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Sweatshop Labor is Wrong Unless the Jeans are Cute: Motivated Moral Disengagement

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ABSTRACT

While many consumers say they care about issues such as sweatshop labor, the existence of a very small market for ethically-produced products does not reflect this sentiment. One explanation for this discrepancy is that consumers are motivated to use moral disengagement strategies to reduce cognitive dissonance when their desire for a product conflicts with their moral standards. In two studies we show levels of moral disengagement can vary based on one's desire for a product when sweatshop labor is present. Furthermore, we present evidence for a mediated moderation where beliefs about sweatshop labor use moderates the impact of desirability on purchase intention, and moral disengagement mediates this process. Motivated mechanisms of moral disengagement are relevant in moral psychology, and have public policy implications.

At one point or another most consumers in America have purchased products made with sweatshop labor. However, very little attention has been focused on the psychological mechanisms that enable consumers to propagate a system that implicates harm (Devinney, Eckhardt, & Belk, 2007). Though many people say they care about ethical issues such as humane labor conditions, demand for products that guarantee it remains low.

We examine whether people may be motivated to morally disengage (Bandura, 1991, 1999) in the presence of harmful attributes such as sweatshop labor when desire for a product is high. We show that moral disengagement can be driven by affective intuitions (Haidt, 2001) such as one's desire for a product. Mechanisms of moral disengagement may allow consumers to perceive their desire for products made with sweatshop labor to be consistent with their moral standards (Tsang, 2002) enabling them to avoid cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). In two studies, we demonstrate that levels of moral disengagement can be motivated by one's level of desire for a product made with sweatshop labor. Furthermore, we show a full mediated moderation (Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005) where beliefs about sweatshop labor use moderates the impact of desirability on purchase intention, and moral disengagement mediates this process.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Classic cognitive-developmental theories suggest that moral judgments are impartial, based on rational deliberation, and fair (Kohlberg, 1969, 1984; Krebs, 2008). However, more recent work in moral psychology suggests that moral judgments are more likely to be driven by affective factors, and later justified or rationalized through

cognitive processes (Greene, in press; Haidt, 2001; Tsang, 2002). We may rationalize why our desires are morally correct rather than being based on any objective moral reality, a proposition more consistent with research on motivated reasoning (Kunda, 1990). As such, we behave more like "intuitive lawyers" predisposed to a particular outcome, rather than "intuitive scientists" engaged in an unbiased moral inquiry (Tsang, 2002). By engaging in rationalizations, people may be able to consciously continue to think of themselves as "moral" even as they engage in unethical consumption behaviors. These rationalizations may enable people to reduce guilt (Tsang, 2002) and/or maintain consistency (Festinger, 1957) to reduce cognitive dissonance between their actions and their moral self-concept (Aronson, 1969; Tsang 2002).

Bandura (1991, 1999) has devised a framework to understand how moral disengagement mechanisms, including moral justifications, work in favor of remedying one's actions and one's moral standards in the context of violence and war (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara & Pastorelli, 1996). We engage these strategies as dissonance-reducing mechanisms that allow us to support or perpetrate harmful acts while maintaining a positive self-image. For example, through the strategy of *advantageous comparison*, one might justify a war in Iraq by saying "It's okay to kill 100,000 people in Iraq because Saddam Hussein would have killed millions." A *moral justification* strategy would allow an individual to argue the war in Iraq is okay because we are "defending our freedom." Bandura and his colleagues found the propensity to use these strategies is correlated with a host of pro-violent behaviors and attitudes.

While some research has examined moral disengagement in the case of war and violence, little has been done in everyday consumer contexts. Consumers may encounter

cognitive dissonance between their moral standards: “I do not harm others,” and their affect-driven purchase behavior: “I buy products made with sweatshop labor,” and may engage in moral disengagement strategies so they can continue behavior that is not congruent with their moral standards. We specifically examine how moral disengagement strategies are employed in the context of sweatshop labor. Furthermore, while past work has looked at moral disengagement as a dispositional factor (Aquino, Reed, Thau, & Freeman, 2007; Bandura et al. 1996) we show that it can be motivated based on the affective desirability of a product. Limited work has shown the impact of affect on moral judgments (see Haidt 2008 for a review), but none that we know of has used affective desirability as the motivating mechanism and/or moral disengagement as the measure. In two studies we show the effects of desirability and presence of sweatshop labor on moral disengagement. We also show the mediating effects of moral disengagement on later desire for a product and purchase intention.

