political conservatism (Jost, 2017), but it also highlights the relevance of political conservatism for groups and societies. Specifically, political conservatism enables groups and societies to maintain the social gains achieved. This function of political conservatism can be problematic because out-groups are not supposed by the conservative in-group to benefit from the social gains achieved. Whether the persistent forces of political conservatism are useful or harmful depends on its extent.

Political conservatism and the associated pursuit of goals is neither inappropriate nor bad per se. History gives us plenty of examples of detrimental effects caused by both political conservatism and political liberalism. This conceptual article is not meant to be an ethical evaluation of political ideologies nor does it call for action against political conservatism. Consequently, not every preference of conservative consumers needs to be manipulated through marketing techniques. However, conservative persistence can counteract attempts to win over new consumers. In this case, marketing can influence conservatives' goal pursuit.

Political conservatism often becomes predominant and problematic in threatening contexts. More precisely, political conservatism alleviates the effect of uncertainty, fear, and threat (Jost et al., 2003b). Immigration, for example, has been a consistent target of political conservatism as immigration is experienced as confusing and frightening (Jost et al., 2003b). A more specific driver for political conservatism was the recession in 2008 (McManus, 2020), which

challenged the status quo and the financial situation of many people. Moreover, the current outbreak of the coronavirus could also intensify political conservatism as COVID-19 is life-threatening.

Additionally, the present conceptualisation helps to see how the previously similar measures of political conservatism (i.e., RWA, SDO) are actually different since they examine different intermediate goals that conservative consumers pursue through their decision-making (i.e., resistance to change, endorsement of inequality). In particular, RWA and SDO determine the degree to which individuals subscribe to the different intermediate goals of political conservatism. Thus, RWA measures the pursuit of the intermediate goal to resist change and SDO measures the pursuit of the intermediate goal to endorse inequality. For example, applying the RWA measure, Fernandes and Mandel (2014) show that conservatives pursue the intermediate goal of resistance to change in that they do not question the social norm of seeking variety. Han et al. (2019) show that the increasing effect of SDO on the willingness to take financial risks is enhanced when individuals consider themselves capable of reaching a high level of performance.

Political conservatism not only involves a superordinate and two intermediate goals, but also five subordinate goals (i.e., conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, dominance, and anti-egalitarianism) that feed conservative beliefs into decision-making. Subordinate goals are more concrete and applicable than superordinate and intermediate goals. There is potential miscommunication with these subordinate goals via marketing interventions if sufficient account is not taken of the differences between them. The identification of relevant subordinate goals enables researchers and practitioners to strengthen or inhibit their pursuit through decision-making. Emphasising subordinate goals of conservatism through marketing allows conservative consumers to pursue these goals through congruent decision-making. In contrast, de-emphasising the subordinate goals of conservatism through marketing provokes conservative consumers to make purchasing decisions independent of these goals.

Alternative goals associated with the same means can dilute the relationship between the original goal and the means (Kopetz et al., 2012). This implies for the goals of political conservatism, that alternative ideological goals (e.g., those of political liberalism) could be linked to the same means (e.g. buying or not buying a certain product), which could potentially dilute the pursuit of the conservative goals. However, this case is unlikely since conservatism and liberalism tend to be mutually exclusive. Political conservatism refers to the avoidance system and political liberalism refers to the approach system (Janoff-Bulman,

2009). The avoidance system aims at losses and negative outcomes, whereas the approach system aims at gains and positive outcomes (Gable, Reis, & Elliot, 2003; Janoff-Bulman, 2009). This dual system of opposite motivations (Gable et al., 2003; Janoff-Bulman, 2009) makes it unlikely that the same means (e.g. buying or not buying a certain product) caters for the political goals of both conservatism and liberalism. This ideologically reduced multifinality set, i.e. fewer goals related to a given means (Kruglanski et al., 2002), strengthens the cognitive association between conservative goals and the respective means of decision-making.

Implications for marketing practitioners and policy makers

Marketing practitioners and policy makers can regulate (i.e., diminish or enhance) the goal pursuit of conservative consumers. If, for instance, political conservatism inhibits a certain type of decision-making (e.g., buying fair trade products), the outlined conceptualisation can be used to develop and examine marketing messages that weaken the pursuit of the superordinate goal of securing the in-group advantageous status quo (e.g., buying fair trade has no negative effect on the domestic economy). If, in contrast, political conservatism facilitates a preferred type of decision-making (e.g., participation in a loyalty programme), the outlined conceptualisation can be used to develop and examine marketing messages that strengthen the pursuit of the superordinate goal of securing the in-group advantageous status quo (e.g., cancelling the loyalty programme would mean the loss of all collected points).

When it comes to the question of which goal (P1 to P8) is selected for marketing measures, two criteria decide: the size of the targeted conservative market segment and the expected accuracy. The higher the conservative goal in the three-level hierarchy, the larger is the targeted conservative market segment and the smaller is the expected accuracy. The lower the conservative goal in the three-level hierarchy, the smaller is the targeted conservative market segment and the larger is the expected accuracy. In any case, marketing interventions should require only a low degree of thinking or cognitive effort (P9).

First, marketing interventions are expected to be more successful in influencing conservatives' decision-making if focusing on unconscious rather than conscious goals (P10). Second, marketing interventions are expected to have a weaker inhibitory effect on liberals' willingness to buy if focusing on conservatives' unconscious rather than conscious goals (P11). Therefore, marketing practitioners and policy makers should utilise nudging techniques that bear on the automatic system. A nudge "is any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people's behaviour in a predictable way without forbidding any options" (Thaler & Sunstein,

2009, p. 6). The automatic system is instinctive and rapid, whereas the reflective system is self-conscious and deliberate (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009). Next, I give an example on how to influence conservatives' goal pursuit for each hierarchical level of the here suggested conceptualisation (figure 7).

In a study, households got information about their energy consumption as well as information about the average energy consumption in their neighbourhood (Schultz, Nolan, Cialdini, Goldstein, & Griskevicius, 2007). As a result, energy users above the average decreased their energy consumption, whereas energy users below the average increased their energy consumption (Schultz et al., 2007). However, conservatives with an energy consumption below the average are unlikely to increase their energy consumption in response to a respective information due to the superordinate goal of securing the in-group advantageous status quo. This example underlines the importance of considering consumers' ideology when developing marketing and policy strategies since political conservatism can contradict general expectations.

With regard to the intermediate goals of political conservatism, nudges can create a climate of competitiveness (e.g., sign at stairs: for athletes, sign at escalator: for couch potatoes) that resonates with the conservatives' intermediate goal of inequality. Furthermore, nudging can address the tendency of individuals to continue the current situation (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009). For example, marketers know that the automatic renewal of a magazine is more promising than an active renewal by the customer (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009). Default options are powerful nudges (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009) such as the presumed consent to organ donation that exploits the conservatives' intermediate goal to resist change.

With regard to subordinate goals of political conservatism, marketing practitioners and policy makers are able to move individuals in more appropriate directions as a campaign in Texas illustrates (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009). The original campaign in Texas, with the aim of stopping people from littering, was not very successful (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009). Public officials wanted a tough slogan referring to the pride of Texas (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009). The resulting slogan 'Don't mess with Texas' and the corresponding campaign were successful as roadside litter was reduced by 72 percent within six years (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009). This campaign exemplifies P4 that suggests that under conditions in which consumption is featured as submissive behaviour toward the in-group, the resistance of conservatives to change their consumption behaviour (here towards less littering) is weak. Policy makers can develop further interventions by the use of P3 to P8 in order to regulate the pursuit of conservatives' subordinate goals.

Limitations

RWA distinguishes between conventionalism, authoritarian submission, and authoritarian aggression (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1996). Within this differentiation, RWA comprises content (conventionalism) as well as practices (authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression). In contrast, dominance and anti-egalitarianism as dimensions of SDO (Ho et al., 2015) focus on practices between groups rather than on the content as the basis of social hierarchies. The fact that the RWA dimension of conventionalism has no counter-dimension in the SDO measure limits the informative value of the present comparison between the dimensions of RWA and SDO. Future developments of SDO measures could usefully, thus, reflect the tri-dimensionality of RWA.

Recommendations for further research

The present conceptualisation (figure 7) in this paper is meant to stimulate research that is aimed at understanding and potentially influencing the goal pursuit of conservatives and their consumer decision-making. Further research can examine the propositions of this article by inferring testable hypotheses from each proposition. Furthermore, political ideology involves conservatism and liberalism. Political conservatism mainly regulates personal behaviours and lifestyles by the use of societal threats, whereas political liberalism mainly regulates economics and social goods by the use of societal gains (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). Further research may investigate linkages between political liberalism and marketing and may provide a hierarchical conceptualisation of the goals of political liberalism and their pursuit through consumption.

Conclusion

This article has differentiated between various goals that conservative consumers pursue through their decision-making. Rather than organising conservative goals as on the same level, I have suggested three hierarchical goal-levels of political conservatism. Specifically, conservative consumers pursue a superordinate goal (i.e., securing the in-group advantageous status quo), two intermediate goals (i.e., resistance to change and endorsement of inequality), and five subordinate goals (i.e., conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, dominance, and anti-egalitarianism). This multi-level taxonomy (figure 7) sheds light on the heterogeneous nature of political conservatism and its motivation. The suggested

three-level goal hierarchy of political conservatism has been detailed by eleven propositions that may guide new research in marketing and that may help scholars to reveal novel contingencies. Additionally, the propositions made in this article allow managers and social policy-makers to regulate (i.e., diminish or enhance) the goal pursuit of conservative consumers in a (social) marketing context.

Article 2: The inhibitory effect of political conservatism on consumption – The case of fair trade

This chapter is largely based on:
Usslepp, T., Awanis, S., Hogg, M. K., & Daryanto, A. (2021). The Inhibitory Effect of Political Conservatism on Consumption: The Case of Fair Trade. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 1-13.

Research question: How does political conservatism affect the consumption of fair trade products?

Fair trade has been researched extensively. However, our understanding of why consumers might be reluctant to purchase fair trade goods, and the associated potential barriers to the wider adoption of fair trade products, is incomplete. Based on data from 409 USA participants, our study demonstrates some of the psychological processes that underlie the rejection of fair trade products by conservatives. Our findings show that political conservatism affects fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity, and these latter two subsequently affect fair trade purchase intention. The decrease in fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity are two psychological features that potentially shield conservatives from the appeals of fair trade products. We extend prior research on the effects of political ideology on consumption not only by demonstrating the predisposition of highly conservative consumers towards prosocial consumption, but also by showing the internal functioning of the conservative decision-making process. We further demonstrate that the effect of conservatism on fair trade purchase deliberation is moderated by age and income. Age reduces the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking, whereas income heightens the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking. Our results suggest that fair trade initiatives can target the conservative consumer segment in high-income countries with a greater chance of success when applying marketing strategies that make perspective-taking redundant and that aim at younger consumers with lower incomes.

Introduction

Political conservatism and its effect on consumption is an increasingly important research topic in marketing. Studies so far have either operationalized conservatism as an obstacle, for example, to the consumption of international brands (Khan et al., 2013), complaint behaviour (Jung et al., 2017b), and the horizontal differentiation through commodities (Kim et al., 2018; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018); or have examined how group norms (Fernandes & Mandel, 2014; Kaikati et al., 2017) and appeals (Kidwell et al., 2013) diminish the inhibitory effect of conservatism on consumption. Our study contributes to the literature on conservatism as a potential obstacle to prosocial consumption through a conceptual elaboration and the methodological evaluation of the psychological processes that mediate between conservatism and its restrictive effects on consumption. A better understanding of the process that accounts for the decrease in the willingness of conservatives to buy would help to market products that are politically framed.

The marketing of fair trade products tends to be politically framed and raises issues of public concern by encouraging consumers in HIC to fight against poverty through their expenditure (Wempe, 2005). For instance, a typical fair trade marketing campaign often involves persuading consumers to consume fair trade coffee as a way to contribute to the improvement of living conditions of coffee bean farmers in low- and middle-income countries (LMIC). In effect, such promotion of fair trade invites consumers to take a political stance against inequality and the exploitation of agricultural farmers. Despite the prominent political nature of fair trade marketing, however, it remains unclear how such politicised marketing messages affect consumer decision making.

Our analysis identified two psychological factors that mediate the relationship between political conservatism and fair trade purchase intention, thereby enriching the current state of the literature on the effect of political ideology on consumption. Furthermore, we examined the boundary conditions of the relationship between political ideology and fair trade perspective-taking to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how the marketing of fair trade products could be enhanced. In doing so, this study offers a managerial contribution to market segmentation by demonstrating how age and income levels moderate the process that generates negative evaluations of fair trade products.

Targeting conservative consumers as a new market segment could help to increase sales figures of fair trade products. The global retail sales value of Fairtrade International was 8.5 billion U.S. dollars in 2017 (FairtradeInternational, 2018a). In the same year, the global retail

market was valued at 26.6 trillion U.S. dollars (HKExnews, 2018). This illustrates that the revenue from fair trade products is comparatively small.

In the following, we describe the literature relevant for our research so as to derive hypotheses. We then outline our methodological approach before introducing the measurement instruments. Next, we present and discuss the results. Finally, we discuss the managerial and academic implications of our research on business ethics.

Theory and hypotheses

The World Fair Trade Organization, Fairtrade International and FLO-CERT (WFTO/FairtradeInternational/FLO-CERT, 2011) define fair trade as "a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade" (p. 1). Extant studies on fair trade consumption often highlighted budgetary restrictions as a hurdle to fair trade consumption, as fair trade products are often sold at higher prices than their non-fair-trade counterparts (Andorfer & Liebe, 2012). Such studies investigated the willingness of consumers to pay a premium for fair trade coffee (Van Loo et al., 2015), chocolate (Vlaeminck, Vandoren, & Vranken, 2016), and sweatshop-free clothing (Phau, Teah, Chuah, & Liang, 2017). Yet, these hurdles are not unique to fair trade products. Organic products, for example, are also priced at a premium but are significantly more successful than fair trade products as global sales of organic food and drink surpassed 100 billion U.S. dollars in 2018 (EcoviaIntelligence, 2019) in comparison to the global retail sales value of Fairtrade International at 8.5 billion U.S. dollars in 2017 (FairtradeInternational, 2018a). As such, it is likely that consumer resistance to fair trade consumption may be about more than just budgetary considerations.

In addition to the existing research, we use political ideology as a theoretical lens to investigate obstacles to the consumption of fair trade products. In effect, the study positions fair trade consumption at the intersection of consumer psychology and political psychology. Both research areas show an impressive body of findings and have produced valuable insights into why people buy specific products and how political ideologies are characterised. We describe these earlier studies next and how they relate to the focus of our research.

Conservatism and consumption

The field of political psychology is largely in agreement that the polarisation between conservative and liberal ideologies captures the core essence of Western political life (Jost,

2017). Political ideologies are activated when individuals are exposed to unfamiliar stimuli (Jost, 2017). Conservatism emerges as a rightist belief system that focuses on hierarchy and tradition, while liberalism reflects a leftist ideology that prioritises equality and progress (Jost, 2017). More specifically, political conservatism is conceptualised as an "ideological belief system that consists of two core components, resistance to change and opposition to equality" (Jost et al., 2007, p. 990). Both core components of political conservatism may result in the same purchase decision being made, but because of different motivational goals (Jung & Mittal, 2020). In addition to the two core components of political conservatism, the peripheral components of political conservatism list attitudes concerning issues (e.g., military spending, size of government, immigration policies) that are understood to represent conservatism in a certain culture and at a certain place and time (Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003b). Peripheral aspects of political conservatism could differ between, for example, the USA and Western European countries because US Americans tend to be more individualistic and less supportive of a robust safety net than citizens in Spain, Germany, France, and Britain (PewResearchCenter, 2012). Conversely, the core aspects of conservatism represent a more stable predisposition that resonates with people's underlying needs, interests and goals (Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003b). Core and peripheral aspects of political conservatism form a social-cognitive theory of conservatism (Jost et al., 2003b), which is not to be equated with political partisanship or voting behaviour.

Studies regularly find that the conservative ideology is manifested in the routines of consumers as they, for instance, prefer national brands over generic substitutes and are less likely to purchase newly launched consumer goods (Khan et al., 2013). Conservatives are also less likely to complain and to challenge complaint resolutions than liberals (Jung et al., 2017b). This is because conservatives are more motivated than liberals to apply system justification, which was the mediator in Jung et al.'s (2017b) emerging model. Jung, Garbarino, Briley, and Wynhausen (2017a) suggest that future explorations of prosocial behaviours might usefully focus on mechanisms like system justification, which undergird the behaviour of liberals and conservatives. Our study put this suggestion into practice and examined mechanisms that could mediate between political ideology and fair trade consumption.

Conservatism and fair trade

The conservatives' preferences for entrepreneurial and free market-based solutions to social problems (Jost, Blount, Pfeffer, & Hunyady, 2003a) may indicate an acceptance of fair trade, especially as compared to aid. However, the pronounced stance of fair trade marketing that

promotes equality within the supply chain may incite a more immediate reaction amongst conservatives to evaluate such political stance against their ideology that endorses inequality (Jost et al., 2003b). For example, the FairtradeFoundation_b states on its website that fair trade addresses the injustices of conventional trade, which discriminates against the weakest, poorest producers, thus illustrating its transparent advocacy for a fairer marketplace. The idea that the market requires intervention in the shape of consumers paying a premium for fairer wages for LMIC workers is also likely to generate tension against the conservatives' tendency to resist change (Jost et al., 2003b). Such conflicting ideology, therefore, is likely to result in the rejection of fair trade products by conservatives as a form of objection towards an opposing politicised marketing message.

