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Conforming Conservatives: How Salient Social Identities Can Increase Donations

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Abstract

This research considers how common perceptions of liberals' generosity can be harnessed for increasing donations. Given conservatives' greater tendency to conform to group norms than liberals, we theorize that conformity tendencies can increase donations by conservatives when accountable to a liberal audience who share a salient identity. Specifically, conservatives donate more when they are accountable to a liberal audience with whom they have a salient shared identity (Study 1) due to their motivation for social approval (Studies 3 and 4). However, if the donation context activates political identity (Studies 2 and 3) or if the unifying social identity is not salient (Study 4), accountability does not impact donation decisions. Notably, liberals do not alter their behavior, ruling out alternative explanations for the pattern of conformity. This research provides insight into the distinct role of accountability for conservatives and importance of audience characteristics for conformity. Though both liberals and conservatives can be generous, this research demonstrates how conformity can be used to increase charitable giving among conservatives.

Keywords: political ideology; charitable behavior; social identity; social norms; conformity.

Conforming Conservatives:

How Salient Social Identities Can Increase Donations

Perceptions of “bleeding heart” liberals and “heartless” conservatives are among many stereotypes based on naïve beliefs about political ideology (e.g., Farwell & Weiner, 2000). However, research has demonstrated these particular stereotypes may not be representative of actual behavior (Brooks, 2007): individuals of either ideology may be equally likely to donate as long as the cause aligns with their values or moral foundations (Winterich, Mittal, & Ross, 2009). Nonetheless, these perceptions still abound in the media (e.g., Barber, 2012; Conover, 2015; Mazza, 2015). The current research moves beyond political ideology to consider how the multiple identities that consumers hold can be paired with stereotypes of political giving to increase donations, regardless of the accuracy of said stereotypes. We provide insight into political ideological responses, predicting that some key elements of conservative ideology could serve to motivate conformity with liberal stereotypes of more generous donations.

Specifically, we show that conservatives donate more when accountable to a liberal audience with whom they have a salient shared identity. This behavior occurs because the salience of a common identity prompts conservatives to manage their impressions with perceived in-group members and behave according to the perceived group norms (donations based on stereotype-related beliefs) of a liberal audience. This effect is absent among liberals who are less likely to make decisions based on impression management concerns. It is also absent when conservatives’ political identity is more salient than the shared identity, such as in the face of a polarizing charitable cause that activates political identity, or when there is no shared identity that is salient. Our research then contributes to the literature studying the effects of social factors on charitable decisions (e.g., Glazer & Konrad, 1996; White & Peloza, 2009) by demonstrating

that accountability does not uniformly increase charitable support. Our research also highlights the interplay between personal and audience characteristics (i.e., political ideology) for determining charitable decisions under conditions of high accountability—or the expectation that one may be called on to justify one’s beliefs, feelings, and actions to others (Lerner & Tetlock, 1999). In addition, we contribute to the literature regarding how political ideology differentially impacts consumer decisions (Fernandes & Mandel, 2014; Kidwell, Farmer, & Hardesty, 2013). In the pages that follow we present a brief review of recent literatures on conservative thought, social identity, and charitable donations that inform our predictions. This theorizing is followed by four studies which include demonstrations of the moderating role of shared identity salience (Studies 2-4) as well as the mediating role of social approval (Studies 3-4). Implications of our findings are also discussed.

Conservatives and Conformity

Conservatives may have more individualistic and competitive orientations than liberals, who tend to have more prosocial orientations (Van Lange, Bekkers, Chirumbolo, & Leone, 2012). However, research has also demonstrated that conservatives are more likely to conform to group norms (Cavazza & Mucchi-Faina, 2008), a personal characteristic that fosters group identification (Jugert & Duckitt, 2009). Indeed, conservatives emphasize the group and are more strongly motivated to adhere to social norms than are liberals (Fernandes & Mandel, 2014).

That conservatives are more prone to conform and show loyalty to their groups is also consistent with recent research suggesting that conservatives and liberals are characterized by distinct moral foundations (Haidt & Graham, 2007). Conservatives place a greater value on binding or group-focused moral foundations, which include group loyalty and duty (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009). Other recent work further suggests that conservatives may be more

polite, a dimension of agreeableness, than liberals. Politeness is closely linked to norm compliance and reflective of conservative beliefs (Hirsh, DeYoung, Xu, & Peterson, 2010).

Thus, conservatives are motivated by politeness and complying with social norms, which are likely to be salient in high accountability (i.e., public) interactions with in-group members. We then propose that conservatives will be more likely than liberals to alter their behavior, such as their generosity, to conform to the perceived tendencies of their group. However, the boundaries that define a group are permeable and shaped by social factors that extend beyond a shared political ideology. Given this, the perceived norms of generosity (i.e., the naïve belief that liberals are more generous than conservatives) to which conservatives conform will depend on which social identity is salient at the time of the decision. We turn to this issue next.

Conforming to a Salient Identity and Accountability

Individuals hold multiple social identities, which may differ in salience at any given moment (Reed, 2004). In social interactions, people define their membership in social groups based on the perceived similarity with others. Such perceptions are impacted by contextually-salient personal or social factors (e.g., same gender or sharing a common task, Tajfel & Turner, 1985). For instance, although a college student might self-define as a conservative when attending a debate on campus about politically-polarizing issues (e.g., abortion rights), he might self-identify as a college student when attending a class about Sustainability and Food Justice—even when the majority of fellow students in the latter context might hold a liberal ideology. This occurs because political ideology might be a salient factor for social categorization in the former context, whereas the college student category might be a more salient social descriptor in the latter. Importantly, the salient identity at any given moment impacts decisions over other less salient ones, as individuals are motivated to act in identity-congruent ways (Oyserman, 2009).

Building on identity-based motivation as well as greater conformity tendencies among conservatives, we propose that conservatives would be inclined to conform to the perceived norms of the salient group with which they identify. Notably, while liberals also hold multiple identities differing in salience, they value conformity less than conservatives. Hence, liberals should not be as inclined to conform to group norms. Thus, conservatives (but not liberals) should be motivated to conform to salient in-group members (e.g., college students, co-workers) even if the salient in-group members in a particular context subscribe to a different ideology.

Because this conformity to group norms by conservatives is driven by politeness and a motivation to show their group loyalty (Graham, et al., 2009; Hirsh, et al., 2010), it should be more apparent in public situations in which one can gain the approval of other group members (i.e., under conditions of high accountability). People frequently anticipate justifying their decisions to others (Schlosser & Shavitt, 1999). In doing so, they often make assumptions about others' opinions and tailor their messages accordingly. This is particularly true when people are reminded of their interrelationships with others and are motivated to conform to ensure harmony with them (Torelli, 2006). Importantly, when conservatives focus on a shared non-political social category, such as the college student identity, they will be motivated to maintain in-group cohesiveness and harmonious relations with other group members (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Thus, we expect conservatives will be particularly motivated to comply with the perceived norms and stereotypes of the salient in-group, even when this in-group consists of individuals who are believed to hold opposing (i.e., liberal) views.

Ideological Stereotypes of Charitable Giving

Regardless of accuracy, people hold stereotypes of liberals (e.g., Democrats) as more generous than conservatives (e.g. Republicans) (Fowler & Kam, 2007). Conservatives, in

particular, have a tendency to exaggerate the generosity of liberals, resulting in the stereotype of a “bleeding heart” liberal (labeled the “Limbaugh Effect”; Farwell & Weiner, 2000).

Additionally, conservatives (vs. liberals) are perceived to be less generous toward needy people judged to be responsible for their plight (Reyna, Henry, Korfmacher, & Tucker, 2005).

Interestingly, these stereotypes have been documented when surveying private opinions and donation decisions (Judd & Downing, 1995; Reyna, et al., 2005), but their effects in a public domain have not been tested. Thus, conservatives may be quite generous when the cause aligns with their beliefs (Winterich, et al., 2009) as well as when they are motivated to conform to perceived norms of “bleeding heart” liberals.

