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From Slum Tourism to Smiley Selfies: The Role of Social Identity Strength in the Consumption of Morally Ambiguous Experiences

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Why do some consumers find a consumption activity appealing while others see it as morally appalling? A series of five experiments in two different morally ambiguous contexts shows that differences in social identity strength can in part explain discrepant reactions to the very same consumption experience. Consumers who identify weakly (vs. strongly) with the people most related to the consumption environment are less likely to question the experience on moral grounds. As a result, they are more likely to choose a morally ambiguous consumption experience or to act in a morally ambiguous manner. The impact of social identity strength on consumer preference vanishes when the consumption experience is morally neutral or when all consumers are prompted to judge the experience on moral grounds. Statistical analyses based on post hoc justifications provide further evidence for the mediating role of moral considerations.

Keywords Morality; Social identity; Unethical consumption; Moral sensitivity; Moral consideration

Some consumption activities can be morally ambiguous. While appealing to some, they can trigger reactions of outrage among others. Slum tourism is a good example. In this activity, visitors pay to ride through impoverished areas while observing and taking pictures of deprived urban zones. Proponents of the idea argue that these tours bring financial resources to the slums while educationally revealing a reality that differs from traditional sightseeing spots (Frenzel, 2014). Critics see the practice as exploitative, humiliating, and morally questionable at best. As Kennedy Odede, a well-known social entrepreneur born and raised in one of the largest slums of Kenya, has stated: "They get photos, we lose a piece of our dignity" (New York Times, 2010).

In the realm of advertising, a similar phenomenon occurs. While some consumers may find one advertisement appealing, creative, or funny, others will see it as sexist, racist, and derogatory. In a similar vein, whereas some consumers hate tabloids for what they perceive as a clear invasion of privacy and deliberate exposure of celebrities, often in distressing circumstances, others are eager to purchase them to learn about the mishaps of the rich and famous. Social media provide yet another interesting context. Many consumers are proud of all the unique selfies they post online, but others perceive some such pictures as clearly disrespectful and inappropriate (e.g., smiley selfies taken in front of memorials). These contrasting opinions present an interesting puzzle that has yet to be addressed in the literature: Why do some consumers seem to evaluate certain experiences as morally repulsive, while others are willing to pay for them and even share them online? One possible answer is that the opposing views stem from the

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different roles people play in society (Stryker & Burke, 2000). For instance, journalists' opinions about slum tourism may differ from those of academics, which may again differ from the opinions of the actual consumers or locals (Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Steinbrink, Frenzel, & Koens, 2012). Another possibility is that even if the population under investigation is held constant (e.g., potential customers), there is just a considerable degree of heterogeneity in their sensitivity to ethical issues (Vitell & Muncy, 2005), which in turn influences their preferences towards morally ambiguous consumption experiences. We posit, however, that over and above differences in perspective across roles and heterogeneity in moral sensitivity, there is also a systematic bias at play that makes some consumers eschew and others embrace morally ambiguous conduct.

Social Identity and Morality

Individuals categorize, compare, and identify themselves in relation to others according to their commonalities (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). The cues used to form social identities, or perceived group memberships, are diverse, varying from demographic characteristics (e.g., female, American) to social roles (e.g., parent, consumer) to stigmas (e.g., alcoholic, obese; Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Ethier, 1995). Social identities also vary in strength. Depending on personal or situational factors, people have been found to vary in the extent to which they identify with their own ethnic group (Deshpande, Hoyer, & Donthu, 1986; Stayman & Deshpande, 1989), their political party (Westfall, Van Boven, Chambers, & Judd, 2015), their organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Cole & Bruch, 2006), or even a place (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). Similarly, the strength of identification between a consumer and the people most related to the consumption environment may also vary substantially. For instance, Brazilians will identify more strongly with a favela in Rio de Janeiro (i.e., same country, same people, same language, same history, etc.) than Americans. They will also identify more strongly with a favela in Rio de Janeiro than with a township in Johannesburg. For the same reasons, Americans will identify more strongly with the 9-11 Memorial in New York City than Brazilians. They will also identify more strongly with the 9-11 Memorial than with the Hiroshima Peace Memorial.

The extent to which a consumer relates to a social identity is known to influence their thoughts, feelings, and behavior (Reed, Forehand, Puntoni, &

Warlop, 2012). One clear general effect is the inclination to favor one's own group over others (see Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002; for a review.) This phenomenon applies not only to other people but also to any entity that might relate to a given group. For instance, in-group favoritism and out-group avoidance or derogation happens not only to individuals, but also to brands and products that are associated with particular groups (Stafford, 1966; White & Dahl, 2006, 2007). Of particular interest is the evidence that social identity can also influence moral judgment and moral behavior. In contexts of clear harm to others (i.e., blatant immorality), people are more likely to morally disengage from out-groups by minimizing the victims' suffering (Leidner, Castano, Zaiser, & Giner-Sorolla, 2010). They are also more empathetic to the suffering of in-groups than out-groups (Fiske, 1991). Although direct evidence is scant, this bias has been used to account for severe moral transgressions against out-groups, such as hate crimes, prisoner abuse, and genocide (Allport, 1954; Fiske, Harris, & Cuddy, 2004; Schwartz & Struch, 1989). In short, when dealing with the impact of social identity on moral sensitivity to clearly immoral acts, notably harm, in-group favoritism and out-group derogation tend to emerge.

Social Identity Strength and Moral Considerations

However, not all immoral conduct is blatant and not all behaviors are judged on moral grounds in the first place. Much potentially immoral conduct is relatively subtle. Although taking a picture of a slum while riding in a Jeep or taking a smiley selfie during a visit to a memorial may be seen by some as rather disrespectful, it is unlikely to be perceived as blatantly immoral by everybody. We argue that in such situations of moral ambiguity, the strength of identification between the consumer and the potentially insulted people most closely related to the consumption environment will influence whether or not the consumer will judge the conduct on moral grounds. This variance in moral consideration will then help predict whether the consumer will find the target consumption activity appealing or appalling. Precisely, we hypothesize that when consumers identify only weakly (vs. strongly) with the people most closely related to the consumption environment, they will (a) be less (more) likely to judge a potentially offensive consumption experience on moral grounds and, as a result, (b) be more (less) likely to favor the consumption experience.

What dictates the likelihood of moral considerations coming to mind is the relative prominence of the multiple evaluative dimensions. When purchasing a product or service (e.g., a tourist activity) or when assessing their consumption behavior (e.g., taking a selfie), consumers are likely to ponder multiple factors (e.g., How exciting or educational will this favela tour be? How nice would it be to post a picture of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial on Instagram? etc.). The moral appropriateness of the purchase or consumption act is one of them (e.g., Is this conduct appropriate? Is this disrespectful to anyone?). As in any judgment, these dimensions compete amongst one another and the most salient one(s) prevail in the decision-making process (Johnson, Häubl, & Keinan, 2007). We propose that consumers who identify more strongly with the people related to the consumption environment are more likely to consider the morality of the conduct because the cues in the environment will spontaneously prompt them to do so. Meanwhile, those who identify only weakly with the people most related to the consumption environment are less likely to consider its moral overtones because the environmental cues are less likely to spontaneously trigger the same morally-related associations. For example, the names engraved in marble at a memorial are more likely to trigger thoughts and images, strong feelings of sadness and compassion, and perceptions of suffering on the part of those who identify more strongly (vs. weakly) with the environment. Similarly, extreme poverty and inequality in a given region is more likely to trigger strong feelings of sadness, guilt, and shame among those who strongly (vs. weakly) identify with that setting. In both examples, these cues will vary the likelihood that individuals will consider moral dimensions and judge certain conduct in these settings on moral grounds. If this is true, unless we nudge consumers to consider the moral aspects of certain forms of conduct by having moral consideration cues made more salient to them, those who identify only weakly (vs. strongly) with the consumption environment will in general be more likely to engage in a morally ambiguous experience.