The present research seeks to examine the nature of the conservatives' predisposition towards fair trade labels by examining the psychological factors that mediate such a prosocial purchase evaluation. Our choice of mediators is based on the characteristics of conservatism, which promote both resistance to change and endorsement of inequality. First, the forces of a group provide a type of stability (Lewin, 1952), which accounts for conservatives' resistance to changing their behaviour and attitudes so as not to leave a social reality they are comfortable with (Jost, 2015). Second, equal relations between groups do not exist because the ingroup favouritism of dominants is stronger than the ingroup favouritism of subordinates (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Conservatives who promote the endorsement of inequality strive to maintain this asymmetrical ingroup bias and utilise such ingroup preference as a reference point in order to allocate their favour. Such an inward-looking characteristic of political conservatism, therefore, may affect the conservatives' ability to take the perspective of outgroups (such as workers in LMICs) and their willingness to identify with a fair trade message that is incongruent with their beliefs towards a particular social structure. As such, the following sections examine the mediating roles of fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity on the relationship between political conservatism and the consumers' intention to purchase fair trade products.

Fair trade perspective-taking

Perspective-taking is defined as the ability of individuals to anticipate the reactions and the behaviour of others (Davis, 1983). It involves the active consideration of the subjective experiences and mental states of outgroup members (Todd & Galinsky, 2014). Perspective-taking can lead individuals with a high degree of ingroup identification to favour the outgroup less (Tarrant, Calitri, & Weston, 2012). This means, in the context of ideology, that liberals tend to adopt perspectives of ethnic/racial outgroups more frequently and show lower degrees

of ethnic bias relative to conservatives (Sparkman & Eidelman, 2016). As such, liberals are less likely than conservatives to show ethnic bias because of their greater ability to adopt the perspectives of ethnic/racial outgroups (Sparkman & Eidelman, 2016). Fair trade packaging and campaigning materials often illustrate the problems of workers in LMIC (Staricco, 2016) and may, therefore, be more effective for liberals than for conservatives. In the context of consumption, we postulate that conservatives are less likely than liberals to take the perspective of farmers or workers in LMIC, which in turn would negatively affect their intention to buy fair trade products. The unwillingness to purchase fair trade products represents a form of intergroup bias that results from the conservatives' inability to take the perspectives of farmers and workers from LMIC. Thus, we hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 1: Fair trade perspective-taking mediates the negative relationship between political conservatism and the willingness to buy fair trade products.

Fair trade identity

Identity theory suggests that "one's self-concept is organized into a hierarchy of role identities that correspond to one's positions in the social structure" (Charng, Piliavin, & Callero, 1988, p. 304). Based on this suggestion, we define fair trade identity as the internalization of the fair trade concept into one's self-concept as a set of role expectations about one's consumer behaviour. This fair trade identity corresponds to the social structure of individuals. Social structures are an external source of identity (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Society is a mosaic of relationships and interactions, which is organised by groups, communities, institutions, and organisations and which is intersected by boundaries of gender, age, ethnicity, religion, class, and other aspects (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Such social structures influence social networks, in which people live through taking on roles (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Identities internalize roles that are expected to be performed by individuals (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

We see political ideology as a social structure as it constitutes boundaries that divide people into liberals and conservatives. Influenced by political ideology as a dividing social structure, conservatism is a social network of likeminded people, whereby the conservative beliefs determine the roles being played. One set of roles relates to the consumption of fair trade products. Thus, we expect fair trade identity to mirror conservatism as part of a self-concept. Again, the core aspects underlying conservative beliefs contradict the concept of fair trade. Consequently, we expect that political conservatism decreases the internalization of the fair trade concept. We define such disidentification as the "consumer's active rejection of and distancing from" (Josiassen, 2011, p. 125) the fair trade concept. The disidentification of

consumers has been researched in a number of contexts. Josiassen (2011) found that the repulsion of consumers toward the country in which they live reduces the shopping for goods produced in that country. Wolter, Brach, Cronin, and Bonn (2016) demonstrated that self-brand dissimilarity, brand disrepute, and brand indistinctiveness positively relate to consumer-brand disidentification which then positively relates to brand opposition intentions. The present study extends the existing research on disidentification as it investigates disidentification in a politicised consumption environment.

Furthermore, we draw upon the concept of behaviour as an expression of identity (Stryker & Burke, 2000). This is based on a comparison between the meaning of an identity and the meaning of a behaviour (Burke & Reitzes, 1981). If the meaning of the identity and the meaning of the behaviour correspond, the identity predicts the behaviour (Burke & Reitzes, 1981). In the context of our research, this means that an individual that categorises themselves as a fair trade type of person has a positive stance on the concept of fair trade. Similarly, a consumer intending to purchase fair trade products supports the idea of making fair trade goods part of the shopping cart. Both the fair trade identity, as well as the fair trade purchase intention, correspond in their positive meaning towards fair trade. Therefore, we expect that fair trade identity predicts fair trade purchase intention. However, we predict that the positive effect of consumers' fair trade identity on the willingness to buy fair trade products is outweighed by the negative effect of political conservatism. Therefore:

Hypothesis 2: Fair trade identity mediates the negative relationship between political conservatism and the willingness to buy fair trade products.

Additionally, we draw upon the concept of self-processes as an internal source of identity (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Affects and emotions are included in the internal self-process as they have consequences for those experiencing them (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Perspective-taking is a facet of empathy (Davis, 1983) and thus within the scope of affects and emotions. Therefore, we consider fair trade perspective-taking to be an internal self-process that influences the fair trade identity. More generally, we realize ourselves only as we recognize other people in their relation to us (Mead, 1934/1972). This means that in taking someone else's attitude, an individual realizes their own self (Mead, 1934/1972). A self cannot be experienced only by itself (Mead, 1934/1972) but it can, for example, be experienced by taking the perspective of farmers or workers in LMIC into account. The demonstration of fair trade perspective-taking as an internal source of fair trade identity would show that the view from the outside, i.e., from poor farmers, informs the view on the inside, i.e., on the self.

Hypothesis 3: The ability to take on the perspective of farmers or workers in LMIC is positively related to fair trade identity.

Individual characteristics

Finally, we investigate two individual characteristics as potential boundary conditions: age and income. In particular, we expect that age and income affect the magnitude of the relationship between political ideology and fair trade perspective-taking. Research findings demonstrate that greater age predicts greater conservatism (Feather, 1979; Ray, 1985). In particular, conservatism scores rapidly increase within the fifth life decade (Truett, 1993). Given that, we posit that a lower age diminishes the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking.

Hypothesis 4: Younger age diminishes the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective taking.

Blader, Shirako, and Chen (2016) pointed out that high power decreases perspective-taking, whereby power is understood as someone's control over resources. For example, Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, and Gruenfeld (2006) demonstrated across four studies that power reduces the focus on other people's psychological experiences. We consider income as power because salaried employees gain control over financial resources. Consequently, an increasing income is expected to enhance the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking.

Hypothesis 5: Higher income enhances the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective taking.

The conceptual model of an indirect relationship between political conservatism and fair trade purchase intention is shown in figure 9.

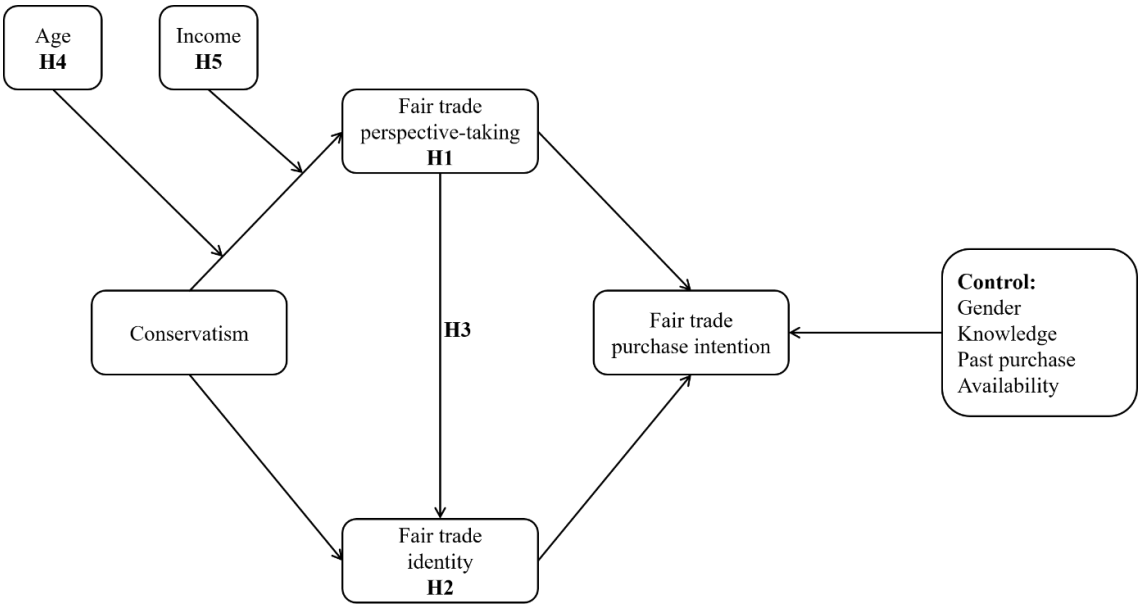


Figure 9 Conceptual model of an indirect relationship between political conservatism and fair trade purchase intention. H1 refers to the hypothesis of the mediating effect of fair trade perspective-taking on the relationship between conservatism and fair trade purchase intention. H2 refers to the hypothesis of the mediating effect of fair trade identity on the relationship between conservatism and fair trade purchase intention. H3 refers to the hypothesised effect of fair trade perspective-taking on fair trade identity. H4 and H5 refer to the hypothesised moderation effects of age and income respectively on the relationship between conservatism and fair trade perspective-taking.

Methodology

A survey was conducted to investigate the effects of political conservatism on fair trade purchase intention. Participants for this survey were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk for cash payment ($1.00). MTurk is considered a valid subject pool for psychological studies on topics of political ideology because it has been demonstrated that conservatives and liberals in a MTurk sample mirrored the psychological split of conservatives and liberals in two USA national samples (Clifford et al., 2015).

According to estimated retail sales, the UK was the largest market for fair trade products in 2017 at about 2.013 million Euros, just ahead of Germany with about 1.329 million Euros, and the USA with about 994 million Euros (FairtradeInternational, 2018b). This indicates major hurdles for fair trade consumption among US consumers. Against this background, the population of the USA is targeted by this study. Consequently, only MTurk workers from the USA were able to accept the task.

In order to avoid participation bias, the topic of fair trade was not mentioned when offering the task to MTurk workers. Moreover, to avoid common method bias, distinct scaling techniques, such as paired comparison as well as 5-point and 7-point Likert scales, were used. Finally, an attention check was included in the questionnaire so as to screen out random clicking.

Measurement instruments

Issue-based conservatism

Prior marketing research (Kim et al., 2018; Winterich, Zhang, & Mittal, 2012) measured political conservatism by use of a scale that assesses the self-reported political orientation on a right-left spectrum. The measurement of self-reported political orientation is questionable as people tend to overestimate the degree of their conservatism (Zell & Bernstein, 2014). Against this background, this study measured those issues that divide citizens of the USA into conservatives and liberals (Jung et al., 2017b; PewResearchCenter, 2014). This means that article 2 is more general in that it covers political conservatism as a whole and, thus, relates to the superordinate goal of political conservatism.

In particular, we applied a paired comparison scaling (Jung et al., 2017b). Participants were exposed to eight pairwise statements about issues of business regulation, social welfare, racial discrimination, immigration, corporate profits, environmental laws, and homosexuality. Participants could choose between either a conservative or liberal statement. They could also refuse to answer. Responses were coded as conservative statement = 1; don't know / refuse to answer = 0; liberal statement = -1 and summed as recommended by Jung et al. (2017b). Thus, the larger the value of political ideology, the more conservatism is indicated. In contrast, the smaller the value of political ideology, the more liberalism is indicated.

Fair trade purchase intention

We chose coffee as the fair trade product for this study as it is one of the most popular fair trade commodities on a global scale (FairtradeInternational, 2018b; White, MacDonnell, & Ellard, 2012). When developing a questionnaire to be administered online, researchers should avoid dull survey experiences due to purely text-based layouts (Malhotra et al., 2017). Therefore, participants were presented with a logo of fair trade coffee. Related to this logo, participants were asked to indicate how much they agree or disagree with four statements (e.g. "I would be likely to purchase this fair trade coffee" and "I would be willing to buy this fair

trade coffee"), which were adapted from White et al. (2012). The items were rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree).

Fair trade perspective-taking

Davis (1980) developed a scale that reflects the ability or tendency of participants to adopt the point of view or perspective of other people. Davis' (1980) scale measures the general ability of perspective-taking by the use of seven items (e.g. "Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place" and "I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both"). Our aim was to investigate the specific ability to take the perspective of a farmer or worker in a developing country. To this end, we adapted all seven items (e.g. "Before criticizing fair trade, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in the place of a farmer or worker in a developing country" and "I believe that there are two sides to every question about fair trade and try to look at them both"). The items were measured using a Likert scale ranging from 0 (Does not describe me) to 4 (Describes me extremely well).

Fair trade identity

Fair trade identity was measured employing the scale developed by Chatzidakis, Kastanakis, and Stathopoulou (2016). The three items of the scale (e.g. "To support fair trade is an important part of who I am" and "I think of myself as someone who is concerned about ethical issues in consumption") assess the self-identification of respondents with issues of fair trade (Chatzidakis et al., 2016). The items were measured based on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree).

Individual characteristics

We asked participants to indicate their year of birth. Additionally, we asked them to indicate their income. To this end, participants were provided with income ranges (less than $10,000; $10,000 - $19,999 etc.) and asked to choose their respective range. We preferred to ask for income ranges as we expected participants would not to be willing to divulge their exact income.

Control variables

Gender[13] was used as a control variable. This is because conservatives could see women as mainly responsible for grocery shopping so that the purchase intention of conservative males could be lower than that of females. We also controlled for knowledge of fair trade as the fair trade concept may not be widely known in the USA. To this end, we used the scale of fair trade knowledge proposed by de Pelsmacker & Janssens (2007). The scale comprises three items (e.g. "Fair trade aims at creating better trade conditions for farmers and workers in developing countries") that were measured using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree). Two further control variables were included in the survey. First, participants' answers on fair trade purchase intention could be predicted by their past purchase behaviour. Therefore, we included the item "Did you buy fair trade coffee in the past?" as covariate. Second, the local availability of fair trade coffee could affect a respondent's intention to buy fair trade coffee. To control for availability, we included the item "How easy or difficult is it to find fair trade coffee where you live?" as covariate.

Results

430 participants from the USA completed the survey (43.0% female, 57.0% male). There were four duplicate IP addresses in the data set indicating that four participants did the survey twice. For each of these cases, the data of the second participation were excluded from the data. Moreover, participants were excluded from the data who used less than 90 seconds to complete the survey, which involved two cases. Furthermore, data of 12 participants were excluded from the data as they failed the attention check. Finally, multivariate outliers were identified with the probability of the Mahalanobis distance (Hair et al., 2018). Three of these probabilities were below 0.005 and thus excluded from the data. 409 valid responses were included in the statistical analysis.

In order to decide whether to use parametric or nonparametric methods for the statistical analysis, the distribution of data was investigated. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test with Lilliefors correction is appropriate for testing data distribution. This test was, for instance, used to test for normality on fair trade purchase intention as the main dependent variable with a score of $D(409) = .090$, $p < .01$, which indicates a statistically significant deviation from normality. Statistically significant results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests for all six

[13] We tried to put gender as a moderator variable in the relationship between political ideology and fair trade perspective-taking. The results did not show a significant effect of gender.

variables forming the model justified the use of SmartPLS Version 3.2.9 (Ringle et al., 2015), which does not require normally distributed data (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017).

Analysis of the measurement model

We first checked the outer loadings. Hair et al. (2017) recommend to always eliminate indicators with loadings below 0.40. Two indicators of fair trade perspective-taking were thus deleted. Loadings between 0.40 and 0.70 should be removed from a scale if this leads to an increase in the average variance extracted (AVE) or to an increase in the composite reliability (CR) above the suggested threshold of 0.50 for AVE and of 0.60 for CR (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). Item 3 of the fair trade identity measure has a loading of 0.510. The AVE and CR values for the fair trade identity scale are above the threshold with item 3 (AVE = 0.604; CR = 0.813) as well as without item 3 (AVE = 0.800; CR = 0.889). Thus, there is no indication that justifies the removal of item 3 from the scale of fair trade identity. Finally, the AVE of all three constructs is above 0.50, which indicates their high convergent validity.

We examined the internal consistency reliability by use of Cronbach's alpha and composite reliability, which are both interpreted in a similar way. Values below the threshold of 0.60 suggest insufficient internal consistency reliability, whereas values above 0.95 indicate redundancy of items (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). The values of all three constructs were within this range, thus indicating high internal consistency reliability.

Henseler, Ringle, and Sarstedt (2015) recommend assessing discriminant validity based on the heterotrait-monotrait ratio (HTMT), whereby values below 0.90, or below the more conservative threshold of 0.85, indicate discriminant validity (Henseler et al., 2015). All HTMT values of this study are below 0.85. Furthermore, discriminant validity is indicated if the HTMT bootstrap confidence interval does not contain the value one (Henseler et al., 2015). This study's HTMT bootstrap confidence intervals for 10,000 replications do not include the value one. Moreover, all upper bounds of the HTMT bootstrap confidence intervals are below 0.85, which provides further evidence for discriminant validity.

Table 12 shows the results of the analysis of the measurement model. It demonstrates that the model has met all evaluation criteria, providing evidence for the reliability and validity of the measures.