EXPERIMENT 1

In Experiment 1 participants were told about a hypothetical pair of jeans where sweatshop labor was either present or not. Participants were then asked about their desire for the jeans and answered questions on moral disengagement. We predicted that when sweatshop labor was present, there would be a stronger association between desire for a product and moral disengagement than when no sweatshop labor was present. If sweatshop labor and desire for a product were both high, there would be a greater need to morally disengage to alleviate dissonance between one’s desire and one’s moral standards.

Method

Participants

Two-hundred and fifty eight participants (171 females, M_{age} = 35, *SD* = 11.28) were recruited online from a national sample to participate in this survey as part of a package of unrelated surveys. Participants were given points they could redeem for products in exchange for their participation.

Procedure

In a three cell design, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: *high sweatshop labor, no sweatshop labor,* and a *control* condition. In the *high sweatshop labor* condition participants first read: *Imagine that you are shopping and found the perfect pair of jeans. They look good on you and fit great.* [*A large amount of sweatshop labor was used to produce these jeans.*] In the *no sweatshop labor* condition the text in brackets was replaced by the following: *No sweatshop labor was used to produce these jeans.* In these two conditions, after reading the scenarios participants were asked the following two questions on the desirability of the jeans: *How desirable are these jeans to you?;* (anchored at 1 with *not desirable* and 7 with *very desirable);* and *How good do you think you'll look in these jeans?;* (anchored at 1 with *not good* and 7 with *very good)*. In addition, they were asked a third purchase intention question: *How likely would you be to purchase these jeans?;* (anchored at 1 with *not likely* and 7 with *very likely*). Participants were then asked questions on moral disengagement. The moral disengagement measures were adapted from Bandura et al's (1996) original scale. Because this scale was derived in the context of violence in youth, we made adaptations so our measures would be relevant to the context of sweatshop labor. We made moral justification items specific to our purpose based on Devinney et al's (2007) paper which

highlights a number of common moral rationalizations for using sweatshop labor. Participants were specifically asked: *For the following questions please indicate how much you agree or disagree.* For each moral disengagement question, the response scale was anchored at 1 with *strongly disagree* and at 7 with *strongly agree* for each of the following four statements: 1. *The use of sweatshop labor is okay because otherwise those workers would not have jobs*; 2. *Without sweatshops poorer countries couldn't develop*; 3. *Buying clothes that are made with sweatshop labor is okay if it saves the consumer money because clothes are not affordable.*; and: 4. *The use of sweatshop labor is okay because companies must remain competitive and all other companies do it*. In the third *control* condition participants did not read any scenarios about jeans, or answer any desirability/purchase intention questions – these participants only answered the four questions on moral disengagement. We included this condition so that we could check if the *no sweatshop labor* condition was triggering moral righteousness.

Results

Across the *high* and *no* sweatshop labor conditions, the two desirability measures and the one purchase intention measure were highly correlated and hence collapsed into one desirability index with a Cronbach's alpha of .90. The four moral disengagement measures were collapsed into one moral disengagement index with a Cronbach's alpha of .94. Using a linear hierarchical regression, the moral disengagement index was regressed on the sweatshop labor manipulation (dummy coded 0=no sweatshop labor, 1=high sweatshop labor) and the desirability index in step one, and in step two we included the sweatshop labor*desirability index interaction. The variables forming the interaction were centered for ease of interpretability.

The final model was highly significant R^2 =.23, $F(3, 171)$ =16.88, p<.001, p_{rep}=.996, f^2=.3 and there was a significant interaction between sweatshop labor and the desirability index B=.64, $t(171)$=4.72, p<.001, p_{rep}=.996 (see Table 1). To further explore this relationship we regressed the moral disengagement index on the desirability index in the *high* and *no sweatshop labor* conditions respectively. These analyses revealed a strong positive relationship between the desirability index and the moral disengagement index in the *high sweatshop labor* condition B=.58, $t(103)$=8.0, p<.001, p_{rep}=.996 while there was no significant relationship in the *no sweatshop labor* condition B=-.06, $t(68)$=-.48, *ns*.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

To confirm that the *no sweatshop labor* condition was not triggering a reverse effect – a moral righteousness because we specifically mentioned there was "no sweatshop labor" – we ran a simple *t* test between the *no sweatshop labor* condition and the *control* condition and found no significant difference in the moral disengagement index between the two respectively (M=2.75, SD= 1.64) vs. (M=2.35, SD=1.67), $t(151)$=1.49, *ns*.