In the following pages, a series of five experiments are conducted to systematically assess this general hypothesis and the underlying psychological mechanism. The first three experiments (experiments 1, 2A, and 2B) document the phenomenon in two different contexts while providing initial evidence for the mediating role of moral considerations. The last two experiments orthogonally manipulate the cues that lead consumers to judge

an activity on moral grounds (experiments 3 and 4), providing additional evidence for the proposed psychological process.

Our theorizing and empirical findings contribute to the consumer psychology literature on a few fronts. First, instead of focusing on consumption experiences that are clearly moral, such as donations to charity (Lee, Winterich, & Ross, 2014; Winterich, Zhang, & Mittal, 2012), or clearly immoral/illegal, such as shoplifting (Babin & Babin, 1996; Cox, Cox, & Moschis, 1990), this research focuses on consumer reactions to legal but morally ambiguous experiences. In doing so, the article further advances the field by demonstrating that over and above moral sensitivity (i.e., how much one reacts to clearly moral or immoral conduct; Fiske, 1991; Molenberghs, Gapp, Wang, Louis, & Decety, 2014; Leidner et al., 2010), moral consideration (i.e., the likelihood an individual will judge an ambiguous experience from a moral perspective in the first place) is an important construct for understanding when and how consumers react to morally ambiguous stimuli (see Reynolds & Miller, 2015, for a related discussion). Finally, our findings and theoretical arguments detail how differences in social identity strength help explain, at least in part, the highly opposing views consumers often have towards the very same consumption experience.

Experiment 1—Slum Tourism

The origins of slum tourism can be traced back to the Victorian period, when wealthy English men and women, often accompanied by a police officer or priest, ventured through the London ghettos to observe the living conditions of the poor (Koven, 2004). It did not take long for the practice of “slumming” to reach the United States. In the 1880s, companies were already offering slum tours to the major American metropolitan areas, such as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. Over time and with the increase in international tourism, the so-called Global South took the lead in this market (Steinbrink, 2012). The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 gave birth to slum tourism in Brazil, when tourists, mostly journalists and social activists, paid local service providers to take them to one of the largest slums (*favelas*) in South America, Rocinha (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). Since then, a growing number of organized, formal guided tours have appeared on the market and mainstream tourists’ interest in this form of tourism has increased

exponentially. In Rio alone, it is estimated that 50,000 tourists engaged in slum tourism in 2011. Around the same period, a similar trend has been observed in the South African townships, which receive approximately 300,000 visitors a year (Rolfes, 2010). Nowadays, slum, ghetto, township, or favela tourism is offered by tourism professionals in more than 12 countries, from Jakarta to São Paulo, from Mumbai to Mexico City, from Cairo to Manila, from Nairobi to Buenos Aires (Steinbrink et al., 2012). Despite or maybe because of its prevalence, a fierce moral debate has been waged in the press (Anadolu Agency, 2016; Forbes, 2016) and in academia (Dürr & Jaffe, 2012; Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Frenzel & Koens, 2012; Frenzel, Koens, Steinbrink, & Rogerson, 2015; Kieti & Magio, 2013; Mekawy, 2012) about this form of consumption. Proponents see it as an eye-opening educational experience (Dyson, 2012); critics are convinced that it is no more than an exploitative activity offered to the wealthy at the expense of the poor. Some label it a “Human Safari” (Mehta & Barth, 2015), stating that it is the exclusive domain of external agencies, and involves little participation of the local population and scarce interaction between locals and tourists (Frisch, 2012). Due to its prevalence and moral ambiguity, we chose this consumption activity to test our hypothesis and rationale.

Precisely, we assessed the extent to which the strength of identification and moral connotation of a favela (slum) tour influenced tourists’ choice of sightseeing activity in the city of Rio de Janeiro. It was expected that those participants who identified only weakly with the consumption environment (foreign tourists) would be more likely to choose and less likely to avoid a morally ambiguous favela tour than those with a stronger identification (Brazilian tourists). However, when the favela visit had no moral connotation associated with it, no difference between weak and strong identification conditions was expected.

Method

Sample and Design

Two hundred and fifteen participants (98 females; $M_{\text{age}} = 26.62$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 5.69$) were recruited in four hostels in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Thirteen participants returned invalid questionnaires (i.e., did not answer several questions, including the main dependent variables) and were thus excluded. The final sample consisted of foreign ($n = 125$) and Brazilian ($n = 77$) tourists visiting the city. The

study adopted a two (social identity strength: weak vs. strong identification) by two (moral connotation of the tour: ambiguous vs. neutral) between-subjects design.

Procedure

After receiving authorization from the hostel, guests were approached individually in the lobby and asked to participate in a short survey about tourist preferences in Rio. The tourists who agreed were presented with three tour options in the form of advertising flyers. Four tour flyers were created specifically for the experiment. Two non-target tours (*Historic Little Africa* and *Floresta da Tijuca*) were the same across conditions, while the target flyer (*Favela Tour*) varied across conditions. Participants in one condition saw an advertising flyer for a favela *jeep* tour, whereas those in the other condition saw an advertising flyer for a favela *jazz* tour. The favela *jeep* tour flyer represented the morally ambiguous target tour. It portrayed a typical safari-like jeep tour (which is often the case in tours of this kind in the city) and highlighted that the main purpose of the tour was to “observe and take unique pictures in one of the most challenging urban environments in Rio.” The favela *jazz* flyer represented the morally neutral option. Participants saw the same background picture of a favela, but the jeep was replaced by a musical note and the shadow of musician playing a trumpet. Further, the purpose of this tour, as described in the flyer, was to “listen to world class music and dance in one of the most breathtaking jazz clubs in Rio.” (Bars and clubs in some of favelas of Rio are also common tourist attractions.) Note that whereas the main motive of the consumption experience in the favela jeep tour was to observe, take pictures, and learn more about the people who live in these challenging neighborhoods, the main motive in the favela jazz tour was simply to listen to good international music in a unique location.

The participants were randomly assigned to one of the two between-subjects conditions and asked to indicate (a) which of the three tours they would like to take and (b) which of the tours they would rather avoid. These questions captured the two dependent variables. The latter measure was designed to inform us whether the participants were simply indifferent to the non-chosen options or whether they would be more reluctant to pick one or the other. Country of origin is one of the clearest indicators of social categorization and strongly related to one’s social identity (Forgas &

O'Driscoll, 1984; Poppe & Linssen, 1999). It was thus used as an indicator of social identity strength. Brazilian tourists served as a proxy for consumers who identified more strongly with the people related to the consumption environment, while foreign tourists served as a proxy for consumers who identified only weakly with the people in the consumption environment (see Methodological Detail Appendix [MDA] for procedural details and stimuli).

Results

Choice of Tour

The tourists who identified weakly with the consumption environment were much more likely to choose the morally ambiguous option (favela jeep tour) than those who identified more strongly with the consumption environment (weak identification = 45.7% vs. strong identification = 4.6%; $\chi^2(1) = 21.88, p < .001$). In the condition where the target option was morally neutral (favela jazz tour), social identity strength was not associated with preferences (weak identification = 38.2% vs. strong identification = 54.6%; $\chi^2(1) = 2.24, p = .14$). Also, tourists who identified weakly with the consumption environment were as likely to choose the target option when it was morally ambiguous as they were to choose it when it was morally neutral ($\chi^2(1) = 0.72, p = .40$). Tourists with a strong identification, however, were much more likely to choose the target option when it was morally neutral than

when it was morally ambiguous ($\chi^2(1) = 24.52, p < .001$; See Appendix A for summary table). Figure 1 displays the pattern of results. A logistic regression including all the controls confirmed the interaction ($\beta = -3.58; SE = .96, p < .001$; See Appendix B).