Latent Variables	Items	Loadings	AVE	Cronbach's Alpha	CR	HTMT confidence interval
PT	Item 1	0.882	0.690	0.888	0.917	does not include 1
	Item 2	0.885				
	Item 3	0.758				
	Item 4	0.748				
	Item 5	0.871				
IDEN	Item 1	0.890	0.604	0.677	0.813	does not include 1
	Item 2	0.873				
	Item 3	0.510				
INT	Item 1	0.906	0.746	0.886	0.921	does not include 1
	Item 2	0.815				
	Item 3	0.889				
	Item 4	0.841				

Table 12 Results of the analysis of the measurement model. PT = Fair trade perspective-taking; IDEN = Fair trade identity; INT = Fair trade purchase intention; AVE = Average variance extracted; CR = Composite reliability; HTMT = Heterotrait-monotrait ratio.

Correlations

The means, standard deviations and correlations among the main constructs are provided in table 13.

Variable	*M*	SD	IDEO	PT	IDEN	INT
IDEO	-2.34	4.52	1			
PT	2.34	0.98	-0.174**	1		
IDEN	5.02	1.10	-0.303**	0.463**	1	
INT	4.80	1.22	-0.125*	0.511**	0.554**	1

Table 13 Means, standard deviations and correlations among the main constructs. Note: Table 13 presents the Pearson's correlations. IDEO = Political ideology, PT = Fair trade perspective-taking, IDEN = Fair trade identity, INT = Fair trade purchase intention. Sample size *n*=409 participants. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Both fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity were significantly and negatively correlated with political ideology ($r = -0.174$ and -0.303, respectively, $p < 0.01$). Moreover, both fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity were significantly and positively correlated with fair trade purchase intention ($r =$ 0.511 and 0.554, respectively, $p < 0.01$). These results justify the further analysis of the structural model. Finally, a moderation can be misleading when a predictor correlates with a moderator variable (Daryanto, 2019). Political ideology neither correlates with birth year ($r =$

$-0.028, p = 0.571$) nor with income ($r = 0.026, p = 0.599$). On the basis of the latter two correlation results, there is no threat to the validity of the moderation test.

Analysis of the structural model

First, we checked the variance inflation factor (VIF) of the two predictor constructs so as to assess potential collinearity issues of the structural model. Specifically, we assessed PT as a predictor of IDEN (VIF value of 1.033) and INT (VIF value of 1.462) as well as IDEN as a predictor of INT (VIF value of 1.565) for collinearity. VIF values above 5 are critical (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). Here, all VIF values are below 5, indicating that collinearity is no issue. Therefore, we could proceed with the analysis of the results.

We then checked the R^2 value of willingness to buy fair trade products as dependent variable. Based on the guidelines by Hair, Ringle, and Sarstedt (2011), the R^2 value of INT (0.481) is moderate. Additionally, we evaluated the f^2 effect size. Based on Cohen's (1988) guidelines, PT has a small effect size of 0.053 on INT, whereas IDEN has a medium effect size of 0.276 on INT. The latter result underlines the relative impact of IDEN on INT.

Next, we tested our hypotheses by inspecting the significance of the path coefficients and their bootstrap confidence intervals. To assess the significance of the relationships, we ran 10,000 bootstrap samples. The resulting values demonstrate a significant total effect, e.g. the sum of indirect and direct effects (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017), of conservatism on fair trade purchase intention ($b = -.143, p < 0.001$). When evaluating this effect size, one should keep in mind that conservatism is a composite score calculated by taking the sum of eight items as explained in the measurement section. Consequently, conservatism ranges from -8 (participants always picked liberal statements) to 8 (participants always picked conservative statements).

The results also demonstrate a significant indirect effect of conservatism on fair trade purchase intention via fair trade perspective-taking, i.e. IDEO → PT → INT ($b = -.033, p < 0.05$), supporting H1, as well as a significant specific indirect effect of conservatism on fair trade purchase intention via fair trade identity, i.e. IDEO → IDEN → INT ($b = -.072, p < 0.01$), supporting H2.

Furthermore, we analysed the individual path coefficients in the model. All relationships in our model are statistically significant. The results show a significant effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking ($b = -.162, p < 0.01$), which then significantly affects fair trade

purchase intention ($b = .200, p < 0.001$). The results further indicate a significant effect of conservatism on fair trade identity ($b = -.152, p < 0.01$) as well as a significant effect of fair trade perspective-taking on fair trade identity ($b = .511, p < 0.001$), supporting H3, which then significantly influences fair trade purchase intention ($b = .474, p < 0.001$). With regard to the importance of the exogenous constructs for fair trade purchase intention, we found that fair trade identity is the main driver. Fair trade perspective-taking has less bearing on fair trade purchase intention than fair trade identity. Of the control variables, only past purchase behaviour had a significant and positive effect on fair trade purchase intention ($b = .115, p < 0.01$).

We also found a significant moderating effect of year of birth on the relationship between conservatism and fair trade perspective-taking ($b = .110, p < 0.05$), in support of H4. This positive moderation effect means that the more positive the value of year of birth, the more positive is the effect of political ideology on fair trade perspective-taking. Simply put, the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking is diminished by younger age. In the aforementioned relationship between conservatism and fair trade perspective-taking, income ($b = -.121, p < 0.01$) is another significant moderator (H5). This negative moderation effect means that the more positive the value of income, the more negative is the effect of political ideology on fair trade perspective-taking. Simply put, the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking is enhanced by higher income. All results of this study are shown in table 14.

Relationship	Coefficient	p-value	95% Confidence Interval Bias Corrected		Conclusion
			LL	UL	
Total effect					
IDEO → INT	-0.143	0.000	-0.212	-0.075	
Indirect effects					
IDEO → PT → INT	-0.033	0.020	-0.066	-0.010	**H1** supported
IDEO → IDEN → INT	-0.072	0.003	-0.123	-0.027	**H2** supported
Direct effects					
IDEO → PT	-0.162	0.003	-0.267	-0.050	
IDEO → IDEN	-0.152	0.002	-0.249	-0.054	
PT → IDEN	0.511	0.000	0.428	0.585	**H3** supported
PT → INT	0.200	0.000	0.103	0.297	
IDEN → INT	0.474	0.000	0.372	0.566	
GEN → INT	0.025	0.500	-0.048	0.096	
KNOW → INT	0.072	0.153	-0.025	0.172	
PAST → INT	0.115	0.003	0.042	0.193	
AVAI → INT	0.035	0.412	-0.049	0.107	
Moderation effects					
IDEO*BY → PT	0.110	0.012	0.026	0.196	**H4** supported
IDEO*INC → PT	-0.121	0.009	-0.212	-0.028	**H5** supported

Table 14 Results of the analysis of the structural model. Note: IDEO = Political Ideology, INT = Fair trade purchase intention, PT = Fair trade perspective-taking, IDEN = Fair trade identity, GEN = Gender, KNOW = Knowledge of fair trade, PAST = Past fair trade purchase behaviour, AVAI = Availability of fair trade coffee, BY = Birth year, INC = Income. LL = 95% lower limit, UL = 95% upper limit. Sample size *n*=409 participants, Bootstrap samples *n*=10,000.

To check the structural model on predictive relevance, we conducted the blindfolding procedure to obtain Stone-Geisser's Q^2 values (Geisser, 1974; Stone, 1974). An omission distance D from 5 to 10 is feasible (Chin, 1998), whereby the number of observations divided by D should not be integer (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). Our number of observations (409) divided by our chosen D (8) is not integer (51.125). The Q^2 values of the three endogenous constructs are all above zero. In particular, fair trade purchase intention has the highest Q^2 value (0.348), followed by fair trade identity (0.181), and, finally, fair trade perspective-taking (0.051). These results support the predictive relevance of our model with regard to fair trade purchase intention, fair trade identity, and fair trade perspective-taking since "Q^2 values larger than 0 suggest that the model has predictive relevance for a certain endogenous construct" (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017, p. 207).

Discussion

The purpose of this research is to apply the theoretical lens of political conservatism to identify obstacles to the consumption of fair trade products. We found two of them.

First, the less developed capacity of conservatives to take the perspective of farmers or workers in LMIC decreases the intention to purchase fair trade coffee. Sparkman and Eidelman (2016) demonstrated the link between political ideology and ethnic perspective-taking. However, we are the first to demonstrate a relationship between conservatism and the specific ability to take the perspective of farmers or workers in LMIC. Moreover, we demonstrated a relationship between fair trade perspective-taking and the intention to purchase fair trade products. Thus, fair trade perspective-taking explains the influence of conservatism on fair trade purchase intention.

Perspective-taking is a strategy that allows individuals to navigate in environments between groups (Todd & Galinsky, 2014). In our study, fair trade perspective-taking mirrors the ingroup orientation of conservatives. This inward looking feature causes a decrease in the ability to take the perspective of outgroups by the conservative ingroup. The lower probability of conservatives to put themselves in the position of LMIC workers then relates to purchase intention, and thus the consumption sector can be understood as an "intergroup environment" (Todd & Galinsky, 2014, p. 374).

Second, the lower tendency of conservatives to make fair trade part of their identity causes a reduction in fair trade purchase intention. Bhattacharya and Elsbach (2002) showed that the identification of individuals with an organisation is related to experiences, whereas disidentification is based on values. In addition, action is taken only by the identifiers (Bhattacharya & Elsbach, 2002). Our study demonstrates that disidentification is not only based on values but also on conservative beliefs. The present disidentification means that conservative beliefs signal to the self that the role of a fair trade customer is ideologically inappropriate. With such disidentification, a general political ideology is narrowed down to an individual level. Similar to Bhattacharya and Elsbach (2002), we found that only the identification with fair trade enhances action-taking intentions, i.e., the intention to buy fair trade products.

Moreover, both mediators between conservatism and purchase intention, i.e. fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity, are affiliated with each other in the sense that fair trade perspective-taking has a positive influence on fair trade identity. We consider both

mediators to represent psychological hurdles for conservatives to the consumption of fair trade goods. The decreased ability of conservatives to step into the shoes of farmers in LMIC means that they tend to avoid the cognitive confrontation with the struggles of the poor in LMIC. Conservatism in HIC like the USA seems to be accompanied by the psychological narrowing of the external field of vision. The decreased fair trade identity, also arising from conservatism, means not being prepared to confront the self with issues of workers in LMIC. In other words, conservatism in HIC is associated with the psychological narrowing of the internal field of vision. Both fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity form a process of fading out the circumstances of an outgroup in need. To put it another way, fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity constitute a set of psychological blinkers that shield conservatives from the appeals of fair trade products.

Finally, we found age and income to moderate the effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking. Both mediators define the boundary conditions of the effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking, which is described next.

First, younger age reduces the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking. In other words, the younger people are, the smaller is the effect of their conservatism on their ability to take the perspective of farmers or workers in LMIC. Cornelis, Van Hiel, Roets, and Kossowska (2009) found that age increases social-cultural conservatism but not economic-hierarchical conservatism. In line with this, we argue that an increasing age intensifies the tendency of conservatives to favour their social-cultural ingroup. This then affects fair trade perspective-taking that requires the ability to adopt the viewpoint of people living in LMIC under circumstances that are socially and culturally very different from the circumstances in HIC.

Second, income maximises the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking. The higher the income, the larger is the negative effect of conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking. Cognitive conservatism is facilitated by an orientation that aims at the prevention of losses and potential threats (Jost et al., 2003b). Moreover, conservatism relies on restraint or inhibition as tools for social regulation (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). Given that, we argue that the higher the income of individuals, the greater are the potential losses and, thus, the more important is the necessity for individuals to regulate financial resources by restraint or inhibition rather than by activation (such as perspective-taking).

Managerial implications

Marketing strategies of exporters in emerging markets succeed only when they take the contexts of the targeted developed markets into account (Samiee & Chirapanda, 2019). However, firms in emerging markets often have limited resources, which can result in suboptimal marketing strategies (Samiee & Chirapanda, 2019). Our managerial advice, including psychographic and demographic market segmentation in HIC, can be applied to boost the conservatives' interests in fair trade consumption.

With regard to psychographic market segmentation, marketing strategies and communication tools of firms in LMIC or fair trade organisations should not require a high level of perspective-taking if targeting conservatives in HIC. Common fair trade advertising materials often picture scenes from LMIC, such as local farmers harvesting in the fields, or the advertisements use taglines that focus on poverty and inequality. In other words, common fair trade advertising materials represent the perspective of LMIC, which does not necessarily appeal to consumers of a conservative disposition. Fair trade advertisements that appeal to ingroups in HIC should avoid marketing messages based on perspective taking if they are to appeal to consumers of a conservative disposition. Advertisements that display scenes of USA-ingroups, for example, a family in the USA having a fair trade breakfast, could move conservatives away from having to take the perspective of outgroups when reading the advertisement.

With regard to demographic market segmentation, marketing strategies of firms in LMIC or fair trade organisations targeting conservatives in HIC should focus on younger over older consumers as well as on consumers with lower over those with higher incomes. This would preclude up-market strategies aimed at older consumers. Our research results would rather suggest a marketing strategy that targets younger conservatives as well as conservatives with lower incomes as those groups of buyers seem to be less susceptible to the conservative belief system with regard to fair trade consumption. Not only can targeting younger conservatives and conservatives with lower incomes result in their greater inclination to buy fair trade products but also in their increased advocacy on behalf of fair trade within the general conservative market segment.

By applying approaches that make perspective-taking redundant and that aim at younger consumers with lower incomes, firms and fair trade initiatives can target the conservative consumer segment with a greater chance of success. This could eventually undermine the negative effects of conservatism on fair trade consumption as conservatism is driven by group

dynamics. Additionally, the managerial advice to make perspective-taking redundant and to aim at younger consumers with lower incomes applies to similarly situated contexts where political conservatism inhibits certain consumer behaviours. This could involve sustainable consumption (Watkins, Aitken, & Mather, 2016), investments in energy-efficient technologies (Gromet, Kunreuther, & Larrick, 2013), as well as vegetarian and vegan diets (Hodson & Earle, 2018). However, our managerial advice is not applicable to cases in which political conservatism fosters certain consumer behaviours such as buying organic food (Martinez-de-Ibarreta & Valor, 2018).

Limitations and further research

Our study focussed on ideological rather than on religious beliefs. However, 65% of the US-Americans are Christians (PewResearchCenter, 2019). Furthermore, Christian religiosity enhances positive views on socially responsible products (Graafland, 2017). In particular, religious commitment increases the consumers' willingness to pay for fair trade products when religion is salient in organisational contexts (Salvador, Merchant, & Alexander, 2014). Because religiosity is associated with political conservatism (Malka, Lelkes, Srivastava, Cohen, & Miller, 2012), further research could investigate the interplay between religion, conservatism, and fair trade. Similar to the research findings of Peifer, Khalsa, and Ecklund (2016) on environmental consumption, religiosity could moderate the effect of the consumers' political conservatism on their willingness to buy fair trade goods.

Moreover, we included four control variables in order to avoid "omitted variable bias" (Wooldridge, 2018, p. 84). However, adding control variables can result in "included variable bias, where adding control variables can bias coefficient estimates with respect to causal influence on the dependent variable" (York, 2018, p. 683). Therefore, we encourage further research that investigates the role of the covariates used here for the effect of political conservatism on fair trade purchase intention.

Finally, our research demonstrated a negative impact of political conservatism on fair trade consumption. Marketing communications could use framing by employing fair trade appeals that are anchored in and associated with political conservatism in order to better target consumers with a conservative disposition. For instance, Kidwell et al. (2013) revealed that appeals that are congruent with political ideologies increase sustainable behaviours. In particular, conservatives have increased intentions to undertake recycling when they read an advertisement with a binding appeal, whereas liberals have increased intentions to undertake recycling when they read an advertisement with an individualising appeal (Kidwell et al.,

2013). Further research could identify and examine appeals that are in accordance with aspects of political conservatism that are relevant to fair trade consumption.

Conclusion

Our research introduced political ideology as an alternative and different lens when researching fair trade and associated consumer behaviour and decision-making. We identified conservatism as a potential ideological obstacle to fair trade consumption. Furthermore, we demonstrated the psychological process that underlies the potential effect of conservatism on the consumption of fair trade products. Finally, our results suggest boundary conditions that regulate the impact of political conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking. The findings of the present study can have practical effects for fair trade initiatives as well as for agricultural firms in LMIC that want to sell fair trade products to additional customer segments in HIC or that want to increase their sales of fair trade products in such markets. It is important for fair trade initiatives and firms firstly, to release conservatives in HIC from the necessity of taking the perspective of farmers or workers in LMIC, and secondly to target younger conservatives with lower incomes.

Article 3: Political Conservatism and Fair Trade Consumption – Insights from Social Dominance Orientation

A previous version of this article was presented at the 2021 AMA Summer Academic Conference:
Usslepp, T., Hogg, M. K., & Awanis, S. (2021). *The use of status for the promotion of intergroup helping*. Paper presented at the AMA Summer Academic Conference - Reimagining Marketing.

Research question: What intervention(s) would help to market fair trade products to conservative consumers more successfully?

Previous research demonstrated that political conservatism is strongly associated with high social dominance orientation and desire for status. This suggests that politically conservative consumers are unlikely to be influenced by altruistic marketing appeals, which undermines social marketing programmes that are largely built on the assumptions that consumers are inherently prosocial. This research examines the joint effect of social dominance orientation and desire for status on fair trade consumption. Specifically, we show that persuasive appeals utilising status rather than altruism are congruent with the mindset of socially dominant consumers who can process status-based appeals with fluency, which then increases their willingness to buy and pay for fair trade products. Our examination of a potential intervention programme might not only help reconcile the conflict between conservatism and ethical consumption but could also help social marketers to promote ethical products to status-oriented consumers who are less motivated to altruistically improve the living conditions of others in their consumption.