Discussion

In Experiment 1 we found levels of moral disengagement to be significantly higher when desirability for a product was high and sweatshop labor was present. In the case where sweatshop labor was not present, there was no significant association between desirability and moral disengagement. Experiment 1 gives us cause to believe that moral disengagement may be motivated by one's desirability for a product. However, in Experiment 1, desirability was only measured and not manipulated and thus, the direction

of causation is unclear – we cannot determine whether desirability impacts moral disengagement or vice versa. Furthermore, because we measured product desirability after we revealed the presence of sweatshop labor there could be a confounding factor between desirability and the presence of sweatshop labor. Experiment 2 aimed to remedy both of these issues by manipulating desirability of the product rather than measuring it, and revealing the presence of sweatshop labor after taking an initial set of desirability measures.

EXPERIMENT 2

In Experiment 2, we varied both the presence of sweatshop labor in addition to varying the desirability of the product. Participants read about a hypothetical pair of Nike shoes that they either were very happy with and got at a great discount, or a pair of shoes they were merely satisfied with, and got at only a marginal discount. After answering questions about their desirability for the product, participants were then told to imagine they read an article suggesting that Nike either did or did not use sweatshop labor. Because Nike is a real company that in the past has been accused of using sweatshop labor, we felt this was a more realistic context for measuring moral disengagement. We used a sale price as the main driver of desirability predicting that getting a great discount on a traditionally expensive product would trigger strong positive affective reactions (Knutson, Adams, Fong, and Hommer, 2001; Thaler, 1985). We also used ownership scenarios rather than shopping scenarios because this made it more difficult for participants to alleviate cognitive dissonance through means other than moral disengagement. As in Experiment 1, we predicted that moral disengagement would be

highest when both the product was more desirable, and sweatshop labor was present. Furthermore, we predicted a mediated moderation (Muller et al. 2005) where beliefs about sweatshop labor use would moderate the impact of desirability on purchase intention, and moral disengagement mediates this process.

Participants

Two-hundred and fifty three participants (96 females M_{age} = 39.6, *SD* = 11.6) were recruited online from a national sample to participate in this survey as part of a package of unrelated surveys. Participants were given points they could redeem for products in exchange for their participation.

Procedure

In a two (desirability: high vs. low) * two (sweatshop labor: low vs. high) between-subjects design participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: *high desirability* versus *low desirability* crossed with *high sweatshop labor* versus *no sweatshop labor*. Participants first read about the desirability of the shoes. In the *high desirability* condition participants read: *Imagine that you own a pair of Nike running shoes.* [*The shoes retail for $175.00 and you got them at a 75% discount. You are extremely happy with these shoes*.] In the *low desirability* condition the text in brackets was replaced by the following: *The shoes retail for $175.00 and you got them at a 5% discount. You are satisfied with these shoes*. After reading the scenarios participants were asked the following three questions about the desirability of the shoes: *How desirable are these shoes to you?;* (anchored at 1 with *not desirable* and 7 with *very desirable); How happy are you with these shoes?;* (anchored at 1 with *not happy* and 7 with *very happy*); and *How good do you think you'll look in these shoes?* After answering this initial set of

questions on desirability participants clicked through to the next page and were told about Nike's labor practices. In the *high sweatshop labor* condition participants read: *Imagine that you've just read an article that suggests that Nike* [*uses*] *sweatshop labor to make their shoes.* In the *no sweatshop labor* condition the text in brackets was replaced by: *does not use*. After reading about whether Nike used sweatshop labor, participants answered questions on moral disengagement. Measures of moral disengagement were slightly modified from Experiment 1 to achieve greater clarity. Participants were asked: *For the following questions please indicate how much you agree or disagree.* For each moral disengagement question, the scale was anchored at 1 with *strongly disagree* and at 7 with *strongly agree* for each of the following four statements: 1. *Sweatshops are the only realistic source of income for workers in poorer countries*; 2. *Without sweatshops poorer countries couldn't develop*; *3. The use of sweatshop labor is okay because otherwise these products wouldn't be affordable to low-income people*, and 4. *The use of sweatshop labor is okay because companies must remain competitive.*