Conservatives faced with a charitable decision that is expected to be discussed with *fellow college students* holding liberal views should be motivated to seek approval from the audience (Torelli, 2006). Thus, they should factor into their decisions their perception of more generous fellow students, thereby boosting their own generosity to fit with the perceived norms for charitable giving of a liberal audience. To be sure, we do not expect this shift in generosity based on audience political ideology and shared salient social identity to occur for liberals. Recall that liberals are not characterized by conformity tendencies to the same extent as conservatives, and are thus less driven by politeness (Hirsh, et al., 2010). Thus, even when liberals share a social identity with conservatives, liberals are not motivated to conform to the perceived group norms. As such, conformity should be limited to conservatives.

The Moderating Role of Social Identity Salience

Our focal prediction is that a shared social identity (e.g., college student, co-worker) will motivate conservatives to conform to the perceived norms of that in-group, even if the group consists of liberals. This effect occurs because individuals have multiple social identities, and

any particular social identity can be made salient by contextual factors. In our studies, for example, we tell participants they will have a discussion with another similar person (e.g., college student from the same university), to make their shared social identity salient and make them feel accountable to that group. However, we expect that this focal prediction regarding conformity of conservatives to liberals' perceived donation tendencies will not hold a) when the opposing political identity is more salient than a shared social identity, such as when donating to a polarizing cause, or b) for liberal audiences with whom there is not a shared identity.

Political Identity Salience via Issue Polarization

In any given context, competing social identities may be cued. In the context of a donation decision, the recipient is a key factor that can make a social identity salient (Duclos & Barasch, 2014). For example, a politically-polarizing cause could heighten the salience of the individual's political identity. In this case, conservative participants would use their conservative identity to guide their donation decision rather than another social identity. This adherence to political norms should be particularly strong when anticipating a discussion with those of an opposing political view. Indeed, political disagreement on sensitive issues triggers stereotyping of those with opposing views (Sinclair & Kunda, 2000), which can lead people to dismiss the opinions of those who oppose them. Furthermore, people often approach discussions about hot-button issues (e.g., sexual minority rights) from their polarized political positions and depart little from these positions upon discussing with those who hold an opposing political view (Wojcieszak & Price, 2010). It is then reasonable to expect that conservative participants facing a donation to a polarizing cause would focus on their political identity for making their decision. This is consistent with recent research suggesting that physicians who are exposed to politicized health issues (e.g., firearms or abortion) are influenced by their political beliefs in their treatment

decisions (Hersh & Goldenberg, 2016). As such, we propose that contemplating a donation to a polarizing charitable cause will make one's opposing political identity more salient than a common shared identity. In turn, the effect of conservatives conforming to the perceived generosity of a liberal audience with a shared social identity will be attenuated as the opposing political identity is more salient in the donation decision than the shared social identity.

Lack of Conformity under No Shared Identity

Additionally, recall that we expect conservatives to conform to the perceived donation norms of a liberal audience when it is salient that they share a social identity with this audience and desire the group's approval. Since individuals are motivated to act in a manner consistent with their salient identity (Oyserman, 2009), if a shared identity with the liberal audience is not salient, conservatives will not have salient social norms to which they should conform nor should they have the motivation to conform for approval. Thus, conservatives would become more generous toward needy others when reminded of their interrelationships with a liberal audience with which they identify (e.g., fellow college students) and to which they feel accountable. However, conservatives would not be motivated to conform to a group with which they don't feel a connection (i.e., no shared social identity is salient).

Study 1

Study 1 tests the focal prediction that conservatives (liberals) who anticipate accountability to individuals of the opposing political ideology will exhibit greater generosity (no change) in their donation decisions, compared to those making charitable decisions in private.

Pretests

A series of separate pretests (see Methodological Details Appendix for details of procedures and stimuli used throughout studies), using participants similar to those who took part

in studies 1, 3, and 4 (i.e., college students), were conducted to confirm that: (1) people perceived the audience as intended (e.g., liberal/conservative), (2) lay beliefs about the generosity of liberals holds for the sample population, and (3) the high accountability manipulation worked as intended. A fourth pretest, reported in the Appendix, verified that the charitable cause was related to a non-polarizing issue for both liberals and conservatives.

In the first pretest, 38 undergraduate students were presented with either a 'liberal' or 'conservative' profile and categorized them as either 'liberal,' 'conservative' or 'independent'. Results confirmed that participants categorized the 'conservative' profile as that of conservatives (100% categorization) and the 'liberal' profile as that of liberals (100% categorization).

In the second pretest, 40 student participants self-described as conservatives (in response to the open-ended question "What is your political ideology") were presented with the same background information about other participants that cued that the person is either ideologically liberal or conservative. After this, they read the charitable appeal about the Lung Cancer Association and indicated the amount in dollars (0-25, sliding scale) they thought the other participants would donate to the cause. Consistent with the stereotype of liberals as being more generous, conservative participants expected liberals (vs. conservatives) to donate more to the cause ($M = 18.99$ and 11.39 , respectively, $t(38) = 2.67$, $p < .015$).

In the third pretest, 113 undergraduate students were assigned to either a high (i.e., public) or low (i.e., private) accountability condition. They first completed a background sheet, which included an item on political ideology. Then, those in the high accountability condition were told they would be participating in a study on interpersonal/group communications and would be paired with one of their "fellow college (name of the university) classmates who is also participating in this session" to discuss some of their responses. High accountability condition

participants who had self-identified as liberals (conservatives) were given a handwritten background information sheet, ostensibly completed by another student in the session, with cues the person is ideologically conservative (liberal) and one response explicitly stating the person's political views (confirmed in pretest 1). Participants in the low accountability (i.e., private) condition did not receive information about the subsequent interpersonal/group communication study, but did read an ideologically-neutral background sheet supposedly completed by a participant in an earlier session. This was done under the cover of an impression formation task, and was included to rule out the possibility of any effects emerging due to the processing of social information. However, consistent with past accountability research (Lerner & Tetlock, 1999), participants in the low accountability condition were assured of the anonymity of their responses and hence did not expect to justify their decisions in public. Then participants were exposed to a donation appeal. Immediately after, they were asked about the extent to which they anticipated sharing their donation decision with others (1 = not at all, 7 = very much). As expected, participants in the low accountability condition did not anticipate sharing their decision with others ($M = 2.98$, significantly below the mid-point of the scale, $t(55) = 4.03$, $p < .001$), whereas those in the high accountability condition anticipated sharing their decision with others ($M = 5.09$, significantly above the mid-point of the scale, $t(56) = 4.36$, $p < .001$, and significantly higher than those in the low accountability condition, $t(111) = 5.93$, $p < .001$).

Method

Sample and procedures. The study was a 2 (accountability: high opposing-ideology audience, low) \times 2 (own political ideology: liberal, conservative) between-subjects design. We selected sample size here and in subsequent studies to have approximately 30 participants per manipulated cell. Students ($n = 108$) from a Southeastern university participated in exchange for

course credit. Participants first answered an open-ended question (i.e., “What is your political ideology”), interspersed among a pool of background questions, to self-identify as either liberal (or Democrat) or conservative (or Republican). In view of the use of a dichotomous measure of political identity, and given that this study was conducted in a region of the country where a conservative identity is more common, we used quota sampling to balance the experimental design. That is, participants were pre-screened based on their self-reported political identity and randomly assigned to the high accountability opposing-ideology or low accountability conditions until the quota for each cell was reached. That is, once the accountability cells for a given political ideology condition were filled, subsequent participants with this political ideology were thanked and dismissed right after completing the background questionnaire that included the self-reported measure of political ideology. This was also the case for participants that defined themselves as “moderates/independents” (16 participants did so). After following this procedure, 56 liberals and 52 conservatives were randomly assigned to the accountability conditions, and were informed that as a thank you for their participation in the study they were being entered into a raffle drawing with the opportunity to win a \$25 cash prize (winner would be determined at the end of the study session). They worked next for 10 minutes on unrelated filler tasks.