Avoidance of Tour

Participants were also asked to indicate which of the three options they would rather avoid. The results confirmed our intuition: 19.4% of those who identified weakly with the consumption environment avoided the morally ambiguous target option, while this proportion jumped to 60.0% among those who identified strongly with it ($\chi^2(1) = 18.25, p < .001$). In the condition where the target option was morally neutral, social identity strength was not associated with tour avoidance (weak identification = 31.9% vs. strong identification = 23.3%; $\chi^2(1) = 0.66, p = .42$). Also, within the strong identification condition, the proportion of tourists who avoided the target option was significantly higher for the morally ambiguous target option than for the morally neutral one ($\chi^2(1) = 9.34, p = .002$), whereas within the weak identification condition, the proportion of tourists who avoided the target option was the same irrespective of whether it was morally ambiguous or not ($\chi^2(1) = 2.33, p = .13$; See Appendix A for summary table). Again, the logistic regression including all the controls confirmed the interaction ($\beta = 2.35; SE = .82, p = .004$; See Appendix B).

Discussion

Experiment 1 shows that in the context of favela tours, the potentially offensive or disrespectful option (i.e., visiting an impoverished area in a safari-like jeep and taking pictures of the locals and their surroundings) was more likely to be chosen and much less likely to be avoided by consumers who identified only weakly with the consumption environment (in this case, foreign tourists) than by those who identified strongly with it (in this case, Brazilian tourists). When the moral connotation of the activity was removed (i.e., a favela visit with the purpose of going to a unique jazz club with a breathtaking view), tourists were equally likely to choose the target tour irrespective of the strength of identification. Our intuition is that because tourists who identify weakly with the consumption environment are less likely to consider the morality of their actions in that environment than those who

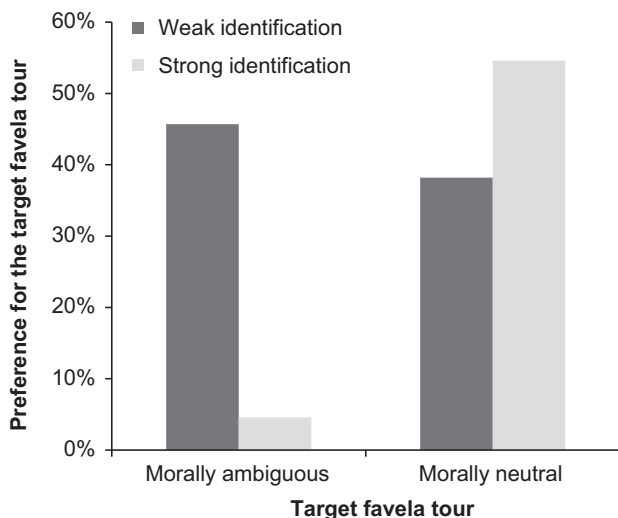


Figure 1. Tour choice as a function of social identity strength and the moral connotation of the target tour (Experiment 1)

identify strongly with it, they are also more prone to engage in and less prone to avoid such morally ambiguous tourist activities. Further, our design provides clear evidence that Brazilian tourists do not simply avoid favelas altogether, which was a possibility if, for instance, they perceived them as being more dangerous or less appealing than foreign tourists did. That did not seem to be the case. When the tourist activity was less likely to be questioned on moral grounds (i.e., favela jazz flyer), social identity strength was not associated with choices.

Nonetheless, Experiment 1 has a few limitations. First, the tours (jazz vs. jeep) could vary in ways other than their moral connotation, and that could in theory explain the interaction. Second, there was no direct evidence for the proposed underlying role of moral considerations. Third, the question as to whether this phenomenon is generalizable remains unanswered. Experiments 2A and B tackle these issues.

Experiments 2A and 2B—Smiley Selfies at Memorials

Smart phones and social media have exponentially increased the number of selfies and pictures consumers take and post online. The pictures of relevance to our research are the ones that are perceived as cool and fun by those who take and post them but as inappropriate, disrespectful, or at best morally questionable by some of those who see them on the web. Conceptually, it reflects the same phenomenon observed in slum tourism: the act can be so morally ambiguous that some will be inclined to engage in it while others will react strongly against it. In Experiments 2A and 2B, we assess whether social identity strength and the mediating role of moral considerations can at least in part explain such opposing reactions.

Experiment 2A—Varying the Consumer

The 9-11 Memorial is strongly and vividly linked to the American identity, rich in symbolic meanings associated to its people, culture, and history (Simpson, 2006). When visiting the memorial, those who strongly identify with the people most related to the site (i.e., American visitors) are likely to feel, judge, and even behave differently from those who identify only weakly with the people most related to it (i.e., foreign visitors). Within this context, we assessed the extent to which Brazilian and

American participants were influenced by the moral connotation of photos taken at the site. It was expected that the consumers with a weak (vs. strong) identification would be more likely to indicate they would behave in a morally ambiguous manner at the 9-11 Memorial (i.e., take a smiley selfie). However, when the photo was morally neutral (i.e., a solemn picture), it was expected that social identity strength would not be associated with their ratings. In contrast to Experiment 1, the Brazilians were now the ones who had a weak identification with the target activity, enabling a further assessment of the generalizability of the phenomenon. Also, this experiment offers initial evidence for the mechanism by asking the participants to justify their preferences in an open-ended question. If moral considerations are at least partially responsible for the differences across conditions, we should observe this phenomenon in their responses.

Method

Sample and design. Four hundred and thirty-three participants (192 females; $M_{\text{age}} = 32.95$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 11.13$) were recruited during the same period from either a Brazilian online platform (Netquest) or from Amazon's Mechanical Turk. To assess whether the participants were familiar with the 9-11 Memorial, they were asked if they had heard of the Ground Zero (9/11) Memorial, and, if so, to tell us why it was built. Thirty-three Americans and 28 Brazilians who indicated they were not familiar with the 9-11 Memorial were excluded from the analyses below, although keeping them in the sample did not significantly change the results. The final sample consisted of 363 participants (159 females; $M_{\text{age}} = 33.47$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 10.72$): 189 Americans and 174 Brazilians. The study adopted a two (social identity strength: weak vs. strong identification) by two (moral connotation of the picture: ambiguous vs. neutral) between-subjects design.

Procedure. The participants were asked to fill out a short survey about five different photos taken in New York City. The cover story was that they should imagine being on vacation in the city and indicate the likelihood of taking each of the five photos. Four photos were the same across conditions. The fifth picture varied across conditions. In the morally neutral condition, the picture showed a couple with solemn bodily and facial expressions in front of the 9-11 Memorial. In the morally ambiguous condition the picture showed a couple taking a smiley selfie in front of the memorial. The order of

the pictures varied across subjects and had no influence on the main dependent variable ($F(113, 258) = 1.05; p = .37$). After indicating the likelihood of taking each of the pictures, the participants justified their answer for the target picture as well as for a random second picture. Lastly, the participants answered some control and socio-demographic questions, including their country of origin (see MDA for the procedural details and stimuli).

Results

Likelihood. There was a significant interaction between social identity strength and the moral connotation of the picture on the likelihood of taking the target picture ($F(1, 359) = 8.93, p = .003$). Pairwise comparisons revealed that the participants who identified only weakly with the people most related to the 9-11 Memorial (i.e., Brazilians) were more likely to report they would take the morally ambiguous picture ($M = 64.07; SD = 31.18$) than those with a strong identification (i.e., Americans; $M = 38.09; SD = 36.13; F(1, 359) = 29.58, p < .001$). However, social identity strength was not associated with the reported likelihood when the target picture was morally neutral ($M_{\text{weak}} = 53.91; SD = 31.33$ vs. $M_{\text{strong}} = 49.10; SD = 34.97; F(1, 359) = 0.84, p = .36$). Also, participants with a weak identification reported they would be more likely to take the morally ambiguous picture than the morally neutral picture ($F(1, 359) = 3.95, p = .048$).