Because Nike is a real company that has come under public scrutiny in the past for its use of sweatshop labor, we also considered that participants might already have beliefs about Nike's labor practices. Because of this, participants were asked after clicking through to the next page: *How likely do you think it actually is that Nike uses sweatshop labor to make their shoes?;* (anchored at 1 *not likely* and at 7 *very likely*). After answering the question on sweatshop labor beliefs, participants answered a second set of three desirability questions that were identical to the first set. After answering the desirability questions participants answered a final question on purchase intention being

asked: *If you were again faced with purchasing these shoes how likely would you be to purchase them?*

Results

The first three desirability measures were collapsed into a pre-desirability index with a Cronbach's alpha of .91, and the second set of three desirability measures were collapsed into a post-desirability index with a Cronbach's alpha of .92. The four moral disengagement measures were collapsed into one moral disengagement index with a Cronbach's alpha of .92. As a manipulation check, we ran a *t* test and found that the shoes were more desirable (as measured by the pre-desirability index) in the *high desirability* condition (M=5.08, SD=1.63) than in the *low desirability* condition (M=3.79, SD=1.69), $t(251)=6.14$, $p<.001$, $p_{rep}=.996$. We then ran a 2 X 2 ANOVA with the moral disengagement index as the dependent variable. As predicted there was a significant overall main effect where participants morally disengaged (as measured by the moral disengagement index) significantly more in the *high desirability* condition (M=2.95, SD=1.67) than in the *low desirability* condition (M= 2.36, SD=1.34), $F(3, 249)=8.26$, $p<.005$, $p_{rep}=.97$, $\eta_p^{2=}.03$. No significant interaction was found between desirability and sweatshop labor $F(3, 249)=2.11$, *ns*.; however planned contrasts yielded results in the predicted direction. We ran *t* tests and found within the *high sweatshop labor* condition, the moral disengagement index was significantly higher in the *high desirability* condition (M=3.07, SD=1.63) than in the *low desirability* condition (M=2.22, SD=1.26), $t(135)=3.21$, $p<.005$, $p_{rep}=.98$, while there was no significant difference in the *no sweatshop labor condition* (M=2.77 SD=1.72) vs. (M=2.49, SD=1.41) $t(114)=.96$, ns.

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

While our manipulation of sweatshop labor yielded results in the predicted direction, we considered that participants' preconceived beliefs about Nike's use of sweatshop labor could be an even stronger test. In an additional analysis we replaced the sweatshop labor factor with the sweatshop labor beliefs question "How likely do you think it actually is that Nike uses sweatshop labor to make their shoes?" to predict levels of moral disengagement. To make sure our desirability manipulation was not triggering inferences about the use of sweatshop labor, we ran another *t* test and found no significant difference between how likely participants thought sweatshop labor was used between the *high* (*M*=4.3, *SD*=1.8) and *low* (*M*=4.61, *SD*=1.8) *desirability* conditions $t(251)=1.36$, ns. In a linear hierarchical regression the moral disengagement index was regressed on the desirability manipulation (dummy coded 0=low desirability, 1=high desirability) and the sweatshop labor belief factor in step one, and in step two included the interaction between the desirability manipulation and the sweatshop labor beliefs index. The variables forming the interaction were centered for ease of interpretation. The final model was significant $R^2=.11$, $F(3, 249) =9.78$, $p<.001$, $p_{rep}=.996$, $f^2=.12$ (see Appendix Table 1) and there was a significant overall effect of desirability on moral disengagement $B=.61$, $t(249)=3.22$, $p=.001$, $p_{rep}=.996$. In addition, there was a significant interaction between desirability and the sweatshop beliefs measure $B=.38$, $t(249)=3.62$, $p<.001$, $p_{rep}=.996$. To further explore this pattern of relationship we regressed the moral disengagement index on the sweatshop labor beliefs measure in the *high* and *low desirability* conditions respectively. These analyses revealed there was a significant positive effect between sweatshop labor beliefs and the moral disengagement index in the *high desirability* condition $B=.29$, $t(143)=4.03$, $p<.001$, $p_{rep}=.996$ while there was no

significant relationship in the *low desirability* condition B=-.09, t(106)=1.22, *ns,*. That is, in the *high desirability* condition when beliefs about Nike's use of sweatshop labor were high, so was the moral disengagement index.