After this, and following procedures in past accountability research (Lerner & Tetlock, 1999), participants followed the same procedure as in the third pretest. That is, those assigned to the high accountability conditions expected to be accountable for their responses to someone holding the opposing political ideology. Participants in the low accountability (i.e., private) condition did not receive information about the subsequent interpersonal/group communication study but did read an ideologically-neutral background sheet supposedly completed by a participant in an earlier session, as was done in the third pretest. Immediately after reviewing the

background information sheet, high accountability condition participants were told that their responses in the subsequent task would be discussed with the person whose background sheet the participant had just read, and were presented with the donation appeal for the Lung Cancer Association. Participants in the low accountability condition were simply presented with the charitable appeal and reassured about the anonymity of their responses. The charitable appeal indicated that the participant could choose to donate any amount of their raffle winnings to this charity, consistent with Freeman, Aquino, and McFerran (2009). Participants wrote in an amount up to \$25 and sealed their responses in an envelope. This was done to reduce socially desirable responding to the researcher. Then all participants completed other items including individual difference measures to be used as covariates (e.g., closeness to someone who has had lung cancer and the impression-management subscale of the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding: BIDR, Paulhus, 1988). Finally, participants in the high accountability conditions were told that the interaction task was cancelled, and all participants were debriefed and dismissed.

Results and Discussion

An ANOVA was conducted with donation allocation as dependent variable, own ideology and accountability condition (high accountability to a person of the opposing ideology, low accountability) as predictors, and the additional measures as covariates. Results yielded a significant own political ideology \times accountability interaction ($F(1,101) = 5.27, p < .05, \eta^2 = .047$). Examination of the interaction revealed that, as expected, conservatives were more generous when accountable to a liberal than when in private ($M = \$18.58$ and $\$13.27$ respectively; $F(1,101) = 4.08, p < .05, \eta^2 = .036$, see Figure 1), while there was no difference in generosity among liberals in the two conditions ($M = \$17.01$ and $\$20.11$ respectively; $F(1,101) = 1.44, p > .2$). When analyzed by decision condition, liberals were more generous than

conservatives in the low accountability (i.e., private) condition ($M = \$20.11$ and $\$13.27$ respectively, $F(1,101) = 6.57$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .058$). In the high accountability condition, there was no difference between liberals and conservatives ($M = \$17.01$ and $\$18.58$ respectively, $F(1,101) = .39$, $p > .5$). No covariate reached statistical significance, and similar analyses without covariates in the model generated exactly the same pattern of significant effects. In addition, mediation analyses with covariates as potential mediators for the effects did not yield any significant conditional indirect effect (all 95% C.I. contained zero).

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

Results from this study demonstrate that, when anticipating accountability to individuals with whom their political ideology opposed but they shared a salient social identity (i.e., fellow college students), conservatives were more generous when facing an audience of liberals than when making these decisions in private (i.e., low accountability). In contrast, as predicted, accountability to conservatives had little effect on the generosity of liberals that are less motivated to conform to salient group norms. Notice that because conservative participants did not expect the fellow college student to know their own political ideology (i.e., they had no background information and political ideology is not easily observable), it is unlikely this effect emerges due to conservatives' perceptions of liberals' stereotypes of conservatives (i.e., meta-stereotypes effects, Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). Moreover, even if participants perceived the audience to know their political ideology, if the effect occurred due to meta-stereotyping, then liberals should also have shifted their donation behavior, decreasing generosity to overcome the stereotype as "bleeding hearts", when accountable to a conservative audience. Importantly, as evidenced by the predominance of conservative participants in the pool, this study established

the effect in a predominantly conservative culture (i.e., the U.S. South, Genovese, 1994), where accountability effects would be least likely to occur (Tetlock, Skitka, & Boettger, 1989).

Study 2

Study 2 builds upon Study 1 in a number of ways. First, to show that accountability in itself does not ensure increased generosity among conservatives we expanded the experimental design to include conditions of high accountability to persons of the same political ideology. Second, the study adds a boundary condition of political identity salience via a polarizing cause distinctively favored by conservatives, but opposed by liberals (upholding the right to keep and bear arms, Koleva, Graham, Iyer, Ditto, & Haidt, 2012). Third, we use a multi-item continuous scale to measure participant ideology. Fourth, we use a subtler manipulation of audience political ideology to limit potential demand effects when the liberal ideology of the audience is explicitly stated. Fifth, Study 2 participants were staff members at a Midwestern University. This allows us to sample from a different population with greater variability in political ideology due to geographic location (the Midwest vs. the South, Wright, Erikson, & McIver, 1985), as well as based on education and age (Cornelis, Van Hiel, Roets, & Kossowska, 2009). Importantly, using staff members still allows us to make the shared university identity salient (i.e., fellow university employees). Finally, we examined actual donation behavior by asking participants to determine their donation amount from their study participation payment.

Pretests

As in Study 1, a pretest confirmed that people perceived the audience as intended (e.g., liberal or conservative). Specifically 58 student participants were presented with either the ‘liberal’ or the ‘conservative’ profiles used in the main study. Using the same items as the main study, participants rated the political ideology of the unidentified individuals depicted in those

profiles and also categorized them as ‘liberal,’ ‘conservative’ or ‘independent’. Results confirmed participants rated the ‘conservative’ profile as that of conservatives ($M_{political\ ideology} = 5.98$, 100% categorization as conservative) and the ‘liberal’ profile as that of liberals ($M_{political\ ideology} = 1.93$, 100% categorization as liberal). A second pretest reported in the Appendix verified that the charitable causes aligned with political ideology as anticipated.

Method

Sample, design, and procedures. Staff members ($n = 168$, $M_{age} = 24.9$, S.D. = 8.70, 46% male) from a Midwestern university participated in exchange for \$5 cash payment in a 3 (accountability: high-conservative audience, high-liberal audience, low) \times 2 (political identity salience: yes, no) between-subjects design with self-reported political ideology. After answering some general questions about their preferences and memberships in social organizations, following a procedure similar to that used in Study 1, participants were presented with a charitable organization, and were randomly assigned to one of the three accountability conditions. In the two high accountability conditions, participants were told that, as a part of another study on interpersonal/group communications, they would be discussing their decisions with their “fellow peers from (name of the university) who are also participating in this session”. A low accountability (i.e., private) condition in which participants did not anticipate interacting with others was included for comparison purposes.

In anticipation of the interpersonal (i.e., accountability) task, participants in the high accountability conditions were shown a profile of two other unidentified participants in the session (verified in the first pretest). Participants in the low accountability condition did not receive any information about others. This was done to confirm that study 1’s results for the private condition do not differ in the absence of social information.

Political identity salience was operationalized by a charitable appeal for a politically polarizing or non-polarizing cause such that a polarizing cause would make political identity salience. After reviewing the pretested profile information of the audience, half of the participants in each condition were presented with the same charitable appeal for an organization supporting persons with lung cancer used in Study 1, whereas the other half were presented with an appeal to support “The Second Amendment Foundation,” an organization dedicated “to promote a better understanding about our Constitutional heritage to privately own and possess firearms” (*political identity salient* condition). Participants indicated the amount in quarters they would donate to the cause out of the \$5.00 (20 quarters) payment for participating in the study. After working on a series of unrelated tasks for 10 minutes, participants indicated their political ideology on three items (e.g., I think of myself as a: 1 = strong Democrat, 7 = strong Republican; see Methodological Details Appendix, Farwell & Weiner, 2000; Graham, et al., 2009; Reyna, et al., 2005). There was reasonable variation in participant political ideology ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 1.35$, $\alpha = .94$). Then, participants completed a series of individual difference measures that were used as covariates (e.g., warm glow, Ferguson, Farrell, & Lawrence, 2008), answered demographic questions and, after being told that the interpersonal (i.e., accountability) task had been cancelled due to time constraints, were debriefed and dismissed.

Results and Discussion

We conducted an ANOVA on the donation amount with accountability (high-conservative audience, high-liberal audience, low) and political identity salience (yes, no) as fixed factors and participants’ own political ideology as a continuous predictor. We also included the mean score of the individual difference measures as covariates. Results showed a significant political ideology \times accountability \times political identity salience interaction ($F(1,153) = 3.28$, $p <$

.05, $\eta^2=.041$). There was also a main effect of warm glow, $F(1,153) = 51.91, p < .001, \eta^2 = .25$. No other effect was significant (all p 's $> .1$). Similar analyses without covariates yielded the same pattern of effects. In addition, mediation analyses with covariates as potential mediators for the effects did not yield any significant conditional indirect effect (all 95% C.I. contained zero).