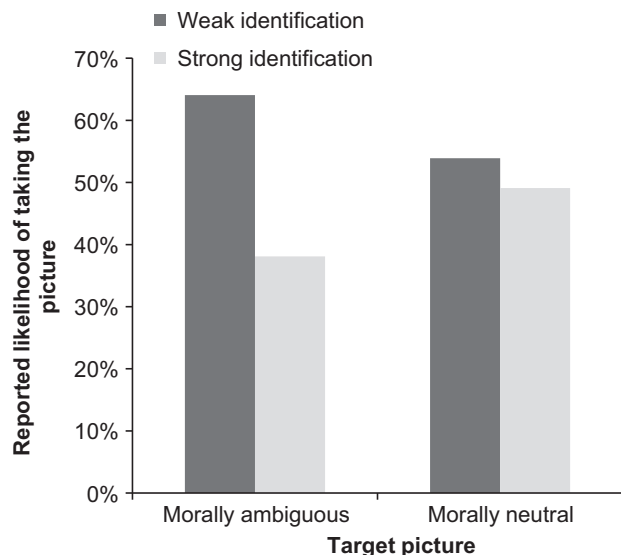


Figure 2. Likelihood of taking a picture as a function of social identity strength and the moral connotation of the target picture (Experiment 2a)

at the 9-11 Memorial, whereas this effect was reversed among those with a strong identification ($F(1, 359) = 5.04, p = .025$; See Appendix A for the summary table). Figure 2 summarizes the results. The results remain the same if we compute the main dependent variable by subtracting the mean likelihood for the non-target pictures from the likelihood for the target picture (i.e., further controlling for individual differences).

Moral consideration. Two independent coders fluent in Portuguese and English and blind to the picture manipulation and research purpose were asked to categorize the participants' justifications. Precisely, they were told that "we want to know if the justification the participant provided indicates that s/he would not take the picture, or would not be very inclined to do so because it seems wrong, disrespectful, inappropriate, morally questionable, etc. If the justification contains this kind of thought, please type 1. Otherwise, please type 0." The coders agreed in 92% of the justifications; the remaining 8% were resolved by consensus. We compared the proportion of participants in each condition who cited the moral inappropriateness of the action with those who gave some other reason when justifying their reported likelihood of taking the target picture at the 9-11 Memorial (see MDA for complete instructions to coders).

Some of the typical responses given concerning moral considerations were: "It seems disrespectful to take a picture like that at Ground Zero;" "This is really disrespectful. People died here. You shouldn't be taking happy selfies here;" "I find it disrespectful to take pictures at solemn memorials." As expected, when presented with a morally ambiguous picture, participants with strong identification were much more likely to question the behavior on moral grounds (35.9%) than those with a weak identification (7.4%; $\chi^2(1) = 23.31, p < .001$). Furthermore, those with a strong identification who were shown the morally ambiguous picture were more likely to question the behavior on moral grounds than those shown a morally neutral picture (17.4%; $\chi^2(1) = 8.03, p = .005$). Also in line with our expectations, it was rare for the participants who identified only weakly with the 9-11 Memorial to question the moral inappropriateness of the behavior in the picture, and this did not differ across the different pictures (morally neutral = 3.8% vs. morally ambiguous = 7.4%; $\chi^2(1) = 1.02, p = .314$; See Appendix A for the summary table).

Moderated mediation. So far, our analyses suggest that the interaction between social identity strength and the moral connotation of the picture

influences the likelihood of taking the picture and the likelihood that participants will consider it on moral grounds (i.e., moral consideration). Thus, we further examined the role of moral consideration in mediating the effect of social identity strength on the likelihood of taking the picture. To do so, we conducted a moderated mediation analysis. Precisely, we looked at the indirect path *social identity strength* → *moral consideration* → *likelihood of taking the picture* and, crucially, whether the size of this indirect path depended on the moderator (i.e., the moral connotation of the picture—morally ambiguous vs. morally neutral). It is important to note that the moderator acts on the path from social identity strength to the mediator (i.e., moral consideration). According to our rationale, we expected the indirect effect of social identity strength on the likelihood of taking the picture through moral consideration to be stronger when the picture had a morally ambiguous (vs. neutral) connotation.

To do so, we performed a bootstrapping procedure with 5,000 replications. We bootstrapped (a) the indirect path *social identity-strength* → *moral consideration* → *likelihood of taking the picture* for the two levels of the moderator and, crucially, (b) the difference between these two indirect effects. The results indicate that the indirect effect of social identity strength on the likelihood of taking the picture through moral consideration was significant for individuals who saw the morally ambiguous picture ($\beta = -11.76$, $p < .001$, 95% CI: -17.07 to -6.44) and also significant for those who saw the morally neutral picture ($\beta = -5.62$, $p = .004$, 95% CI: -9.40 to -1.84). Crucially, the indirect effect was stronger in the former condition ($\beta = -6.14$, $p = .052$, 95% CI: -12.34 , 0.06 ; see Appendix D).

Experiment 2B—Varying the Consumption Environment

The previous experiments focused on the consumer side and relied on consumer nationality to operationalize social identity strength. Although this is a reasonable strategy and Experiment 2A provided evidence for the process through moderated mediation analysis, comparing people from different countries always raises concerns as to whether the findings are at least partially driven by unobserved differences among individuals from different groups. In Experiment 2B, we sought to address this limitation. Instead of varying the nationality of the consumer (e.g., American vs.

Brazilian) and keeping the social setting constant (e.g., 9-11 Memorial), this experiment keeps the nationality of the participants constant (Americans) and manipulates social identity strength by randomly assigning them to a setting they weakly or strongly identify with (9-11 Memorial vs. Hiroshima Peace Memorial).

Method

Sample and design. Three hundred and seventy-seven participants were recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Twenty-eight individuals did not complete the survey and were excluded, resulting in a final sample of 349 participants (188 female, $M_{\text{age}} = 35.91$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 13.26$). Analogous to the previous experiment, this study adopted a two (social identity strength: weak vs. strong identification) by two (moral connotation of the picture: ambiguous vs. neutral) between-subjects design.

Procedure. The procedure adopted was similar to that used in Experiment 2A, with a few exceptions. First, all the participants were Americans. Second, they were presented with four pictures instead of five, most of which were different from the ones used in Experiment 2A. Further, the target picture was randomly assigned across the four (2 by 2 between-subjects) conditions. To manipulate social identity strength, about half the participants were shown a picture taken at the 9-11 Memorial in New York City (i.e., strong identification) and the other half were shown a picture taken at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial in Japan (i.e., weak identification). The target pictures at each location displayed people either taking a smiley selfie (i.e., morally ambiguous condition) or a photo with solemn expressions (i.e., morally neutral condition). The order in which the pictures were displayed was randomized across participants. There were no order effects (all $ps > .10$). The outcome and process measures were similar to the ones used in Experiment 2A. As an assumption check, the participants were asked what the 9-11 Memorial [the Hiroshima Peace Memorial] stood for. They were given three options: (a) It is an Art Museum; (b) It is a historical site to honor those who were killed in the 9-11 terrorist attack [It is a historical site to honor those who were killed in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima]; (c) I have no idea. The vast majority (Hiroshima Peace Memorial = 95.11% and 9-11 Memorial = 98.18%) answered the question correctly. Finally, socio-demographic information was obtained (see MDA for the procedural details and stimuli).