While desirability and the presence of harm impacts moral disengagement, we also considered that moral disengagement can help maintain desirability in the presence of harm – thus indicating a reflexive relationship between desirability and moral disengagement where they reinforce each other. The post-desirability index and purchase intention measure were collapsed in equal weights into one index due to a high correlation and a Cronbach's alpha of .87, now called the *desire-purchase index*. We regressed the desire-purchase index on the desirability manipulation, sweatshop labor beliefs measure, and an interaction term between the two and found significant positive effects for both desirability B=.76, t(249)=3.48, p=.001, p_{rep}=.996, and the interaction between desirability and sweatshop labor beliefs B=.29, t(249)=2.39, p<.02, p_{rep}=.93 (see Appendix, Table 2, Equation 1). Analyzing the simple effects, in the *high desirability* condition, there was a significant positive effect of sweatshop labor beliefs on the desire-purchase index B=.18, t(143)=2.31, p<.03, p_{rep}=.92, while there was no significant effect in the *low desirability* condition B=-.11, t(106)=1.17, ns. This pattern of later desire and purchase intention seemed to mirror that of moral disengagement shown earlier to be driven by both the desirability manipulation and beliefs about sweatshop labor. To investigate this pattern we first ran a Sobel mediation test and found that the moral disengagement index significantly mediated the relationship between the desirability manipulation and the desire-purchase index z=2.88, p<.005, p_{rep}=.97. We then ran a mediated moderation test (Muller et al., 2005) to investigate the mediating effects of

moral disengagement when both desirability (as the manipulated variable) and sweatshop labor beliefs (as the moderator) were both factors in the analysis (see Table 2 in the Appendix for full analysis). We found that beliefs about sweatshop labor use moderated the impact of the desirability manipulation on purchase intention, and moral disengagement fully mediated this moderation. In the *high desirability* condition, as beliefs about sweatshop labor use increase, later desire and purchase intention for the product also increase. This effect is driven by moral disengagement.

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

Finally, we explored some patterns between factors specifically within the *high desirability* condition. When we regressed the desire-purchase index on beliefs about sweatshop labor, the moral disengagement index, and the interaction between the two we found significant positive effects for moral disengagement alone, and the interaction between moral disengagement and sweatshop labor B=.095, t(141)=2.4, p<.02, p_{rep}=.93, suggesting that as people's beliefs about Nike's use of sweatshop labor increased, moral disengagement becomes a stronger predictor of purchase intention. A similar pattern was found when we regressed the desire-purchase index on the pre-desirability index, the moral disengagement index, and an interaction between the two. All three factors were significant including the interaction B=.085, t(141)=1.98, p=.05, p_{rep}=.88 suggesting that as one's desire for a product increases moral disengagement becomes a stronger positive predictor of later desire and purchase intention for a product. These interaction effects were not significant in the *low desirability* condition (see Table 3 in the Appendix for full analysis).

Discussion

Experiment 2 confirms and strengthens the findings from Experiment 1 by manipulating desirability rather than measuring it. In Experiment 2 we found that measures of moral disengagement were higher for high desirability products than for low desirability products when sweatshop labor was present. Furthermore, we show a full mediated moderation where beliefs about sweatshop labor use moderate the impact of desirability on purchase intention, and moral disengagement mediates this whole process. Finally, the positive effects of moral disengagement on later desire and purchase intention appear to increase with beliefs about sweatshop labor use, and pre-desirability. These results suggest that while desirability and sweatshop labor impact moral disengagement, moral disengagement can impact later desire and purchase intention.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Our findings suggest that perceptions of morality are not stable and can vary based on one's motivation and the context of the situation. Experiments 1 and 2 are evidence that moral disengagement can be recruited to reduce dissonance between one's desire for a product and one's moral standards. Specifically we've shown that moral disengagement can increase based on the desirability of a product. This effect is stronger when sweatshop labor is present, or when beliefs about sweatshop labor use are high. Furthermore, we show a full mediated moderation effect where beliefs about sweatshop labor use moderates the impact of desirability on purchase intention, and moral disengagement mediates this process. This effect leads to some counterintuitive results demonstrating in the *high desirability* condition that later desire and purchase intention

for the product actually increase when beliefs about the presence of sweatshop labor are higher because they are being driven by moral disengagement.