Replicating Study 1's findings, simple contrasts showed that when political identity was not salient those who self-defined as conservatives (+1 SD above the mean political ideology score) differed in their donation decisions across accountability conditions, $F(2,153) = 3.05, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$. They were significantly more generous when anticipating accountability to a liberal audience than to a conservative audience ($M = 9.80$ and 3.92 respectively, $t(53) = 2.43, p < .02$, see Figure 2), and marginally more generous in the low accountability condition ($M = 6.00, t(54) = 1.78, p < .1$). A non-significant contrast among self-defined liberals suggested similar levels of generosity across social conditions ($F(2,153) = .47, p > .6, M_{liberal\ audience} = 5.72, M_{conservative\ audience} = 7.90$ and $M_{low\ accountability} = 5.82$). In addition, non-significant contrasts among participants when political identity was salient also suggested similar levels of generosity across accountability conditions for both self-defined conservatives ($F(2,153) = 1.31, p > .3, M_{liberal\ audience} = 4.24, M_{conservative\ audience} = 6.30$ and $M_{low\ accountability} = 7.50$) and self-defined liberals ($F(2,153) = .33, p > .7, M_{liberal\ audience} = 6.26, M_{conservative\ audience} = 4.37$ and $M_{low\ accountability} = 5.44$). However, consistent with the notion that people donate more to causes that are aligned with their political identity (Winterich, et al., 2009), conservatives were generally more generous than liberals when donating to the Second Amendment Foundation given that this issue aligns with a conservative ideology ($M = 6.01$ vs. $5.36, F(1,79) = 3.73, p = .06, \eta^2 = .05$).

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

Consistent with Study 1, results from this study demonstrate that, when anticipating accountability to others with whom they share a salient social identity (i.e., fellow university employees), conservatives donated more to causes when the audience was perceived to have a liberal ideology relative to when the audience was perceived to have a conservative ideology, or when others were not present (low accountability). We argue that perceptions about liberals' (vs. conservatives') greater generosity, combined with a desire to seek approval from the audience with a salient social identity, led conservatives to indicate a more generous donation amount for the liberal audience compared to the conservative audience and low accountability conditions. Consistent with this interpretation, the effect was absent when one's own political identity was more salient via a polarizing cause than a shared identity with a liberal audience. Furthermore, as expected, liberals' donations were unaffected by accountability to conservatives because they are not driven by politeness (Hirsh, et al., 2010), and thus are less motivated to conform to the social norms. The findings that only conservatives alter their donations when accountable to a liberal audience suggests the effect is driven by unique characteristics of conservatives, such as impression management concerns.

Study 3

Study 3 was designed to provide direct evidence that conservatives' increased generosity is due to their desire to seek approval from an audience of fellow liberal students. For this purpose, we included measures of participants' desire to seek approval from the audience (mediator) used in past research (White & Peloza, 2009). While the past two studies describe organizations supporting groups of individuals, Study 3 focuses on a single individual who is in need and is responsible for his plight. We adopt stimuli from existing literature to show that the effects in Studies 1 and 2 generalize to donations benefiting an individual who is explicitly

described as being responsible for his misfortune (Farwell & Weiner, 2000), allowing for a more rigorous test. That is, since conservatives place great importance on personal responsibility and tend to withhold assistance especially from those who are responsible for their own afflictions (Reyna, et al., 2005), they should be especially unlikely to increase their generosity in this context. Finally, the study also includes the boundary condition of political identity salience examined in study 2 but does so via a politically-polarizing cause that is inconsistent with conservatives' moral foundations of purity (Graham, et al., 2009), but favored by liberals.

Method

Sample, design, and procedures. Students ($n = 198$) from a Midwestern university participated in exchange for course credit in a 3 (accountability: high-conservative audience, high-liberal audience, low) \times 2 (political identity salience: yes, no) between-subjects design with self-reported political ideology. Following the same procedure used in Study 2, they answered some general questions about their preferences and memberships in social organizations. After that, they were asked to imagine that they were members of a board of directors of a charitable organization responsible for granting funds to people in need (Farwell & Weiner, 2000), and were randomly assigned to one of the three accountability conditions. In the two high accountability conditions, participants were also told that, as a part of another study on interpersonal/group communications, they would be discussing their decisions with their “fellow college (name of the university) classmates who are also participating in this session.” As in past studies, this was done to make the shared college student social identity salient and thus increase mutual attraction with the members of the audience thanks to a mutually perceived similarity (identity) between self and others as college students (Turner, et al., 1987). A low accountability

(i.e., private) condition similar to that in Study 2, in which participants did not anticipate interacting with others, was included for comparison purposes.

As in Study 2, in anticipation of the interpersonal (i.e., accountability) task, participants in the high accountability conditions were shown a profile of two other unidentified participants in the session portraying them as liberals or conservatives. After reviewing the profile information of the audience, participants were randomly assigned to a charitable appeal for one of two causes to manipulate political identity salience (see pretest in Appendix). In the political identity not salient condition, participants evaluated the case of “a person with medical problems due to obesity caused by poor diet and lack of exercise” (*non-polarizing issue*) (adopted from Farwell & Weiner, 2000), whereas in the political identity salient condition, participants evaluated the case of “a person with AIDS due to promiscuous homosexual relations” (*polarizing issue*). This potential beneficiary (person with AIDS due to promiscuous homosexual relations), though perceived to be in greater need than the beneficiary in the other condition (obese individual with medical problems due to poor diet and lack of exercise—see Methodological Details Appendix for pretest results), is strongly associated with the politically-polarizing issue of homosexuality (Haidt & Hersh, 2001), whereas the obese individual in the other condition was neutral in terms of political associations (as confirmed in the pretest).

Participants indicated their personal decision about donating to the target person on an 11-point scale (1 = least amount of money possible, 11 = greatest amount of money possible; Farwell & Weiner 2000). Immediately after, they indicated their agreement/disagreement with eight items that measured the extent to which their donation decision was driven by a desire to seek approval from the audience (e.g., “Because I want to make myself look good to others”, “Because I want to do what society believes is the right thing” and “Because I want to do what

others will approve of”; adopted from White & Peloza, 2009). After working on a series of unrelated tasks for 10 minutes, participants indicated their political ideology on the same three items used in Study 2 ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.50$). Then, they completed a series of individual difference measures that were used as covariates (e.g., the public self-consciousness scale, Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975, see Methodological Details Appendix), answered demographic questions and, after being told that the interpersonal (i.e., accountability) task had been cancelled due to time constraints, were debriefed and dismissed.

Results and Discussion

Donation intention. We conducted an ANOVA on donation intentions with accountability (high-conservative audience, high-liberal audience, low) and political identity salience (yes, no) as fixed factors and participants’ own political ideology as a continuous predictor. We also included the mean score of the individual difference measures as covariates. Results showed significant main effects of political identity salience ($F(1,183) = 58.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .24$) and political ideology ($F(1,183) = 31.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .15$), as well as a significant political ideology \times political identity salience interaction ($F(1,183) = 14.51$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$), and a political ideology \times accountability \times political identity salience interaction ($F(2,183) = 3.21$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$). No other effects reached statistical significance.

Replicating past findings, simple contrasts showed that participants in the political identity not salient condition who self-defined as conservatives (+1 SD above the mean political ideology score) differed in their donation decisions across accountability conditions, $F(2,183) = 3.19$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$. They were marginally more generous when anticipating accountability to a liberal audience than to a conservative audience ($M = 3.62$ and 2.70 respectively, $t(76) = 1.66$, $p = .10$, see Figure 3), and significantly more generous than in the low (i.e., private) condition

($t(82) = 2.44, M = 2.41, p < .02$). A non-significant contrast among self-defined liberals suggested similar levels of generosity across accountability conditions ($F(2,183) = .98, p > .4, M_{liberal\ audience} = 3.02, M_{conservative\ audience} = 3.86$ and $M_{low\ accountability} = 3.49$). In addition, non-significant contrasts among participants in the political identity salient condition suggested similar levels of generosity across accountability conditions for both self-defined conservatives ($F(2,183) = 1.06, p > .3, M_{liberal\ audience} = 3.99, M_{conservative\ audience} = 4.32$ and $M_{low\ accountability} = 3.15$) and self-defined liberals ($F(2,183) = 2.30, p > .1, M_{liberal\ audience} = 7.12, M_{conservative\ audience} = 5.80$ and $M_{low\ accountability} = 6.99$). However, consistent with the notion that people donate more to causes that are aligned with their political identity (Winterich, et al., 2009), liberals were generally more generous than conservatives when donating to the individual with AIDS given that this issue aligns with a liberal ideology ($M = 6.60$ vs. $3.81, F(1,68) = 25.76, p < .001, \eta^2 = .28$). We also note that the greater donation likelihood in the political identity salience condition arises due to greater perceptions of need for the polarizing issue (as per pretest results). We also conducted similar analyses without covariates or with gender as an additional covariate and obtained the same pattern of significant effects.