Results

Likelihood. There was a significant interaction between social identity strength and the moral connotation of the target pictures on the participants' reported likelihood of taking the picture ($F(1, 345) = 19.32, p < .001$). Pairwise comparisons confirmed our expectations. Among the participants shown the morally ambiguous picture, those with a strong identification reported being less likely to take the picture ($M = 30.05, SD = 32.83$) than those with a weak identification ($M = 52.80, SD = 33.80, F(1, 345) = 21.68, p < .001$). Social identity strength was not associated with the responses of the participants shown the morally neutral picture ($M_{\text{strong}} = 52.85, SD = 29.90, M_{\text{weak}} = 45.41, SD = 31.30, F(1, 345) = 2.37, p = .12$). Further, those with a strong identification reported being more likely to take a morally neutral than a morally ambiguous picture ($F(1, 345) = 20.89, p < .001$), whereas no difference was observed among those with a weak identification ($F(1, 345) = 2.45, p = .12$; See Appendix A for the summary table). Figure 3 illustrates the results. The results remain the same if we compute the main dependent variable by subtracting the mean likelihood for the non-target pictures from the likelihood for the target picture (i.e., further controlling for individual differences).

Moral considerations. Two independent coders blind to the study's hypothesis were asked to code the participants' explanations in a similar way to Experiment 2A. The coders agreed in 97% of the

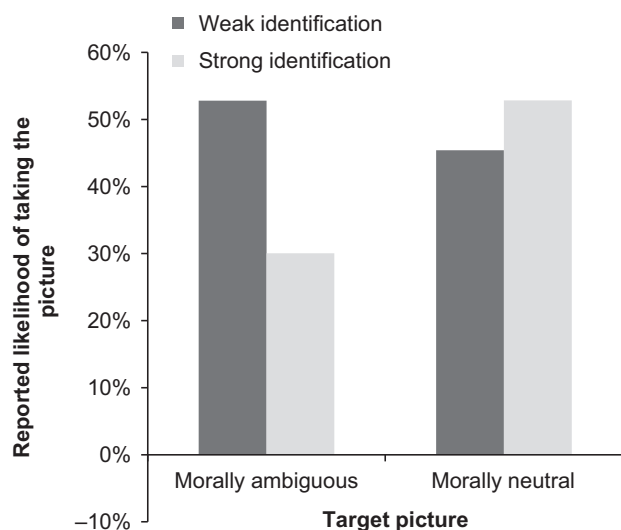


Figure 3. Likelihood of taking a picture as a function of social identity strength and the moral connotation of the target picture (Experiment 2b)

cases, and the disagreements were resolved by consensus. Some of the typical responses that expressed moral considerations were: "This is completely inappropriate. One should be respectful when visiting a memorial of a tragedy. Taking a smiling selfie is trashy and disrespectful;" "I do not think it is appropriate. It just does not seem right to do it;" "It's disrespectful." Consistent with the findings of the previous experiment, participants with a strong identification shown the morally ambiguous picture were significantly more likely to question it on moral grounds (34.18%) than those with a weak identification (19.15%, $\chi^2 = 5.04, p = .025$), whereas social identity strength had no impact among those shown a morally neutral picture (strong = 9.30%, weak = 13.33%, $\chi^2 = 0.71, p = .40$). Further, the participants with a strong identification who were shown the morally ambiguous picture were more likely to question the behavior on moral grounds than the participants with a strong identification who were shown the morally neutral picture ($\chi^2 = 15.24, p < .001$; See Appendix A for the summary table). The moral connotation of the picture had no impact among the participants who identified only weakly with the people in the environment ($\chi^2 = 1.14, p = .29$).

Moderated mediation. We conducted a moderated mediation analysis similar to the one conducted for Experiment 2A. We tested whether the indirect effect of social identity strength on the likelihood of taking the picture through moral consideration was significant and, crucially, whether this indirect effect was conditional on the moral connotation of the picture, bearing in mind that, according to our rationale, we expected this indirect effect to be stronger when the picture had a morally ambiguous (vs. neutral) connotation.

As in Experiment 2A, we used a bootstrapping procedure with 5,000 replications. The results suggest that the indirect path *social identity strength* → *moral consideration* → *likelihood of taking the picture* was significant among the participants who were shown the morally ambiguous picture ($\beta = -6.40, p = .030, 95\% \text{ CI: } -12.19 \text{ to } -0.61$), but not significant among the participants who were shown the morally neutral picture ($\beta = 1.72, p = .396, 95\% \text{ CI: } -2.25 \text{ to } 5.69$). Crucially, these two indirect effects were significantly different from one another ($\beta = -8.12, p = .025, 95\% \text{ CI: } -15.22 \text{ to } -1.02$; see Appendix D).

Discussion

Experiments 2A and B offer a few additional contributions. First, they attest to the generalizability of

the phenomenon by extending the previous findings to a new context (i.e., morally questionable selfies). Second, they conceptually replicate the previous findings with a procedure that, instead of comparing nationalities, orthogonally manipulates social identity strength (Experiment 2B). Finally, both experiments provide initial evidence for the proposed underlying process. Consumers who strongly (vs. weakly) identify with the people in the environment are more likely to question morally ambiguous conduct on moral grounds, which, in turn, makes them less likely to favor the target conduct.

But why are moral considerations less likely to come to the mind of consumers who identify only weakly with the consumption environment when they are asked to consider what could be regarded as morally ambiguous conduct? As argued above, consumers who identify strongly with the people related to the consumption environment are more likely to consider the morality of the conduct because multiple cues in the environment spontaneously prompt them to do so. Meanwhile, those who identify only weakly with the people related to the consumption environment are less likely to consider its moral overtones because the environmental cues are less likely to spontaneously trigger the same morally-related associations. Unless nudged to do so by making moral considerations more salient, consumers who identify only weakly with the consumption environment will be more likely to engage in a morally ambiguous experience. Experiment 3 addresses this possibility.

Experiment 3—Making Moral Cues Salient

In Experiment 3, all the participants were Americans and they were all exposed to a consumption environment they weakly identified with (Hiroshima Peace Memorial). As in the previous experiments, we varied the moral connotations of the pictures (smiley selfie vs. solemn picture). Critically, we also varied the cues that might lead the participants to judge the pictures on moral grounds. Below each photo, there was a short text describing the place where the picture was taken. The text focused either on the number of people who died during the bombing (a moral cue) or on neutral characteristics of the site (a control cue). We expected that for the morally ambiguous picture, the moral cue would significantly reduce the subjects' inclination to react favorably to the target

picture relative to those shown a morally neutral picture and those shown the same morally ambiguous picture with a control cue.

Method

Sample and Design

Three hundred and seventy-seven American participants were recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk in exchange for a small payment. Twenty-five individuals did not complete the survey and were therefore excluded, resulting in a final sample of 352 individuals (163 female, $M_{\text{age}} = 36.08$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 11.64$). This experiment adopted a two (moral connotation of the picture: ambiguous vs. neutral) by two (textual cue: moral vs. neutral) between-subjects design.

Procedure

The procedure was similar to the one used in Experiment 2B, except for the explanatory text beneath each picture. The texts accompanying the non-target pictures were all neutral and were the same across conditions. For the target picture (depicting a couple in front of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial), the participants were randomly assigned photos with one of two texts, which served as either a moral consideration cue ("The Hiroshima Peace Memorial serves as a memorial to the people who were killed in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on 08-06-1945. Over 70,000 people were killed instantly, and another 70,000 suffered fatal injuries from the radiation.") or a neutral/control cue ("The Hiroshima Peace Memorial is part of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park in Hiroshima, Japan, and was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1996 based on the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage."). The same dependent variable and mediating measures used in Experiments 2A and B were gathered in this experiment. The order in which the pictures were shown was randomized across the participants and did not significantly affect the reported likelihood for the target picture (all $ps > .10$). As in Experiment 2B, the individuals were also asked at the end of the survey to report whether they knew what the Hiroshima Peace Memorial stood for. Most (97.73%) correctly reported that it was a historical site to honor those who were killed in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. The respondents were also asked whether they remembered

correctly which text they had seen below the picture of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial. Most (75.28%) remembered correctly which text they had read and 14.20% said they could not remember. The remaining 10.52% reported the wrong text.