Introduction

Politically conservative consumers – defined as those with the affinity to resist change and endorse inequality (Jost et al., 2003b) – represent a significant market segment, with 37% of the US-Americans identified themselves as conservative in 2019 (Saad, 2020). The significance of the conservative market segment is underpinned by a growing body of research that examines the influences of political conservatism on consumption (Chan, 2020; Davidson & Theriault, 2021; Farmer et al., 2020; Fernandes, 2020; Fernandes & Mandel, 2014; Han et al., 2019; Jung & Mittal, 2021; Jung et al., 2017b; Kaikati et al., 2017; Kashmiri & Mahajan, 2017; Khan et al., 2013; Li et al., 2020). In particular, a notable research strand

suggests that politically conservative consumers are less attracted to ethical and prosocial marketing appeals than their liberal counterparts, such as those that promote recycling (Kidwell et al., 2013) and donations (Winterich et al., 2012) with individualising appeals as well as those that promote fair trade products (Usslepp et al., 2021). Usslepp et al. (2021) show that the conservative ideology is incongruent with fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity, which subsequently diminishes the willingness to buy fair trade products. Such a predisposition presents a challenge to social marketers who often rely on the consumers' altruistic motives to promote products, services, and prosocial programmes. We address this research problem by examining how marketing interventions may reverse the inhibitory effect of political conservatism on fair trade consumption. Focusing on fair trade as a representation of prosocial consumption, we examine how a marketing programme can be framed to increase the willingness to buy and pay for prosocial consumption among politically conservative consumers.

The theoretical basis of our model rests in the high social dominance orientation of conservatives (Han et al., 2019) and their desire for status (Kim et al., 2018; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018). Extant studies show that social dominance orientation (Han et al., 2019), defined as the "degree to which individuals desire and support group-based hierarchy" (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 48), is closely aligned with the conservative ideology. For example, the voting for the presidential candidates of the Republican Party of the USA and self-reported political conservatism both correlate with social dominance orientation (Han et al., 2019). The conservatives' emphasis on social dominance means that these individuals place high importance on the relationship between groups and their asymmetric access to resources (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). Thus, conservatism results in consumers' preferences for products that signal a vertical differentiation in the social hierarchy, i.e. to be better than others (Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018). Consequently, conservative consumers have a strong desire for luxury products to reflect their goal to maintain status (Kim et al., 2018).

The relationship between the group of consumers of fair trade products in high-income countries (HIC) and the group of marginalised workers in low- and middle-income countries (LMIC) points to the relevance of social dominance in ethical consumption, where the premium for fair trade products is supposed to improve the social, environmental, and economic conditions of workers in LMIC (FairtradeFoundation_a). Yet, fair trade consumption has largely failed to gain momentum due to conservative consumers' resistance (Usslepp et al., 2021). Indeed, fair trade campaigns often draw on the workers' problems, hardships, and vulnerabilities to raise awareness about working conditions in LMIC (Staricco, 2016). However, not all fair trade consumers are necessarily driven by the motive to make the

world a better place. Extant research shows that the intention to purchase fair trade is not only driven by societal values, such as equal opportunities and social justice, but also by values that depict self-interest, such as independence in decision making (Yamoah et al., 2016). Thus, an overemphasis in persuasive appeals on the ethical character of fair trade may risk ignoring consumers who are not mainly driven by social responsibility in their purchasing decisions (Yamoah et al., 2016). Hitherto, the previous research's focus has largely been on a fringe market segment with little information about how to appeal to a broader swathe of consumers (Davies & Gutsche, 2016).

This paper synthesises extant knowledge to examine the joint effect of social dominance orientation and status in the context of ethical consumption. In doing so, we make a *theoretical contribution* by proposing and testing a novel congruency model for the promotion of fair trade consumption. We demonstrate that a persuasive appeal that is based on status is congruent with the mindset of politically conservative consumers, as these individuals can process status-based appeals with greater fluency than altruism-based appeals.

Our findings offer an *empirical contribution* by challenging the common assumption about the universal effectiveness of altruism-based appeals, particularly amongst politically conservative consumers. Additionally, our proposed intervention programme offers a *managerial contribution* in that it helps social marketers promote ethical products to consumers who purchase goods to signal their status rather than to altruistically improve the living conditions of others.

This paper is structured as follows. The next section provides the theoretical background that explains the link between political conservatism and fair trade consumption, followed by the development of hypotheses that constitute a model for the promotion of fair trade products to conservative consumers. The following sections then outline our research methodology, the results, and a discussion of findings. The paper concludes by examining the implications for theory and practice, the study's limitations and directions for future research.

Literature review and hypothesis development

In describing two goals of political conservatism, Jost et al. (2003b) distinguished between the "goal of resisting social and political change" (p. 368) and the "striving for security and dominance in social hierarchies" (p. 368). These goals are commonly referred to as resistance to change and endorsement of inequality (Jost et al., 2003b) respectively. Extant research has used right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) as the empirical representation of the conservative

goal of resistance to change, whereas social dominance orientation (SDO) relates to the conservative goal of endorsement of inequality (Jost et al., 2003b).

Consumers' drive for social dominance can negatively influence their willingness to consume fair trade products (Rios, Finkelstein, & Landa, 2015). This is because individuals scoring high in SDO do not see fair trade products in line with their understanding of social justice (Rios et al., 2015). Rios et al. (2015) concluded that "SDO diminishes preferences for fair trade products, controlling for RWA and system justification" (p. 175). Consequently, we focussed on SDO, which relates to the conservative goal of endorsement of inequality when tailoring an intervention programme for the conservative audience.

SDO covers the economic aspect of political conservatism and addresses factors such as taxation, social welfare, and income inequality (Jung & Mittal, 2020). Individuals who score high in SDO have a high need to compete and to win whatever the cost (Cozzolino & Snyder, 2008). Hazards that accompany such competitiveness are perceived as less risky by individuals scoring high in SDO compared to those scoring low in SDO (Choma, Hanoch, Gummerum, & Hodson, 2013). Marketing studies further show that political conservatism increases the consumers' preference for vertical differentiation in the social hierarchy, which is mediated by SDO (Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018). Moreover, consumers high in SDO respond less favourably to advertisements that communicate the superiority of a challenging brand over a leading brand (Li et al., 2020). Similarly, Han et al. (2019) show that the conservatives' willingness to take financial risks increases with their self-efficacy due to their higher social dominance orientation. In the context of fair trade, SDO means that the group of dominant consumers in HIC usually stands in opposition to the group of subordinate producers in LMIC. The power dynamics are unbalanced because fair trade producers in LMIC depend more on the willingness of consumers in HIC to pay a premium rather than the other way round.

Two dimensions of SDO can be differentiated as there is the dimension of dominance, abbreviated SDO-D, and the dimension of anti-egalitarianism, abbreviated SDO-E (Ho et al., 2015). We briefly describe both dimensions before examining the one that best fits with the purpose of our study, which is to understand the effect of social dominance in the context of ethical consumption. SDO-D represents the overt confrontation that involves, for example, aggressive and violent behaviours towards subordinate groups such as immigrants and which also justifies beliefs such as racism (Ho et al., 2015). SDO-E, however, is a more subtle mechanism where an interrelated network of hierarchy-enhancing policies and beliefs maintains inequality, often with the specification of ostensibly different objectives such as

meritocracy or economic efficiency (Ho et al., 2015). We do not argue that the unwillingness of conservative consumers in HIC to buy and pay for fair trade products is aggressive or violent behaviour towards the subordinate group of marginalised workers in LMIC (i.e. SDO-D), but rather is a subtle mechanism to keep and increase their dominant position in the social hierarchy (i.e. SDO-E).

Anti-egalitarianism (i.e. SDO-E) is to be understood as a "preference for systems of group-based inequality" (Ho et al., 2015, p. 1003). In contrast, fair trade is defined as "a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade" (WFTO/FairtradeInternational/FLO-CERT, 2011, p. 1). Based on these definitions, anti-egalitarianism runs counter to fair trade whose aim is to achieve equity. However, no research has yet examined how to diminish the potentially negative effect of anti-egalitarianism on ethical consumption through marketing communications. Hence, we review the literature on the regulation of the effect of conservatism on consumption, because conservatism and anti-egalitarianism are related constructs (Ho et al., 2015). Specifically, we reviewed models that seek to limit the negative effects of conservatism on consumption as we expect anti-egalitarianism to negatively affect fair trade consumption. We describe this review in the next section.

Anti-egalitarianism and persuasive appeals

The literature points to two approaches to regulate the consequences of political conservatism. In the first approach, social norms were utilised in the literature to regulate the impact of conservatism. For example, Kaikati, Torelli, Winterich, and Rodas (2017) showed that the predisposition of conservatives to conform to social norms can be harnessed to increase their willingness to donate. Furthermore, Fernandes and Mandel (2014) demonstrated a positive effect of political conservatism on variety-seeking based on the tendency to comply with social norms. In the second approach, congruent appeals were found to be useful for the regulation of the impact of political conservatism. Kidwell, Farmer, and Hardesty (2013), for example, developed a model that shows that the congruence of conservatism and marketing appeals increases sustainable behaviour mediated by fluency. The approach introduced by Kidwell et al. (2013) is more suitable for our research than approaches that are based on social norms. This is because SDO is about group hierarchy rather than about group norms (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). We therefore adapted Kidwell et al.'s (2013) congruency model to the specific characteristics of anti-egalitarianism.

We incorporate the literature on anti-egalitarianism, status, and altruism into a congruency model for the promotion of fair trade products. Here, it is important to note that the existence of group-based hierarchies cannot be overcome, but the actual configuration and the degree of hierarchies are forever changing (Lenski, 1966/1984; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Accordingly, anti-egalitarianism cannot be eliminated but its manifestation can be influenced. We, therefore, attempt to shift the potential unwillingness of anti-egalitarian consumers in HIC to buy and pay for fair trade products (driven by their desire to maintain the group-based hierarchy between HIC and LMIC), towards a greater willingness of anti-egalitarian consumers in HIC to buy and pay for fair trade products, by using status appeals that allow them to maintain the group-based hierarchy within their HIC. To alter the target of consumers' anti-egalitarianism, marketing communications has to take into account the specific characteristics of anti-egalitarianism. Thus, we apply the congruency approach (Goenka & Van Osselaer, 2019; Kidwell et al., 2013; Shang, Reed, & Croson, 2008) in that we examine the congruence between anti-egalitarianism and potential marketing messages. We consider the viability of two potential appeals next.

Status

Individuals with a high degree of social dominance orientation seek competitiveness and tend to signal status through luxury consumption to indicate that they have succeeded in the competitive jungle (Jung & Mittal, 2020). Consumers with an anti-egalitarian mindset could be particularly inclined to buy luxury goods as these are subtle rather than aggressive or violent means for the demonstration of social dominance towards subordinate groups. We, therefore, consider persuasive appeals utilising status to be congruent with anti-egalitarianism.

Status signalling is based on the "desire to associate or dissociate with members of their own and other groups" (Han, Nunes, & Dreze, 2010, p. 15). A marketing message about fair trade could, therefore, utilise status signalling to achieve congruency with anti-egalitarianism in that the advertised product is associated with the group of dominants in a HIC and dissociated from the group of subordinates in the same HIC. Because status usually relates to price (Han et al., 2010), anti-egalitarian consumers should be targeted as up-market. Consequently, consumers with an anti-egalitarian disposition would seek to secure a higher position in the social hierarchy of their HIC through financial resources, thereby establishing inequality concerning those individuals in the same HIC who are not empowered by money to signal status (Ho et al., 2015).

What this means in practical terms is that we will frame the "premium for the ethical content of fair trade products" (Becchetti, Castriota, & Conzo, 2015, p. 532) as an investment into one's status rather than an altruistic donation. With this framing, the premium as a potential reason for anti-egalitarian consumers not to buy fair trade products is turned into a status appeal that could increase the willingness of anti-egalitarian consumers to buy fair trade products. Because price is a barrier to buying ethically manufactured clothing (Shaw, Hogg, Wilson, Shiu, & Hassan, 2006), we have elected fair trade clothing as an empirical context and framed the fair trade premium as the price for a luxury commodity.

Altruism

Consumers of fair trade products can also be characterised by their altruism (Reinstein & Song, 2012). The feeling of empathetic concern that an individual has for someone in need triggers the altruistic motivation which wants to see the need relieved (Batson, 2016). This motivation then gives the actual helping behaviour its moral nature (Bar-Tal, 1986). Such helping behaviour is defined as "an act which benefits others and no external rewards are promised" (Bar-Tal, 1986, p. 3). We refer to altruism as empathy-induced motivation rather than helping behaviour – of which the latter is reflected in the willingness to buy and pay for fair trade products in our research design.

As Ho et al. (2015) demonstrated, there is a negative correlation between anti-egalitarianism and altruism. We, therefore, consider persuasive appeals utilising altruism to be incongruent with anti-egalitarianism. The attempt of anti-egalitarianism to constitute group-based inequality (Ho et al., 2015) and the empathy-induced desire of altruism to relieve people of their needs (Batson, 2016) stand in contradiction to one another. In other words, it is unlikely that someone pursues inequality while being motivated to see others relieved of the negative consequences of inequality.

Processing fluency

To examine the actual congruency between anti-egalitarianism and status-appeals, we utilised the framework of processing fluency, which is defined as "the ease or difficulty with which new, external information can be processed" (Schwarz, 2004, p. 338). Processing fluency is a metacognitive cue of importance in human (Alter & Oppenheimer, 2009) and consumer judgement (Graf, Mayer, & Landwehr, 2018). Several variables trigger the ease with which consumers process information (Graf et al., 2018). Kidwell, Farmer, and Hardesty (2013), for example, demonstrated that persuasive appeals that are congruent with the political ideology

of consumers can be processed with more ease than incongruent appeals, which leads to greater recycling intentions. Similarly, we expect persuasive appeals utilising status to be processed by anti-egalitarian consumers with ease. Therefore, we predict the following:

Hypothesis 1: The interaction effect of anti-egalitarianism and status increases the processing fluency of the ad.

Willingness to buy and pay

The willingness to buy and the willingness to pay are essential steps for gaining status through the signals of possession. Processing fluency is expected to mediate between the perception of persuasive appeals by anti-egalitarian consumers and both their willingness to buy fair trade products and their willingness to pay for them. This is because the more fluently an object can be processed, the more positive is the individual's response (Reber, Schwarz, & Winkielman, 2004). In our case, a positive response is represented by the willingness to buy and pay for fair trade clothing. Thus, we predict:

Hypothesis 2a: Processing fluency mediates the interaction effect of anti-egalitarianism and status on the willingness to buy fair trade clothing.

Hypothesis 2b: Processing fluency mediates the interaction effect of anti-egalitarianism and status on the willingness to pay for fair trade clothing.

Spillover effects may also play a role in conservative consumers' ethical decision making. Spillover effects are defined as the "extent to which a message influences beliefs related to attributes that are not contained in the message" (Ahluwalia, Unnava, & Burnkrant, 2001, p. 458). Spillover effects build upon a process where the consumer's knowledge of an entity (e.g. brand) initiates a transfer of attributes to another entity (Raufeisen, Wulf, Köcher, Faupel, & Holzmüller, 2019). For example, Juhl, Fenger, and Thogersen (2017) showed that individuals who have begun to purchase certain food products of organic origin are likely to gradually extend and generalise their organic purchasing to further product groups over time. Kidwell et al. (2013) demonstrated that recycling intentions increase the intentions to buy CFL bulbs and to conserve water.

The spillover process includes two steps. First, two entities have to be cognitively connected and, second, attributes need to be transferred between the entities (Raufeisen et al., 2019). Due to the lack of information and uncertainty in everyday life, individuals make inferences and

substitute information (Raufeisen et al., 2019). In the context of fair trade, we consider clothing and groceries to be cognitively connected objects, whereby conservative consumers' attributions about fair trade clothing gained through status appeals are expected to influence their attributions about fair trade groceries. We therefore predict:

Hypothesis 3a: The effect of processing fluency on the willingness to buy fair trade groceries is mediated by the willingness to buy fair trade clothing.

Hypothesis 3b: The effect of processing fluency on the willingness to pay for fair trade groceries is mediated by the willingness to pay for fair trade clothing.

The conceptual model of our study is shown in figure 10.

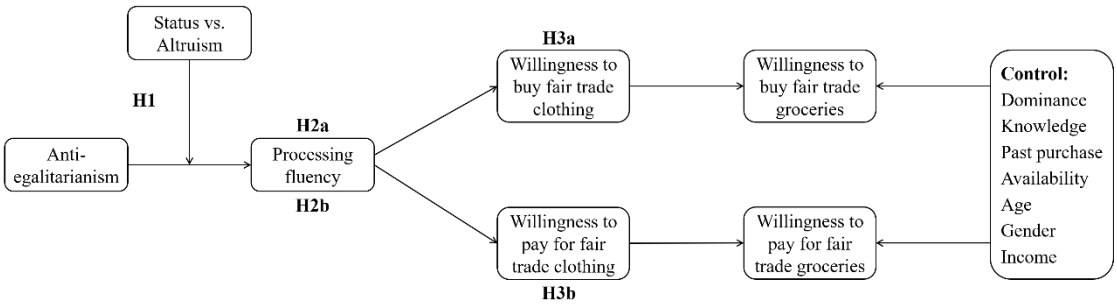


Figure 10 Conceptual model of a moderated mediation with respective hypotheses

Methodology

Participants for this survey were recruited in the USA via Amazon Mechanical Turk for cash payment. Next, we provide information about the procedures for our experiment as well as the applied measures and manipulations.