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

Mediating role of desire to seek approval from the audience. We conducted a mediated moderation analysis (Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005) to examine the process underlying the interactive effect of audience's and participants' own political ideology (liberal or conservative) on donations when political identity was not salient (non-polarizing cause). To do so, we used Model 5 from version 2.0 of the MODMED macro and followed instructions in Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes (2007). We tested the mediating role of participants' desire to seek approval from the audience ($\alpha = .89$). Conducting 5,000 iterations, we examined the pattern of

mediation at high and low ($\pm 1SD$) levels of self-reported political ideology. As depicted in Figure 4, for conservatives ($+1SD$), the 95% CI for the indirect effect of audience ideology on charitable decision excluded zero (indirect effect: $-.5589$, 95% C.I.: -1.4859 to $-.1212$). For self-reported liberals ($-1SD$), the 95% CI included zero (indirect effect: $-.0885$, C.I.: $-.6866$ to $.2860$). These results indicate that participants' desire to seek approval from the audience fully mediated the interactive effect of the audience's ideology (liberal or conservative) and self-defined political ideology (liberal or conservative) on charitable decisions. In addition, similar mediation analyses with the covariates as potential mediators did not yield any significant indirect effect (all 95% C.I. contained zero).

[Insert Figure 4 about here]

Results from this study show that, when anticipating accountability to others with whom they share a salient social identity, conservatives increased generosity to needy persons. This happened only when the audience was perceived to have a liberal ideology relative to when the audience was perceived to have a conservative ideology, or when others were not present (low accountability condition), consistent with past studies. Attesting to the mechanism, mediation analyses show that this effect among conservatives is driven by their desire to seek approval from the audience sharing a salient social identity. Furthermore, the effect was absent for the polarizing cause that was inconsistent with conservatives' moral foundations, presumably because the polarizing nature of the cause made participants' own political identity more salient than the shared identity with the audience, thus reducing the desire to seek approval from that audience by conforming to the group's norm. Furthermore, as expected, liberals' donations were unaffected by accountability to conservatives because they are less driven by politeness (Hirsh, et al., 2010), and thus are less motivated to conform to social norms.

In the next study, we provide further evidence that the conservatives' increased generosity is due to their desire to seek approval from an audience of liberal fellow students. In addition, we assess the extent to which the effects emerge from perceptions of a shared identity with other participants (i.e., fellow college students), for which motivation to conform to social norms should be more salient, and not simply from anticipating accountability to any others of the opposing ideology. If a shared identity is a necessary condition for these effects to occur, they should diminish when the shared college identity is not salient even if no other identity is salient (i.e., own political identity due to polarizing cause in studies 2 and 3).

Study 4

Study 4 consisted of a 2 (audience ideology: liberal, conservative) \times 2 (shared identity salience: salient, non-salient) between-subjects design with self-reported political ideology ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 1.49$, $\alpha = .89$). Students ($n = 205$) from a Midwestern university participated in exchange for course credit.

Method

Participants followed similar procedures as those in Study 3, except for a few changes. First, instead of starting the study by answering questions about personal preferences and affiliations with organizations, participants first completed the 3-item measure of political ideology used in Studies 2 and 3. Second, all participants were assigned to high accountability conditions and presented with either the liberal or conservative profiles used in Studies 2 and 3. Third, in order to get further evidence that shared identity is a necessary condition for the effects we have observed, instead of the low accountability (i.e., private) condition, we included conditions that made no mention of the common college identity (*non-salient identity* conditions). Finally, we only used a non-polarizing cause (i.e., obesity), so all participants indicated their personal decision about donating to the obese individual.

Pretest

Twenty-nine participants were presented with either the same ‘liberal’ or ‘conservative’ profiles used in studies 2 and 3. Participants rated the political ideology of the two unidentified individuals depicted in those profiles, as well as their own political ideology, on the same 3-item scale used in past studies. Results confirmed that, regardless of self-defined political ideology, participants correctly rated the audience in the conservative condition as conservatives ($M = 5.92$, significantly above the mid-point of the scale, $p < .0001$), and in the liberal condition as liberals ($M = 2.92$, significantly below the mid-point of the scale, $p < .01$).

Results and Discussion

Donation intention. We conducted an ANOVA on the charitable decision with salience of shared identity (salient, non-salient), audience’s political ideology (liberal, conservative), own political ideology, and their corresponding 2- and 3-way interactions as predictors. As in past studies, we also included the individual difference measures as covariates. Results yielded a significant main effect of own political ideology ($F(1,193) = 12.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$), and a significant audience political ideology \times salience of shared identity \times own political ideology interaction ($F(1,193) = 4.89$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .025$).

Replicating findings in past studies, simple contrasts showed that conservatives (+1 SD above the political ideology mean) in the shared identity salient condition were more generous to the recipient when facing a liberal (vs. conservative) audience ($M = 3.64$ vs. 2.53 , $F(1,193) = 4.51$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .023$, see Figure 5). However, this effect dissipated when the shared college identity was not salient, as conservatives’ generosity did not differ when facing liberals vs. conservatives ($M = 2.64$ and 3.01 , $F(1,193) = .53$, $p > .4$). In other words, when facing a liberal audience, conservatives were more generous when the shared college identity was salient (vs.

not) ($M = 3.64$ and 2.64 respectively, $F(1,193) = 4.16$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .021$). In contrast, liberals illustrated similar levels of generosity across conditions (salient identity: $F(1,193) = .45$, $p > .5$, $M_{\text{Liberal Aud.}} = 3.61$, $M_{\text{Conservative Aud.}} = 3.94$; non-salient identity: $F(1,193) = .87$, $p > .3$, $M_{\text{Liberal Aud.}} = 4.24$, and $M_{\text{Conservative Aud.}} = 3.74$). We also conducted similar analyses without covariates or with gender as an additional covariate and obtained the same pattern of significant effects.

[Insert Figure 5 about here]

Mediating role of desire to seek approval from the audience. Similar to Study 3, we conducted a mediated moderation analysis. Specifically, we tested among participants with a salient shared identity the mediating role of their desire to seek audience approval ($\alpha = .92$) on the effect of the audience's ideology (liberal or conservative) on the generosity to the obese individual as a function of participants' own political ideology. As depicted in Figure 6, for conservatives (+1SD), the 95% C.I. for the indirect effect of audience ideology on charitable decision excluded zero (indirect effect: $-.6110$, 95% C.I.: -1.4426 to $-.1213$). For self-reported liberals (-1SD), the 95% CI included zero (indirect effect: $-.2422$, C.I.: $-.0167$ to $.7710$). These results indicate that when there is a salient shared identity participants' desire to seek approval from the audience fully mediates the interactive effect of the audience's ideology (liberal or conservative) and self-defined political ideology (liberal or conservative) on charitable decisions. In addition, similar mediation analyses with the covariates as potential mediators for the effects did not yield any significant conditional indirect effect (all 95% C.I. contained zero).

[Insert Figure 6 about here]

Results from this study provide further support for our predictions. Replicating the findings in the past studies, when anticipating accountability to individuals with whom they share a salient social identity (i.e., fellow college students), conservatives were more generous when facing an audience of liberals than when facing one of conservatives. This effect was

mediated by participants' desire to seek approval from the audience. However, the effect diminished when the shared social identity was not salient.