Our work demonstrates how moral disengagement can be used to deal with cognitive dissonance that arises from everyday consumption. When consumers are conflicted between their affective desires and their moral standards they may morally disengage in order to consume products that are made with sweatshop labor. While on the face of it, such actions are less atrocious than the horrors of war, they may perhaps be even more dangerous due to their subtle and insidious nature – by some estimates there are hundreds of thousands of sweatshops still operating today.

While others have studied moral disengagement as a disposition (Aquino et al. 2007; Bandura et al. 1996), we study the possibility that moral disengagement can be motivated, and is explicitly recruited in specific situations to reduce dissonance between one's affect driven desires/actions and one's moral standards, demonstrating another account of affect-driven moral judgments (Haidt, 2008). Motivated moral disengagement should be considered even in contexts as apparently trivial as consumer buying decisions. If our moral judgments can be motivated, we must carefully consider how our desires drive us to justify harmful behavior. If people were not able to reduce this dissonance, they might actually demand that their products be produced free of harm.

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TABLES AND FIGURES FOR TEXT

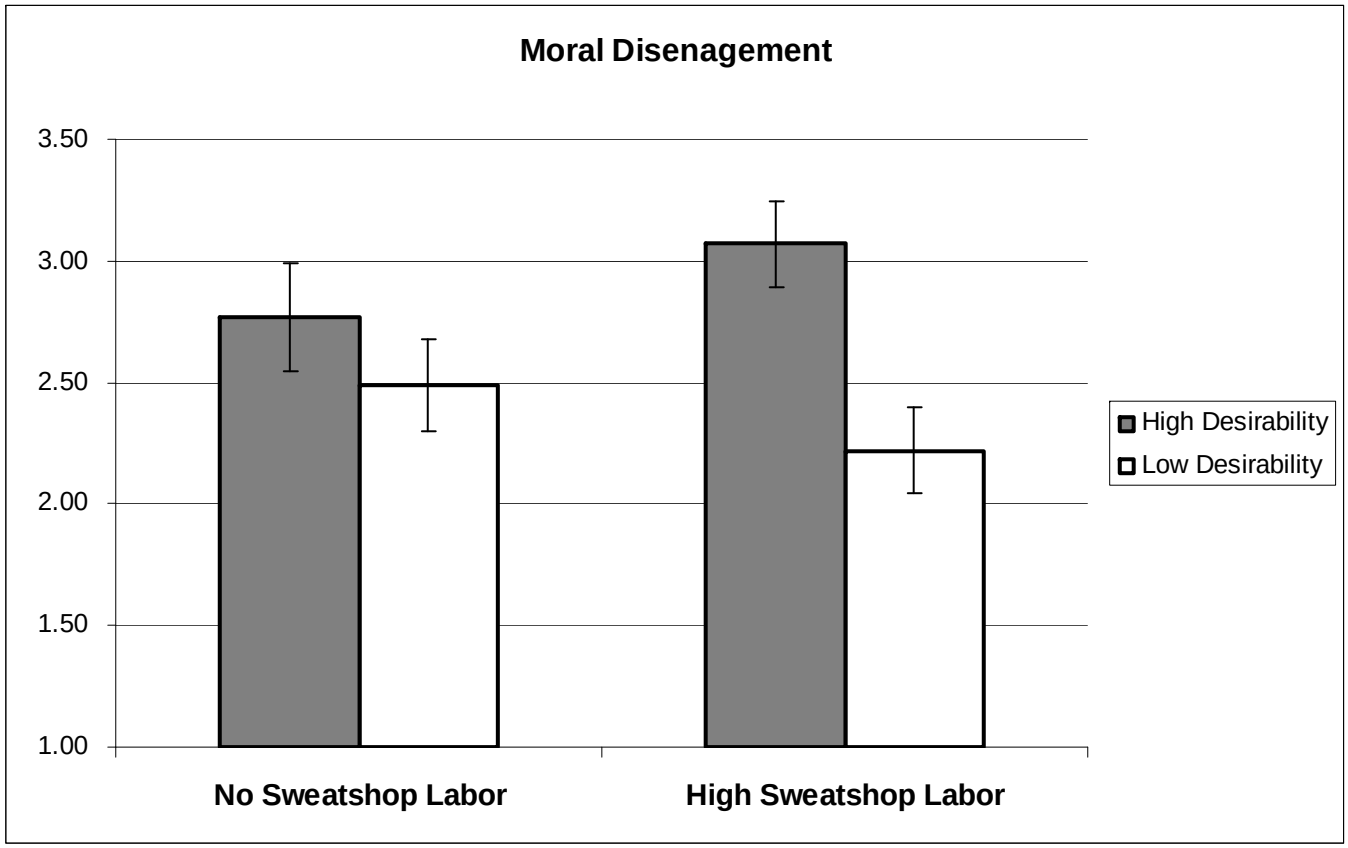
Table 1

Experiment 1 Summary of Hierarchical Regression on Moral Disengagement Index (N=258)

	Model 1			***Model 2***		
Predictors	***B***	***SE B***	***β***	**B**	**SE B**	***β***
Sweatshop Labor	0.67	0.25	0.21**	0.35	0.24	0.11
Desirability Index	0.34	0.07	0.37***	-0.06	0.11	-0.06
*Sweatshop Labor*Desirability Index*				0.64	0.14	0.52***
R^2		0.13			0.23	
F for change in R^2		12.63***			22.24***	

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

Figure 1
Impact of Desirability and Sweatshop Labor on Moral Disengagement



Error bars represent standard error

Figure 2

Impact of Desirability Manipulation and Sweatshop Labor Beliefs Measure on Moral Disengagement and the Desire-Purchase Index