Procedure

All participants completed a measure of anti-egalitarianism (Ho et al., 2015) before they were randomly assigned to one of two appeal manipulations. The characteristic of the image and text content of the manipulations utilised either status, adapted from Kim et al. (2018), or altruism, which draws on the definition of fair trade (WFTO/FairtradeInternational/FLO-CERT, 2011). Participants then completed a measure of processing fluency (Kidwell et al., 2013). Manipulation checks measured the sensitivity to status, adapted from Lichtenstein, Ridgway, and Netemeyer (1993), and to altruism, adapted from Lee and Ashton (2004).

Adapting a scale from White, MacDonnell, and Ellard (2012), four items measured participants' willingness to buy fair trade clothing (targeted) and another four items measured the participants' willingness to buy fair trade groceries (spillover). Next, four self-developed items measured participants' willingness to pay for fair trade clothing (targeted) and another four self-developed items measured the participants' willingness to pay for fair trade groceries (spillover). Finally, control variables were included as participants completed measures of social dominance (Ho et al., 2015), knowledge of fair trade (De Pelsmacker & Janssens, 2007), past fair trade purchase behaviour, and the local availability of fair trade products. Participants also indicated their age, gender, and income.

Anti-egalitarianism

We used the short SDO_7 anti-egalitarianism measure, which includes two pro-trait items, e.g., "Group equality should not be our primary goal", as well as two con-trait items, e.g., "We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups" (Ho et al., 2015, p. 1028). The two con-trait items were reverse coded. All four items were measured on a 7-point scale: 1 = strongly oppose, 7 = strongly favor (Ho et al., 2015), where lower numbers indicate egalitarianism and where higher numbers indicate anti-egalitarianism.

Persuasive appeals

Two marketing appeals were developed to represent either status or altruism (see figure 11 for stimulus material). Each appeal contained text and image content. The status appeal focussed on a luxury lifestyle to trigger a sense of superiority, classiness, and distinguishability. The text content of the status appeal is adapted from Kim et al. (2018). Conversely, the altruistic appeal focussed on a responsible lifestyle to trigger a sense of helpfulness, empathy, and activism. The text content of the altruistic appeal partly draws upon the definition of fair trade (WFTO/FairtradeInternational/FLO-CERT, 2011) to represent the current understanding of it.

Alessandro Bruno Top of the top Prestigious fair trade fashion 	**Alessandro Bruno** A way to help the poor in developing countries Fair trade clothing
Designed in collaboration with the world's most prestigious fashion designer **Alessandro Bruno** and endorsed by many top-class celebrities, the new collection of fair trade fashion is clothing completely reimagined. By buying fair trade fashion, you stand out from the crowd – signifying its superior and prestigious status. Be prestigious and buy fair trade fashion now!	Manufactured by the social activist **Alessandro Bruno** and endorsed by many NGOs, the new collection of fair trade clothing allows you to contribute to greater equity in international trade. By buying fair trade clothing, you secure the rights of marginalized workers in developing countries and help them to overcome poverty. Help the poor and buy fair trade clothing now!

Figure 11 The marketing appeal on the left-hand side utilises status and the marketing appeal on the right-hand side utilises altruism

Processing fluency

A scale by Kidwell et al. (2013) was used to measure processing fluency. The 7-point scale assessed the perception of the presented advertisement with the following endpoints: unclear/ clear, not compelling/ compelling, not credible/ credible, did not flow/ flowed well, difficult to follow/ easy to follow, not plausible/ plausible, and not easy to relate to/ easy to relate to (Kidwell et al., 2013). Hence, lower numbers represent lower processing fluency and higher numbers represent higher processing fluency.

Manipulation check

A first manipulation check was included to examine whether participants exposed to the status appeal scored higher on status sensitivity than participants exposed to the altruistic appeal. Two items from the price perception construct scale by Lichtenstein et al. (1993, pp. 243-244) were adapted to measure fair trade status sensitivity. The adapted statements "People notice when you buy expensive fair trade clothing" and "I would purchase the most expensive article of fair trade clothing just because I know other people will notice" represent status as a price-based signal for group membership (Han et al., 2010). As recommended by Lichtenstein et al.

(1993), both items were scored on a 7-point scale: 1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree. Lower numbers represent a lower sensitivity to status and higher numbers represent a higher sensitivity to status.

A second manipulation check was included to examine whether participants exposed to the altruistic appeal scored higher on altruism than participants exposed to the status appeal. The first item of the scale by Lee and Ashton (2004) was adapted to measure fair trade altruism: "I have sympathy for people who are less fortunate than I am such as people working in sweatshops". This item represents our operationalisation of altruism as an empathetic concern (Batson, 2016) rather than as the act of helping (Bar-Tal, 1986); the latter is represented by participants' willingness to buy and pay. As suggested by Lee and Ashton (2004), the item was scored on a 5-point scale: 1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree. Lower numbers represent a lower degree of altruism and higher numbers represent a higher degree of altruism.

Willingness to buy

The willingness to buy fair trade clothing (targeted) and the willingness to buy fair trade groceries (spillover) was each measured using a four-item scale adapted from White et al. (2012). The scale for willingness to buy fair trade clothing takes up the scenario contained in the manipulations and includes items such as "I would be likely to purchase fair trade clothing by Alessandro Bruno" and "I would be willing to buy fair trade clothing by Alessandro Bruno". The scale for willingness to buy fair trade groceries includes items such as "I would be likely to purchase fair trade groceries" and "I would be willing to buy fair trade groceries". The items were measured on a 7-point scale: 1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree. Lower numbers represent a lower willingness to buy and higher numbers represent a higher willingness to buy.

Willingness to pay

The willingness to pay for fair trade clothing (targeted) and the willingness to pay for fair trade groceries (spillover) was each measured using four self-developed items. Tully and Winer (2014) found that studies are likely to be biased upwards when respondents are only given positive options. Therefore, the developed scales allowed participants to indicate a negative willingness to pay. Before presenting the questions about the willingness to pay for fair trade clothing, participants were provided with the following instruction: "Please indicate by use of the slider how much less (down to -50%) or more (up to +50%) you are willing to pay for a fair trade garment by Alessandro Bruno compared with a conventional garment".

The four items of the scale gave the baseline (e.g. “The price for one conventional pair of pants is $50.00” and “The price for one conventional T-shirt is $10.00”). Similarly, before presenting the questions about the willingness to pay for fair trade groceries, participants were provided with the following instruction: “Please indicate by use of the slider how much less (down to -50%) or more (up to +50%) you are willing to pay for fair trade groceries compared with conventional groceries”. Again, the four items of the scale gave the baseline (e.g. “The price for conventional chocolate is $2.00/3.5oz” and “The price for conventional coffee is $6.60/12oz”). Lower numbers represent a lower willingness to pay and higher numbers represent a higher willingness to pay.

Control variables

Ho et al. (2015) recommend using the SDO_7 instead of the prior SDO_6 scale as the new SDO_7 scale allows for the breakdown into two dimensions that result in more precise predictions of intergroup behaviour. If just one of the two dimensions of the SDO_7 scale is examined, both dimensions need to be measured and the dimension that is not examined needs to be included as a control variable (Ho et al., 2015). Therefore, we controlled for dominance using the short SDO-D scale with two pro-trait items, e.g., “An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom”, as well as two con-trait items, e.g., “No one group should dominate in society” (Ho et al., 2015, p. 1028). The two con-trait items were reverse coded. These four items were measured on a 7-point scale: 1 = strongly oppose, 7 = strongly favor (Ho et al., 2015).

A low degree of familiarity with the concept of fair trade could affect consumer behaviour. Thus, a measure of fair trade knowledge (De Pelsmacker & Janssens, 2007) was included as a control variable. The scale contains items such as “Fair trade aims at creating better trade conditions for farmers and workers in developing countries” and “Fair trade strives for paying more honest prices to producers in developing countries” (De Pelsmacker & Janssens, 2007, p. 369). De Pelsmacker and Janssens (2007) recommend assessing each of the three items on a 7-point scale (i.e. 1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) to measure actual knowledge. However, Hutchinson and Eisenstein (2008) argue that questions testing objective knowledge should have a true/false quality to allow the investigator to verify the responses. Hence, the three items were introduced by “Are the following statements correct?” and participants could respond with no (= 0) or yes (= 1) to each statement. Responses were summed for each participant.

Past fair trade purchase behaviour and the local availability of fair trade products could also predict fair trade consumption. Therefore, two further control variables were included in the survey. First, the item "Did you buy fair trade products in the past?" (1 = Never, 5 = Always) controlled for past fair trade purchase behaviour. Second, the item "How easy or difficult is it to find fair trade products where you live?" (1 = Extremely difficult, 5 = Extremely easy) controlled for the local availability of fair trade products. Finally, we controlled for the demographic variables of age, gender, and income.

Results

Data of participants were excluded if they failed the attention check or if they used less than 100 seconds to complete the survey. Furthermore, multivariate outliers were identified with the probability of the Mahalanobis distance (Hair et al., 2018). Four of these probabilities were below 0.001 and thus excluded from the data. 441 valid responses (42.0% female, $M_{\text{age}} = 37.08, SD = 10.86$) were included in the statistical analysis. We employed a between-subjects design with two groups (appeal: status, altruism).

We examined the distribution of data by use of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test with Lilliefors correction. For instance, we tested for normality of processing fluency as a key mediator with a score of $D(441) = .113$, $p < .001$, which indicates a statistically significant deviation from normality. Statistically significant results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests for six variables forming the model (i.e. anti-egalitarianism, processing fluency, willingness to buy, willingness to buy spillover, willingness to pay, and willingness to pay spillover) justified the use of SmartPLS Version 3.3.3 (Ringle et al., 2015), which does not depend on normally distributed data (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017).

Analysis of the measurement model

To assess the measurement model, we ran 10,000 bootstrap samples. We included the two appeal types (i.e. altruism and status) as a categorical moderator into the model as suggested by Hair et al. (2017) to affect the relationship between anti-egalitarianism and processing fluency. Specifically, the moderator was dummy coded (i.e. 0/1) where 0 represents altruism as a reference category and where 1 represents status. We employed a two-stage calculation method with the main effects estimated in the first stage and the interaction effect estimated in the second stage (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). The two-stage calculation method is best for revealing the significance of the moderating effect (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt,

2017). Standardised data were used for calculating the product terms of the interaction effect to facilitate the interpretation of the latter (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017).

We first checked the outer loadings which are acceptable if above 0.70 (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). All outer loadings are above the threshold of 0.70 and, thus, acceptable. We then examined the convergent validity of the constructs with the average variance extracted (AVE). AVE values, in other words, the average of squared loadings, should be above 0.50 (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). This criterion is met by all six constructs, which indicates their high convergent validity.

We checked the internal consistency reliability with Cronbach's alpha and composite reliability, which are interpreted similarly. Values below 0.60 suggest insufficient internal consistency reliability, whereas values above 0.95 indicate redundancy of items (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). Cronbach's alpha and composite reliability of all six constructs is within this range.

Henseler, Ringle, and Sarstedt (2015) suggest examining discriminant validity with the heterotrait-monotrait ratio (HTMT). Values below 0.90 indicate discriminant validity (Henseler et al., 2015). This study's upper bounds of the HTMT bootstrap confidence intervals are below 0.90, which indicates discriminant validity. Table 15 shows the results of the analysis of the measurement model and provides evidence for the reliability and validity of the measures.

Latent Variables	Items	Loadings	Average variance extracted	Cronbach's Alpha	Composite reliability	95% bias-corrected confidence interval of the heterotrait-monotrait ratio
Anti-egalitarianism	Item 1	0.796	0.757	0.900	0.925	all upper bounds are below 0.90
	Item 2	0.861				
	Item 3	0.932				
	Item 4	0.881				
Processing fluency	Item 1	0.731	0.675	0.920	0.935	all upper bounds are below 0.90
	Item 2	0.820				
	Item 3	0.873				
	Item 4	0.868				
	Item 5	0.790				
	Item 6	0.829				
	Item 7	0.828				
Willingness to buy	Item 1	0.943	0.847	0.939	0.957	all upper bounds are below 0.90
	Item 2	0.894				
	Item 3	0.947				
	Item 4	0.894				
Willingness to buy spillover	Item 1	0.916	0.789	0.911	0.937	all upper bounds are below 0.90
	Item 2	0.829				
	Item 3	0.926				
	Item 4	0.879				
Willingness to pay	Item 1	0.920	0.722	0.866	0.911	all upper bounds are below 0.90
	Item 2	0.700				
	Item 3	0.898				
	Item 4	0.861				
Willingness to pay spillover	Item 1	0.908	0.755	0.890	0.925	all upper bounds are below 0.90
	Item 2	0.862				
	Item 3	0.779				
	Item 4	0.920				

Table 15 Results of the analysis of the measurement model

Correlations

The means, standard deviations and correlations among the main constructs are provided in table 16. The negative correlations between anti-egalitarianism, on the one hand, and willingness to buy ($r = -0.136, p < 0.01$), willingness to buy spillover ($r = -0.320, p < 0.01$), willingness to pay ($r = -0.116, p < 0.05$), and willingness to pay spillover ($r = -0.183, p < 0.01$), on the other hand, indicate a contradictory relationship between anti-egalitarianism and fair trade consumption. Positive correlations between processing fluency, on the one hand, and willingness to buy ($r = 0.614, p < 0.01$), willingness to buy spillover ($r = 0.494, p < 0.01$), willingness to pay ($r = 0.333, p < 0.01$), and willingness to pay spillover ($r = 0.301, p < 0.01$), on the other hand, indicate a positive relationship between the ease with which marketing messages can be processed and fair trade consumption. These results justify the further analysis of the structural model into whether marketing messages utilising status affect fair trade consumption in that they are processed by anti-egalitarian consumers more fluently.

Variables	*M*	SD	SDO-E	FLU	WTB	WTBS	WTP	WTPS
SDO-E	2.45	1.64	1					
FLU	5.16	1.20	-0.170**	1				
WTB	3.74	1.73	-0.136**	0.614**	1			
WTBS	4.68	1.44	-0.320**	0.494**	0.664**	1		
WTP	1.90	18.31	-0.116*	0.333**	0.486**	0.551**	1	
WTPS	7.29	16.08	-0.183**	0.301**	0.395**	0.547**	0.709**	1

Table 16 presents the Pearson's correlations. SDO-E = anti-egalitarianism, FLU = processing fluency, WTB = willingness to buy, WTBS = willingness to buy spillover, WTP = willingness to pay, WTPS = willingness to pay spillover. Sample size n=441 participants. * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Manipulation check

Next, we ran two independent-samples t-tests to examine the success of the manipulation. For the first independent-samples t-test, we computed the mean of the two items measuring status sensitivity. Participants exposed to the status appeal scored higher on status sensitivity ($M = 3.17$) than those that were shown the altruistic appeal ($M = 2.79, t(439) = 2.66, p < 0.01$). Participants exposed to the status appeal scored lower on altruism ($M = 4.17$) than those that were shown the altruistic appeal ($M = 4.44, t(439) = -2.91, p < 0.01$). These results demonstrate the effectiveness of the manipulation in our experimental design.

Analysis of the structural model

We examined the variance inflation factor (VIF) of the four predictor constructs in order to identify potential collinearity issues of the structural model. In particular, we assessed anti-egalitarianism as a predictor of processing fluency (VIF value of 1.074), processing fluency as a predictor of willingness to buy (VIF value of 1.000), processing fluency as a predictor of willingness to pay (VIF value of 1.000), willingness to buy as a predictor of willingness to buy spillover (VIF value of 1.246), and willingness to pay as a predictor of willingness to pay spillover (VIF value of 1.203) for collinearity. VIF values above 5 are problematic (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). Here, all VIF values are below the threshold of 5 so that collinearity is no issue.

Next, we inspected the R^2 values of all dependent variables: processing fluency (0.155), willingness to buy (0.386), willingness to pay (0.118), willingness to buy spillover (0.538), and willingness to pay spillover (0.567). Based on the guidelines by Hair, Ringle, and Sarstedt (2011), the R^2 values of willingness to buy spillover (0.538) and willingness to pay spillover (0.567) as main dependent variables are moderate. Additionally, we checked the f^2 effect size. Based on Cohen's (1988) guidelines, the effects of anti-egalitarianism on processing fluency (0.040) and of processing fluency on willingness to pay (0.135) are small in size, whereas the effects of processing fluency on willingness to buy (0.635), of willingness to buy on willingness to buy spillover (0.514), and of willingness to pay on willingness to pay spillover (0.825) are large in size.

We then tested our hypotheses by examining the significance of the relationships based on 10,000 bootstrap samples (table 17). The resulting values show a significant total effect, e.g. the sum of indirect and direct effects (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017), of anti-egalitarianism on willingness to buy ($b = -.115, p < 0.001$), on willingness to buy spillover ($b = -.063, p < 0.001$), on willingness to pay ($b = -.063, p < 0.01$), and on willingness to pay spillover ($b = -.042, p < 0.01$). These total effects indicate an inhibitory effect of anti-egalitarianism on fair trade consumption.

We continued with assessing the individual path coefficients, which are all statistically significant. Anti-egalitarianism has a negative effect on processing fluency ($b = -.186, p < 0.001$). However, processing fluency has a positive effect on willingness to buy ($b = .621, p < 0.001$), which in turn, has a positive effect on willingness to buy spillover ($b = .545, p < 0.001$). Similarly, processing fluency has a positive effect on willingness to pay

($b = .341, p < 0.001$), which in turn, has a positive effect on willingness to pay spillover ($b = .656, p < 0.001$).

Next, we inspected status as our intervention. We found a significant moderating effect of persuasive appeals utilising status on the relationship between anti-egalitarianism and processing fluency ($b = .113, p < 0.05$), in support of H1. This means that appeals illustrating status diminish the inhibitory effect of anti-egalitarianism on processing fluency.