General Discussion

Despite the fact that conservatives and liberals may be equally generous, particularly when the charitable cause aligns with their values or moral foundations (Winterich, et al., 2009), perceptions of “bleeding heart” liberals and “heartless” conservatives are still common stereotypes (e.g., Farwell & Weiner, 2000). Our research provides a more nuanced understanding of the role of political ideology and social norms on donation decisions. Drawing from the rich literature on political ideology, we show that while conservatives may be rigid in their beliefs (i.e., the rigid attitudes of the right, Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003), they are more malleable in their behavior as evidenced by greater conformity, even when conformity results in donation behavior that counters the stereotypical behavior of their ideology. Given that conservatives hold exaggerated stereotypes of liberals as generous individuals (Farwell & Weiner, 2000), we show that conservatives can be motivated to align their donation decisions with the perceived generosity of liberals. In doing so, they are likely to increase their generosity when anticipating accountability to an audience of liberals with whom they share a salient common identity (i.e., college student identity). This demonstrates that the multiple identities that consumers hold can impact the extent to which political identity, and corresponding perceptions of giving, actually impact donation decisions. We further show that conservatives' higher donations when facing an audience of fellow liberals is driven by a desire to maintain harmony and conform to the audience of fellow group members. However, this effect emerges only when the charitable cause is relatively neutral in terms of its associations with either a liberal or conservative ideology. When the cause is linked to a polarizing issue favored by either

conservatives or liberals, conservatives' own political identity becomes the more salient factor for guiding donation decisions.

Our research also highlights the effect of audience characteristics on helping behaviors and conformity more generally. While prior work has shown that anticipating public perceptions affects benefactors' decisions (Fisher & Ackerman, 1998), we show that the nature of the audience matters for accountability effects to occur. Thus, we look beyond recipient characteristics (e.g., Lee, Winterich, & Ross, 2014; Reyna, et al., 2005) to third-party *audience* characteristics. Specifically, we show that conservatives' charitable decisions are malleable only when accountable to liberals with whom they share another social identity. Further, we show that accountability does not uniformly increase charitable support (White & Peloza, 2009) as liberals do not have the same motivation for social approval by group members.

Our findings have implications for charitable organizations for which conservatives may not be otherwise motivated to aid. Specifically, when soliciting donations from individuals likely to be of a conservative ideology, it would be useful for the charitable organization to imply donor accountability to a liberal audience. For instance, under face-to-face contacts, charities might use agents from a similar social group as other prospective donors, but that signal a liberal ideology (e.g., based on attire and persona) to convey an 'audience' with norms of greater generosity. Importantly, given the prominence of recognition for donations (Fisher & Ackerman, 1998), organizations may consider offering subtle recognition of donors, but ensure that conservative donors are aware that the recognition may be made among a liberal audience.

However, the above strategies will not be effective when presenting conservatives with politically-polarizing causes that foster decisions based on a salient political identity. In the context of polarizing issues favored by either conservatives or liberals, making salient a common

social identity with the audience did not have any effect on conservatives. This is consistent with past research showing how difficult it is to change conservatives' positions on polarizing issues via discussions with liberals who hold opposing views (Wojcieszak & Price, 2010). In this latter context, conservatives would behave according to the well-documented rigidity of the right (Jost, et al., 2003), and ignore others' opinions when making donation decisions.

Although this research focused on charitable donations, it is possible that the effects of conformity uncovered here could apply in other consumption contexts as well. For example, although conservatism is associated with preferences for traditional, local products (Sharma, Shimp, & Shin, 1995), past research shows that conservatism is also positively associated with making product choices in alignment with social norms (Fernandes & Mandel, 2014). It is then possible that increasing salience of shared identities (e.g., American, gender, or parent) can lead conservatives to choose less traditional, foreign products perceived to be favored by a liberal audience. Exploring other consumption contexts seems a fruitful area for future research.

In addition, research should aim to identify other boundary conditions for the effects uncovered here. In the current studies, we mainly focus on potential beneficiaries who are explicitly described as being responsible for their plight (e.g., person who became obese from overeating in Studies 3 and 4; person who contracted AIDS due to promiscuous sex in Study 3) or who could potentially be responsible (e.g., individuals with lung cancer in studies 1 and 2, given the strong association between smoking and lung cancer). Indeed, there is a tendency for conservatives to attribute responsibility to needy individuals rather than to the environment when the situation allows for interpretation (e.g., Reyna, et al., 2005). As the overestimation of liberals' generosity, or the "Limbaugh Effect," and the lack of generosity among conservatives are pronounced in cases where potential beneficiaries are perceived to be responsible (vs. not)

for their plight (Farwell & Weiner, 2000), a charitable giving situation in which the recipient of aid is more clearly *not* responsible for his/her plight might attenuate the effects. In this context, accountability to a liberal audience might not have an impact on conservatives' increased generosity, as conservatives might already have generosity similar to that of liberals when donating to recipients that are not responsible for their plight.

Another potential moderator of these effects is the manner in which the opposing ideology (i.e., liberals) is described. In the current research, participants either read brief self-reports of other ideology or used subtle cues to infer the opposing ideology of an audience (e.g., favorite TV stations; as confirmed through pretests), and subsequently conformed to the norms of this audience when a shared social identity was salient. More forceful mentions of the opposing ideology of the audience, however, could lead to defensive bolstering and justification of one's position (Tetlock, et al., 1989) resulting in polarized ideological responses rather than conformity (similar to those in Studies 2 and 3 in the case of a polarizing cause).

Lastly, though results were supportive of the proposed mechanism of seeking approval of the audience by conforming to group norms, research could further investigate the mechanisms underlying this pattern and other differences in political ideology that may influence donation behavior. For example, in addition to a greater focus on conforming to group norms, are conservatives also more proself than liberals (Simpson & Willer, 2008)? Additionally, under what conditions are impression management motives activated among liberals, influencing donation behavior (White & Peloza, 2009)? Under such conditions, would liberals actually decrease their donation decisions when accountable to a conservative audience? These are viable questions for future research to explore at the intersection of ideology and accountability.

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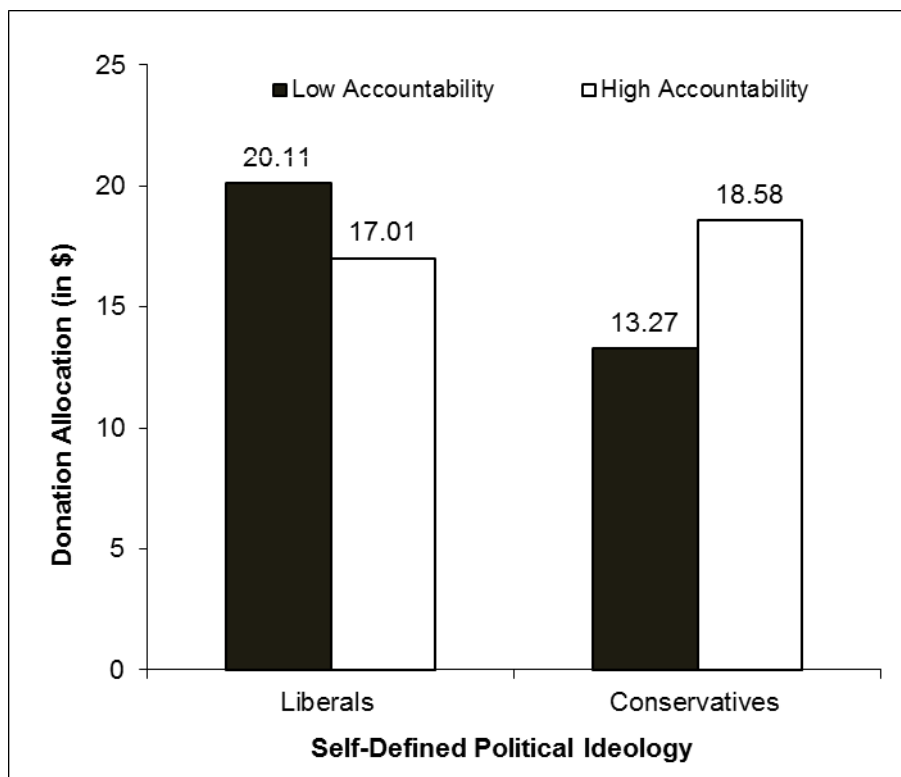
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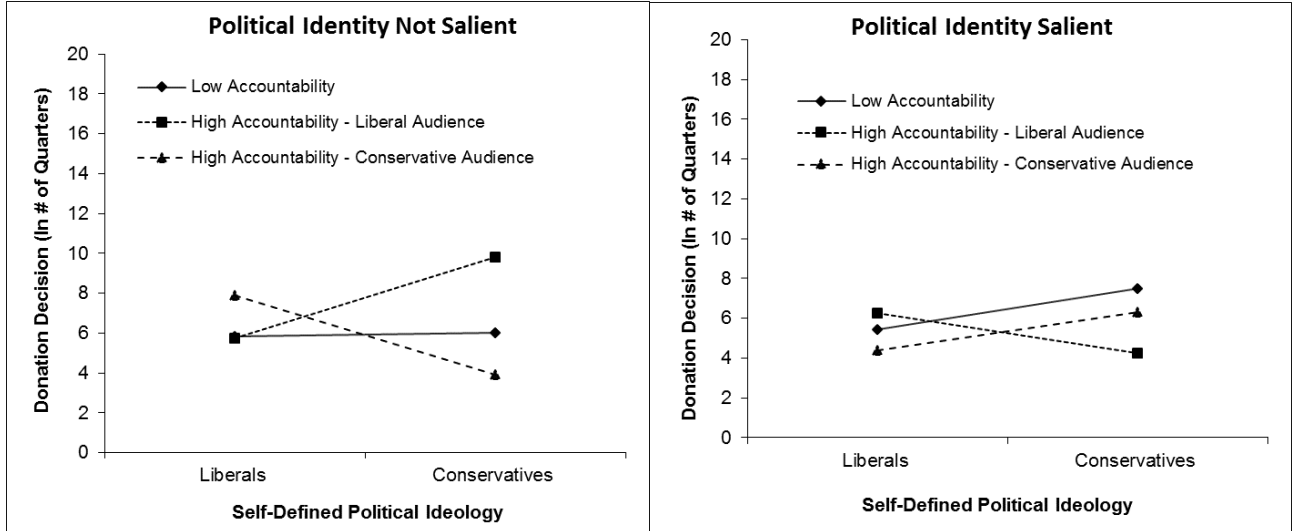
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Figure 1: Donation Allocation as a Function of Self-Defined Political Ideology and Accountability Condition – Study 1.