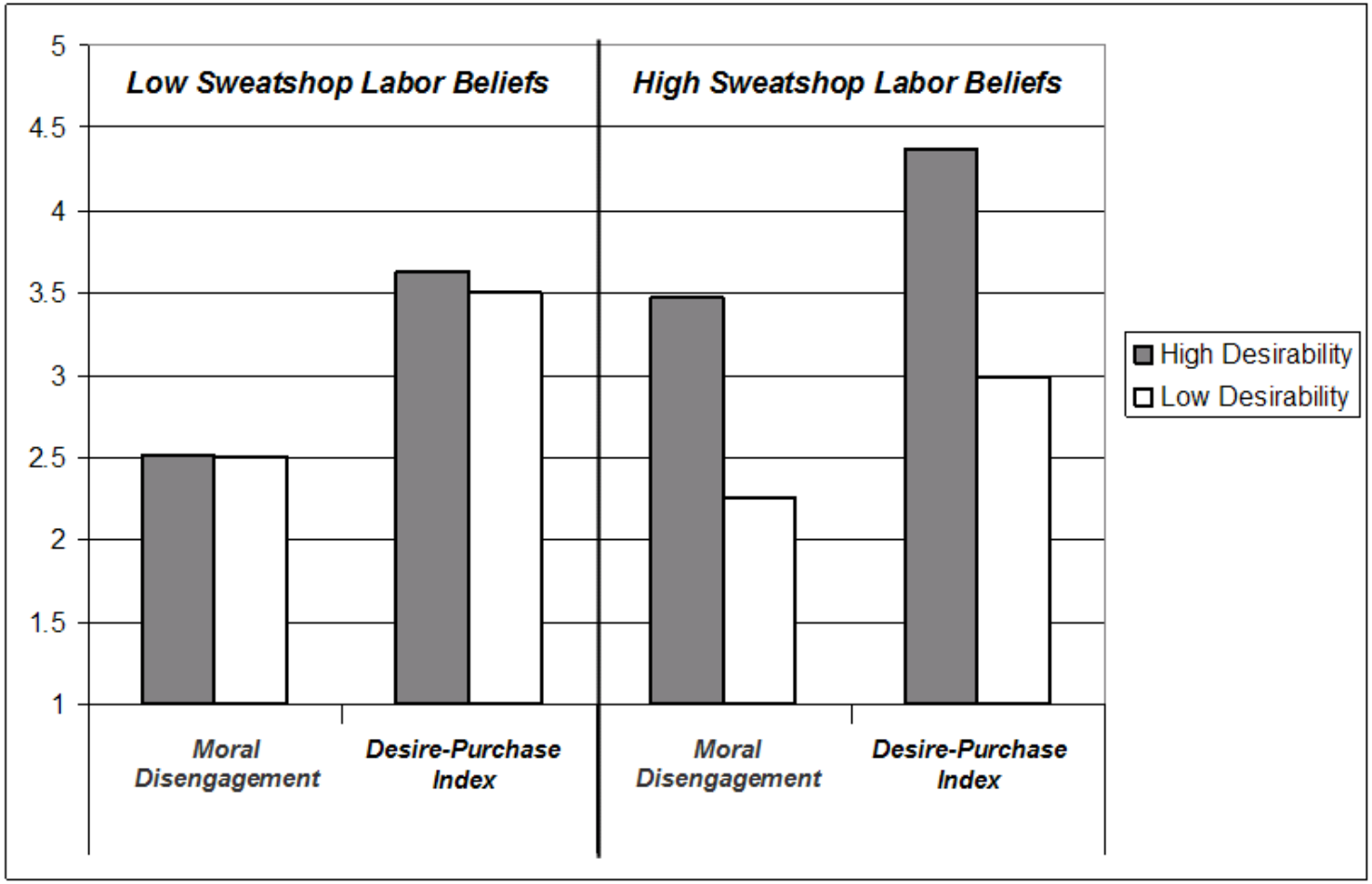


Chart based on a straight median split on the sweatshop labor beliefs measure

APPENDIX

Appendix: Table 1

Experiment 2 Summary of Hierarchical Regression on Moral Disengagement Index (N=253)

	Model 1			Model 2		
Predictors	***B***	***SE B***	***β***	**B**	**SE B**	***β***
Desirability	0.63	0.19	0.2***	0.61	0.19	0.19***
Sweatshop Labor Beliefs	0.13	0.05	0.15*	-0.09	0.08	-0.1
*Desirability*Sweatshop Labor Beliefs*				0.38	0.1	0.34***
R^2		0.24			0.33	
F for change in R^2		7.74***			13.11***	

*$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$*

Appendix: Table 2

Experiment 2 Summary of Regressions for Mediated Moderation Test (N=253)

	Equation 1			**Equation 2**			**Equation 3**		
	Criterion Desire-Purchase Index			***Criterion Moral Disengagement Index***			***Criterion Desire-Purchase Index***		
Predictors	***B***	***SE B***	***β***	**B**	**SE B**	***β***	***B***	***SE B***	***β***
X Desirability	0.76	0.22	0.21***	0.61	0.19	**0.19*** **	0.33	0.19	0.09
Mo Sweatshop Labor Beliefs	-0.11	0.09	-0.11	-0.09	0.08	-0.10	-0.02	0.08	-0.02
XMo Interaction	0.29	0.12	**0.23***	0.38	0.10	**0.34*** **	0.01	0.11	.01^{+}
Me Moral Disenagement							0.57	0.06	**0.51*** **
MeMo Interaction							0.07	0.03	**0.12***