Furthermore, we inspected potential mediators by assessing indirect effects. The resulting values show a significant indirect effect of the interaction of anti-egalitarianism and status-appeal on willingness to buy mediated by processing fluency ($b = .070, p < 0.05$), supporting H2a. Similarly, there is a significant indirect effect of the interaction of anti-egalitarianism and status-appeal on willingness to pay mediated by processing fluency ($b = .039, p < 0.05$), supporting H2b. The results also show a significant indirect effect of processing fluency on willingness to buy spillover via willingness to buy ($b = .338, p < 0.001$), supporting H3a, as well as a significant indirect effect of processing fluency on willingness to pay spillover via willingness to pay ($b = .224, p < 0.001$), supporting H3b.

Relationship	Coefficient	p-value	95% Confidence Interval Bias Corrected		Conclusion
			LL	UL	
Total effects					
SDO-E → WTB	-0.115	0.000	-0.170	-0.055	
SDO-E → WTBS	-0.063	0.000	-0.095	-0.030	
SDO-E → WTP	-0.063	0.001	-0.102	-0.029	
SDO-E → WTPS	-0.042	0.001	-0.067	-0.019	
Direct effects					
SDO-E → FLU	-0.186	0.000	-0.271	-0.088	
FLU → WTB	0.621	0.000	0.557	0.671	
FLU → WTP	0.341	0.000	0.249	0.421	
WTB → WTBS	0.545	0.000	0.474	0.616	
WTP → WTPS	0.656	0.000	0.584	0.722	
Moderation effect					
SDO-E*STATUS → FLU	0.113	0.025	0.014	0.208	H1 supported
Indirect effects					
SDO-E*STATUS → FLU → WTB	0.070	0.027	0.009	0.131	H2a supported
SDO-E*STATUS → FLU → WTP	0.039	0.039	0.006	0.077	H2b supported
FLU → WTB → WTBS	0.338	0.000	0.280	0.399	H3a supported
FLU → WTP → WTPS	0.224	0.000	0.160	0.285	H3b supported

Table 17 Results of the analysis of the structural model.

Sample size n = 441 participants, Bootstrap samples n = 10,000

Key: LL = 95% lower limit, UL = 95% upper limit

Key: SDO-E anti-egalitarianism, WTB willingness to buy, WTBS willingness to buy spillover, WTP willingness to pay, WTPS willingness to pay spillover, FLU processing fluency, SDO-E*STATUS interaction between anti-egalitarianism and status appeal

To check the structural model on predictive relevance, we conducted the blindfolding procedure to obtain Stone-Geisser's Q^2 values (Geisser, 1974; Stone, 1974). An omission distance D from 5 to 10 is feasible (Chin, 1998), whereby the number of observations divided by D should not be integer (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017). Our number of observations (441) divided by our chosen D (8) is not integer (55.125). The Q^2 values of the five

endogenous constructs are all above zero (processing fluency = 0.095, willingness to buy = 0.322, willingness to buy spillover = 0.407, willingness to pay = 0.080, willingness to pay spillover = 0.409). These results support the predictive relevance of our model with regard to the mentioned endogenous constructs since "Q^2 values larger than 0 suggest that the model has predictive relevance for a certain endogenous construct" (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2017, p. 207).

Discussion

We found that marketing appeals utilising status rather than altruism can be processed by consumers with an anti-egalitarian mindset with more ease (H1), which then results in these consumers' increased willingness to buy (H2a) and pay for fair trade clothing (H2b). Additionally, the targeted willingness to buy fair trade clothing spills over into the willingness to buy fair trade groceries (H3a) and the targeted willingness to pay for fair trade clothing spills over into the willingness to pay for fair trade groceries (H3b). These results contradict the currently predominant assumption of the importance of altruism as a general means for the promotion of fair trade products (Staricco, 2016).

Our research expands the scope of the literature examining the effect of SDO on fair trade consumption (Rios et al., 2015) by situating anti-egalitarianism as conservatives' subordinate goal for investigating the consumption of fair trade products. Whereas Rios et al. (2015) found that SDO accounts for the unwillingness to consume fair trade products, we identified the SDO-dimension of anti-egalitarianism as the specific driver for scepticism about fair trade. Furthermore, we demonstrated that status appeals diminish the anti-egalitarian consumers' scepticism about fair trade, which is discussed next.

Prosocial behaviours such as fair trade consumption should be analysed and interpreted as a phenomenon between groups (Halabi & Nadler, 2017), whereby helping between groups can be motivated by altruism or self-interest (Stürmer & Snyder, 2009). Altruistic motivation relates to the aim to enhance, maintain, or preserve the welfare of others, while self-interest relates to the aim to enhance, maintain, or preserve the individual's welfare (Stürmer & Snyder, 2009). Building on the findings that conservatives tend to be higher in SDO (Han et al., 2019) and that they desire status (Kim et al., 2018; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018), we theoretically articulated that SDO (i.e. anti-egalitarianism) is congruent with marketing appeals utilising self-interested status rather than altruism.

We experimentally tested our suggested congruency model for the marketing of fair trade products to conservative consumers. In particular, our study demonstrates that anti-egalitarian consumers are more willing to buy and pay for fair trade when they are exposed to appeals utilising status rather than altruism because status appeals can be processed with more fluency. When an advertisement frames fair trade in congruence with the preference for inequality, the external information does not cause difficulties in the internal processing of consumers with an anti-egalitarian disposition. Status appeals rather motivate anti-egalitarian consumers to buy and to pay for fair trade products.

Motivations based on self-interest can relate to the expectation to gain social or material rewards or it can relate to the avoidance of the confrontation with the suffering of others (Stürmer & Snyder, 2009). We demonstrated that framing the attributes of fair trade in accordance with the characteristics of anti-egalitarian consumers increases their willingness to buy and pay for fair trade products. In doing so, we avoided the anti-egalitarian consumers' confrontation with the suffering of workers in LMIC but framed the purchase of fair trade clothing as a way to gain social rewards from signalling a higher position in the HIC social hierarchy.

Ethical luxury (as advertised through our status appeal) is open to a number of practical and philosophical challenges (Osburg, Davies, Yoganathan, & McLeay, 2020). On the one hand, the proposal here to use advertising materials that signal status can help to reconcile the conflict between the anti-egalitarian characteristic of some consumers and fair trade consumption as a type of ethical consumption. On the other hand, the use of status appeals might not be in line with the formal standards of fair trade. However, we focus on the actual outcome of consumers' decision-making since an "ethical act is that which optimizes or creates the greatest good or benefit" (Albert, Reynolds, & Turan, 2015, p. 468). In this vein, our suggested model is novel and might not conform to the conventions of fair trade, but it can increase the willingness of anti-egalitarian individuals to consume fair trade products and, thus, potentially improve the living conditions of workers in LMIC.

The conventions of fair trade date back to the early days of the movement. In the early days of the fair trade movement, producer groups in LMIC supplied local shops with fair trade products, which guaranteed personalised relationships and the exchange of information with other people of the same network (Ballet & Carimentrand, 2010). Subsequently, fair trade has been mainstreamed into common distribution channels, whereby labels became the reference point and source of information (Ballet & Carimentrand, 2010). This shift of fair trade from personalised relationships with producers in LMIC towards labels as sources of information

allows for several interpretations of what fair trade is (Ballet & Carimentrand, 2010). Ballet and Carimentrand (2010) argue that the multiplicity of potential interpretations about fair trade can result in a lack of credibility so that these authors call for the revival of political consumerism with the focus on personalised relationships.

However, such reasoning pushes fair trade into a niche and leaves all individuals behind for whom shopping is not based on personalised relationships with producers in LMIC. For example, conservative consumers avoid taking the perspective of workers in LMIC (Usslepp et al., 2021). We, therefore, suggest taking the opportunity of fair trade's fluid meaning to target new consumer segments such as this segment of anti-egalitarian consumers. The multiplicity of potential interpretations of fair trade allows marketing to frame fair trade in congruence with anti-egalitarianism. We used this scope for interpretation to design and examine persuasive appeals that work for those who oppose equality between groups. Appeals illustrating status not only increase anti-egalitarian consumers' willingness to buy and pay for the targeted product (here fair trade clothing) but spills over in the willingness to buy and pay for products of other categories (here fair trade groceries). Thus, status appeals could be eligible to generally change the opinion of anti-egalitarian consumers on fair trade products. Next, it will be described how marketing practitioners can utilise our intervention programme.

Managerial implications

The principle of fair trade is based on the assumption that consumers can contribute to a better world by their purchasing decisions (Low & Davenport, 2005). Bezencon and Blili (2010) argue that ethical aspects are more important than hedonistic aspects for the consumers' willingness to consume fair trade products. These authors, therefore, advised promoters, distributors, and retailers of ethical products to increase sales through marketing communications that focus both on working conditions and also on producer empowerment as antecedents for the consumers' involvement in the fair trade movement (Bezencon & Blili, 2010). Other ways to increase individuals' propensity to consume in line with fair trade principles are, first, emphasising that the purchase of fair trade products can redress injustice (White et al., 2012) and, second, creating a sense of belonging rather than focussing on individualistic criteria such as freedom, self-expression, or hedonism (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004). In contrast, the results of our research suggest the potential for the expansion of marketing strategies so that consumers can be reached who are not interested in overcoming inequality in LMIC. Specifically, our research demonstrated the importance of employing status in fair trade advertisements to target conservative consumers in HIC more effectively.

For consumers, greater status can add to the utility that derives from purchasing goods (Podolny, 1993). For producers, status promotion can translate into greater market shares and higher prices (Podolny, 1993). Hence, not utilising status in fair trade promotion campaigns has not only overlooked anti-egalitarian consumers who oppose fair trade principles but has also hindered a potential increase in fair trade revenues. The lack of effectiveness on the part of both fair trade organisations and producers in using status advertising appeals to reach consumers with an anti-egalitarian disposition has meant that fair trade products have tended to be relegated to a niche market.

Advertisements that present fair trade products as a potential means to signal a higher position in the social hierarchy should be designed and targeted at anti-egalitarian consumers. This is because consumers with a high degree of anti-egalitarianism can process marketing messages utilising status with more fluency, resulting in their increased willingness to buy and pay for fair trade goods. The potentially large group of consumers with anti-egalitarian influences has not yet been successfully reached through contemporary altruistic fair trade marketing. This consumer group does not seem to respond to advertising appeals that place an overemphasis on ethical product attributes, but this group could be reached by marketing communications that illustrate status.

Limitations

Within the scope of political conservatism, anti-egalitarianism is a dimension of social dominance orientation with a permanent character (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Hierarchies themselves remain and are maintained, while the configuration and the degree of hierarchies are forever changing (Lenski, 1966/1984; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This study examined the impact of anti-egalitarianism in the context of fair trade consumption. By the use of framing, we showed how antiegalitarian consumers' unwillingness to buy and pay for fair trade products from the group of workers in LMIC might be moved towards a willingness to buy and pay for fair trade products in order to display status towards the group of subordinates in their HIC. Thus, applying the suggestions of this research could potentially sustain the living conditions of workers in LMIC but could, at the same time, contribute to the reproduction of structural inequality in HIC (Caruana, Glozer, & Eckhardt, 2019). However, the impact of the suggestions made in this article could be ethically justifiable because inequality within HIC does less harm than inequality between HIC and LMIC as the latter has far more people in extreme poverty.

Future research

First, we used the disposition of anti-egalitarianism to operationalise and measure conservatives' stance on fair trade consumption. Constructs other than anti-egalitarianism could also represent conservatives and may thus call for the development of other congruent appeals to increase the sales of fair trade products. Second, our research focuses on the conservative consumers' sensitivity to a status that is congruent with anti-egalitarianism. We cannot rule out that appeals other than status would increase with equal success the willingness of anti-egalitarian consumers to buy and pay for fair trade products. Further research could, thus, investigate alternative appeals that are congruent with anti-egalitarianism.

Conclusion

With this study, we synthesised extant knowledge on political conservatism, social dominance orientation and status. Employing anti-egalitarianism as conservatives' subordinate goal, we demonstrated that persuasive appeals utilising status rather than altruism are congruent with the mindset of anti-egalitarian consumers as these individuals can process status appeals with more fluency. Marketing appeals displaying ethical obligations and altruism are seen as largely irrelevant by anti-egalitarian consumers whose purpose in buying and paying is not to help other groups, but rather to improve their own lives. Such anti-egalitarian consumers can be targeted by appeals that enable them to distinguish themselves from subordinates. Using persuasive appeals that illustrate status, we demonstrated an advertising strategy that redirects the desire for distinction. This means that we provoked the practice of anti-egalitarianism towards subordinates in the same HIC, rather than towards subordinates in LMIC. This framing does not eliminate anti-egalitarianism but redirects its consequences to less vulnerable groups.

Conclusion

Political ideology is a spectrum ranging from conservatism to liberalism. Conservatives and liberals diverge in terms of personality characteristics, cognitive processing, motivational interests, personal values, and neurological structures (Jost, 2017). The variety of areas in which conservatives and liberals diverge indicates the relevance of political ideology for people's everyday lives including the impact on individuals' consumption patterns. Therefore, understanding political ideology is important for those theoretically and managerially concerned with consumer behaviour as consumers' ideology affects decision making. It was therefore valuable to research the intersection between political ideology and marketing.

Studies so far have demonstrated that ethical consumption is associated with political party preferences (Koivula et al., 2020), that political consumption tends not to spill over into other expressions of political activism (Rössel & Schenk, 2018), that ethical consumption and organisations' political activities are interrelated (Clarke, 2008), and that the politicised fair trade market has the potential to foster social justice and economic equality (Lyon, 2006). The present thesis contributes theoretically to these studies in that it moves the discussion on fair trade products as a general political phenomenon (Clarke et al., 2007a, 2007b) towards an understanding of fair trade as an entity that resonates with the specific ideology of political conservatism. Next, the thesis' theoretical contributions will be detailed.

Contributions

This thesis has contributed to a better understanding of the various goals of political conservatism (article 1) and to a better understanding of how pursuing these goals resonates with the willingness to buy fair trade goods (articles 2 and 3). Thus, article 1 with its nuanced taxonomy of the goals of political conservatism has laid the foundations for examining in articles 2 and 3 how these goals play out in the context of ethical consumption.

Contribution of article 1: A more nuanced taxonomy of the goals of political conservatism

Article 1 is based upon a review of the literature on political conservatism (Jost et al., 2003b), authoritarianism (Adorno et al., 1950; Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1996) and social dominance (Ho et al., 2015; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This literature review resulted in a mapping out of the goal pursuit of conservative consumers through their decision-making. Such a differentiating view of political conservatism departs from previous work on the goal pursuit

of conservative consumers. Whereas prior studies have addressed the conservative goals of resistance to change and endorsement of inequality (Farmer et al., 2020; Fernandes, 2020; Fernandes & Mandel, 2014; Han et al., 2019; Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003b; Jung & Mittal, 2020; Kidwell et al., 2013; Li et al., 2020; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018), article 1 moves beyond the assumption of only two conservative goals by suggesting a more nuanced and differentiating taxonomy of the goals of political conservatism.

Instead of conceptualising conservative goals on the same level (Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003b), article 1 organised conservative goals along three hierarchical levels of goals. Having applied a goal systemic perspective (Carver & Scheier, 1998/2001; Kopetz et al., 2012; Kruglanski et al., 2002), it has been argued that conservative consumers pursue a superordinate goal (i.e. securing the in-group advantageous status quo), two intermediate goals (i.e. resistance to change and endorsement of inequality), and five subordinate goals (i.e. conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, dominance, and anti-egalitarianism). Superordinate goals are abstract while subordinate goals (e.g., anti-egalitarianism) are achievable and can be fulfilled through consumption activities. Intermediate goals translate the abstract superordinate goal into the applicable subordinate goals of political conservatism.

The differentiating taxonomy of article 1 allows for a more precise understanding of the goal-directed decision-making of conservative consumers and may, thus, help researchers to reveal novel findings at the intersection of political conservatism and consumer behaviour. Additionally, the nuanced taxonomy of the conservative goals outlined in article 1 enables marketing practitioners and policy makers to implement tailor-made interventions for influencing the decision-making of consumers and citizens more effectively.

Contribution of article 2: How political conservatism inhibits fair trade consumption

The growth in fair trade sales has been facilitated by sociocultural forces that derive from outside the fair trade movement (Brown, 2015). These external forces have stimulated and facilitated the growth of ethical consumption (Brown, 2015). This development is referred to as an “ethical turn” (Brown, 2015). Brown (2015) argued that the ethical aspect of consumption, i.e. shopping for a specific cause, has a political dimension. Scant research, however, examined the role of political ideology in the consumption of fair trade goods.

Consequently, my research focused on ideological beliefs in the context of the wider debate about the role of politics in fair trade consumption. The study reported in article 2 adds to the

debate on politics and fair trade by employing the concept of political conservatism. In particular, I demonstrated that political conservatism can conflict with fair trade consumption. Hence, political conservatism can be an ideological obstacle to the consumption of fair trade products.

Through describing parts of the psychological process that underlies the unwillingness of conservative consumers to buy fair trade products, article 2 adds to the limited understanding of the inhibitory effect of political conservatism on consumers' decision-making. Whereas prior studies demonstrated an inhibitory effect of political conservatism on consumption (Jung et al., 2017b; Khan et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2018; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018), article 2 reveals some details of the psychological process that mediates between political conservatism and its inhibitory effect on the consumption of fair trade products.

Two psychological factors mediate between political conservatism and the willingness to buy fair trade. In particular, political conservatism affects fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity. These latter two then affect the willingness to buy fair trade products. The decrease in fair trade perspective-taking and fair trade identity shields conservative consumers from the appeals of fair trade products. Article 2 also shows that age decreases the negative effect of political conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking, whereas income increases the negative effect of political conservatism on fair trade perspective-taking.