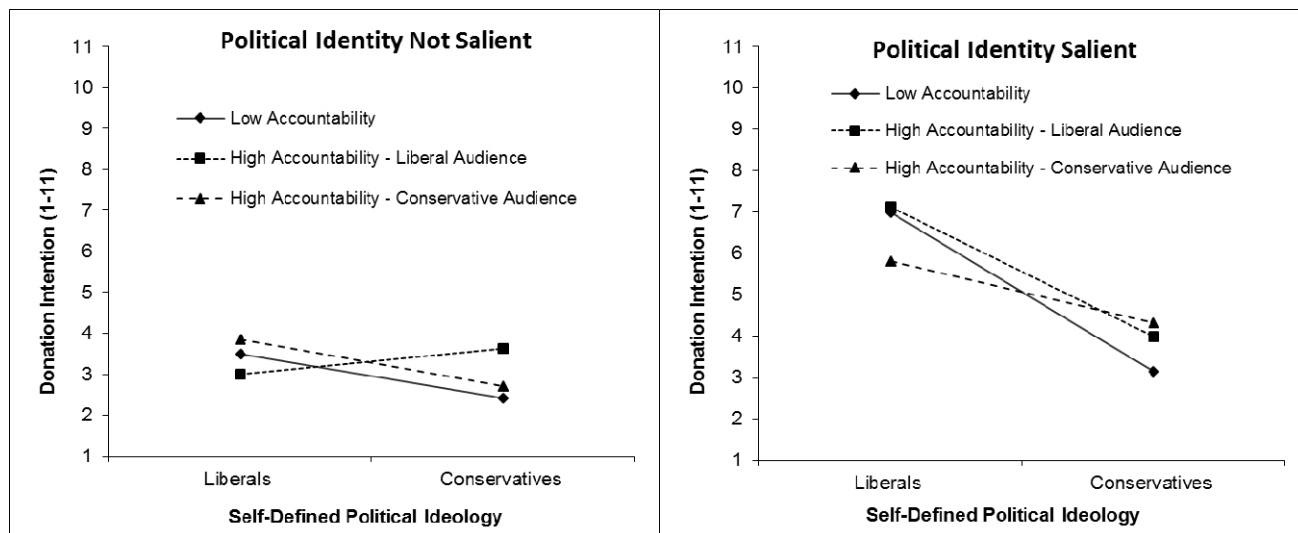
NOTE: Liberals and conservatives defined based on self-reporting of political identity. Only contrast for conservatives reached significance, $p < .05$.

Figure 2: Donation Amount as a Function of Self-Defined Political Ideology, Accountability by Audience Political Ideology, and Political Identity Salience – Study 2.



NOTE: Liberals and conservatives defined as 1 SD below and above the mean political ideology score respectively. Only the contrast for conservatives of high accountability to a liberal audience versus high accountability to a conservative audience and low accountability in the political identity not salient figure reached significance, $p \leq .05$.

Figure 3: Donation Intention as a Function of Self-Defined Political Ideology, Accountability by Audience Political Ideology, and Political Identity Salience – Study 3.



NOTE: Liberals and conservatives defined as 1 SD below and above the mean political ideology score respectively. Only the contrast for conservatives of high accountability to a liberal audience versus high accountability to a conservative audience and low accountability in the political identity not salient figure reached significance, $p \leq .05$.

Figure 4: Mediated Moderation Model of Direct and Indirect Effects of Audience’s Ideology and Own Political Ideology on Donation Decision – Study 3.