Results

Likelihood

There was a significant interaction between the moral connotation of the picture and the textual cue below it on the participants' reported likelihood of taking the target picture ($F(1, 348) = 8.62, p = .004$). As expected, the respondents reported being less likely to take a morally ambiguous picture (i.e., smiley selfie) when the text below the picture presented moral cues ($M = 35.98, SD = 34.63$) rather than neutral cues ($M = 55.53, SD = 32.27, F(1, 348) = 15.67, p < .001$). In contrast, when the picture had a neutral moral connotation (i.e., depicting people with solemn expressions), the textual cues had no impact on the reported likelihood of taking such a photograph ($M_{\text{moral}} = 45.80, SD = 32.34$ vs. $M_{\text{neutral}} = 44.67, SD = 32.68; F(1, 348) = 0.05, p = .823$). Further, the participants who were shown photographs with moral textual cues reported they would be less likely to take the morally ambiguous ($M = 35.98$) than the morally neutral picture ($M = 45.80, F(1, 348) = 3.95, p = .048$; See

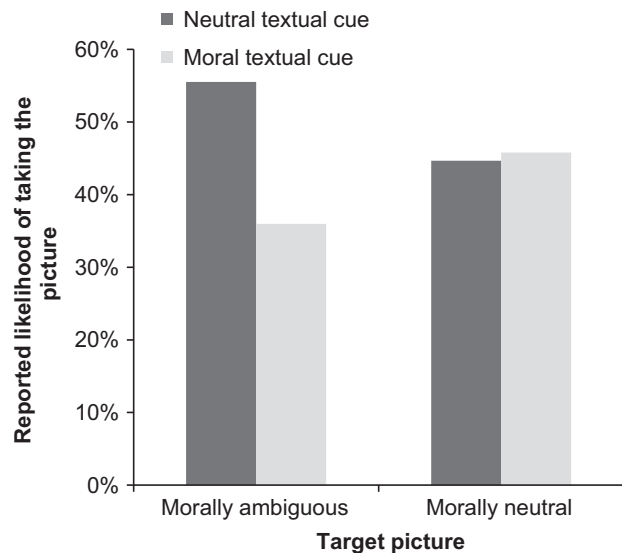


Figure 4. Likelihood of taking a picture as a function of the moral connotation of the target picture and presence of moral textual cues (Experiment 3)

Appendix A for the summary table). Figure 4 illustrates the results.

Moral Considerations

Two independent coders blind to the study's hypothesis were asked to code the participants' explanations in a similar way to Experiments 2A and 2B. The coders agreed in 94% of the cases and the disagreements were resolved by consensus. The results were consistent with our expectations. When shown the morally ambiguous picture, the participants presented with a moral textual cue were much more likely to provide morality-based arguments in their responses (60.22%) than those given a neutral textual cue (30.23%, $\chi^2(1) = 16.18, p < .001$). When shown the morally neutral picture, the textual cue manipulation had no influence on the proportion of participants who provided morality-based arguments (moral textual cue = 27.91% vs. neutral textual cue = 31.03%, $\chi^2(1) = .20, p = .65$). Further, the participants exposed to the condition where a moral textual cue was provided were more likely to provide morality-based arguments to the morally ambiguous picture than to the morally neutral picture ($\chi^2(1) = 18.87, p < .001$). Among the participants presented with neutral textual cues, the moral connotation of the picture did not affect their likelihood of mentioning moral considerations in their explanations ($\chi^2(1) = 0.01, p = .909$; See Appendix A for the summary table).

Moderated Mediation

We examined whether differences in moral considerations could explain the impact of the textual cue on the likelihood of taking the picture and, crucially, whether this indirect effect was conditional on the moral connotation of the picture (i.e., morally neutral vs. morally ambiguous). To do so, we conducted a moderated mediation analysis, using a bootstrapping procedure with 5,000 replications analogous to those conducted in Experiments 2A and 2B. The results are in accordance with our theoretical rationale. The indirect path *textual cue* → *moral consideration* → *likelihood of taking the picture* was significant for the individuals shown the morally ambiguous picture ($\beta = -10.48, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI: } -15.84 \text{ to } -5.12$), but not significant for those shown the morally neutral picture ($\beta = 1.09, p = .651, 95\% \text{ CI: } -3.65 \text{ to } 5.83$). Critically, the indirect effects were significantly different from one another ($-11.57, p = .002, 95\% \text{ CI: } -18.91 \text{ to } -4.24$; see Appendix D).

Discussion

Experiment 3 provides further evidence of the process. Consumers who have only a weak association with the people in the environment are less likely to consider the morality of their actions because the cues available in the environment are less likely to spontaneously trigger moral assessments. However, it suffices to provide stronger moral cues for moral considerations to be taken into account, and for the participants' disapproval of the target behavior to increase.

If moral considerations do not occur spontaneously to consumers who identify only weakly with the people in the consumption environment because other competing evaluative dimensions prevail, then it may be possible to nudge them into judging the morality of an act by making moral judgments in general more accessible to them. Our final experiment addresses this possibility. It also assesses the robustness of the phenomenon under investigation by relying on a consequential dependent variable.

Experiment 4—Making Moral Judgments Salient

In our final study, we returned to the favela tour context and conducted an experiment similar to Experiment 1, with the exception of three important changes. First, the tourists in all the conditions were shown the same morally ambiguous target option (favela jeep tour). Second, we assessed the proposed mechanism by presenting about half of the participants with a scenario and questions designed to raise moral considerations prior to the main choice, while the other half served as controls. If consumers with weak (vs. strong) identification are less likely to spontaneously judge a target experience on moral grounds because moral considerations are less cognitively accessible to them than other evaluative dimensions, then a manipulation that makes moral considerations more readily accessible to all the participants prior to judgment should mitigate the differences between these two types of consumers in their preferences for a morally ambiguous favela tour. Finally, we assessed the robustness of the findings by offering a real choice to the tourists: they could actually win the chosen tour.

Method

Sample and Design

Three hundred and twenty-three participants (157 females; $M_{\text{age}} = 31.79$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 9.74$) were

recruited in four hostels and at tourist sites in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The sample consisted exclusively of foreign ($n = 132$) and Brazilian ($n = 191$) tourists visiting the city. The study adopted a two (social identity strength: weak vs. strong identification) by two (moral considerations: control vs. salient) between-subjects design.

Procedure

Tourists were approached and asked to fill out a short iPad-based survey about the interests and behavior of tourists in Rio de Janeiro. If they accepted, they would be included in a raffle as a token of appreciation for their participation. Participants were handed the iPad and answered the questions in private. The survey itself served to manipulate the cognitive accessibility of moral considerations. In the control condition, the participants were asked their opinion about three neutral topics (e.g., impressions of Rio). In the conditions where moral considerations were made more cognitively accessible, the survey was about three morally questionable behaviors: drunk-driving, bribery, and teenage prostitution. The participants in this condition were given a short scenario about a tourist in Rio and asked to indicate whether their behavior was acceptable, understandable, or morally questionable. The logic behind this manipulation was to make moral judgments more readily accessible to the participants and thus make them more likely to judge the (morally ambiguous) favela jeep tour on moral grounds in the following task. The tourists who identified more strongly with the people in the consumption environment (i.e., Brazilian tourists) would already do this spontaneously, so in this case the manipulation should have little impact on moral considerations and consequently on their choice. The tourists who identified only weakly with the people in the consumption environment (i.e., foreign tourists) would be much less likely to spontaneously judge the favela jeep tour on moral grounds in the task. Therefore, we hoped that leading them to focus on moral issues by judging unrelated actions (the three behaviors mentioned in the survey) would make moral considerations more readily accessible to this group. This would make tourists with a weak identification in the condition where moral considerations were salient (vs. control) more likely to consider morality in the following task, and thus less likely to choose and more likely to avoid the favela jeep tour.