The results reported in article 2 not only depict the internal functioning of the conservative decision-making process and its inhibitory effect on ethical consumption, but also fed into specific managerial advice. Fair trade firms and initiatives can target conservative consumers in high-income countries more effectively when using marketing communications that make perspective-taking redundant and when targeting younger consumers with lower incomes.

Contribution of article 3: Intervention programme that diminishes the inhibitory effect of political conservatism on fair trade consumption

Article 3 contributes to the literature on conservatives' high social dominance orientation (Han et al., 2019) and their desire for status (Kim et al., 2018; Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018) in that I examined the joint effect of social dominance orientation (i.e. anti-egalitarianism) and desire for status in the context of consumption. Specifically, article 3 demonstrated that marketing appeals that illustrate status rather than altruism are congruent with the beliefs of socially dominant consumers since these consumers can process status-appeals more fluently, which then increases their intention to purchase fair trade goods.

Furthermore, that fair trade has begun to grow out of its niche existence can be considered a success (Le Velly, 2015). In this view, the increase in sales figures as well as the participation of transnational firms and supermarket chains indicates that fair trade is moving beyond being a form of charity and is evolving into a more promising business model (Le Velly, 2015). This growth-oriented development of the fair trade market has been termed mainstreaming (Le Velly, 2015). In the context of consumer research, mainstreaming of fair trade is defined as a "new phase in the development of fair trade which aims to reach all consumers, not only the most radical ones, by making products available everywhere and by using promotional messages that speak to everyone" (Le Velly, 2015, p. 266). Article 3 has contributed to understanding fair trade mainstreaming as it has developed and tested marketing measures that would allow marketing managers to target politically conservative consumers in order to open up a new market segment for fair trade products.

In particular, the results reported in article 3 depart from prior assumptions about how to market fair trade products and, thus, are of managerial relevance. Whereas the literature mostly focuses on collective aspects of fair trade such as ethics and justice (Bezencon & Blili, 2010; Kozinets & Handelman, 2004; Low & Davenport, 2005; Staricco, 2016; White et al., 2012), the findings of article 3 elucidate the importance of status rather than altruism in marketing fair trade goods to conservative consumers. Hence, marketing practitioners are advised to avoid an overemphasis on ethical product attributes if they aim at the potentially large group of conservative consumers pursuing the goal of anti-egalitarianism. This segment of consumers is better reached through advertising that illustrates status. Next, I will describe the interconnectedness of the thesis' three articles.

The interconnectedness of the articles

Article 1 differentiates the various goals of political conservatism. Article 2 builds on article 1 in that it demonstrates a conflict between the conservatives' goal pursuit and the consumption of fair trade goods. However, article 2 sets out strategies with which the inhibitory effect of political conservatism on fair trade consumption can be diminished. Thus, fair trade initiatives can target the conservative consumer segment in high-income countries more successfully when applying marketing strategies that make perspective-taking redundant (i.e. psychographic market segmentation) and that aim at younger consumers with lower incomes (i.e. demographic market segmentation).

Article 3 builds on article 1 in that it utilises anti-egalitarianism as a relevant subordinate goal of political conservatism, thereby continuing the effort of article 2 to find ways to diminish the inhibitory effect of political conservatism on fair trade consumption. Article 3 demonstrated that the congruence between anti-egalitarianism and marketing appeals diminishes the subordinate goal's inhibitory effect on fair trade consumption. Thus, marketing appeals that illustrate status are more successful in promoting fair trade products to conservative consumers than appeals that utilise altruism because conservative consumers can process status-related content more fluently. Both article 2 and article 3 demonstrate the manipulability of conservative goals once they become subject to the propositions of article 1. Thus, articles 1 – 3 offer new insights into the regulation of the goals of political conservatism, which is summarised in figure 12.

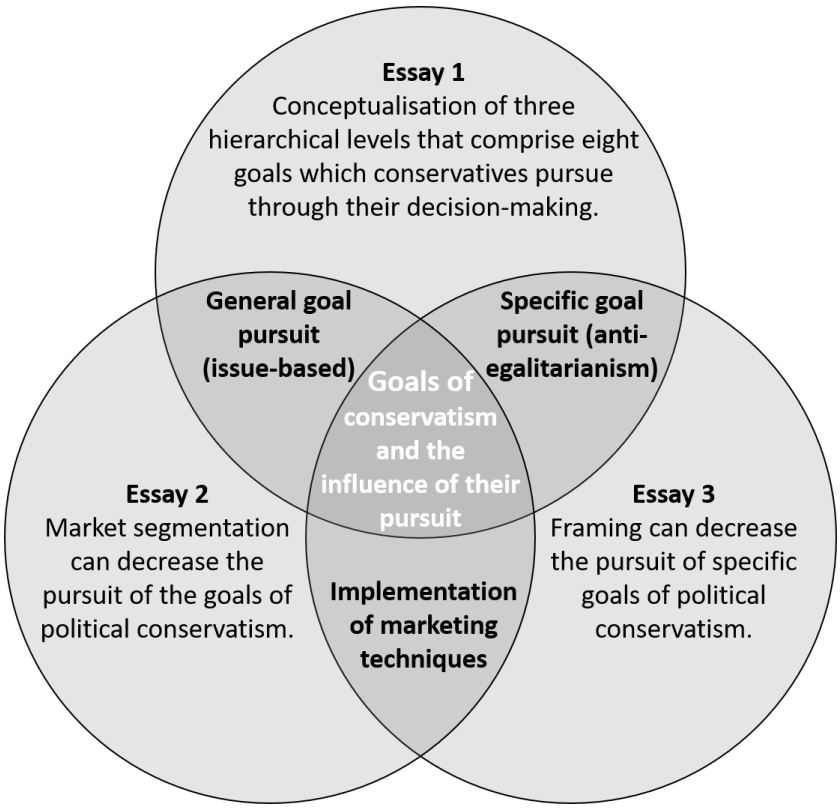


Figure 12 The contributions of articles 1 – 3 with the overlapping areas indicating the contributions' interconnectedness

However, no thesis comes without limitations. I will discuss next this thesis' limitations.

Limitations and perspectives on future research

Political ideology ranges from conservatism to liberalism. Political conservatism is based on the motivation to avoid societal threats through restraints (Janoff-Bulman, 2009).

Conservatism regulates domains such as lifestyles and personal behaviours, thereby implementing intergroup boundaries with restrictive memberships (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). In contrast, political liberalism is based on the motivation to approach societal gains through interventions (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). Liberalism regulates domains such as social goods and economics, thereby implementing intragroup variability with inclusive memberships (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). This thesis has limitations as there is scant research on the goals of political liberalism and how these may counteract the goals of political conservatism in the area of consumption. Figure 13 shows how the lack of knowledge about the liberal goal pursuit interconnects the limitations in the articles 1 – 3.

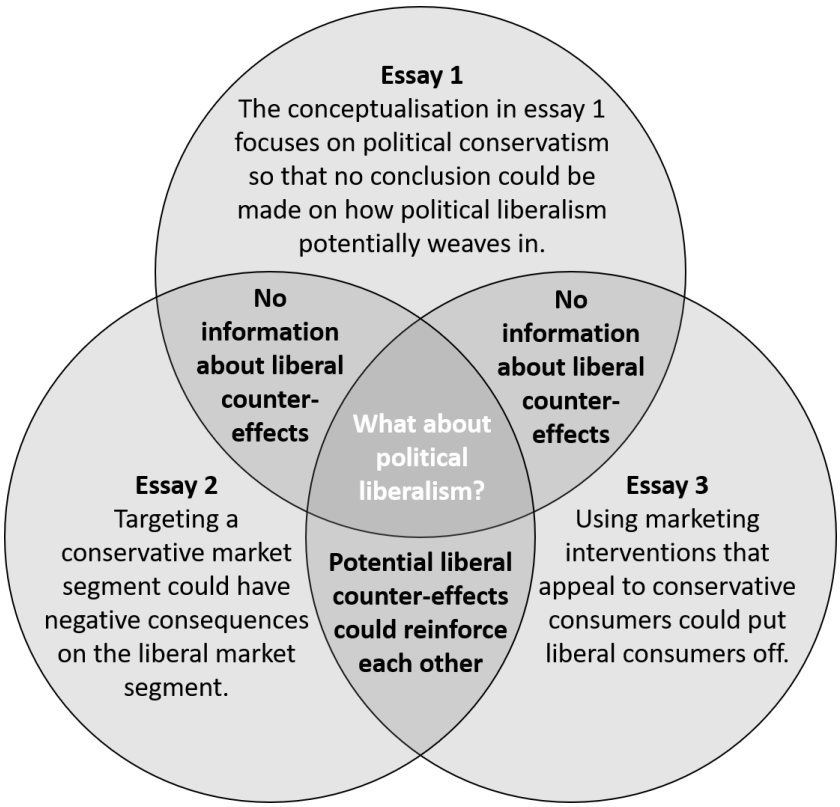


Figure 13 The limitations of articles 1 – 3 with the overlapping areas indicating the limitations' interconnectedness

The conceptualisation in article 1 focuses on political conservatism so that no conclusion could be drawn about how the goals of political conservatism differ from the goals of political liberalism. This means that article 1 did not inform articles 2 and 3 about potential liberal counter-effects to marketing strategies that strive for an increase in conservative consumers' willingness to buy fair trade products. Therefore, future research could, first, conceptualise the goals of political liberalism in a marketing context and could, second, reason how these goals of political liberalism may counteract the goals of political conservatism.

Article 2 demonstrates the process that mediates between political conservatism and the tendency to avoid fair trade consumption. It depicts the psychological process that establishes the distinction between conservatives in HIC and workers in LMIC. Further research could investigate whether political liberalism increases the likelihood to buy fair trade and how intragroup variability facilitates such approach based consumer behaviour. Additionally, it would be worth investigating whether the suggested targeting of the conservative market segment has negative consequences on reaching the liberal market segment.

Article 3 has reasoned that anti-egalitarianism is the most relevant goal of political conservatism with regard to fair trade consumption. It then showed that the congruence between anti-egalitarianism and persuasive appeal increases the fluency with which the marketing message is processed and, in consequence, the willingness to buy fair trade products. However, article 3 does not contain an assessment of the potential downside effects with regard to political liberalism. For example, the willingness of conservatives to buy fair trade goods could increase when they see advertisements that are congruent with their political goals, but the willingness of liberals to buy fair trade goods could, in turn, decrease to the same extent if they sense that the appeal is only congruent with the views of political conservatives and not congruent with their own views.

Another reason why researching the respective effects of conservatism and liberalism on ethical consumption is important is that liberal counter-effects to conservative market segmentation (article 2) and liberal counter-effects to conservative marketing appeals (article 3) could mutually reinforce each other. For example, targeting a conservative market segment (article 2) with a simultaneous use of marketing interventions that appeal to conservatives (article 3) may provoke strong irritations among liberal consumers.

The limitations outlined here may be the starting point for further research at the intersection between political liberalism and marketing. The differences between political conservatism and political liberalism have their origin in the different ways in which the two opposing belief systems deal with fear. Jost et al.'s (2003b) model of political conservatism differentiates between fear as an environmental stimulus, social-cognitive motives, and the goals of conservatism (i.e. resistance to change, endorsement of inequality). In this model, political conservatism alleviates the fear experienced through resistance to change and endorsement of inequality (Jost et al., 2003b). For example, immigration has been a target of political conservatism as it is experienced as confusing and frightening (Jost et al., 2003b). The goals of conservatism (i.e. resistance to change, endorsement of inequality) help to cope with the experience of immigration as confusing and frightening in that conservatives could

be resistant to better conditions for immigrants and in that conservatives could endorse the inequality between citizens and immigrants.

In contrast to political conservatism, political liberalism does not attempt to alleviate the experience of fear but attempts to dispel fear itself. According to political liberalism, "every adult should be able to make as many effective decisions without fear or favor about as many aspects of her or his life as is compatible with the like freedom of every other adult" (Shklar, 1989, p. 21). Referring to the above example of immigration, political liberalism could assume the freedom of individuals to choose a place to live so that immigration is perceived as less frightening. Political liberalism therefore addresses and dispels the fear of immigration directly, whereas political conservatism includes the fear experienced because of immigration through individuals' resistance to change and endorsement of inequality. This theoretical assumption needs empirical validation with regard to political liberalism. Thus:

P1: Political liberalism increases the endorsement of others' freedom of fear.

It might also be worth answering the research question of how political liberalism increases the endorsement of others' freedom of fear in order to fully understand the belief system of liberalism and its implications. A mediation analysis might help to answer this research question (Hayes, 2018), whereby the construct of permissiveness (Eysenck, 1975) could be a potential mediator. Permissiveness, which I define as acceptance of behavioral variation and deviation from social norms, might mediate between political liberalism and its goal to relieve individuals from fear.

P2: Permissiveness mediates between political liberalism and the endorsement of others' freedom of fear.

The liberal tendency to endorse others' freedom of fear may be relevant in consumption contexts where buying relieves other individuals from fear. Buying, for example, fair trade products could help to mitigate the economic fear of farmers and workers in LMIC. Fair trade consumption could be operationalized by the use of White et al.'s (2012) measure of consumers' willingness to buy fair trade coffee (p. 106).

P3: The endorsement of others' freedom of fear increases consumers' willingness to buy fair trade products.

The literature shows that compassion is associated with political liberalism (Hirsh, DeYoung, Xu, & Peterson, 2010). Compassion, defined as "emotional affiliation with others" (DeYoung, Quilty, & Peterson, 2007, p. 885) could, hence, interact with political liberalism in the context of the consumers' willingness to buy fair trade products. In particular, compassion could increase liberals' willingness to buy fair trade products. A moderation analysis would help to examine this expected interaction effect (Hayes, 2018).

P4: Compassion moderates the effect of political liberalism on the consumers' willingness to buy fair trade products.

The empirical examination of the suggested conceptual model outlined here (figure 14) might be explored in my postdoctoral research.

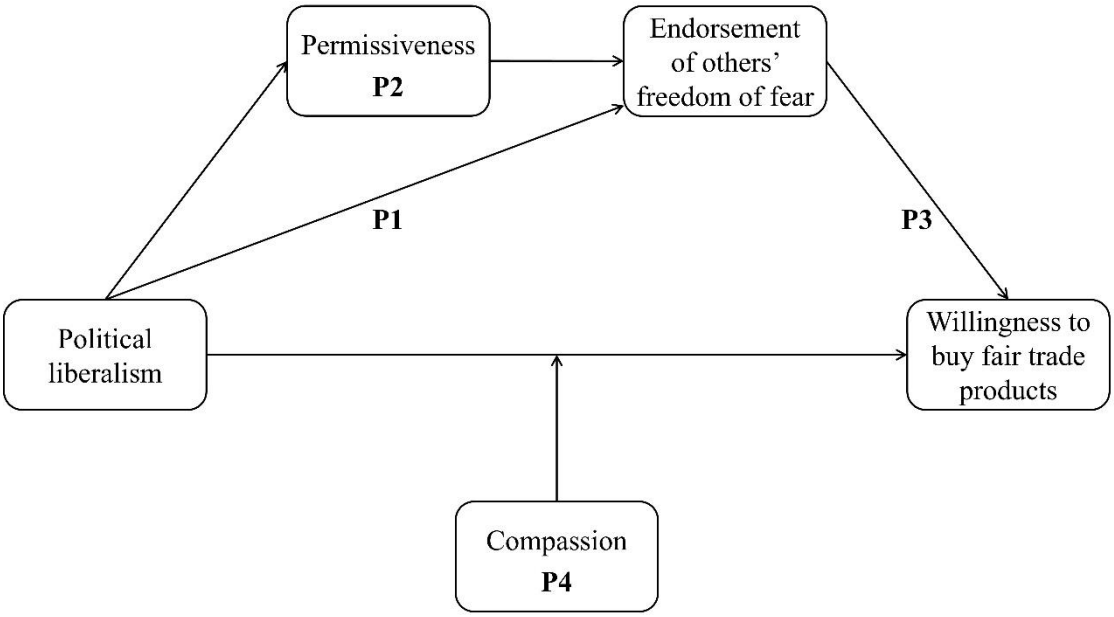


Figure 14 Model of political liberalism and its relevance for consumption

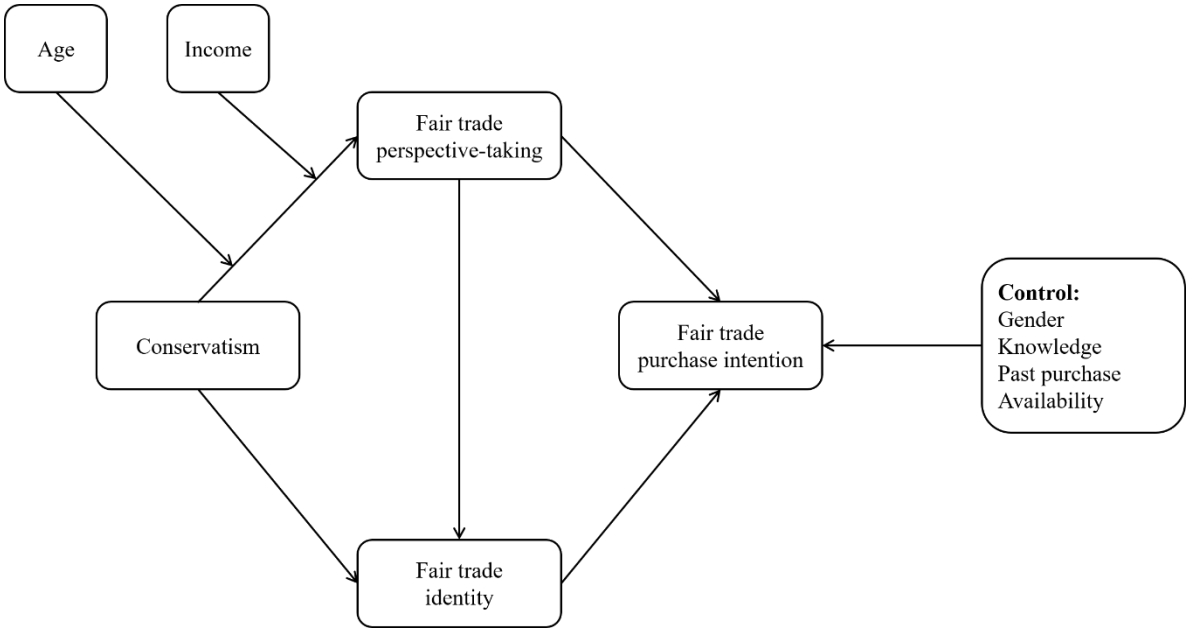
Finally, I hope that this dissertation has contributed to more theoretical and practical insights into the effects of political conservatism on the willingness to buy and pay for fair trade products.