**p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001*

Bold *indicates betas needed to be significant to qualify for a mediated moderation.*

+ indicates beta needed to be non-significant to qualify for a full mediated moderation.

X=Manipulation, Mo=Moderator, Me= Mediator

X (desirability) and Mo (Sweatshop Labor Beliefs) must be independent. No significant correlation found: r=-.09, ns.

Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt (2005)

Appendix: Table 3

Experiment 2 Summary of Simple Regression Analysis Predicting Desire-Purchase Index (N=253)

	Equation 1 Criterion Desire-Purchase Index						***Equation 2 Criterion Desire-Purchase Index***					
	Low Desirability			**High Desirability**			**Low Desirability**			**High Desirability**		
Predictors	***B***	***SE B***	***β***	**B**	**SE B**	***β***	***B***	***SE B***	***β***	**B**	**SE B**	***β***
Moral Disenagement Index	0.72	0.1	0.56***	0.47	0.08	0.46***	0.65	0.1	0.51***	0.37	0.08	0.36***
Sweatshop Labor Beliefs	-0.02	0.08	-0.02	0.02	0.07	0.02						
*Moral Disenagement*Sweatshop*	0.05	0.05	0.09	0.1	0.04	0.18*						
Pre-Desirability Index							0.23	0.08	0.23**	0.44	0.07	0.42***
*Moral Disenagement*Pre-Desirability Index*							-0.05	0.06	-0.07	0.09	0.04	0.16*
R^2		0.33			0.31			0.39			0.44	
F		17.06***			20.72***			21.66***			37.22***	

*$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$*