After filling out the survey, the participants were told that they would participate in a raffle to win one of three tours (the same used in Experiment 1) as a token of appreciation. They were told that the tour to be raffled would be selected later based on the preferences of the tourists who participated in the survey. The same flyers created for the first experiment were digitalized and used in this iPad-based study. The order of the flyers was randomized across the subjects. The order of the flyers did not impact tour preference ($\chi^2(5) = 2.73$; $p = .74$) or tour avoidance ($\chi^2(5) = 4.91$; $p = .43$). The participants were asked to indicate the tour they would like to be raffled as well as the tour they would not want to be raffled. They then answered the same control questions and socio-demographic questions as in experiment 1, including their country of origin (see MDA for the procedural details and stimuli).

Results

Tour Choice

The results confirmed our main hypothesis and rationale. When moral considerations were not made salient prior to the main choice (i.e., control condition), 41.3% of the tourists with weak identification chose the morally ambiguous option, as opposed to just 21.2% of the tourists with strong identification ($\chi^2(1) = 6.99$, $p = .008$). This finding replicates the results of Experiment 1, while using a consequential decision. When moral considerations were made more cognitively accessible prior to the main choice (i.e., salient condition), social identity strength was not associated with the choice (weak identification = 23.19% vs. strong identification = 16.04%; $\chi^2(1) = 1.40$; $p = .24$). Further, this null effect was driven by a significant decrease in the preference for the morally ambiguous option when tourists with a weak identification were (vs. were not) prompted with moral considerations prior to the choice ($\chi^2(1) = 4.96$; $p = .03$). The moral consideration manipulation did not significantly alter the preference for the morally ambiguous option among the tourists who identified strongly with the people in the consumption environment ($\chi^2(1) = .83$; $p = .36$; See Appendix A for the summary table). Figure 5 summarizes the results. A logistic regression including all the controls was conducted. The interaction term did not reach significance ($\beta = .49$; $SE = .56$, $p = .381$; see Appendix C for the coefficients).

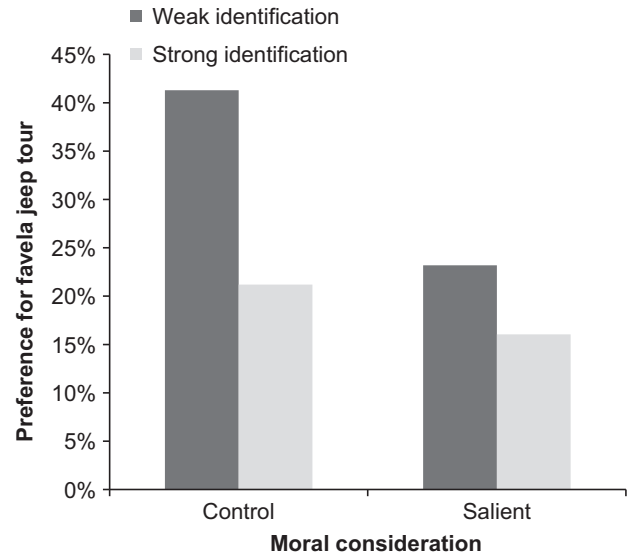


Figure 5. Tour choice as a function of social identity distance and the salience of moral considerations (Experiment 4)

Tour Avoidance

The participants were also asked to indicate which of the three options they did not want to be raffled. The same analyses were then conducted. The results confirmed our expectations. When moral considerations were not made salient prior to choice, only 22.2% of the tourists with weak identification avoided the morally ambiguous option, as opposed to 61.2% of the tourists who identified more strongly with the people in the consumption environment ($\chi^2(1) = 22.22$, $p < .001$). When moral considerations were made salient to both groups prior to choice, social identity strength was not associated with avoidance (weak identification = 43.5% vs. strong identification = 48.1%; $\chi^2(1) = 0.36$, $p = .55$). Also in line with our expectations, tourists with weak identification were much more likely to avoid the morally ambiguous option when moral considerations were (vs. were not) made salient prior to choice ($\chi^2(1) = 6.7$; $p = .01$). This was not the case among those with strong identification. If anything, there was a marginal effect in the opposite direction ($\chi^2(1) = 3.24$; $p = .07$; See Appendix A for the summary table). A logistic regression including all the controls confirmed the interaction ($\beta = -1.54$; $SE = .51$, $p < .01$; see Appendix C for the coefficients).

Discussion

The final experiment offers two additional contributions. First, it replicates the previous findings

with a consequential decision. Consumers who identified only weakly with the people most closely related to the consumption environment were more likely to choose and less likely to avoid the morally ambiguous favela tour than those who identified more strongly with the people related to the consumption environment. Further, and in line with the proposed underlying mechanism, when moral considerations were made salient prior to the main choice, the impact of social identity strength on preferences vanished. This effect was mainly due to a change in preference among the foreign tourists (i.e., weak identification), who, once led to consider the moral dimension, became much less likely to choose and much more likely to avoid the morally ambiguous option (i.e., the favela jeep tour).

General Discussion

Opposing views on certain consumption experiences pose an interesting psychological question: Why do some consumers find some experiences appealing while others find them appalling? This article provides direct evidence that social identity strength and its impact on the cognitive accessibility of moral considerations at least partially explains such divergent preferences. We show that consumers who identify only weakly with the people most closely related to the consumption environment are less likely to question such experiences on moral grounds than consumers who have a stronger identification with them. As a result, they are more likely to choose a morally ambiguous consumption experience and to act in a morally questionable manner (Experiments 1 to 4). Moral considerations are found to mediate the effect when participants' post hoc explanations are assessed (Experiment 2A to 3). Further, the impact of social identity strength decreases when moral considerations are made salient (Experiments 3 and 4).

This article contributes to the literature on a few fronts. First, instead of focusing on consumption experiences that are clearly moral (e.g., donations to charity; Lee et al., 2014) or immoral, most often illegal (e.g., shoplifting; Babin & Babin, 1996; Cox et al., 1990), this article targets legal, prevalent, but morally ambiguous consumption experiences. Second, it demonstrates how social identity strength and the accessibility of moral judgments can in part explain divergences in opinions toward these experiences. Although there is some anecdotal and

empirical evidence suggesting an association between group membership and blatant moral transgressions (e.g., intergroup violence; Leidner & Castano, 2012; Leyens, Demoulin, Vaes, Gaunt, & Paladino, 2007; Waytz & Epley, 2012), to the best of our knowledge, we are the first to theorize and provide direct evidence on the relationship between social identity strength and moral consideration in the context of legal but morally ambiguous activities.