On a personal note, I hope the findings will assist in the promotion and growth of fair trade products in Western marketplaces.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire of the study for article 2

Model:



Name of Construct (Source)	**Definition**	**Statement or Question**	**Response or Answer** (grey shaded cells = reverse coded)
Consent[14] (self-developed)	n/a	Consent Form	1 = Yes, I consent 2 = No, I do not consent
Fair trade identity (Chatzidakis et al., 2016)	I define fair trade identity as the internalization of the fair trade concept into one's self-concept as a set of role expectations about one's consumer behaviour.	Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.	
		To support fair trade is an important part of who I am.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I think of myself as someone who is concerned about	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree

[14] Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

		ethical issues in consumption.	4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I am not the type of person oriented to support fair trade.	*(grey shaded cells = reverse coded)* 1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
Fair trade purchase intention (White et al., 2012) adapted	I define fair trade purchase intention as participants' self-reported willingness to buy fair trade coffee.	Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements underneath related to this logo: 	
		I would be likely to purchase this fair trade coffee.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I would be willing to buy this fair trade coffee.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree

			4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I would likely make this fair trade coffee one of my first choices in the product category of coffee.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I would exert a great deal of effort to purchase this fair trade coffee.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
Fair trade perspective-taking (Davis, 1980) adapted	I define fair trade perspective-taking as the specific ability to take the perspective of farmers or workers in LMIC.	Please indicate the extent to which the following statements describe you.	
		Before criticizing fair trade, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in the place of a farmer or worker in a developing country.	0 = Does not describe me 1 = Describes me slightly well 2 = Describes me moderately well 3 = Describes me very well 4 = Describes me extremely well
		If I'm sure I'm right about fair trade, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments.	0 = Does not describe me 1 = Describes me slightly well 2 = Describes me moderately well 3 = Describes me very well 4 = Describes me extremely well

		I sometimes try to understand fair trade better by imagining how things look from the perspective of a farmer or worker in a developing country.	0 = Does not describe me 1 = Describes me slightly well 2 = Describes me moderately well 3 = Describes me very well 4 = Describes me extremely well
		I believe that there are two sides to every question about fair trade and try to look at them both.	0 = Does not describe me 1 = Describes me slightly well 2 = Describes me moderately well 3 = Describes me very well 4 = Describes me extremely well
		I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the point of view of a farmer or worker in a developing country.	0 = Does not describe me 1 = Describes me slightly well 2 = Describes me moderately well 3 = Describes me very well 4 = Describes me extremely well
		I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement about fair trade before I make my own decision about it.	0 = Does not describe me 1 = Describes me slightly well 2 = Describes me moderately well 3 = Describes me very well 4 = Describes me extremely well
		When I'm upset with something like fair trade, I usually try to “put myself in the shoes of a farmer or worker in	0 = Does not describe me 1 = Describes me slightly well 2 = Describes me moderately well 3 = Describes me very well

		a developing country" for a while.	4 = Describes me extremely well
Attention check[15] (self-developed)	n/a	Please click 'Does not describe me' for this last statement. This is just to screen out random clicking.	0 = Does not describe me 1 = Describes me slightly well 2 = Describes me moderately well 3 = Describes me very well 4 = Describes me extremely well
Knowledge of fair trade (De Pelsmacker & Janssens, 2007)	Knowledge of fair trade is defined as actual knowledge individuals have of the fair trade issue (De Pelsmacker & Janssens, 2007).	Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.	
		Fair trade aims at creating better trade conditions for farmers and workers in developing countries.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		Fair trade strives for paying more honest prices to producers in developing countries.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		Fair trade strives for sustainable development of excluded and/or disadvantaged producers in developing countries.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree

[15] An attention check is an intuitive, direct, and transparent technique for making decisions on data quality (Curran, 2016).

Conservatism (Jung et al., 2017b)	Conservatism is a rightist belief system that focuses on hierarchy and tradition (Jost, 2017).	You will be presented with pairs of statements about socioeconomic issues. Choose the statement that is closer to your own views.	
		Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.	-1[16]
		Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest.	1
		don't know / refuse to answer	0
		Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently.	1
		Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return.	-1
		don't know / refuse to answer	0
		The government today can't afford	-1

[16] Responses were coded as conservative statement = 1; don't know / refuse to answer = 0; liberal statement = -1 and summed as recommended by Jung et al. (2017b).

		to do much more to help the needy.	
		The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt.	1
		don't know / refuse to answer	0
		Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can’t get ahead these days.	1
		Blacks who can’t get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition.	-1
		don't know / refuse to answer	0
		Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents.	1
		Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care.	-1

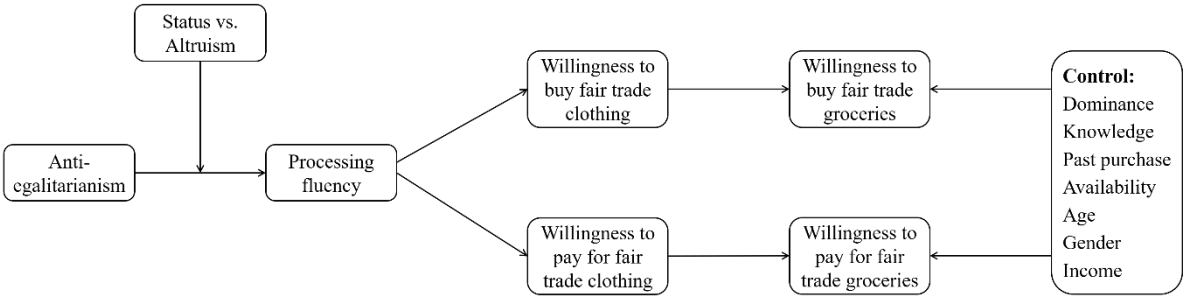
		don't know / refuse to answer	0
		Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit.	-1
		Business corporations make too much profit.	1
		don't know / refuse to answer	0
		Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.	-1
		Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost.	1
		don't know / refuse to answer	0
		Homosexuality should be accepted by society.	1
		Homosexuality should be discouraged by society.	-1
		don't know / refuse to answer	0
Demographics (Qualtrics)	Age	What is your year of birth?	free entry field
	Gender	What is your gender?	1 = Male 2 = Female

	Income	What is your annual income?	1 = Less than $10,000 2 = $10,000 - $19,999 3 = $20,000 - $29,999 4 = $30,000 - $39,999 5 = $40,000 - $49,999 6 = $50,000 - $59,999 7 = $60,000 - $69,999 8 = $70,000 - $79,999 9 = $80,000 - $89,999 10 = $90,000 - $99,999 11 = $100,000 - $149,999 12 = More than $150,000
Past purchase behaviour (self-developed)	I define past purchase behaviour as individuals' purchase of fair trade coffee in the past.	Did you buy fair trade coffee in the past?	1 = No 2 = Yes
Availability of fair trade (self-developed)	I define availability of fair trade as availability of fair trade coffee in the individuals' local consumption environment.	How easy or difficult is it to find fair trade coffee where you live?	1 = Extremely difficult 2 = Somewhat difficult 3 = Neither easy nor difficult 4 = Somewhat easy 5 = Extremely easy

Table 18 Constructs, definitions, questions and answers for the study of article 2

Appendix 2: Questionnaire of the study for article 3

Model:



Name of Construct (Source)	**Definition**	**Statement or Question**	**Response or Answer** (grey shaded cells = reverse coded)
Consent[17] (self-developed)	n/a	Consent Form	1 = Yes, I consent 2 = No, I do not consent
Anti-egalitarianism (Ho et al., 2015)	Anti-egalitarianism "constitutes a preference for systems of group-based inequality that are maintained by an interrelated network of subtle hierarchy-enhancing ideologies and social policies" (Ho et al., 2015, p. 1003).	Show how much you favor or oppose each idea below by selecting an answer on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.	
		Group equality should not be our primary goal.	1 = Strongly Oppose 2 = Somewhat Oppose 3 = Slightly Oppose 4 = Neutral 5 = Slightly Favor 6 = Somewhat Favor 7 = Strongly Favor
		It is unjust to try to make groups equal.	1 = Strongly Oppose 2 = Somewhat Oppose 3 = Slightly Oppose 4 = Neutral 5 = Slightly Favor 6 = Somewhat Favor 7 = Strongly Favor
		We should do what we can to equalize	*(grey shaded cells = reverse coded)* 1 = Strongly Oppose

[17] Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

		conditions for different groups.	2 = Somewhat Oppose 3 = Slightly Oppose 4 = Neutral 5 = Slightly Favor 6 = Somewhat Favor 7 = Strongly Favor
		We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.	1 = Strongly Oppose 2 = Somewhat Oppose 3 = Slightly Oppose 4 = Neutral 5 = Slightly Favor 6 = Somewhat Favor 7 = Strongly Favor
Appeal type: status (Kim et al., 2018) adaption of the luxury product framing used in the authors' study 5	According to Han, Nunes, and Dreze (2010), signalling status with luxuries relates to the price of products as well as to an individual's "desire to associate or dissociate with members of their own and other groups" (p. 15).	Please look very carefully at the following advertisement to answer a number of questions about it. The questions will be given on the next pages. **Alessandro Bruno** Top of the top Prestigious fair trade fashion Designed in collaboration with the world's most prestigious fashion designer **Alessandro Bruno** and endorsed by many top-class celebrities, the new collection of fair trade fashion is clothing completely reimagined. By buying fair trade fashion, you stand out from the crowed – signifying its superior and prestigious status. Be prestigious and buy fair trade fashion now!	
Appeal type: altruism	Altruism is defined as the feeling of empathetic concern that an individual	Please look very carefully at the following advertisement to answer a number of questions about it. The questions will be given on the next pages.	

(WFTO/FairtradeInternational/FLO-CERT, 2011) partly drawing upon the definition of fair trade	has for someone in need (Batson, 2016).	**Alessandro Bruno** A way to help the poor in developing countries Fair trade clothing Manufactured by the social activist **Alessandro Bruno** and endorsed by many NGOs, the new collection of fair trade clothing allows you to contribute to greater equity in international trade. By buying fair trade clothing, you secure the rights of marginalized workers in developing countries and help them to overcome poverty. Help the poor and buy fair trade clothing now!	
Processing fluency (Kidwell et al., 2013)	Processing fluency is defined as "the ease or difficulty with which new, external information can be processed" (Schwarz, 2004, p. 338).	Please indicate with regard to the previous advertisement how much you disagree or agree with the following statements.	
		The advertisement is clear.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		The advertisement is compelling.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		The advertisement is credible.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree

			4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		The advertisement flowed well.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		The advertisement is easy to follow.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		The advertisement is plausible.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		The advertisement is easy to relate to.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
Manipulation check: status	According to Han, Nunes, and Dreze (2010), signalling	Please indicate with regard to the previous advertisement how much you disagree or agree with the following statement.	

(Lichtenstein et al., 1993) adapted	status with luxuries relates to the price of products as well as to an individual's "desire to associate or dissociate with members of their own and other groups" (p. 15).	People notice when you buy expensive fair trade clothing.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I would purchase the most expensive article of fair trade clothing just because I know other people will notice.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
Attention check[18] (self-developed)	n/a	Please click 'Somewhat agree' for this last statement. This is just to screen out random clicking.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
Manipulation check: altruism (Lee & Ashton, 2004) adapted	Altruism is defined as the feeling of empathetic concern that an individual has for someone in need (Batson, 2016).	Please indicate with regard to the previous advertisement how much you disagree or agree with the following statement.	
		I have sympathy for people who are less fortunate than I am such as people working in sweatshops.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Somewhat disagree 3 = Neither agree nor disagree 4 = Somewhat agree 5 = Strongly agree
Willingness to buy fair trade clothing	I define the targeted willingness to buy as participants'	Please indicate with regard to the previous advertisement how much you disagree or agree with the following statements.	

[18] An attention check is an intuitive, direct, and transparent technique for making decisions on data quality (Curran, 2016).

(White et al., 2012) adapted	self-reported willingness to buy fair trade clothing.	I would be likely to purchase fair trade clothing by Alessandro Bruno.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I would be willing to buy fair trade clothing by Alessandro Bruno.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I would likely make fair trade clothing by Alessandro Bruno one of my first choices in the product category of clothing.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I would exert a great deal of effort to purchase fair trade clothing by Alessandro Bruno.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
Willingness to buy fair trade groceries (White et al., 2012) adapted	I define this spillover effect as participants' self-reported willingness to buy fair trade groceries.	Please indicate how much you disagree or agree with the following statements.	
		I would be likely to purchase fair trade groceries.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree

			6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I would be willing to buy fair trade groceries.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I would likely make fair trade groceries one of my first choices in the product category of groceries.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
		I would exert a great deal of effort to purchase fair trade groceries.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Somewhat disagree 4 = Neither agree nor disagree 5 = Somewhat agree 6 = Agree 7 = Strongly agree
Willingness to pay for fair trade clothing self-developed	I define the targeted willingness to pay as participants' self-reported willingness to pay for fair trade clothing.	Please indicate by use of the slider how much less (down to -50%) or more (up to +50%) you are willing to **pay for a fair trade garment by Alessandro Bruno** compared with a conventional garment.	
		The price for one conventional pair of pants is $50.00.	Slider from -50% to +50%
		The price for one conventional T-shirt is $10.00.	Slider from -50% to +50%
		The price for one conventional pair of shoes is $90.00.	Slider from -50% to +50%

		The price for one conventional coat is $150.00.	Slider from -50% to +50%
Willingness to pay for fair trade groceries self-developed	I define this spillover effect as participants' self-reported willingness to pay for fair trade groceries.	Please indicate by use of the slider how much less (down to -50%) or more (up to +50%) you are willing to **pay for fair trade groceries** compared with conventional groceries.	
		The price for conventional chocolate is $2.00/3.5oz.	Slider from -50% to +50%
		The price for conventional coffee is $6.60/12oz.	Slider from -50% to +50%
		The price for one conventional banana is $0.10.	Slider from -50% to +50%
		The price for conventional cocoa is $3.00/8oz.	Slider from -50% to +50%
Dominance (Ho et al., 2015)	Dominance "constitutes a preference for systems of group-based dominance in which high status groups forcefully oppress lower status groups" (Ho et al., 2015, p. 1003).	Show how much you favor or oppose each idea below by selecting an answer on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.	
		An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.	1 = Strongly Oppose 2 = Somewhat Oppose 3 = Slightly Oppose 4 = Neutral 5 = Slightly Favor 6 = Somewhat Favor 7 = Strongly Favor
		Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	1 = Strongly Oppose 2 = Somewhat Oppose 3 = Slightly Oppose 4 = Neutral 5 = Slightly Favor 6 = Somewhat Favor

			7 = Strongly Favor
		No one group should dominate in society.	1 = Strongly Oppose 2 = Somewhat Oppose 3 = Slightly Oppose 4 = Neutral 5 = Slightly Favor 6 = Somewhat Favor 7 = Strongly Favor
		Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.	1 = Strongly Oppose 2 = Somewhat Oppose 3 = Slightly Oppose 4 = Neutral 5 = Slightly Favor 6 = Somewhat Favor 7 = Strongly Favor
Knowledge of fair trade (De Pelsmacker & Janssens, 2007) adapted	Knowledge of fair trade is defined as actual knowledge individuals have of the fair trade issue (De Pelsmacker & Janssens, 2007).	Are the following statements correct?	
		Fair trade aims at creating better trade conditions for farmers and workers in developing countries.	0 = No 1 = Yes
		Fair trade strives for paying more honest prices to producers in developing countries.	0 = No 1 = Yes
		Fair trade strives for sustainable development of excluded and/or disadvantaged producers in	0 = No 1 = Yes

		developing countries.	
Demographics (Qualtrics)	Age	What is your age?	free entry field
	Gender	What is your gender?	1 = Male 2 = Female
	Income	What is your annual income?	1 = Less than $10,000 2 = $10,000 - $19,999 3 = $20,000 - $29,999 4 = $30,000 - $39,999 5 = $40,000 - $49,999 6 = $50,000 - $59,999 7 = $60,000 - $69,999 8 = $70,000 - $79,999 9 = $80,000 - $89,999 10 = $90,000 - $99,999 11 = $100,000 - $149,999 12 = More than $150,000
Past purchase behaviour (self-developed)	I define past purchase behaviour as individuals' purchase of fair trade products in the past.	Did you buy fair trade products in the past?	1 = Never 2 = Sometimes 3 = About half the time 4 = Most of the time 5 = Always
Availability of fair trade (self-developed)	I define availability of fair trade as availability of fair trade products in the individuals' local consumption environment.	How easy or difficult is it to find fair trade products where you live?	1 = Extremely difficult 2 = Somewhat difficult 3 = Neither easy nor difficult 4 = Somewhat easy 5 = Extremely easy

Table 19 Constructs, definitions, questions and answers for the study of article 3

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