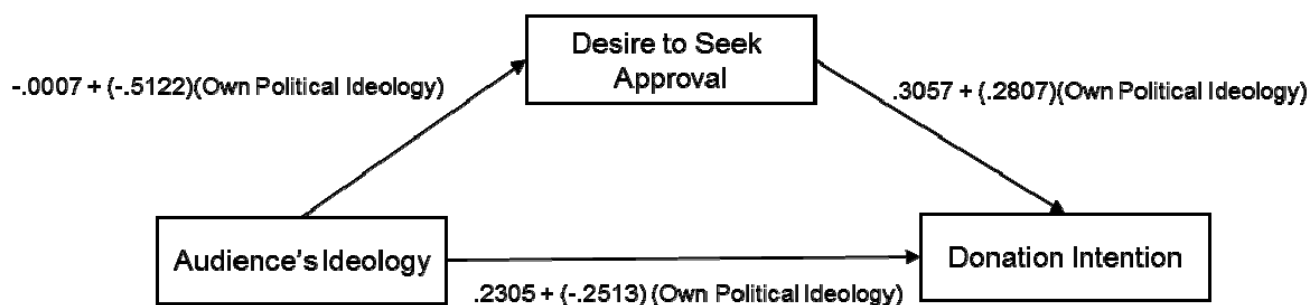
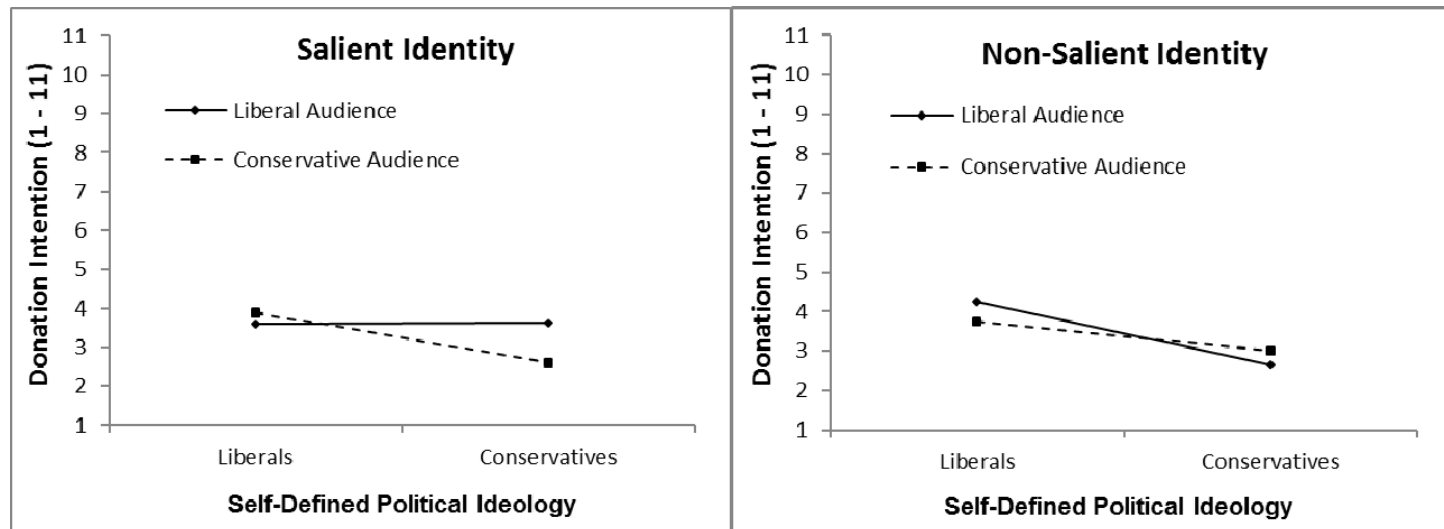
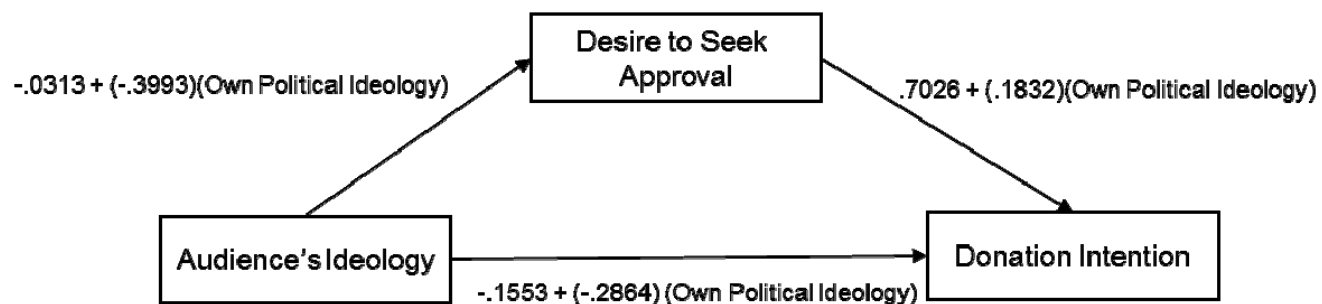


Figure 5: Donation Intention as a Function of Self-Defined Political Ideology, Accountability by Audience Political Ideology, and Identity Salience – Study 4.



NOTE: Liberals and conservatives defined as 1 SD below and above the mean political ideology score respectively. Only contrast for conservatives in the shared identity salient condition reached significance, $p < .05$.

Figure 6: Mediated Moderation Model of Direct and Indirect Effects of Audience's Ideology and Own Political Ideology on Donation Decision – Study 4.



Methodological Details Appendix

Stimuli

Liberal or Conservative Profiles (High Accountability Conditions):

Question	Sample Response (liberal audience)	Sample Response (conservative audience)
What geographic area are you from?	City	Rural
What is your favorite type of music?	Pop	Country mostly
What do you like to do in your spare time?	Hang out with friends	Watch NASCAR
What are your favorite TV stations to watch?	MSNBC	Fox News
What national organizations are you a member of?	PETA	National Rifle Association
What was your favorite subject in high school?	Creative writing	Math
What is your position on abortion?	I'm pro-choice	I'm pro-life
What is your major?	Journalism	Management
What kind of car do you drive?	A hybrid	A pickup truck

Charitable Causes:

Lung Cancer Association (Studies 1 and 2)

The Lung Cancer Association is dedicated to patient support and advocacy to those living with or at risk for being diagnosed with lung cancer. As the number one cancer killer, more people die of lung cancer each year than from all other cancers combined. The 5-year survival rate for lung cancer is only 15.5%.

We are dedicated to funding the development of new treatments that are solely devoted to curing lung cancer. We also advocate for more emphasis on screening of high risk individuals, such as through chest x-rays or CT scans, in order to detect lung cancer sooner and help patients live longer and better. Only 16% of lung cancer is being diagnosed at its earliest and most curable stage.

Second Amendment Foundation (Study 2):

The Second Amendment Foundation mission is to promote a better understanding about our Constitutional heritage to privately own and possess firearms. It has been a pioneer in innovative defense of the right to keep and bear arms, through its publications, public education programs and legal action.

The Second Amendment Foundation is dedicated to funding education, legislation and political action. Its activities include providing research, educational materials, information and leadership training for effective right-to-bear-arms citizenship as well as promoting legislation which will advance the protection of the right to bear arms.

Needy persons (Studies 3 and 4):

Imagine that you are a member of a board of directors of a charitable organization. Board members evaluate persons in financial need. Needy persons receive monetary funds based on the board's evaluations. As a board member, what decision would you personally make about a person with medical problems due to obesity caused by poor diet and lack of exercise [a person with AIDS due to promiscuous homosexual relations]?

Charitable Cause Pretests

Study	Sample size	Measure(s)			t-value
1	19		Conservative	Liberal	
		Extent to which lung cancer is something that matches a [target] ideology (1 = not at all, 7 = very much)	3.00*	3.16*	NS
2	61		Lung Cancer	Second Amendment	
		Extent to which [target action] is something that better matches a conservative/Republican instead of a liberal/Democrat ideology (1 = not at all, 7 = very much)	3.84	5.77*	11.72
3	29		Obesity	AIDS	
		Extent to which [target action] is something that better matches a liberal/Democrat instead of a conservative/Republican ideology (1 = not at all, 7 = very much)	3.74	4.67*	4.40
		How much the person is in need; How serious/significant/urgent/life-threatening is the need (1 = not at all, 7 = very much)	4.59*	6.01*	5.71

Note: *Indicates significant difference from scale midpoint of 4 at $p < .05$. Self-reported political ideology did not impact charity associations.

High Accountability Manipulation (all studies):

As part of a broader research study on interpersonal/group communications, you will be discussing your decision to donate to [charitable cause] with fellow [name of University] participants in this session. Your decision will be shared and discussed with these participants. To give you a sense of the background, interests, and attitudes of these participants, here are some of their answers to previous questions in the survey. Please take a moment to familiarize yourself with this information. When you have a good sense of the background of the other participants you will be discussing with, please continue to the next screen/page. It is important to note that the other participants have no background information about yourself.

Measures

Political Ideology Measure (Studies 2, 3, and 4):

1. Please indicate the political label with which you [this individual] most identify:
1=Extremely Liberal, 7=Extremely Conservative
2. I think of myself [this individual] as a: 1=strong Democrat, 7=strong Republican
3. Politically, I would describe myself [this individual] as: 1=extremely liberal, 7=extremely conservative

Additional Measures – Study 1

1. Closeness to someone who has had lung cancer: How close are/were you to someone with lung cancer?, 1=never known anyone with lung cancer, 10=closest person to me in the world
2. Their own smoking history: Have you ever been a regular cigarette smoker?,” 0=no, 1=yes)
3. The impression-management subscale of the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR, Paulhus, 1984)

Additional Measures – Study 2:

1. Warm glow (Ferguson, Farrell, & Lawrence, 2008)
2. The impression management sub-scale of the BIDR (Paulhus, 1984)
3. The moral identity scale (Aquino & Reed, 2002)

Additional Measures – Studies 3 and 4:

1. The public self-consciousness scale (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975)
2. The impression management sub-scale of the BIDR (Paulhus, 1984)
3. The moral identity scale (Aquino & Reed, 2002)

Though the BIDR impression management scale is similar conceptually to the measure of desire to seek approval from the audience used as a mediator in the main study, this control variable represents chronic tendencies to tailor one’s messages/behaviors for audience approval whereas the measured mediator assessed each participant’s desire to seek approval for a specific donation decision rather than their natural tendencies. Similarly, the moral identity scale is a strong predictor of donations based on chronic importance of moral behaviors.