Although our empirical findings focused on only two contexts (slum tourism and selfies), we believe there are many other circumstances in which the phenomenon applies. For instance, some consumers will find some advertisements creative and funny while others will see them as sexist and derogatory. Variations in social identity strength and moral consideration may help explain this phenomenon. For instance, women may be more likely to judge a commercial that employs sexist humor on moral grounds than men, and as a result find it disrespectful rather than funny. Advertisements that refer to religious symbols also illustrate this phenomenon. A recent advertisement for a British ice cream manufacturer depicted a pregnant nun eating ice cream with a text saying, "immaculately conceived, . . ., ice cream is our religion." While some found it funny and creative, others found it outrageous, ultimately causing it to be banned by the Advertising Standards Authority (BBC, 2010). Our research suggests that the extent to which an individual relates to a particular social identity—in this case, a specific religious group—may help explain whether they find such ambiguous commercials appealing or morally abhorrent. In a similar vein, while some consumers hate tabloids for their invasion of privacy and deliberate exposure of celebrities, often in distressing circumstances, others are happy to purchase them to learn about the mishaps of the rich and famous. It is possible that actors or those in the entertainment industry will be more likely to judge this consumption of gossip on moral rather than entertainment grounds and perceive this type of behavior as offensive. Other examples abound. While many western TV viewers enjoy watching documentaries about "exotic" African cultures that show the simple lifestyle of traditional tribes hunting and gathering their food, many Africans may see them as completely misrepresenting them as primitive people and find them offensive to their culture and people. Some photography exhibitions may face similar dilemmas: while some judge the photography of misery and disaster as

interesting, fascinating, and artistic, those who more strongly relate to the photographed area/community may find such exhibitions exploitive and humiliating. Future research could venture into these domains.

In conclusion, moral considerations are as common in the marketplace as they are flexible in the human mind. Learning when consumers are more or less likely to ponder the ethics of their consumption experiences could help us reach a more

complete understanding of how moral considerations affect consumer psychology.

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Appendix A
Summary of the Measures and Pairwise Comparisons (Experiments 1 Through 4)

	Outcome measures					
	Chosen tour			Avoided tour		
	SSI			SSI		
	Weak	Strong	<i>p</i> value	Weak	Strong	<i>p</i> value
Experiment 1						
Tour						
Morally ambiguous	45.7%	4.6%	<.001	19.4%	60.0%	<.001
Morally neutral	38.2%	54.6%	.14	31.9%	23.3%	.42
<i>p</i> value	.40	<.001		.13	.002	
	Outcome and process measures					
	Reported likelihood (0%–100%)			Moral considerations		
	SSI			SSI		
	Weak	Strong	<i>p</i> value	Weak	Strong	<i>p</i> value
Picture						
Experiment 2A						
Morally ambiguous	64.07 (31.18)	38.09 (36.13)	<.001	7.4%	35.9%	<.001
Morally neutral	53.91 (31.33)	49.10 (34.97)	.36	3.8%	17.4%	.005
<i>p</i> value	.048	.025		.314	.005	
Experiment 2B						
Morally ambiguous	52.80 (33.80)	30.05 (32.83)	<.001	19.15%	34.18%	.025
Morally neutral	45.41 (31.30)	52.85 (29.90)	.12	13.33%	9.30%	.40
<i>p</i> value	.12	<.001		.29	<.001	
	Outcome and process measures					
	Reported likelihood (0%–100%)			Moral considerations		
	Textual cue			Textual cue		
	Neutral	Moral	<i>p</i> value	Neutral	Moral	<i>p</i> value
Experiment 3						
Picture						
Morally ambiguous	55.53 (32.27)	35.98 (34.63)	<.001	30.23%	60.22%	<.001
Morally neutral	44.67 (32.68)	45.80 (32.34)	.82	31.03%	27.91%	.65
<i>p</i> value	.03	.048		.91	<.001	

Appendix A
Continued

Experiment 4 Tour	Outcome measures					
	Chosen tour			Avoided tour		
	SSI			SSI		
	Weak	Strong	<i>p</i> value	Weak	Strong	<i>p</i> value
Moral judgment	23.19%	16.04%	.24	43.5%	48.1%	.55
Control judgment	41.3%	21.2%	.008	22.2%	61.2%	<.001
<i>p</i> value	.03	.36		.01	.07	

SSI, Social Identity Strength. *p* values: Chi squares used to compare proportions and *F* tests used to compare means.

Appendix B

Logistic Regression Assessing the Predictors of Preference for and Avoidance of the Target Option (Experiment 1)

	Outcome measures					
	Chosen tour			Avoided tour		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>OR</i>
Predictors						
Moral connotation of target option (1 = morally ambiguous)	.32	.42	1.37	-.28	.52	.76
Social Identity strength (1 = strong identification)	.50	.52	1.66	-.55	.66	.58
Interaction	-3.58***	.96	.03	2.35**	.82	10.57
Controls						
Has been on a favela tour	-.29	.42	.74	-.85	.54	.43
Has been to Tijuca Forest	-.47	.42	.63	.06	.48	1.06
Has been on a historic tour	.21	.47	1.24	1.20*	.53	3.31
Has been to a favela in Rio	1.01*	.42	2.75	-1.25*	.52	.28
Has been to a favela elsewhere	-.52	.46	.60	.44	.48	1.56
Age	.48	.35	1.01	-.06	.04	.94
Gender (1 = male)	.01	.03	1.62	.05	.40	1.05
Education (1 = secondary school)	-2.98	2.00	.05	-1.82	1.01	.16
Education (1 = high school)	-2.09	1.84	.12	-2.35**	.72	.09
Education (1 = undergraduate)	-1.79	1.82	.17	-1.67*	.68	.19
Constant	1.08			2.51*		
χ^2		46.66			49.72	
<i>df</i>		14			13	

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

Appendix C
Logistic Regression Assessing the Predictors of Preference for and Avoidance of the Morally Ambiguous Option (Experiment 4)

	Outcome measures					
	Chosen tour			Avoided tour		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>OR</i>
Predictors						
Moral consideration (1 = salient)	-.86*	.41	.42	.92*	.40	2.51
Social identity strength (1 = strong identification)	-.97*	.44	.38	1.56***	.41	4.76
Interaction	.49	.56	1.64	-1.54**	.51	.21
Controls						
Has been on a favela tour	-.62	.60	.54	-.21	.49	.81
Has been to Tijuca Forest	.70	.42	2.01	-.59	.40	.55
Has been on a historic tour	.45	.50	1.57	-.16	.49	.85
Has been to a favela in Rio	-1.01*	.40	.36	.10	.30	1.11
Has been to a favela elsewhere	.40	.30	1.49	-.36	.25	.70
Age	-.05**	.02	.95	.03*	.01	1.03
Gender (1 = male)	.14	.29	1.15	-.19	.24	.82
Education (1 = secondary school)	-.33	.47	.72	.23	.49	1.26
Education (1 = high school)	-.46	.51	.63	.68	.50	1.98
Education (1 = undergraduate)	.42	.60	1.52	.10	.57	1.10
Constant	1.38			-2.20**		
χ^2		43.05			42.23	
<i>df</i>		13			13	

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Appendix D
Moderated Mediation Analysis: Conditional Indirect Effect of Social Identity Strength (Experiments 2A and 2B) and Salience of Morality (Experiment 3) on the Likelihood of Taking the Picture Through Moral Consideration

	Observed coefficient	Bootstrapped standard error	<i>p</i> -value	95% CI
Experiment 2A				
Picture				
Morally neutral	-5.62	1.93	.004	-9.40 to -1.84
Morally ambiguous	-11.76	2.71	<.001	-17.07 to -6.44
Difference	-6.14	3.16	.052	-12.34 to 0.06
Experiment 2B				
Picture				
Morally neutral	1.72	2.03	.396	-2.25 to 5.69
Morally ambiguous	-6.40	2.95	.030	-12.19 to -0.61
Difference	-8.12	3.62	.025	-15.22 to -1.02
Experiment 3				
Picture				
Morally neutral	1.09	2.42	.651	-3.65 to 5.83
Morally ambiguous	-10.48	2.74	<.001	-15.84 to -5.12
Difference	-11.57	3.74	.002	-18.91 to -4.24

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Appendix S1: Methodological Details Appendix (MDA)